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A dictionary of the
Bible

A

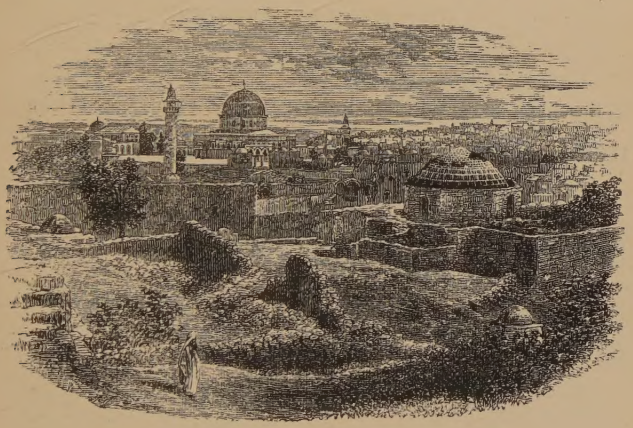
DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

COMPRISING ITS

ANTIQUITIES, BIOGRAPHY, GEOGRAPHY,
AND NATURAL HISTORY.

EDITED

BY SIR WILLIAM SMITH, D.C.L., LL.D.



Jerusalem.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. III.

RED-SEA—ZUZIMS.

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DICTIONARY

OF

BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES, BIOGRAPHY, GEOGRAPHY, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

RED SEA. The sea known to us as the Red Sea was by the Israelites called "the sea" (הַיָּם, Ex. xiv. 2, 9, 16, 21, 28; xv. 1, 4, 8, 10, 19; Josh. xxiv. 6, 7; and many other passages); and specially "the sea of sûph" (יַם־סוּף, Ex. x. 19; xiii. 18; xv. 4, 22; xxiii. 31; Num. xiv. 25; xxi. 4; xxxiii. 10, 11; Deut. i. 40; xi. 4; Josh. ii. 10; iv. 23; xxiv. 6; Judg. xi. 16; 1 K. ix. 26; Neh. ix. 9; Ps. cvi. 7, 9, 22; cxxxvi. 13, 15; Jer. xlix. 21). It is also perhaps written סוּפָה (Ζωόβ, LXX.) in Num. xxi. 14, rendered "Red Sea" in A. V.; and in like manner, in Deut. i. 1, סוּף, without יָם. The LXX. always render it ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα (except in Judg. xi. 16, where סוּף, Σίφ, is preserved). So too in N. T. (Acts vii. 36; Heb. xi. 29); and this name is found in 1 Macc. iv. 9. By the classical geographers this appellation, like its Latin equivalent *Mare Rubrum* or *M. Erythraeum*, was extended to all the seas washing the shores of the Arabian peninsula, and even the Indian Ocean: the Red Sea itself, or Arabian Gulf, was ὁ Ἀράβιος κόλπος, or Ἀραβικὸς κ., or *Sinus Arabicus*, and its eastern branch, or the Gulf of the 'Akabeh, Αἰλανίτης, Ἐλανίτης, Ἐλανιτικὸς, κόλπος, *Sinus Aelanites*, or *S. Aelaniticus*. The Gulf of Suez was specially the Heroöpolite Gulf, Ἡρωοπολίτης κόλπος, *Sinus Heroöpolites*, or *S. Heroöpoliticus*. Among the peoples of the East, the Red Sea has for many centuries lost its old names: it is now called generally by the Arabs, as it was in mediaeval times, Bahr El-Kulzum, "the sea of El-Kulzum," after the ancient Clysma, "the sea-beach," the site of which is near, or at, the modern Suez.[a] In the Kur-án, part of its old name is preserved, the rare Arabic word *yamm* being used in the account of the passage

[a] Or, as some Arab authors say, the sea is so named from the drowning of Pharaoh's host; Kulzum being a derivative of قَلْزَم, with this signification: or, according to others, from its being hemmed in by mountains, from the same root (El-Makreezee's *Khitat*, quoted by Sacy, *Chrest. Ar.* i. 57, note 2). Sacy, *Chrest. Ar.* i. 57, note 2, gives a different account of the Sea of El-Kulzum).

[b] Its general name is "the Sea of El-Kulzum;" but in different parts it is also called after the nearest coast, as "the sea of the Hijáz," &c. (Yákoot, in the *Moajam*).

[c] *Yamm* signifies a *bahr* of which the bottom is not reached. *Bahr* applies to a "sea" or a "great river."

of the Red Sea (see also foot note to p. 1012, *infra*, and El-Beydáwee's *Comment. on the Kur-án*, vii. 132, p. 341; and xx. 81, p. 602).[b]

Of the *names* of this sea (1.) יָם (Syr. ܝܡܐ and ܝܡܬܐ — the latter generally "a lake;" Hierog. YUMA; Copt. ⲓⲟⲙ; Arabic, يَمّ),[c] signifies "the sea," or any sea. It is also applied to the Nile (exactly as the Arabic *bahr* is so applied) in Nah. iii. 8, "Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers (*yeôrîm*), [that had] the waters round about it, whose rampart [was] the sea (*yâm*), and her wall was from the sea (*yâm*)?[d]

(2.) יַם־סוּף; in the Coptic version, ϥⲓⲟⲙ ⲛ̀ⲧⲯⲁⲣⲡ. The meaning of *sûph*, and the reason of its being applied to this sea, have given rise to much learned controversy. Gesenius renders it *rush, reed, sea-weed*. It is mentioned in the O. T. almost always in connexion with the sea of the Exodus. It also occurs in the narrative of the exposure of Moses in the יְאֹר, (*yeôr*); for he was laid in *sûph*, on the brink of the *yeôr* (Ex. ii. 3), where (in the *sûph*) he was found by Pharaoh's daughter (5); and in the "burden of Egypt" (Is. xix.), with the drying up of the waters of Egypt: "And the waters shall fail from the sea (*yâm*), and the river (*nâhâr*) shall be wasted and dried up. And they shall turn the rivers (*nâhâr*, constr. pl.) far away; [and] the brooks (*yeôr*) of defence (or of Egypt?) shall be emptied and dried up: the reeds and flags (*sûph*) shall wither. The paper reeds[e] by the brooks (*yeôr*), by the mouth of the brooks (*yeôr*), and everything

[d] Gesenius adds Is. xix. 5, quoted below; but it is not easy to see why this should be the Nile (except from preconceived notions), instead of the ancient extension of the Red Sea. He allows the "tongue of the Egyptian sea (*yâm*)" in Is. xi. 15, where the river [Nile] is *nâhâr*.

[e] Heb. עָרוֹת, rendered by the LXX. ἄχι, ἄχεα, the Greek being derived from אָחוּ, an Egyptian word denoting "marsh-grass, reeds, bulrushes, and any verdure growing in a marsh." Gesenius renders עָרָה, pl. עָרוֹת, "a naked or bare place, *i. e.* destitute of trees . . . .; here used of the grassy places on the banks of the Nile: but

sown by the brooks (*yeôr*) shall wither, be driven away, and be no [more]. The fishers also shall mourn, and all they that cast angle into the brooks (*yeôr*) shall lament, and they that spread nets upon the waters shall languish. Moreover they that work in fine flax, and they that weave net works (white linen?) shall be confounded. And they shall be broken in the purposes thereof, all that make sluices [and] ponds for fish" (xix. 5-10). *Sûph* only occurs in one place besides those already referred to: in Jon. ii. 5 it is written, "The waters compassed me about, [even] to the soul; the depth closed me round about, the weeds (*sûph*) were wrapped about my head." With this single exception, which shows that this product was also found in the Mediterranean, *sûph* is Egyptian, either in the Red Sea, or in the *yeôr*, and this *yeôr* in Ex. ii. was in the land of Goshen. What *yeôr* signifies here, in Is. xix., and generally, we shall examine presently. But first of *sûph*.

The signification of סוּף, *sûph*, must be gathered from the foregoing passages. In Arabic, the word, with this signification (which commonly is "wool"), is found only in one passage in a rare lexicon (the *Mohkam* MS.). The author says, "*Soof-el-bahr* (the *soof* of the sea) is like the wool of sheep. And the Arabs have a proverb: 'I will come to thee when the sea ceases to wet the *soof*,'" *i. e.* never. The סוּף of the יָם, it seems quite certain, is *a sea-weed resembling wool*. Such sea-weed is thrown up abundantly on the shores of the Red Sea. Fürst says, *s. v.* סוּף, "Ab Aethiopibus herba quaedam *supho* appellabatur, quae in profundo maris rubri crescit, quae rubra est, rubrumque colorem continet, pannis tingendis inservientem, teste Hieronymo de qualitate maris rubri" (p. 47, &c.). Diodorus (iii. c. 19), Artemidorus (ap. Strabo, p. 770), and Agatharchides (ed. Müller, p. 136-7), speak of the weed of the Arabian Gulf. Ehrenberg (in Winer) enumerates *Fucus latifolius* on the shores of this sea, and at Suez *Fucus crispus*, *F. trinodis*, *F. turbinatus*, *F. papillosus*, *F. diaphanus*, &c., and the specially *red* weed *Trichodesmium erythraeum*. The Coptic version renders *sûph* by *shari* (see above), supposed to be the hieroglyphic "SHER" (sea?). If this be the same as the *sari* of Pliny (see next paragraph), we must conclude that *shari*, like *sûph*, was both marine and fluvial. The passage in Jonah proves it to be a marine product; and that it was found in the Red Sea, the numerous passages in which that sea is called the sea of *sûph* leave no doubt.

But סוּף may have been *also* applied to any substance resembling wool, produced by a *fluvial rush*, such as the papyrus, and hence by a synecdoche to such rush itself. Golius says, *s. v.* بردى, on the authority of Ibn-Maaroof (after explaining بردى by "papyrus herba"), "Hinc قطن البردى [the cotton of the papyrus] gossipium papyri, quod *lanae* simile ex thyrso colligitur, et permixtum calci efficit tenacissimum caementi genus." This is curious; and it may also be observed that the papyrus, which included more than one kind of *cyperus*, grew in the marshes, and in lands on which about two feet in depth of the waters of the inundation remained (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 61, 149, citing Pliny, xiii. 11, Strab. xvii. 550); and that this is agreeable to the position of the ancient head of the gulf, with its canals and channels for irrigation (*yeôrîm*?), connecting it with the Nile and with Lake Mareotis; and we may suppose that in this and other similar districts, the papyrus was cultivated in the *yeôrîm*: the marshes of Egypt are now in the north of the Delta and are salt lands.—As a fluvial rush, *sûph* would be found in marshlands as well as streams, and in brackish water as well as in sweet. It is worthy of note that a low marshy place near the ancient head of the gulf is to this day called *Ghuweybet el-Boos*, "the bed of reeds," and another place near Suez has the same name; traces perhaps of the great fields of reeds rushes, and papyrus, which flourished here of old. See also PI-HAHIROTH, "the place where sedge grows" (?). Fresnel (*Dissertation sur le schari des E'gyptiens et le souf des Hebreux*, *Journ. Asiat.* 4e série, xi. pp. 274, &c.) enumerates some of the reeds found in Egypt. There is no sound reason for identifying any one of these with *sûph*. Fresnel, in this curious paper, endeavours to prove that the Coptic "shari" (in the *yam shari*) was the *Arundo Aegyptiaca* of Desfontaines (in modern Arabic *boos Fárisee*, or Persian cane): but there appear to be no special grounds for selecting this variety for identification with the fluvial shari; and we must entirely dissent from his suggestion that the shari of the Red Sea was the same, and not sea-weed: apart from the evidence which controverts his arguments, they are in themselves quite inconclusive. Sir Gardner Wilkinson's catalogue of reeds, &c., is fuller than Fresnel's, and he suggests the Cyperus Dives or fastigiatus (Arabic, *Dees*) to be the sari of Pliny. The latter says, "Fructicosi est genus sari, circa Nilum nascens, duorum fere cubitorum altitudine, pollicari crassitudine, coma papyri, simileque manditur modo" (*N. H.* xiii. 23, see also Theophr. iv. 9).

The occurrence of *sûph* in the *yeôr* (Ex. ii., Isa. xix.) in the land of Goshen (Ex. ii.), brings us to a consideration of the meaning of the latter, which in other respects is closely connected with the subject of this article.

(3.) יְאֹר (Hierog. ATUR, AUR; Copt. ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ, ⲓⲁⲣⲟ, ⲓⲁⲣⲱ, Memphitic dialect, ⲓⲉⲣⲟ, Sahidic), signifies "a river." It seems to apply to "a great river," or the like, and also to "an arm of the sea;" and perhaps to "a sea" absolutely; like the Arabic *bahr*. Ges. says it is almost exclusively used of the Nile; but the passages in which it occurs do not necessarily bear out this conclusion. By far the greater number refer to the sojourn in Egypt: these are Gen. xli. 1, 2, 3, 17, 18, Pharaoh's dream; Ex. i. 22, the exposure of the male children; Ex. ii. 3, 5, the exposure of Moses; Ex. vii. 15 *seqq.*, and xvii. 5, Moses before Pharaoh and the plague of blood; and Ex. viii. 5, 7, the plague of frogs. The next most important instance is the prophecy of Isaiah, already quoted in full. Then, that of Amos (viii. 8, comp. ix. 5), where the land shall rise up wholly as a flood (*yeôr*); and shall be cast out and drowned as [by] the flood (*yeôr*) of Egypt. The great prophecy of Ezekiel against Pharaoh and against all

this is unsatisfactory. Boothroyd says, "Our translators, after others, supposed this word to signify the papyrus; but without any just authority. Kimchi explains, 'Aroth est nomen appellativum olerum et herbarum virentium.' Hence we may render, 'The marchy [*sic*] meadows [*sic*] in the mouth of the river,' &c.

Egypt, where Pharaoh is "the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers (יְאֹרָיו), which hath said, My river (יְאֹרִי) is mine own, and I have made [it] for myself" (xxix. 3), uses the pl. throughout, with the above exception and verse 9, "because he hath said, The river (יְאֹר) [is] mine, and I have made it;" it cannot be supposed that Pharaoh would have said of the *Nile* that he had made it, and the passage seems to refer to a great canal. As Ezekiel was contemporary with Pharaoh Necho, may he not here have referred to the re-excavation of the canal of the Red Sea by that Pharaoh? That canal may have at least received the name of the canal of Pharaoh, just as the same canal when re-excavated for the last time was "the canal of the Prince of the Faithful," and continued to be so called.—*Yeôr* occurs elsewhere only in Jer. xlvi. 7, 8, in the prophecy against Necho; in Isa. xxiii. 10, where its application is doubtful; and in Dan. xii. 5, 6, where it is held to be the Euphrates, but may be the great canal of Babylon. The pl. *yeôrîm*, seems to be often used interchangeably with *yeôr* (as in Ez. xxix., and Nah. iii. 8); it is used for "rivers," or "channels of water;" and, while it is not restricted to Egypt, especially of those of the Nile.

From a comparison of all the passages in which it occurs there appears to be no conclusive reason for supposing that *yeôr* applies generally, if ever, to the Nile. In the passages relating to the exposure of Moses it appears to apply to the ancient extension of the Red Sea towards Tanis (ZOAN, Avaris), or to the ancient canal (see below) through which the water of the Nile passed to the "tongue of the Egyptian sea." The water was potable (Ex. vii. 18), but so is that of the Lake of the Feiyoom to its own fishermen, though generally very brackish: and the canal must have received water from the Nile during every inundation, and then must have been sweet. During the height of the inundation, the sweet water would flow into the Red Sea. The passage of the canal was regulated by sluices, which excluded the waters of the Red Sea and sweetened by the water of the canal the salt lakes. Strabo (xvii. 1, §25) says that they were thus rendered sweet, and in his time contained good fish and abounded with water fowl: the position of these lakes is more conveniently discussed in another part of this article, on the ancient geography of the head of the gulf. It must not be forgotten that the Pharaoh of Moses was of a dynasty residing at Tanis, and that the extension of the Red Sea, "the tongue of the Egyptian Sea," stretched in ancient times into the borders of the land of Goshen, about 50 miles north of its present head, and halfway towards Tanis. There is abundant proof of the former cultivation of this country, which must have been effected by the canal from the Nile just mentioned, and by numerous canals and channels for irrigation, the *yeôrîm*, so often mentioned with the *yeôr*. There appears to be no difficulty in Isa. xix. 6 (comp. xi. 15), for, if the Red Sea became closed at Suez or thereabout, the *sûph* left on the beaches of the *yeôr* must have dried up and rotted. The ancient beaches in the tract here spoken of, which demonstrate successive elevations, are well known.[g]

(4.) *ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα.* The origin of this appellation has been the source of more speculation even than the obscure *sûph*; for it lies more within the range of general scholarship. The theories advanced to account for it have been often puerile, and generally unworthy of acceptance. Their authors may be divided into two schools. The first have ascribed it to some natural phenomenon; such as the singularly red appearance of the mountains of the western coast, looking as if they were sprinkled with Havannah or Brazil snuff, or brick-dust (Bruce), or of which the redness was reflected in the waters of the sea (Gosselin, ii. 78-84); the red colour of the water sometimes caused by the presence of zoophytes (Salt; Ehrenberg); the red coral of the sea; the red sea-weed; and the red storks that have been seen in great numbers, &c. Reland (*De Mare Rubro, Diss. Miscell.* i. pp. 59-117) argues that the epithet red was applied to this and the neighbouring seas on account of their tropical heat; as indeed was said by Artemidorus (*ap.* Strabo, xvi. 4, 20), that the sea was called red because of the reflexion of the sun. The second have endeavoured to find an etymological derivation. Of these the earliest (European) writers proposed a derivation from Edom, "red," by the Greeks translated literally. Among them were N. Fuller (*Miscell. Sacr.* iv. c. 20); before him, Scaliger, in his notes to *Festus*; voce *Aegyptinos*, ed. 1574; and still earlier Genebrard, *Comment. ad Ps.* 106; Bochart (*Phaleg*, iv. c. 34) adopted this theory (see Reland, *Diss. Miscell.* i. 85, ed. 1706). The Greeks and Romans tell us that the sea received its name from a great king, Erythras, who reigned in the adjacent country (Strab. xvi. p. 4, §20; Pliny, *N. H.* vi. cap. 23, §28; Agatharch. i. §5; Philostr. iii. 15, and others):[h] the stories that have come down to us appear to be distortions of the tradition that Himyer was the name of apparently the chief family of Arabia Felix, the great South-Arabian kingdom, whence the Himyerites, and Homeritae. Himyer appears to be derived from the Arabic "ahmar," *red* (Himyer was so called because of the red colour of his clothing, *En-Nuweyree in Caussin*, i. 54): "aafar" also signifies "red," and is the root of the names of several places in the peninsula so called on account of their redness (see *Marásid*, p. 263, &c.); this may point to Ophir: *φοινιξ* is red, and the Phoenicians came from the Erythraean Sea (Herod. vii. 89). We can scarcely doubt, on these etymological grounds,[i] the con-

[g] The Mohammadan account of the exposure of Moses is curious. Moses, we read, was laid in the *yamm* (which is explained to be the Nile, though that river is not elsewhere so called), and the ark was carried by the current along a canal or small river (*nahr*), to a lake, at the further end of which was Pharaoh's pavilion (El-Beydáwee's *Comment. on the Kur-án*, xx. 39, p. 595, and Ez-Zamakhsharee's *Comment.*, entitled the *Keshsháf*). While we place no dependance on Mohammadan relations of Biblical events, there may be here a glimmer of truth.

[h] Reland (*Diss. Miscell.* i. 87, &c.) is pleasantly severe on the story of king Erythras; but, with all his rare learning, he was ignorant of Arab history, which is here of the utmost value, and of the various proofs of a connexion between this Erythras and Himyer, and the Phoenicians in language, race, and religion. Besides, Reland had a theory of his own to support.

[i] If we concede the derivation, it cannot be held that the Greeks mistranslated the name of Himyer. (See Reland, *Diss. Miscell.* i. 101.) It is worthy of mention that the Arabs often call themselves "the red men," as distinguished from the black or negro, and the yellow or Turanian, races: though they call themselves "the black," as distinguished from the more northern races, whom they term "the red;" as this epithet is used by them, when thus applied, as meaning both "red" and "white."

nexion between the Phoenicians and the Himyerites, or that in this is the true origin of the appellation of the Red Sea. But when the ethnological side of the question is considered, the evidence is much strengthened. The South-Arabian kingdom was a Joktanite (or Shemite) nation mixed with a Cushite. This admixture of races produced two results (as in the somewhat similar cases of Egypt, Assyria, &c.): a genius for massive architecture, and rare seafaring ability. The Southern Arabians carried on all the commerce of Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia, with India, until shortly before our own era. It is unnecessary to insist on this Phoenician characteristic, nor on that which made Solomon call for the assistance of Hiram to build the Temple of Jerusalem. The Philistine, and early Cretan and Carian, colonists may have been connected with the South-Arabian race. If the Assyrian school would trace the Phoenicians to a Chaldaean or an Assyrian origin, it might be replied that the Cushites, whence came Nimrod, passed along the south coast of Arabia, and that Berosus (in Cory, 2nd ed. p. 60) tells of an early Arab domination of Chaldaea, before the Assyrian dynasty, a story also preserved by the Arabian historians (El-Mes'oodee, *Golden Meadows*, MS.).—The Red Sea, therefore, was most probably the Sea of the Red men. It adds a link to the curious chain of emigration of the Phoenicians from the Yemen to Syria, Tyre, and Sidon, the shores and islands of the Mediterranean, especially the African coasts of that sea, and to Spain and the far-distant northerly ports of their commerce; as distant, and across oceans as terrible, as those reached by their Himyerite brethren in the Indian and Chinese Seas.

Ancient Limits.—The most important change in the Red Sea has been the drying up of its northern extremity, "the tongue of the Egyptian Sea." The land about the head of the gulf has risen, and that near the Mediterranean become depressed. The head of the gulf has consequently retired gradually since the Christian era. Thus the prophecy of Isaiah has been fulfilled: "And the Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea" (xi. 15); "the waters shall fail from the sea" (xix. 5): the tongue of the Red Sea has dried up for a distance of at least 50 miles from its ancient head, and a cultivated and well-peopled province has been changed into a desolate wilderness. An ancient canal conveyed the waters of the Nile to the Red Sea flowing through the Wádi-t-Tumeylát, and irrigating with its system of water-channels a large extent of country; it also provided a means for conveying all the commerce of the Red Sea, once so important, by water to the Nile, avoiding the risks of the desert-journey, and securing water-carriage from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. The drying up of the head of the gulf appears to have been one of the chief causes of the neglect and ruin of this canal.

The country, for the distance above indicated, is now a desert of gravelly sand, with wide patches about the old sea-bottom, of rank marsh land, now called the "Bitter Lakes" (not those of Strabo). At the northern extremity of this salt waste, is a small lake sometimes called the lake of Heroöpolis (the city after which the gulf of Suez was called the Heroöpolite Gulf): the lake is now Birket et-Timsáh, "the lake of the Crocodile," and is supposed to mark the ancient head of the gulf. The canal that connected this with the Nile was of Pharaonic origin.[k] It was anciently known as the "Fossa Regum," and the "canal of Hero." Pliny, Diodorus, and Strabo, state that (up to their time) it reached only to the bitter springs (which appear to be not the present bitter lakes, but lakes west of Heroöpolis), the extension being abandoned on account of the supposed greater height of the waters of the Red Sea. According to Herod. (ii. cap. 158) it left the Nile (the Tanitic branch, now the canal of El-Mo'izz) at Bubastis (Pi-beseth), and a canal exists at this day in this neighbourhood, which appears to be the ancient channel. The canal was four days' voyage in length, and sufficiently broad for two *triremes* to row abreast (Herod. ii. 158; or 100 cubits, Strab. xvii. 1, §26; and 100 feet, Pliny, vi. cap. 29, §33). The time at which the canal was extended, after the drying up of the head of the gulf, to the present head is uncertain, but it must have been late, and probably since the Mohammadan conquest. Traces of the ancient channel throughout its entire length to the vicinity of Bubastis, exist at intervals in the present day (*Descr. de l'Égypte*, E. M. xi. 37-381, and v. 135-158, 8vo. ed.).—The *Amnis Trajanus* (Τραϊανὸς ποτ. pt. iv. 5, §54), now the canal of Cairo, was probably of Pharaonic origin; it was at any rate repaired by the emperor Adrian; and it joined the ancient canal of the Red Sea between Bubastis and Heroöpolis. At the Arab conquest of Egypt, this was found to be closed, and was reopened by 'Amr by command of 'Omar, after whom it was called the "canal of the Prince of the Faithful." Country-boats sailed down it (and passed into the Red Sea to Yembo'—see Shems-ed Deen in *Descr. de l'Egypte*, 8vo. ed., xi. 359), and the water of the Nile ran into the sea at El-Kulzum; but the former commerce of Egypt was not in any degree restored; the canal was opened with the intention of securing supplies of grain from Egypt in case of famine in Arabia; a feeble intercourse with the newly-important holy cities of Arabia, to provide for the wants of the pilgrims, was its principal use. In A.H. 105, El-Mansoor ordered it to be filled up (the *Khitat*, Descr. of the Canals), in order to cut off supplies to the Shiya'ee heretics in El-Medeeneh. Now it does not flow many miles beyond Cairo, but its channel is easily traceable.

The land north of the ancient head of the gulf is a plain of heavy sand, merging into marsh-land near the Mediterranean coast, and extending to Palestine. We learn from El-Makreezee that a tradition existed of this plain having been formerly well cultivated with saffron, safflower, and sugar-cane, and peopled throughout, from the frontier-town of El-'Areesh to El-'Abbáseh in Wádi-t-Tumeylát (see EXODUS, THE, *Map*; *The Khitat*, s. v. *Jifár*; comp. *Marásid*, ib.). Doubtless the drying up of the gulf with its canal in the south, and the depression of the land in the north, have converted this once (if we may believe the tradition, though we cannot extend this fertility as far as El-'Areesh) notoriously-fertile tract into a proverbially sandy and parched desert. This region, including Wádi-t-Tumeylát, was probably the frontier land occupied in part by the Israelites, and open to the incursions

[k] Commenced by Sesôstris (Aristot. *Meteor.* i. 14; Strab. i. and xvii.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 29; Herod. ii. 158; Diod. i. 33) or by Necho II., most probably the former; continued by Darius Hystaspis, and by Ptol. Philadelphus. See *Encyc. Brit.* art. 'Egypt.'

of the wild tribes of the Arabian desert; and the *yebr*, as we have given good reason for believing, in this application, was apparently the ancient head of the gulf or the canal of the Red Sea, with its *yeĕrím* or water-channels, on which Goshen and much of the plain north of it depended for their fertility.

Physical Description.—In extreme length, the Red Sea stretches from the Straits of Báb el-Mendeb (or rather Rás Báb el-Mendeb) in lat. 12° 40′ N., to the modern head of the Gulf of Suez, lat. 30′ N. Its greatest width may be stated roughly at about 200 geographical miles; this is about lat. 16° 30′, but the navigable channel is here really narrower than in some other portions, groups of islands and rocks stretching out into the sea, between 30 and 40 miles from the Arabian coast, and 50 miles from the African coast. From shore to shore, its narrowest part is at Rás Benás, lat. 24°, on the African coast, to Rás Bereedee opposite, a little north of Yembo', the port of El-Medeeneh; and thence northwards to Rás Mohammad (*i. e.* exclusive of the Gulfs of Suez and the 'Akabeh), the sea maintains about the same average width of 100 geographical miles. Southwards from Rás Benás, it opens out in a broad reach; contracts again to nearly the above narrowness at Jeddah (correctly Juddah), lat. 21° 30′, the port of Mekkeh; and opens to its extreme width south of the last named port.

At Rás Mohammad, the Red Sea is split by the granitic peninsula of Sinai into two gulfs: the westernmost, or Gulf of Suez, is now about 130 geographical miles in length, with an average width of about 18, though it contracts to less than 10 miles: the easternmost, or Gulf of El-'Akabeh, is only about 90 miles long, from the Straits of Tirán, to the 'Akabeh [ELATH], and of proportionate narrowness. The navigation of the Red Sea and Gulf of Suez, near the shores, is very difficult from the abundance of shoals, coral-reefs, rocks, and small islands, which render the channel intricate, and cause strong currents often of unknown force and direction; but in mid-channel, exclusive of the Gulf of Suez, there is generally a width of 100 miles clear, except the Daedalus reef (Wellsted, ii. 300).—The bottom in deep soundings is in most places sand and stones, from Suez as far as Juddah; and thence to the straits it is commonly mud. The deepest sounding in the excellent Admiralty chart is 1054 fathoms, in lat. 22° 30′.

Journeying southwards from Suez, on our left is the peninsula of Sinai [SINAI]: on the right, is the desert coast of Egypt, of limestone formation like the greater part of the Nile valley in Egypt, the cliffs on the sea-margin stretching landwards in a great rocky plateau, while more inland a chain of volcanic mountains (beginning about lat. 28° 4′ and running south) rear their lofty peaks at intervals above the limestone, generally about 15 miles distant. Of the most important is Gebel Ghárib, 6000 ft. high; and as the Straits of Jubal are passed, the peaks of the primitive range attain a height of about 4500 to 6900 ft., until the "Elba" group rises in a huge mass about lat. 22°. Further inland is the Gebel-ed-Dukhkhán, the "porphyry mountain" of Ptolemy (iv. 5, §27; M. Claudianus, see Müller, *Geogr. Min.* Atlas vii.), 6000 ft. high, about 27 miles from the coast, where the porphyry quarries formerly supplied Rome, and where are some remains of the time of Trajan (Wilkinson's *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, ii. 383); and besides these, along this desert southwards are "quarries of various granites, serpentines, Breccia Verde, slates, and micaceous, talcose, and other schists" (*id.* 382). Gebel-ez-Zeyt, "the mountain of oil," close to the sea, abounds in petroleum (*id.* 385). This coast is especially interesting in a Biblical point of view, for here were some of the earliest monasteries of the Eastern Church, and in those secluded and barren mountains lived very early Christian hermits. The convent of St. Anthony (of the Thebaïs), "Deyr Már Antooniyoos," and that of St. Paul, "Deyr Már Bólus," are of great renown, and were once important. They are now, like all Eastern monasteries, decayed; but that of St. Anthony gives, from its monks, the Patriarch of the Coptic church, formerly chosen from the Nitrian monasteries (*id.* 381).—South of the "Elba" chain, the country gradually sinks to a plain, until it rises to the highland of Geedán, lat. 15°, and thence to the straits extends a chain of low mountains. The greater part of the African coast of the Red Sea is sterile, sandy, and thinly peopled; first beyond Suez by Bedawees chiefly of the Ma'ázee tribe. South of the Kuseyr road, are the 'Abáb'deh; and beyond, the Bisháarees, the southern branch of which are called by Arab writers Bejà, whose customs, language, and ethnology, demand a careful investigation, which would undoubtedly be repaid by curious results (see El-Makreezee's *Khitat, Descr. of the Bejà*, and *Descr. of the Desert of Eydháb*; Quatremère's *Essays* on these subjects, in his *Mémoires Hist. et Géogr. sur l'Égypte*, ii. pp. 134, 162; and *The Genesis of the Earth and of Man*, 2nd ed. p. 109); and then, coast-tribes of Abyssinia.

The Gulf of El-'Akabeh (*i. e.* "of the Mountain-road") is the termination of the long valley of the Ghór or *'Arabah* that runs northwards to the Dead Sea. It is itself a narrow valley; the sides are lofty and precipitous mountains, of entire barrenness; the bottom is a river-like sea, running nearly straight for its whole length of about 90 miles. The northerly winds rush down this gorge with uncommon fury, and render its navigation extremely perilous, causing at the same time strong counter currents; while most of the few anchorages are open to the southerly gales. It "has the appearance of a narrow deep ravine, extending nearly a hundred miles in a straight direction, and the circumjacent hills rise in some places two thousand feet perpendicularly from the shore" (Wellsted, ii. 108). The western shore is the peninsula of SINAI. The Arabian chain of mountains, the continuation of the southern spurs of the Lebanon, skirt the eastern coast, and rise to about 3500 ft., while Gebel Teybet-'Alee near the Straits is 6000 ft. There is no pasturage, and little fertility, except near the 'Akabeh, where are date-groves and other plantations, &c. In earlier days, this last-named place was (it is said) famous for its fertility. The Island of Graia, Jezeeret Fara'oon, once fortified and held by the Crusaders, is near its northern extremity, on the Sinaitic side. The sea, from its dangers, and sterile shores, is entirely destitute of boats.

The Arabian coast outside the Gulf of the 'Akabeh is skirted by the range of Arabian mountains, which in some few places approach the sea, but generally leave a belt of coast country, called Tihámeh, or the Ghór, like the Sheelah of Palestine. This tract is generally a sandy parched plain, thinly inhabited; these characteristics being especially strong in the north. (Niebuhr, *Descr.* 305; Wellsted.) The mountains of the Hejáz consist of ridges running parallel towards the interior, and increasing in height as

they recede (Wellsted, ii. 242). Burckhardt remarks that the descent on the eastern side of these mountains, like the Lebanon and the whole Syrian range east of the Dead Sea, is much less than that on the western; and that the peaks seen from the east, or land side, appear mere hills (*Arabia*, 321 *seq.*). In clear weather they are visible at a distance of 40 to 70 miles (Wellsted, ii. 242). The distant ranges have a rugged pointed outline, and are granitic; at Wejh, with horizontal veins of quartz; nearer the sea many of the hills are fossiliferous limestone, while the beach hills "consist of light-coloured sandstone, fronted by and containing large quantities of shells and masses of coral" (Wellsted, ii. 243). Coral also "enters largely into the composition of some of the most elevated hills." The more remarkable mountains are Jebel 'Eyn-Unnà (or 'Eynuwunnà, *Marâsid*, *s. v.* 'Eyn, Ὄυνη of Ptol.), 6090 ft. high near the Straits; a little further south, and close to Mo'eyleh, are mountains rising from 6330 to 7700 ft., of which Wellsted says, "The coast . . . is low, gradually ascending with a moderate elevation to the distance of six or seven miles, when it rises abruptly to hills of great height, those near Mowîlahh terminating in sharp and singularly-shaped peaks . . . Mr. Irwin [1777] . . . has styled them Bullock's Horns. To me the whole group seemed to bear a great resemblance to representations which I have seen of enormous icebergs" (ii. 176; see also the Admiralty Chart, and Müller's *Geogr. Min.*). A little north of Yembo' is a remarkable group, the pyramidal mountains of Agatharchides; and beyond, about 25 miles distant rises J. Radwà. Further south, J. Subh is remarkable for its magnitude and elevation, which is greater than any other between Yembo' and Jiddah; and still further, but about 80 miles distant from the coast, J. Rás el-Kurà rises behind the Holy city, Mekkeh. It is of this mountain that Burckhardt writes so enthusiastically—how rarely is he enthusiastic—contrasting its verdure and cool breezes with the sandy waste of Tihámeh (*Arabia*, 65 *seqq.*). The chain continues the whole length of the sea, terminating in the highlands of the Yemen. The Arabian mountains are generally fertile, agreeably different from the parched plains below, and their own bare granite peaks above. The highlands and mountain summits of the Yemen, "Arabia the Happy," the Jebel as distinguished from the plain, are precipitous, lofty, and fertile (Niebuhr, *Descr.* 161); with many towns and villages in their valleys and on their sides.—The coast-line itself, or Tihámeh, "north of Yembo', is of moderate elevation, varying from 50 to 100 feet, with no beach. To the southward [to Juddah] it is more sandy and less elevated: the inlets and harbours of the former tract may be styled coves; in the latter they are lagoons" (Wellsted, ii. 244).—The coral of the Red Sea is remarkably abundant, and beautifully coloured and variegated. It is often red, but the more common kind is white; and of hewn blocks of this, many of the Arabian towns are built.

The earliest navigation of the Red Sea (passing by the pre-historical Phoenicians) is mentioned by Herodotus. "Sesostris (Rameses II.) was the first who, passing the Arabian Gulf in a fleet of long vessels, reduced under his authority the inhabitants of the coast bordering the Erythraean Sea; proceeding still further, he came to a sea which, from the great number of its shoals, was not navigable;" and after another war against Ethiopia he set up a stela on the promontory of Dira, near the straits of the Arabian Gulf. Three centuries later, Solomon's navy was built "in Eziongeber which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea (Yam Sûph), in the land of Edom" (1 K. ix. 26). In the description of the Gulf of El-'Akabeh, it will be seen that this narrow sea is almost without any safe anchorage, except at the island of Graia near the 'Akabeh, and about 50 miles southward, the harbour of Edh-Dhahab. It is possible that the sea has retired here as at Suez, and that Eziongeber is now dry land. [See EZION-GEBER; ELATH.] Solomon's navy was evidently constructed by Phoenician workmen of Hiram, for he "sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon." This was the navy that sailed to Ophir. We may conclude that it was necessary to transport wood as well as men to build and man these ships on the shores of the Gulf of the 'Akabeh, which from their natural formation cannot be supposed to have much altered, and which were besides part of the wilderness of the wandering; and the Edomites were pastoral Arabs, unlike the seafaring Himyerites. Jehoshaphat also "made ships of Tharshish to go to Ophir for gold: but they went not, for the ships were broken at Eziongeber" (1 K. xxii. 48). The scene of this wreck has been supposed to be Edh-Dhahab, where is a reef of rocks like a "giant's backbone" (=Eziongeber) (Wellsted, ii. 153), and this may strengthen an identification with that place. These ships of Jehoshaphat were manned by "his servants," who from their ignorance of the sea may have caused the wreck. Pharaoh-Necho constructed a number of ships in the Arabian gulf, and the remains of his works existed in the time of Herodotus (ii. 159), who also tells us that these ships were manned by Phoenician sailors.

The fashion of the ancient ships of the Red Sea, or of the Phoenician ships of Solomon, is unknown. From Pliny we learn that the ships were of papyrus and like the boats of the Nile; and this statement was no doubt in some measure correct. But the coasting craft must have been very different from those employed in the Indian trade. More precise and curious is El-Makreezee's description, written in the first half of the 15th century, of the ships that sailed from Eydhâb on the Egyptian coast to Juddah: "Their 'jelebehs' (P. Lobo, *ap.* Quatremère, *Mémoires*, ii. 164, calls them 'gelves'), which carry the pilgrims on the coast, have not a nail used in them, but their planks are sewed together with fibre, which is taken from the cocoa-nut-tree, and they caulk them with the fibres of the wood of the date-palm; then they 'pay' them with butter, or the oil of the palma Christi, or with the fat of the kirsh (squalus carcharias; Forskâl, *Descr. Animalium*, p. viii., No. 19). . . . The sails of these jelebehs are of mats made of the dóm-palm" (the *Khitat*, "Desert of Eydhâb"). One of the sea-going ships of the Arabs is shown in the view of El-Basrah, from a sketch by Colonel Chesney, (from Lane's '1001 Nights'). The crews of the latter, when not exceptionally Phoenicians, as were Solomon's and Pharaoh Necho's, were without doubt generally Arabians, rather than Egyptians—those Himyerite Arabs whose ships carried all the wealth of the East either to the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf. The people of 'Omán, the south-east province of Arabia, were among the foremost of these navigators (El-Mes'oodee's *Golden Meadows*, MS., and *The Accounts of Two Mohammedan Travellers of the Ninth Century*). It was

El-Basrah. From a Drawing by Colonel Chesney.

customary, to avoid probably the dangers and delays of the narrow seas, for the ships engaged in the Indian trade to trans-ship their cargoes at the straits of Báb el-Mendeb to Egyptian and other vessels of the Red Sea (Agath. §103, p. 190; *anon. Peripl.* §26, p. 277, ed. Müller). The fleets appear to have sailed about the autumnal equinox, and returned in December or the middle of January (Pliny, *N. H.* vi. cap. xxiii. §26; comp. *Peripl.* passim). St. Jerome says that the navigation was extremely tedious. At the present day, the voyages are periodical, and guided by the seasons; but the old skill of the seamen has nearly departed, and they are extremely timid, and rarely venture far from the coast.

The Red Sea, as it possessed for many centuries the most important sea-trade of the East, contained ports of celebrity. Of these, Elath and Eziongeber alone appear to be mentioned in the Bible. The Heroöpolite Gulf is of the chief interest: it was near to Goshen; it was the scene of the passage of the Red Sea; and it was the "tongue of the Egyptian Sea." It was also the seat of the Egyptian trade in this sea and to the Indian Ocean. Heroöpolis is doubtless the same as Hero, and its site has been probably identified with the modern Aboo-Kesheyd, at the head of the old gulf. By the consent of the classics, it stood on or near the head of the gulf, and was 68 miles (according to the *Itinerary* of Antoninus) from Clysma, by the Arabs called El-Kulzum, near the modern Suez, which is close to the *present* head. Suez is a poor town, and has only an unsafe anchorage, with very shoal water. On the shore of the Heroöpolite gulf was also Arsinoë, founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus: its site has not been settled. Berenice, founded by the same, on the southern frontier of Egypt, rose to importance under the Ptolemies and the Romans; it is now of no note. On the western coast was also the anchorage of Myos Hormos, a little north of the modern town El-Kuseyr, which now forms the point of communication with the old route to Coptos. On the Arabian coast the principal ports are Mu'eyleh, Yembo' (the port of El-Medeeneh), Juddah (the port of Mekkeh), and Mukhà, by us commonly written Mocha. The Red Sea in most parts affords anchorage for country-vessels well acquainted with its intricacies, and able to creep along the coast among the reefs and islands that girt the shore. Numerous creeks on the Arabian shore (called "shuroom," sing. "sharm,") indent the land. Of these the anchorage called Esh Sharm, at the southern extremity of the peninsula of Sinai, is much frequented.

The commerce of the Red Sea was, in very ancient times, unquestionably great. The earliest records tell of the ships of the Egyptians, the Phoenicians, and the Arabs. Although the ports of the Persian gulf received a part of the Indian traffic [DEDAN], and the Himyerite maritime cities in the south of Arabia supplied the kingdom of SHEBA, the trade with Egypt was, we must believe, the most important of the ancient world. That all this traffic found its way to the head of the Heroöpolite gulf seems proved by the absence of any important Pharaonic remains further south on the Egyptian coast. But the shoaling of the head of the gulf rendered the navigation, always dangerous, more difficult; it destroyed the former anchorages, and made it necessary to carry merchandise across the desert to the Nile. This change appears to have been one of the main causes of the decay of the commerce of Egypt. We have seen that the long-voyaging ships shifted their cargoes to Red Sea craft at the straits; and Ptolemy Philadelphus, after founding Arsinoë and endeavouring to re-open the old canal of the Red Sea, abandoned the upper route and established the southern road from his new city Berenice on the frontier of Egypt and Nubia to Coptos on the Nile. Strabo tells us that this was done to avoid the dangers encountered in navigating the sea (xvii. 1, §45). Though the stream of commerce was diverted, sufficient seems to have remained to keep in existence the former ports, though they have long since utterly disappeared. Under the Ptolemies and the Romans the commerce of the Red Sea varied greatly, influenced by the decaying state of Egypt and the route to Palmyra (until the fall of the latter). But even its best state at this time cannot have been

such as to make us believe that the 120 ships sailing from Myos Hormos, mentioned by Strabo (ii. v. §12), was other than an annual convoy. The wars of Heraclius and Khosroes affected the trade of Egypt as they influenced that of the Persian gulf. Egypt had fallen low at the time of the Arab occupation, and yet it is curious to note that Alexandria even then retained the shadow of its former glory. Since the time of Mohammad the Red Sea trade has been insignificant. [E. S. P.]

RED SEA, PASSAGE OF. The passage of the Red Sea was the crisis of the Exodus. It was the miracle by which the Israelites left Egypt and were delivered from the oppressor. Probably on this account St. Paul takes it as a type of Christian baptism. All the particulars relating to this event, and especially those which show its miraculous character, require careful examination. The points that arise are the place of the passage, the narrative, and the importance of the event in Biblical history.

1. It is usual to suppose that the most northern place at which the Red Sea could have been crossed is the present head of the Gulf of Suez. This supposition depends upon the erroneous idea that in the time of Moses the gulf did not extend further to the northward than at present. An examination of the country north of Suez has shown, however, that the sea has receded many miles, and there can be no doubt that this change has taken place within the historical period, doubtless in fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah (xi. 15, xix. 5; comp. Zech. x. 11). The old bed is indicated by the Birket-et-Timsáh, or "Lake of the Crocodile," and the more southern Bitter Lakes, the northernmost part of the former probably corresponding to the head of the gulf at the time of the Exodus. In previous centuries it is probable, that the gulf did not extend further north, but that it was deeper in its northernmost part.

It is necessary to endeavour to ascertain the route of the Israelites before we can attempt to discover where they crossed the sea. The point from which they started was Rameses, a place certainly in the Land of Goshen, which we identify with the Wádi-t-Tumeylát. [RAMESES; GOSHEN.] After the mention that the people journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, and before that of their departure from Succoth, a passage occurs which appears to show the first direction of the journey, and not a change in the route. This we may reasonably infer from its tenour, and from its being followed by the statement that Joseph's bones were taken by Moses with him, which must refer to the commencement of the journey. "And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not [by] the way of the land of the Philistines, although that [was] near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt: but God caused the people to turn [by] the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea" (Ex. xiii. 17, 18). It will be seen by reference to the map already given [vol. i. p. 598] that, from the Wádi-t-Tumeylát, whether from its eastern end or from any other part, the route to Palestine by way of Gaza through the Philistine territory is near at hand. In the Roman time the route to Gaza from Memphis and Heliopolis passed the western end of the Wádi-t-Tumeylát, as may be seen by the *Itinerary* of Antoninus (Parthey, *Zur Erdkunde d. Alt. Aegyptens*, map vi.), and the chief modern route from Cairo to Syria passes along the Wádi-t-Tumeylát and leads to Gaza (Wilkinson, *Handbook*, new ed. p. 209).

At the end of the second day's journey the camping-place was at Etham "in the edge of the wilderness" (Ex. xiii. 20; Num. xxxiii. 6). Here the Wádi-t-Tumeylát was probably left, as it is cultivable and terminates in the desert. After leaving this place the direction seems to have changed. The first passage relating to the journey, after the mention of the encamping at Etham, is this, stating a command given to Moses: "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn [or 'return'] and encamp [or 'that they encamp again,' וְיָשֻׁבוּ וְיַחֲנוּ] before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon" (Ex. xiv. 2). This explanation is added: "And Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They [are] entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in" (3). The rendering of the A. V., "that they turn and encamp," seems to us the most probable of those we have given: "return" is the closer translation, but appears to be difficult to reconcile with the narrative of the route; for the more likely inference is that the direction was changed, not that the people returned: the third rendering does not appear probable, as it does not explain the entanglement. The geography of the country does not assist us in conjecturing the direction of the last part of the journey. If we knew that the highest part of the gulf at the time of the Exodus extended to the west, it would be probable that, if the Israelites turned, they took a northerly direction, as then the sea would oppose an obstacle to their further progress. If, however, they left the Wádi-t-Tumeylát at Etham "in the edge of the wilderness," they could not have turned far to the northward, unless they had previously turned somewhat to the south. It must be borne in mind that Pharaoh's object was to cut off the retreat of the Israelites: he therefore probably encamped between them and the head of the sea.

At the end of the third day's march, for each camping-place seems to mark the close of a day's journey, the Israelites encamped by the sea. The place of this last encampment, and that of the passage, on the supposition that our views as to the most probable route are correct, would be not very far from the Persepolitan monument. [See map, vol. i. p. 598.] The monument is about thirty miles to the northward of the present head of the Gulf of Suez, and not far south of the position where we suppose the head of the gulf to have been at the time of the Exodus. It is here necessary to mention the arguments for and against the common opinion that the Israelites passed near the present head of the gulf. Local tradition is in its favour, but it must be remembered that local tradition in Egypt and the neighbouring countries judging from the evidence of history, is of very little value. The Muslims suppose Memphis to have been the city at which the Pharaoh of the Exodus resided before that event occurred. From opposite Memphis a broad valley leads to the Red Sea. It is in part called the Wádi-t-Teeh, or "Valley of the Wandering." From it the traveller reaches the sea beneath the lofty Gebel-et-Tákah,[a]

[a] In order to favour the opinion that the Israelites took the route by the Wádi-t-Teeh, this name, Gebel-et-Tákah (to which it is difficult to assign a probable meaning), has been changed to Gebel-'Atakah, as if signifying "the Mountain of Deliverance;" though, to have this signification, it should rather be Gebel-el-Atakah, the other

which rises on the north and shuts off all escape in that direction, excepting by a narrow way along the sea-shore, which Pharaoh might have occupied. The sea here is broad and deep, as the narrative is generally held to imply. All the local features seem suited for a great event; but it may well be asked whether there is any reason to expect that suitableness that human nature seeks for and modern imagination takes for granted, since it would have been useless for the objects for which the miracle appears to have been intended. The desert-way from Memphis is equally poetical, but how is it possible to recognise in it a route which seems to have had two days' journey of cultivation, the wilderness being reached only at the end of the second day's march? The supposition that the Israelites took an upper route, now that of the Mekkeh caravan, along the desert to the north of the elevated tract between Cairo and Suez, must be mentioned, although it is less probable than that just noticed, and offers the same difficulties. It is, however, possible to suppose that the Israelites crossed the sea near Suez without holding to the traditional idea that they attained it by the Wádi-t-Teeh. If they went through the Wádi-t-Tumeylát they might have turned southward from its eastern end, and so reached the neighbourhood of Suez; but this would make the third day's journey more than thirty miles at the least, which, if we bear in mind the composition of the Israelite caravan, seems quite incredible. We therefore think that the only opinion warranted by the narrative is that already stated, which supposes the passage of the sea to have taken place near the northernmost part of its ancient extension. The conjecture that the Israelites advanced to the north, then crossed a shallow part of the Mediterranean, where Pharaoh and his army were lost in the quicksands, and afterwards turned southwards towards Sinai, is so repugnant to the Scripture narrative as to amount to a denial of the occurrence of the event, and indeed is scarcely worth mentioning.

The last camping-place was before Pi-hahiroth. It appears that Migdol was behind Pi-hahiroth, and, on the other hand, Baal-zephon and the sea. These neighbouring places have not been identified, and the name of Pi-hahiroth (if, as we believe, rightly supposed to designate a reedy tract, and to be still preserved in the Arabic name Ghuweybet el-boos, "the bed of reeds"), is now found in the neighbourhood of the two supposed sites of the passage, and therefore cannot be said to be identified, besides that we must not expect a natural locality still to retain its name. It must be remembered that the name Pi-hahiroth, since it describes a natural locality, probably does not indicate a town or other inhabited place named after such a locality, and this seems almost certain from the circumstance that it is unlikely that there would have been more than two inhabited places, even if they were only forts, in this region. The other names do not describe natural localities. The nearness of Pi-hahiroth to the sea is therefore the only sure indication of its position, and, if we are right in our supposition as to the place of the passage, our uncertainty as to the exact extent of the sea at the time is an additional difficulty. [EXODUS, THE PI-HAHIROTH.]

From Pi-hahiroth the Israelites crossed the sea. The only points bearing on geography in the account of this event are that the sea was divided by an east[b] wind, whence we may reasonably infer that it was crossed from west to east, and that the whole Egyptian army perished, which shows that it must have been some miles broad. Pharaoh took at least six hundred chariots, which, three abreast, would have occupied about half a mile, and the rest of the army cannot be supposed to have taken up less than several times that space. Even if in a broad formation some miles would have been required.[c] It is more difficult to calculate the space taken up by the Israelite multitude, but probably it was even greater. On the whole we may reasonably suppose about twelve miles as the smallest breadth of the sea.

2. A careful examination of the narrative of the passage of the Red Sea is necessary to a right understanding of the event. When the Israelites had departed, Pharaoh repented that he had let them go. It might be conjectured, from one part of the narrative (Ex. xiv. 1-4), that he determined to pursue them when he knew that they had encamped before Pi-hahiroth, did not what follows this imply that he set out soon after they had gone, and also indicate that the place in question refers to the pursuit through the sea, not to that from the city whence he started (5-10). This city was most probably Zoan, and could scarcely have been much nearer to Pi-hahiroth, and the distance is therefore too great to have been twice traversed, first by those who told Pharaoh, then by Pharaoh's army, within a few hours. The strength of Pharaoh's army is not further specified than by the statement that "he took six hundred chosen chariots, and [or 'even'] all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them" (7). The war-chariots of the Egyptians held each but two men, an archer and a charioteer. The former must be intended by the word שָׁלִשִׁם, rendered in the A. V. "captains." Throughout the narrative the chariots and horsemen of Pharaoh are mentioned, and "the horse and his rider," xv. 21, are spoken of in Miriam's song, but we can scarcely hence infer that there was in Pharaoh's army a body of horsemen as well as of men in chariots, as in ancient Egyptian the chariot-force is always called HTAR or HETRA, "the horse," and these expressions may therefore be respectively pleonastic and poetical.. There is no evidence in the records of the ancient Egyptians that they used cavalry, and, therefore, had the Biblical narrative expressly mentioned a force of this kind, it might have been thought to support the theory that the Pharaoh of the Exodus was a Shepherd-king. With this army, which, even if a small one, was mighty in comparison to the Israelite multitude, encumbered with women, children, and cattle, Pharaoh overtook the people "encamping by the sea" (9). When the Israelites saw the oppressor's army they were terrified and murmured against Moses. "Because [there were] no graves in Egypt hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?" (11). Along the bare mountains that skirt the

form deviating from general usage. Et-Tákah and 'Atákah in the mouth of an Arab are widely different.

[b] The LXX. has "south," instead of "east." The Heb. קָדִים, lit. "in front," may, however, indicate the whole distance between the two extreme points of sunrise, those of the two solstices, and hence it is not limited to absolute east, agreeably with the use of the Arabs in every case like the narrative under consideration.

[c] It has been calculated, that if Napoleon I. had advanced by one road into Belgium, in the Waterloo campaign, his column would have been sixty miles in length.

valley of Upper Egypt are abundant sepulchral grottoes, of which the entrances are conspicuously seen from the river and the fields it waters: in the sandy slopes at the foot of the mountains are pits without number and many built tombs, all of ancient times. No doubt the plain of Lower Egypt, to which Memphis, with part of its far-extending necropolis, belonged politically though not geographically, was throughout as well provided with places of sepulture. The Israelites recalled these cities of the dead, and looked with Egyptian horror at the prospect that their carcases should be left on the face of the wilderness. Better, they said, to have continued to serve the Egyptians than thus to perish (12). Then Moses encouraged them, bidding them see how God would save them, and telling them that they should behold their enemies no more. There are few cases in the Bible in which those for whom a miracle is wrought are commanded merely to stand by and see it. Generally the Divine support is promised to those who use their utmost exertions. It seems from the narrative that Moses did not know at this time how the people would be saved, and spoke only from a heart full of faith, for we read, "And THE LORD said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward: but lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the sea, and divide it: and the children of Israel shall go on dry [ground] through the midst of the sea" (15, 16). That night the two armies, the fugitives and the pursuers, were encamped near together. Between them was the pillar of the cloud, darkness to the Egyptians and a light to the Israelites. The monuments of Egypt portray an encampment of an army of Rameses II., during a campaign in Syria; it is well-planned and carefully guarded: the rude modern Arab encampments bring before us that of Israel on this memorable night. Perhaps in the camp of Israel the sounds of the hostile camp might be heard on the one hand, and on the other, the roaring of the sea. But the pillar was a barrier and a sign of deliverance. The time was now come for the great decisive miracle of the Exodus. "And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea: and the LORD caused the sea to go [back] by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry [land], and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went through the midst of the sea upon the dry [ground]: and the waters [were] a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left" (21, 22, comp. 29). The narrative distinctly states that a path was made through the sea, and that the waters were a wall on either hand. The term "wall" does not appear to oblige us to suppose, as many have done, that the sea stood up like a cliff on either side, but should rather be considered to mean a barrier, as the former idea implies a seemingly-needless addition to the miracle, while the latter seems to be not discordant with the language of the narrative. It was during the night that the Israelites crossed, and the Egyptians followed. In the morning watch, the last third or fourth of the night, or the period before sunrise, Pharaoh's army was in full pursuit in the divided sea, and was there miraculously troubled, so that the Egyptians sought to flee (23-25). Then was Moses commanded again to stretch out his hand, and the sea returned to its strength, and overwhelmed the Egyptians, of whom not one remained alive (26-28). The statement is so explicit that there could be no reasonable doubt that Pharaoh himself, the great offender, was at last made an example, and perished with his army, did it not seem to be distinctly stated in Psalm cxxxvi. that he was included in the same destruction (15). The sea cast up the dead Egyptians, whose bodies the Israelites saw upon the shore.

In a later passage some particulars are mentioned which are not distinctly stated in the narrative in Exodus. The place is indeed a poetical one, but its meaning is clear, and we learn from it that at the time of the passage of the sea there was a storm of rain with thunder and lightning, perhaps accompanied by an earthquake (Ps. lxxvii. 15-20). To this St. Paul may allude where he says that the fathers "were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea" (1 Cor. x. 2); for the idea of baptism seems to involve either immersion or sprinkling, and the latter could have here occurred: the reference is evidently to the pillar of the cloud: it would, however, be impious to attempt an explanation of what is manifestly miraculous. These additional particulars may illustrate the troubling of the Egyptians, for their chariots may have been thus overthrown.

Here, at the end of their long oppression, delivered finally from the Egyptians, the Israelites glorified God. In what words they sang his praise we know from the Song of Moses, which, in its vigorous brevity, represents the events of that memorable night, scarcely of less moment than the night of the Passover (Ex. xv. 1-18: ver. 19 is probably a kind of comment, not part of the song). Moses seems to have sung this song with the men, Miriam with the women also singing and dancing, or perhaps there were two choruses (20, 21). Such a picture does not recur in the history of the nation. Neither the triumphal Song of Deborah, nor the rejoicing when the Temple was recovered from the Syrians, celebrated so great a deliverance, or was joined in by the whole people. In leaving Goshen, Israel became a nation; after crossing the sea, it was free. There is evidently great significance, as we have suggested, in St. Paul's use of this miracle as a type of baptism; for, to make the analogy complete, it must have been the beginning of a new period of the life of the Israelites.

3. The importance of this event in Biblical history is shown by the manner in which it is spoken of in the books of the O. T. written in later times. In them it is the chief fact of Jewish history. Not the call of Abraham, not the rule of Joseph, not the first passover, not the conquest of Canaan, are referred to in such a manner as this great deliverance. In the Book of Job it is mentioned with the acts of creation (xxvi. 10-13). In the Psalms it is related as foremost among the deeds that God had wrought for his people. The prophet Isaiah recalls it as the great manifestation of God's interference for Israel, and an encouragement for the descendants of those who witnessed that great sight. There are events so striking that they are remembered in the life of a nation, and that like great heights increasing distance only gives them more majesty. So no doubt was this remembered long after those were dead who saw the sea return to its strength and the warriors of Pharaoh dead upon the shore.

It may be inquired how it is that there seems to have been no record or tradition of this miracle among the Egyptians. This question involves that of the time in Egyptian history to which this event should be assigned. The date of the Exodus ac-

cording to different chronologers varies more than three hundred years; the dates of the Egyptian dynasties ruling during this period of three hundred years vary full one hundred. The period to which the Exodus may be assigned therefore virtually corresponds to four hundred years of Egyptian history. If the lowest date of the beginning of the xviiith dynasty be taken and the highest date of the Exodus, both which we consider the most probable of those which have been conjectured in the two cases, the Israelites must have left Egypt in a period of which monuments or other records are almost wanting. Of the xviiith and subsequent dynasties we have as yet no continuous history, and rarely records of events which occurred in a succession of years. We know much of many reigns, and of some we can be almost sure that they could not correspond to that of the Pharaoh of the Exodus. We can in no case expect a distinct Egyptian monumental record of so great a calamity, for the monuments only record success; but it might be related in a papyrus. There would doubtless have long remained a popular tradition of the Exodus, but if the king who perished was one of the Shepherd strangers, this tradition would probably have been local, and perhaps indistinct.[d]

Endeavours have been made to explain away the miraculous character of the passage of the Red Sea. It has been argued that Moses might have carried the Israelites over by a ford, and that an unusual tide might have overwhelmed the Egyptians. But no real diminution of the wonder is thus effected. How was it that the sea admitted the passing of the Israelites, and drowned Pharaoh and his army? How was it that it was shallow at the right time, and deep at the right time? This attempted explanation would never have been put forward were it not that the fact of the passage is so well attested that it would be uncritical to doubt it were it recorded on mere human authority. Since the fact is undeniable an attempt is made to explain it away. Thus the school that pretends to the severest criticism is compelled to deviate from its usual course; and when we see that in this case it must do so, we may well doubt its soundness in other cases, which, being differently stated, are more easily attacked. [R. S. P.]

REED. Under this name we propose noticing the following Hebrew words: *agmôn*, *gôme*, *'aróth*, and *kâneh*.

1. *Agmôn* (אַגְמוֹן: κρίκος, ἄνθραξ, μικρός, τέλος: *circulus*, *fervens*, *refrenans*) occurs Job xl. 26 (A. V. xli. 2), "Canst thou put *agmôn*" (A. V. "hook") into the nose of the crocodile? Again, in xl. 12 (A. V. xli. 20), "out of his nostrils goeth smoke, as out of a seething-pot or *agmôn*" (A. V. "caldron"). In Is. ix. 14, it is said Jehovah "will cut off from Israel head and tail, branch and *agmôn*" (A. V. "rush"). The *agmôn* is mentioned also as an Egyptian plant, in a sentence similar to the last, in Is. xix. 15; while from lviii. 5 we learn that the *agmôn* had a pendulous panicle. There can be no doubt that the *agmôn* denotes some aquatic reed-like plant, whether of the Nat. order *Cyperaceae* or that of *Gramineae*. The term is allied closely to the Hebrew *ágâm* (אָגָם), which, like the corresponding Arabic *ajam* (اجم), denotes a marshy pool or reed-bed.[a] (See Jer. li. 32, for this latter signification.) There is some doubt as to the specific identity of the *agmôn*, some believing that the word denotes "a rush" as well as a "reed." See Rosenmüller (*Bib. Bot.* p. 184) and Winer (*Realwörterb.* ii. 484). Celsius has argued in favour of the *Arundo phragmitis* (*Hierob.* i. 465); we are inclined to adopt his opinion. That the *agmôn* denotes some specific plant is probable both from the passages where it occurs, as well as from the fact that *kâneh* (קָנֶה) is the generic term for reeds in general. The *Arundo phragmitis* (now the *Phragmitis communis*), if it does not occur in Palestine and Egypt, is represented by a very closely allied species, viz. the *A. isiaca* of Delisle. The drooping panicle of this plant will answer well to the "bowing down the head" of which Isaiah speaks; but, as there are other kinds of reed-like plants to which this character also belongs, it is impossible to do more than give a probable conjecture. The expression "Canst thou put an *agmôn*" into the crocodile's nose? has been variously explained. The most probable interpretation is that which supposes allusion is made to the mode of passing a reed or a rush through the gills of fish in order to carry them home but see the Commentaries and Notes of Rosenmüller, Schultens, Lee, Cary, Mason Good, &c. The *agmôn* of Job xli. 20 seems to be derived from an Arabic root signifying to "be burning:" hence the *fervens* of the Vulg.—The *Phragmitis* belongs to the Nat. order *Graminaceae*.

2. *Gôme*, (גֹּמֶא: πάπειρος, βίβλινος, ἕλος: *scirpeus*, *scirpus*, *papyrus*, *juncus*), translated "rush" and "bulrush" by the A. V., without doubt denotes the celebrated paper-reed of the ancients (*Papyrus antiquorum*), a plant of the Sedge family, *Cyperaceae*, which formerly was common in some parts of Egypt. The Hebrew word is found four times in the Bible. Moses was hid in a vessel made of the papyrus (Ex. ii. 3). Transit boats were made out of the same material by the Ethiopians (Is. xviii. 2); the paper-reed is mentioned together with *Kâneh*, the usual generic term for a "reed," in Is. xxxv. 7, and in Job viii. 11, where it is asked, "Can the papyrus plant grow without mire?" The modern Arabic name of this plant is *Berdî* (بردي). According to Bruce the modern Abyssinians use boats made of the papyrus reed; Ludolf (*Hist. Aethiop.* i. 8) speaks of the Tzamic lake being navigated "monoxylis lintribus ex typha praecrassa confertis," a kind of sailing, he says, which is attended with considerable danger to the navigators. Wilkinson (*Anc. Aegypt.* ii. 96, ed. 1854) says that the right of growing and selling the papyrus plants belonged to the government, who made a profit by its mono-

[d] While this article is going through the press, M. Chabas has published a curious paper, in which he conjectures that certain labourers employed by the Pharaohs of the xixth and xxth dynasties in the quarries and elsewhere are the Hebrews. Their name reads APEBIU or APEBUI, which might correspond to "Hebrews" עִבְרִים; but his finding them still in Egypt under Rameses IV., about B. C. 1200, certainly after the latest date of the Exodus, is a fatal objection to an identification with the Israelites.

[a] اجم "Densi frutices arundinetum, palus." (Freytag.)

poly, and thinks other species of the *Cyperaceae* must be understood as affording all the various articles, such as baskets, canoes, sails, sandals, &c., which have been said to have been made from the real papyrus. Considering that Egypt abounds in *Cyperaceae*, many kinds of which might have served for forming canoes, &c., it is improbable that the papyrus alone should have been used for such a purpose; but that the true *papyrus* was used for boats there can be no doubt, if the testimony of Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* iv. 8, §4), Pliny (*H. N.* xiii. 11), Plutarch and other ancient writers, is to be believed.

Papyrus antiquorum.

From the soft cellular portion of the stem the ancient material called papyrus was made. "Papyri," says Sir G. Wilkinson, "are of the most remote Pharaonic periods. The mode of making them was as follows: the interior of the stalks of the plant, after the rind had been removed, was cut into thin slices in the direction of their length, and these being laid on a flat board in succession, similar slices were placed over them at right angles, and their surfaces being cemented together by a sort of glue, and subjected to a proper degree of pressure and well dried, the papyrus was completed; the length of the slices depended of course on the breadth of the intended sheet, as that of the sheet on the number of slices placed in succession beside each other, so that though the breadth was limited the papyrus might be extended to an indefinite length." [WRITING.] The papyrus reed is not now found in Egypt; it grows, however, in Syria. Dr. Hooker saw it on the banks of Lake Tiberias, a few miles north of the town: it appears to have existed there since the days of Theophrastus and Pliny who give a very accurate description of this interesting plant. Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* iv. 8, §4) says, "The papyrus grows also in Syria around the lake in which the sweet-scented reed is found, from which Antigonus used to make cordage for his ships." (See also Pliny, *N. H.* xiii. 11.) This plant has been found also in a small stream two miles N. of Jaffa. Dr. Hooker believes it is common in some parts of Syria: it does not occur anywhere else in Asia; it was seen by Lady Callcott on the banks of the Anapus, near Syracuse, and Sir Joseph Banks possessed paper made of papyrus from the Lake of Thrasymene (*Script. Herb.* p. 379). The Hebrew name of this plant is derived from a root which means "to absorb," compare Lucan (*Phars.* iv. 136).[b] The lower part of the papyrus reed was used as food by the ancient Egyptians; "those who wish to eat the byblus dressed in the most delicate way, stew it in a hot pan and then eat it" (Herod. ii. 92; see also Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* iv. 9). The statement of Theophrastus with regard to the sweetness and flavour of the sap has been confirmed by some writers; the Chevalier Landolina made papyrus from the pith of the plant, which, says Heeren (*Histor. Res. Afric. Nat.* ii. 350, note), "is rather clearer than the Egyptian;" but other writers say the stem is neither juicy nor agreeable. The papyrus plant (*Papyrus antiquorum*) has an angular stem from 3 to 6 feet high, though occasionally it grows to the height of 14 feet; it has no leaves; the flowers are in very small spikelets, which grow on the thread-like flowering branchlets which form a bushy crown to each stem; it is found in stagnant pools as well as in running streams, in which latter case, according to Bruce, one of its angles is always opposed to the current of the stream.

3. *'Arôth* (עָרוֹת: τὸ ἄχι τὸ χλώρον πᾶν[c]) is translated "paper-reed" in Is. xix. 7, the only passage where the pl. noun occurs; there is not the slightest authority for this rendering of the A. V., nor is it at all probable, as Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 230) has remarked, that the prophet who speaks of the paper-reed under the name *gôme* in the preceding chapter (xviii. 2), should in this one mention the same plant under a totally different name. "*Aroth*," says Kimchi, "is the name to designate pot-herbs and green plants." The LXX. translate it by "all the green herbage" (comp. אָחוּ, Gen. xli. 2, and see FLAG). The word is derived from *'ârâh*, "to be bare," or "destitute of trees;" it probably denotes the open grassy land on the banks of the Nile; and seems to be allied to the Arabic *'ara* ع ر ء (عراء), *locus apertus, spatiosus*. Michaelis (*Suppl.* No. 1973), Rosenmüller (*Schol. in Jes.* xix. 7), Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.), Maurer (*Comment.* s. v.), and Simonis (*Lex. Heb.* s. v.), are all in favour of this or a similar explanation. Vitringa (*Comment. in Isaiam*) was of opinion that the Hebrew term denoted the papyrus, and he has been followed by J. G. Unger, who has published a dissertation on this subject (*De* עָרוֹת, *hoc est de Papyro frutice, von der Papier-Staude ad* Is. xix. 7; Lips. 1731, 4to.).

4. *Kâneh* (קָנֶה: κάλαμος, καλαμίσκος, καλάμινος, πῆχος, ἀγκών, ζυγός, πυθμήν: *culmus*,

[b] "Conseritur bibula Memphitis cymba papyro."

[c] It is difficult to see how the Vulg. understood the term.

calamus, arundo, fistula, statera), the generic name of a reed of any kind; it occurs in numerous passages of the O. T., and sometimes denotes the "stalk" of wheat (Gen. xli. 5, 22), or the "branches" of the candlestick (Ex. xxv. and xxxvii.); in Job xxxi. 22, *kâneh* denotes the bone

Arundo donax.

of the arm between the elbow and the shoulder (*os humeri*); it was also the name of a measure of length equal to six cubits (Ez. xli. 8, xl. 5). The word is variously rendered in the A. V. by "stalk," "branch," "bone," "calamus," "reed." In the N. T. κάλαμος may signify the "stalk" of plants (Mark xv. 36; Matt. xxvii. 48, that of the hyssop, but this is doubtful), or "a reed" (Matt. xi. 7, xii. 20; Luke vii. 24; Mark xv. 19); or a "measuring rod" (Rev. xi. 1, xxi. 15, 16); or a "pen" (3 John 13). Strand (*Flor. Palaest.* 28-30) gives the following names of the reed plants of Palestine:—*Saccharum officinale*, *Cyperus papyrus* (*Papyrus antiquorum*), *C. rotundus*, and *C. esculentus*, and *Arundo scriptoria*; but no doubt the species are numerous. See Bové (*Voyage en Palest., Annal. des Scienc. Nat.* 1834, p. 165) "Dans les déserts qui environnent ces montagnes j'ai trouvé plusieurs Saccharum, Milium arundinaceum et plusieurs Cypéracé." The *Arundo donax*, the *A. Aegyptiaca* (?) of Bové (*Ibid.* p. 72) is common on the banks of the Nile, and may perhaps be "the staff of the bruised reed" to which Sennacherib compared the power of Egypt (2 K. xviii. 21; Ez. xxix. 6, 7). See also Is. xlii. 3. The thick stem of this reed may have been used as walking-staves by the ancient orientals; perhaps the measuring-reed was this plant; at present the dry culms of this huge grass are in much demand for fishing-rods, &c.

Some kind of fragrant reed is denoted by the word *kĕnêh* (Is. xliii. 24; Ez. xxvii. 19; Cant. iv. 14), or more fully by *kĕnêh bôsem* (קְנֵה בֹשֶׂם) see Ex. xxx. 23, or by *kâneh hattôb* (קָנֶה הַטּוֹב), Jer. vi. 20; which the A. V. renders "sweet cane," and "calamus." Whatever may be the substance denoted, it is certain that it was one of foreign importation, "from a far country" (Jer. vi. 20). Some writers (see Sprengel, *Com. in Dioscor.* i. xvii.) have sought to identify the *kâneh bôsem* with the *Acorus calamus*, the "sweet sedge," to which they refer the κάλαμος ἀρωματικός of Dioscorides (i. 17), the κάλαμος εὐώδης of Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* iv. 8 §4), which, according to this last named writer and Pliny (*N. H.* xii. 22), formerly grew about a lake "between Libanus and another mountain of no note;" Strabo identifies this with the Lake of Gennesaret (*Geog.* xvi. c. 755, ed. Kramer). Burckhardt was unable to discover any sweet-scented reed or rush near the lake, though he saw many tall reeds there. "High reeds grow along the shore, but I found none of the aromatic reeds and rushes mentioned by Strabo" (*Syria*, p. 319); but whatever may be the "fragrant reed" intended, it is certain that it did not grow in Syria, otherwise we cannot suppose it should be spoken of as a valuable product from a far country. Dr. Royle refers the κάλαμος ἀρωματικός of Dioscorides to a species of *Andropogon*, which he calls *A. calamus aromaticus*, a plant of remarkable fragrance, and a native of Central India, where it is used to mix with ointments on account of the delicacy of its odour (see Kitto's *Cycl.* Art. "*Kaneh bosem*;" and a fig. of this plant in Royle's *Illustrations of Himalayan Botany*, p. 425, t. 97). It is possible this may be the "reed of fragrance;" but it is hardly likely that Dioscorides, who, under the term σχοῖνος gives a description of the *Andropogon Schoenanthus*, should speak of a closely allied species under a totally different name. Still there is no necessity to refer the *Kĕnêh bôsem* or *hattôb* to the κάλαμος ἀρωματικός of Dioscorides; it may be represented by Dr. Royle's plant or by the *Andropogon Schoenanthus*, the lemon grass of India and Arabia. [W. H.]

Andropogon schoenanthus.

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REELAI'AH (רְעָלְיָה: Ῥεελίας: *Rahelaïa*). One of the children of the province who went up with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 2). In Neh. vii. 7 he is called RAAMIAH, and in 1 Esd. v. 8 REESAIAS.

REE'LIUS (Ῥεελίας). This name occupies the place of BIGVAI in Ezr. ii. 2 (1 Esd. v. 8). The list in the Vulgate is so corrupt that it is difficult to trace either.

REESAI'AS (Ῥησαίας: *Elimeus*). The same as REELAIAH or RAAMIAH (1 Esd. v. 8).

REFINER (מְצָרֵף; צֹרֵף). The refiner's art was essential to the working of the precious metals. It consisted in the separation of the dross from the pure ore, which was effected by reducing the metal to a fluid state by the application of heat, and by the aid of solvents, such as alkali[a] (Is. i. 25) or lead (Jer. vi. 29), which, amalgamating with the dross, permitted the extraction of the unadulterated metal. The term[b] usually applied to refining had reference to the process of melting: occasionally, however, the effect of the process is described by a term[c] borrowed from the filtering of wine. The instruments required by the refiner were a crucible or furnace,[d] and a bellows or blow-pipe.[e] The workman sat at his work (Mal. iii. 3, "He shall sit as a refiner"), as represented in the cut of an Egyptian refiner already given (see vol. i. 750): he was thus better enabled to watch the process, and let the metal run off at the proper moment. [MINES; ii. 368 *b*.] The notices of refining are chiefly of a figurative character, and describe moral purification as the result of chastisement (Is. i. 25; Zech. xiii. 9; Mal. iii. 2, 3). The failure of the means to effect the result is graphically depicted in Jer. vi. 29: "The bellows glow with the fire (become quite hot from exposure to the heat): the lead (used as a solvent) is expended:[f] the refiner melts in vain, for the refuse will not be separated." The refiner appears, from the passage whence this is quoted, to have combined with his proper business that of assaying metals: "I have set thee for an assayer"[g] (Ib. ver. 27). [W. L. B.]

REFUGE, CITIES OF. [CITIES OF REFUGE.]

RE'GEM (רֶגֶם: Ῥαγέμ; Alex. Ῥεγέμ: *Regom*). A son of Jahdai, whose name unaccountably appears in a list of the descendants of Caleb by his concubine Ephah (1 Chr. ii. 47). Rashi considers Jahdai as the son of Ephah, but there appear no grounds for this assumption.

RE'GEM-MEL'ECH (רֶגֶם מֶלֶךְ: Ἀρβεσεὲρ ὁ βασιλεύς; Alex. Ἀρβεσεσὲρ ὁ β.: *Rogommelech*). The names of Sherezer and Regem-melech occur in an obscure passage of Zechariah (vii. 2). They were sent on behalf of some of the captivity to make inquiries at the Temple concerning fasting. In the A. V. the subject of the verse appears to be the captive Jews in Babylon, and Bethel, or "the house of God," is regarded as the accusative after the verb of motion. The LXX. take "the king as the nominative to the verb "sent," considering the last part of the name Regem-melech as an appellative and not as a proper name. Again, in the Vulgate, Sherezer, Regem-melech, and their men, are the persons who sent to the house of God. The Peshito-Syriac has a curious version of the passage: "And he sent to Bethel, to Sharezer and Rabmag; and the king sent and his men to pray for him before the Lord:" Sharezer and Rabmag being associated in Jer. xxxix. 3, 13. On referring to Zech. vii. 5, the expression "the people of the land" seems to indicate that those who sent to the Temple were not the captive Jews in Babylon, but those who had returned to their own country; and this being the case it is probable that in ver. 2 "Bethel" is to be taken as the subject, "and Bethel, *i. e.* the inhabitants of Bethel, sent."

The Hexaplar-Syriac, following the Peshito, has "Rabmag." What reading the LXX. had before them it is difficult to conjecture. From its connexion with Sherezer, the name Regem-melech (lit. "king's friend," comp. 1 Chr. xxvii. 33), was probably an Assyrian title of office. [W. A. W.]

REGION-ROUND-ABOUT, THE (ἡ περίχωρος). This term had perhaps originally a more precise and independent meaning than it appears to a reader of the Authorized Version to possess.

In the Old Test. it is used by the LXX. as the equivalent of the singular Hebrew word *hac-Ciccar* (הַכִּכָּר, literally "the round"), a word the topographical application of which is not clear, but which seems in its earliest occurrences to denote the *circle* or oasis of cultivation in which stood Sodom and Gomorrah and the rest of the five "cities of the *Ciccar*" (Gen. xiii. 10, 11, 12, xix. 17, 25, 28, 29; Deut. xxxiv. 3). Elsewhere it has a wider meaning, though still attached to the Jordan (2 Sam. xviii. 23; 1 K. vii. 46; 2 Chr. iv. 17; Neh. iii. 22, xii. 28). It is in this less restricted sense that περίχωρος occurs in the New Test. In Matt. iii. 5 and Luke iii. 3 it denotes the populous and flourishing region which contained the towns of Jericho and its dependencies, in the Jordan valley, enclosed in the amphitheatre of the hills of *Quarantana* (see Map, vol. ii. p. 664), a densely populated region, and important enough to be reckoned as a distinct section of Palestine—"Jerusalem, Judaea, and all the *arrondissement*[h] of Jordan" (Matt. iii. 5, also Luke vii. 17). It is also applied to the district of Gennesaret, a region which presents certain similarities to that of Jericho, being enclosed in the amphitheatre of the hills of Hattin and bounded in front by the water of the lake, as the other was by the Jordan, and also resembling it in being very thickly populated (Matt. xiv. 35; Mark vi. 55; Luke vi. 37, vii. 17). [G.]

REHABI'AH (רְחַבְיָה in 1 Chr. xxiii.; elsewhere רְחַבְיָהוּ: Ῥαβιά; Alex. Ῥααβιά in 1 Chr. xxiii.; Ῥααβίας 1 Chr. xxiv., Ῥαβίας; Alex. Ῥααβίας 1 Chr. xxvi.: *Rohobia, Rahabia* in 1 Chr.

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[a] כֶּבֶר A. V. "purely," but more properly "as with alkali."

[b] צָרַף [c] זָקַק.

[d] כּוּר. The term מַצְרֵף occurs twice only (Prov. xvii. 3, xxvii. 21; A. V. "fining-pot"). The expression in Ps. xii. 6, rendered in the A. V. "furnace of earth," is of doubtful signification, but certainly cannot signify that. The passage may be rendered, "as silver melted in a workshop, flowing down to the earth."

[e] מַפֻּחַ. [f] Keri, מֵאֵשׁ תַּם.

[g] בָּחוֹן. The A. V. adopts an incorrect punctuation, בְּחוֹן, and renders it "a tower."

[h] Thus Jerome—"regiones in *circuitu* per quas medius Jordanes fluit."

xxvi.). The only son of Eliezer, the son of Moses, and the father of Issh.ah, or Jeshaiah (1 Chr. xxiii. 17, xxiv. 21, xxvi. 25). His descendants were numerous.

RE'HOB (רְחוֹב: Ῥαάβ: *Rohob*). **1.** The father of Hadadezer king of Zobah, whom David smote at the Euphrates (2 Sam. viii. 3, 12). Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 5, §1) calls him Ἀράος, and the Old Latin Version *Arachus*, and Blayney (on Zech. ix. 1) thinks this was his real name, and that he was called Rehob, or "charioteer," from the number of chariots in his possession. The name appears to be peculiarly Syrian, for we find a district of Syria called Rehob, or Beth-Rehob (2 Sam. x. 6, 8).

2. (Ῥοώβ.) A Levite, or family of Levites, who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 11).

[W. A. W.]

RE'HOB (רְחֹב). The name of more than one place in the extreme north of the Holy Land.

1. (Ῥαάβ; Alex. Ῥοωβ· *Rohob*.)[a] The northern limit of the exploration of the spies (Num. xiii. 21). It is specified as being "as men come unto Hamath," or, as the phrase is elsewhere rendered, "at the entrance of Hamath," *i. e.* at the commencement of the territory of that name, by which in the early books of the Bible the great valley of Lebanon, the *Bika'ah* of the Prophets, and the *Bûka'a* of the modern Arabs, seems to be roughly designated. This, and the consideration of the improbability that the spies went farther than the upper end of the Jordan valley (Rob. *B. R.* iii. 371), seems to fix the position of Rehob as not far from *Tell el-Kady* and *Banias*. This is confirmed by the statement of Judg. xviii. 28, that Laish or Dan (*Tell el-Kady*) was "in the valley that is by Beth-rehob." No trace of the name of Rehob or Beth-rehob has yet been met with in this direction. Dr. Robinson proposes to identify it with *Húnîn*, an ancient fortress in the mountains N.W. of the plain of Huleh, the upper district of the Jordan valley. But this, though plausible, has no certain basis.

To those who are anxious to extend the boundaries of the Holy Land on the north and east it may be satisfactory to know that a place called *Ruhaibeh* exists in the plain of *Jerud*, about 25 miles N.E. of Damascus, and 12 N. of the northernmost of the three lakes (see the *Maps* of Van de Velde and Porter).

There is no reason to doubt that this Rehob or Beth-rehob was identical with the place mentioned under both names in 2 Sam. x. 6, 8,[b] in connexion with Maacah, which was also in the upper district of the *Huleh*.

Inasmuch, however, as Beth-rehob is distinctly stated to have been "far from Zidon" (Judg. xviii. 28), it must be a distinct place from

2. (Ῥαάβ: Alex. Ῥοωβ: *Rohob*), one of the towns allotted to Asher (Josh. xix. 28), and which from the list appears to have been in close proximity to Zidon. It is named between Ebron, or Abdon, and Hammon. The towns of Asher lay in a region which has been but imperfectly examined, and no one has yet succeeded in discovering the position of either of these three.

3. (Ῥααῦ; Alex. Ῥαωβ: *Rohob, Rochob*.) Asher contained another Rehob (Josh. xix. 30); but the situation of this, like the former, remains at present unknown. One of the two, it is difficult to say which, was allotted to the Gershonite Levites (Josh xxi. 31; 1 Chr. vi. 75), and of one its Canaanite inhabitants retained possession (Judg. i. 31). The mention of Aphik in this latter passage may imply that the Rehob referred to was that of Josh. xix. 30 This, Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*, "Roob") confuse with the Rehob of the spies, and place four Roman miles from Scythopolis. The place they refer to still survives as *Rehab*, 3½ miles S. of *Beisan*, but their identification of a town in that position with one in the territory of Asher is obviously inaccurate. [G.]

REHOBO'AM (רְחַבְעָם, "enlarger of the people"—see Ex. xxxiv. 24, and compare the name Εὐρύδημος: Ῥοβοάμ: *Roboam*), son of Solomon, by the Ammonite princess Naamah (1 K. xiv. 21, 31), and his successor (1 K. xi. 43). From the earliest period of Jewish history we perceive symptoms that the confederation of the tribes was but imperfectly cemented. The powerful Ephraim could never brook a position of inferiority. Throughout the Book of Judges (viii. 1, xii. 1) the Ephraimites show a spirit of resentful jealousy when any enterprise is undertaken without their concurrence and active participation. From them had sprung Joshua, and afterwards (by his place of birth) Samuel might be considered theirs, and though the tribe of Benjamin gave to Israel its first king, yet it was allied by hereditary ties to the house of Joseph, and by geographical position to the territory of Ephraim, so that up to David's accession the leadership was practically in the hands of the latter tribe. But Judah always threatened to be a formidable rival. During the earlier history, partly from the physical structure and situation of its territory (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 162), which secluded it from Palestine just as Palestine by its geographical character was secluded from the world, it had stood very much aloof from the nation [JUDAH], and even after Saul's death, apparently without waiting to consult their brethren, "the men of Judah came and anointed David king over the house of Judah" (2 Sam. ii. 4), while the other tribes adhered to Saul's family, thereby anticipating the final disruption which was afterwards to rend the nation permanently into two kingdoms. But after seven years of disaster a reconciliation was forced upon the contending parties; David was acknowledged as king of Israel, and soon after, by fixing his court at Jerusalem and bringing the tabernacle there, he transferred from Ephraim the greatness which had attached to Shechem as the ancient capital, and to Shiloh as the seat of the national worship. In spite of this he seems to have enjoyed great personal popularity among the Ephraimites, and to have treated many of them with special favour (1 Chr. xii. 30, xxvii. 10, 14), yet this roused the jealousy of Judah, and probably led to the revolt of Absalom. [ABSALOM.] Even after that perilous crisis was past, the old rivalry broke out afresh, and almost led to another insurrection (2 Sam. xx. 1, &c.). Compare Ps. lxxviii. 60, 67, &c. in illustration of these remarks. Solomon's reign, from its severe taxes and other oppressions, aggravated the discontent, and latterly, from its irreligious character, alienated the prophets and provoked the displeasure of God. When Solomon's

[a] Targum Pseudojon. פְּלַטְיָית, *i. e.* πλατεῖαι, streets; and Samaritan Vers. פתא.

[b] Here the name is written in the fuller form of רְחוֹב.

strong hand was withdrawn the crisis came. Rehoboam selected Shechem as the place of his coronation, probably as an act of concession to the Ephraimites, and perhaps in deference to the suggestions of those old and wise counsellors of his father, whose advice he afterwards unhappily rejected. From the present Hebrew text of 1 K. xii. the exact details of the transactions at Shechem are involved in a little uncertainty. The general facts indeed are clear. The people demanded a remission of the severe burdens imposed by Solomon, and Rehoboam promised them an answer in three days, during which time he consulted first his father's counsellors, and then the young men "that were grown up with him, and which stood before him," whose answer shows how greatly during Solomon's later years the character of the Jewish court had degenerated. Rejecting the advice of the elders to conciliate the people at the beginning of his reign, and so make them "his servants for ever," he returned as his reply, in the true spirit of an Eastern despot, the frantic bravado of his contemporaries: "My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins. . . . I will add to your yoke; my father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions" (*i. e.* scourges furnished with sharp points[a]). Thereupon arose the formidable song of insurrection, heard once before when the tribes quarrelled after David's return from the war with Absalom:—

> What portion have we in David?
> What inheritance in Jesse's son?
> To your tents, O Israel!
> Now see to thy own house, O David!

Rehoboam sent Adoram or Adoniram, who had been chief receiver of the tribute during the reigns of his father and his grandfather (1 K. iv. 6; 2 Sam. xx. 24), to reduce the rebels to reason, but he was stoned to death by them; whereupon the king and his attendants fled in hot haste to Jerusalem. So far all is plain, but there is a doubt as to the part which Jeroboam took in these transactions. According to 1 K. xii. 3 he was summoned by the Ephraimites from Egypt (to which country he had fled from the anger of Solomon) to be their spokesman at Rehoboam's coronation, and actually made the speech in which a remission of burdens was requested. But, in apparent contradiction to this, we read in ver. 20 of the same chapter that after the success of the insurrection and Rehoboam's flight, "when all Israel *heard* that Jeroboam was come again, they sent and called him unto the congregation and made him king." But there is reason to think that ver. 3 has been interpolated. It is not found in the LXX., which makes no mention of Jeroboam in this chapter till ver. 20, substituting in ver. 3 for "Jeroboam and all the congregation of Israel came and spoke unto Rehoboam" the words, καὶ ἐλάλησεν ὁ λαὸς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ῥοβοάμ. So too Jeroboam's name is omitted by the LXX. in ver. 12. Moreover we find in the LXX. a long supplement to this 12th chapter, evidently ancient, and at least in parts authentic, containing fuller details of Jeroboam's biography than the Hebrew. [JEROBOAM.] In this we read that after Solomon's death he returned to his native place, Sarira in Ephraim, which he fortified, and lived there quietly, watching the turn of events, till the long-expected rebellion broke out, when the Ephraimites *heard* (doubtless through his own agency) that he had returned, and invited him to Shechem to assume the crown. From the same supplementary narrative of the LXX. it would appear that more than a year must have elapsed between Solomon's death and Rehoboam's visit to Shechem, for, on receiving the news of the former event, Jeroboam requested from the king of Egypt leave to return to his native country. This the king tried to prevent by giving him his sister-in-law in marriage: but on the birth of his child Abijah, Jeroboam renewed his request, which was then granted. It is probable that during this year the discontent of the N. tribes was making itself more and more manifest, and that this led to Rehoboam's visit and intended inauguration.

On Rehoboam's return to Jerusalem he assembled an army of 180,000 men from the two faithful tribes of Judah and Benjamin (the latter transferred from the side of Joseph to that of Judah in consequence of the position of David's capital within its borders), in the hope of reconquering Israel. The expedition, however, was forbidden by the prophet Shemaiah, who assured them that the separation of the kingdoms was in accordance with God's will (1 K. xii. 24): still during Rehoboam's lifetime peaceful relations between Israel and Judah were never restored (2 Chr. xii. 15; 1 K. xiv. 30). Rehoboam now occupied himself in strengthening the territories which remained to him, by building a number of fortresses of which the names are given in 2 Chr. xi. 6-10, forming a girdle of "fenced cities" round Jerusalem. The pure worship of God was maintained in Judah, and the Levites and many pious Israelites from the North, vexed at the calf-idolatry introduced by Jeroboam at Dan and Bethel, in imitation of the Egyptian worship of Mnevis, came and settled in the southern kingdom and added to its power. But Rehoboam did not check the introduction of heathen abominations into his capital: the lascivious worship of Ashtoreth was allowed to exist by the side of the true religion (an inheritance of evil doubtless left by Solomon), "images" (of Baal and his fellow divinities) were set up, and the worst immoralities were tolerated (1 K. xiv. 22-24). These evils were punished and put down by the terrible calamity of an Egyptian invasion. Shortly before this time a change in the ruling house had occurred in Egypt. The 21st dynasty, of Tanites, whose last king, Pisham or Psusennes, had been a close ally of Solomon (1 K. iii. 1, vii. 8, ix. 16, x. 28, 29), was succeeded by the 22nd, of Bubastites, whose first sovereign, Shishak (Sheshonk, Sesonchis, Σουσακίμ), connected himself, as we have seen, with Jeroboam. That he was incited by him to attack Judah is very probable: at all events in the 5th year of Rehoboam's reign the country was invaded by a host of Egyptians and other African nations, numbering 1200 chariots, 60,000 cavalry, and a vast miscellaneous multitude of infantry. The line of fortresses which protected Jerusalem to the W. and S. was forced, Jerusalem itself was taken, and Rehoboam had to purchase an ignominious peace by delivering up all the treasures with which Solomon had adorned the temple and palace, including his golden shields, 200 of the larger, and 300 of the smaller size (1 K. x. 16, 17), which were carried before him when he visited the temple in state. We are told that after the Egyptians had retired, his vain and foolish successor comforted himself by substituting shields of brass, which were solemnly

[a] So in Latin, *scorpio*, according to Isidore (*Origg.* v. 27), is "virga nodosa et aculeata, quia arcuato vulnere in corpus infligitur" (*Facciolati*, s. v.).

borne before him in procession by the body-guard, as if nothing had been changed since his father's time (Ewald, *Geschichte des V. I.* iii. 348, 464). Shishak's success is commemorated by sculptures discovered by Champollion on the outside of the great temple at Karnak, where among a long list of captured towns and provinces occurs the name *Melchi Judah* (kingdom of Judah). It is said that the features of the captives in these sculptures are unmistakeably Jewish (Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, ii. 376, and *Bampton Lectures*, p. 126; Bunsen, *Egypt*, iii. 242). After this great humiliation the moral condition of Judah seems to have improved (2 Chr. xii. 12), and the rest of Rehoboam's life to have been unmarked by any events of importance. He died B.C. 958, after a reign of 17 years, having ascended the throne B.C. 975 at the age of 41 (1 K. xiv. 21; 2 Chr. xii. 13). In the addition to the LXX. already mentioned (inserted after 1 K. xii. 24) we read that he was 16 years old at his accession, a misstatement probably founded on a wrong interpretation of 2 Chr. xiii. 7, where he is called "young" (i. e. *new to his work, inexperienced*) and "tender-hearted" (רַךְ־לֵבָב, *wanting in resolution and spirit*). He had 18 wives, 60 concubines, 28 sons, and 60 daughters. The wisest thing recorded of him in Scripture is that he refused to waste away his sons' energies in the wretched existence of an Eastern zenana, in which we may infer, from his helplessness at the age of 41, that he had himself been educated, but dispersed them in command of the new fortresses which he had built about the country. Of his wives, Mahalath, Abihail, and Maachah were all of the royal house of Jesse: Maachah he loved best of all, and to her son Abijah he bequeathed his kingdom. The text of the LXX. followed in this article is Tischendorf's edition of the Vatican MS., Leipsic, 1850. [G. E. L. C.]

RE'HOBOTH (רְחֹבוֹת; Samar. רחיבות: εὐρυχωρία; Veneto-Gk. αἱ Πλατεῖαι: *Latitudo*). The third of the series of wells dug by Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 22). He celebrates his triumph and bestows its name on the well in a fragment of poetry of the same nature as those in which Jacob's wives give names to his successive children:—"He called the name of it Rehoboth ('room,') and said,

> 'Because now Jehovah hath-made-room for us
> And we shall increase in the land.'"

Isaac had left the valley of Gerar and its turbulent inhabitants before he dug the well which he thus commemorated (ver. 22). From it he, in time, "went up" to Beersheba (ver. 23), an expression which is always used of motion towards the Land of promise. The position of Gerar has not been definitely ascertained, but it seems to have lain a few miles to the S. of Gaza and nearly due E. of Beersheba. In this direction, therefore, if anywhere, the wells Sitnah, Esek, and Rehoboth, should be searched for. A *Wady Ruhaibeh*, containing the ruins of a town of the same name, with a large well,[b] is crossed by the road from *Khan en-Nukhl* to Hebron, by which Palestine is entered on the South. It lies about 20 miles S.W. of *Bir es-Seba*, and more than that distance S. of the most probable situation of Gerar. It therefore seems unsafe without further proof to identify it with Rehoboth, as Rowlands (in Williams' *Holy City*, i. 465), Stewart (*Tent and Khan*, 202), and Van de Velde[c] (*Memoir*, 343) have done. At the same time, as is admitted by Dr. Robinson, the existence of so large a place here without any apparent mention is mysterious. All that can be said in favour of the identity of *Ruhaibeh* with Rehoboth is said by Dr. Bonar (*Desert of Sinai*, 316), and not without considerable force.

The ancient Jewish tradition confined the events of this part of Isaac's life to a much narrower circle. The wells of the patriarchs were shown near Ashkelon in the time of Origen, Antoninus Martyr, and Eusebius (Reland, *Pal.* 589); the Samaritan Version identifies Gerar with Ashkelon; Josephus (*Ant.* i. 12, §1) calls it "Gerar of *Palestine*," *i. e.* of *Philistia*. [G.]

RE'HOBOTH, THE CITY (רְחֹבֹת עִיר, *i. e.* Rechôbôth 'Ir; Samar. רחבות; Sam. Vers.[a] סטכן · 'Ρωβὼ βπόλις; Alex. 'Ρωβωσ: *plateae civitatis*). One of the four cities built by Asshur, or by Nimrod in Asshur, according as this difficult passage is translated. The four were Nineveh; Rehoboth-Ir; Calah; and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah (Gen. x. 11). Nothing certain is known of its position. The name of *Rahabeh* is still attached to two places in the region of the ancient Mesopotamia. They lie, the one on the western and the other on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, a few miles below the confluence of the *Khabûr*. Both are said to contain extensive ancient remains. That on the eastern bank bears the affix of *malik* or royal, and this Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*) and Kalisch (*Genesis*, 261) propose as the representative of Rehoboth. Its distance from *Kalah-Sherghat* and *Nimrûd* (nearly 200 miles) is perhaps an obstacle to this identification. Sir H. Rawlinson (*Athenaeum*, April 15, 1854) suggests *Selemiyah* in the immediate neighbourhood of Kalah, "where there are still extensive ruins of the Assyrian period," but no subsequent discoveries appear to have confirmed this suggestion. The Samaritan Version (see above) reads *Sutcan* for Rehoboth; and it is remarkable that the name Sutcan should be found in connexion with Calah in an inscription on the breast of a statue of the god Nebo which Sir H. Rawlinson disinterred at *Nimrûd* (*Athenaeum*, as above). The *Sutcan* of the Samaritan Version is commonly supposed to denote the Sittacene of the Greek geographers (Winer, *Realwb.* "Rechoboth Ir"). But Sittacene was a district, and not a city as Rehoboth-Ir necessarily was, and, further, being in southern Assyria, would seem to be too distant from the other cities of Nimrod.

St. Jerome, both in the Vulgate and in his *Quaestiones ad Genesim* (probably from Jewish sources), considers Rehoboth-Ir as referring to Nineveh, and as meaning the "streets of the city." The reading of the Targums of Jonathan, Jerusalem, and Rabbi Joseph, on Gen. and 1 Chron., viz., *Platiah*, *Platiûtha*, are probably only transcriptions of the Greek word πλατεῖαι, which, as found in the well known ancient city Plataea, is the exact

[b] Dr. Robinson could not find the well. Dr. Stewart found it "regularly built, 12 feet in circumference," but "completely filled up." Mr. Rowlands describes it as "an ancient well of living and good water." Who shall decide on testimony so curiously contradictory

[c] In his Travels Van de Velde inclines to place it, or at any rate one of Isaac's wells, at *Bir Isek*, about six miles S.W. of *Beit Jibrin* (*Syr. and Pal.* ii. 146).

[a] The Arabic translation of this version (Kuehnen) adheres to the Hebrew text, having *Rahabeh el-Medineh*.

equivalent of Rehoboth. Kaplan, the Jewish geographer (*Erets Kedumim*), identifies *Rahabeh-malik* with Rehoboth-by-the-river, in which he is possibly correct, but considers it as distinct from Rehoboth-Ir, which he believes to have disappeared. [G.]

RE'HOBOTH BY THE RIVER (רְחֹבוֹת הַנָּהָר: Ῥοωβὼθ—in Chr. Ῥωβωθ—ἡ παρὰ ποταμόν; Alex. Ῥοωβωθ in each: *de fluvio Rohoboth*; *Rohoboth quae juxta amnem sita est*). The city of a certain Saul or Shaul, one of the early kings of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 37; 1 Chr. i. 48). The affix, "the river," fixes the situation of Rehoboth as on the Euphrates, emphatically "*the* river" to the inhabitants of Western Asia. [RIVER.] The name still remains attached to two spots on the Euphrates; the one, simply *Rahabeh*, on the right bank, eight miles below the junction of the *Khabûr*, and about three miles west of the river (Chesney, *Euphr.*, i. 119, ii. 610, and map iv.), the other four or five miles further down on the left bank. The latter is said to be called *Rahabeh-malik*, *i. e.* "royal" (Kalisch, Kaplan),[a] and is on this ground identified by the Jewish commentators with the city of Saul; but whether this is accurate, and whether that city, or either of the two sites just named, is also identical with Rehoboth-Ir, the city of Nimrod, is not yet known.

There is no reason to suppose that the limits of Edom ever extended to the Euphrates, and therefore the occurrence of the name in the lists of kings of Edom, would seem to be a trace of an Assyrian incursion of the same nature as that of Chedorlaomer and Amraphel. [G.]

RE'HUM (רְחוּם: Ῥεούμ; Alex. Ἰερεούμ: *Rehum*). **1.** One of the "children of the province" who went up from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 2). In Neh. vii. 7 he is called NEHUM, and in 1 Esd. v. 8 ROIMUS.

2. (*Reum.*) "Rehum the chancellor," with Shimshai the scribe and others, wrote to Artaxerxes to prevail upon him to stop the rebuilding of the walls and temple of Jerusalem (Ezr. iv. 8, 9, 17, 23). He was perhaps a kind of lieutenant-governor of the province under the king of Persia, holding apparently the same office as Tatnai, who is described in Ezr. v. 6 as taking part in a similar transaction, and is there called "the governor on this side the river." The Chaldee title, בְּעֵל־טְעֵם, *bĕ'él-tĕ'êm*, lit. "lord of decree," is left untranslated in the LXX. Βαλτάμ, and the Vulgate *Beelteem*; and the rendering "chancellor" in the A. V. appears to have been derived from Kimchi and others, who explain it, in consequence of its connexion with "scribe," by the Hebrew word which is usually rendered "recorder." This appears to have been the view taken by the author of 1 Esd. ii. 25, ὁ γράφων τὰ προσπίπτοντα, and by Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 2, §1), ὁ πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα γράφων. The former of these seems to be a gloss, for the Chaldee title is also represented by BEELTÉTHMOS.

3. (Ῥαούμ: *Rehum.*) A Levite of the family of Bani, who assisted in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 17).

4. (Ῥεούμ.) One of the chief of the people, who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 25).

5. (Om. in Vat. MS.: *Rheum.*) A priestly family, or the head of a priestly house, who went up with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 3). [W. A. W.]

RE'I (רֵעִי: Ῥησεὶ [b] *Rei*). A person mentioned (in 1 K. i. 8 only) as having, in company with Zadok, Benaiah, Nathan, Shimei, and the men of David's guard, remained firm to David's cause when Adonijah rebelled. He is not mentioned again, nor do we obtain any clue to his identity. Various conjectures have been made. Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr.* ad loc.) states that he is the same with "Hiram the Zairite," *i. e.* Ira the Jairite, a priest or prince about the person of David. Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 266 *note*), dwelling on the occurrence of Shimei in the same list with Rei, suggests that the two are David's only surviving brothers, Rei being identical with RADDAI. This is ingenious, but there is nothing to support it, while there is the great objection to it that the names are in the original extremely dissimilar, Rei containing the *Ain*, a letter which is rarely exchanged for any other, but apparently never for *Daleth* (Gesen. *Thes.* 976, 7). [G.]

REINS, *i. e.* kidneys, from the Latin *renes*.

1. The word is used to translate the Hebrew כְּלָיוֹת, except in the Pentateuch and in Is. xxxiv. 6, where "kidneys" is employed. In the ancient system of physiology the kidneys were believed to be the seat of desire and longing, which accounts for their often being coupled with the heart (Ps. vii. 9, xxvi. 2; Jer. xi. 20, xvii. 10, &c.).

2. It is once used (Is. xi. 5) as the equivalent of חֲלָצַיִם, elsewhere translated "loins." [G.]

REK'EM (רֶקֶם: Ῥοκόν, Ῥοβόκ; Alex. Ῥοκόμ: *Recem*). **1.** One of the five kings or chieftains of Midian slain by the Israelites (Num. xxxi. 8; Josh. xiii. 21) at the time that Balaam fell.

2. (Ῥεκόμ; Alex. Ῥοκόμ.) One of the four sons of Hebron, and father of Shammai (1 Chr. ii. 43, 44). In the last verse the LXX. have "Jorkoam" for "Rekem." In this genealogy it is extremely difficult to separate the names of persons from those of places—Ziph, Mareshah, Tappuah, Hebron, are all names of places, as well as Maon and Beth-zur. In Josh. xviii. 27 Rekem appears as a town of Benjamin, and perhaps this genealogy may be intended to indicate that it was founded by a colony from Hebron.

REK'EM (רֶקֶם: perhaps Καφὰν καὶ Νακάν; Alex. Ῥεκεμ: *Recem*). One of the towns of the allotment of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 27). It occurs between MOZAH (*ham-Motsa*) and IRPEEL. No one, not even Schwarz, has attempted to identify it with any existing site. But may there not be a trace of the name in *Ain Karîm*, the well-known spring west of Jerusalem? It is within a very short distance of Motsah, provided *Kulonieh* be Motsah, as the writer has already suggested. [G.]

REMALI'AH (רְמַלְיָהוּ: Ῥομελίας in Kings and Isaiah, Ῥομελία in Chr.: *Romelia*). The father of Pekah, captain of Pekahiah king of Israel, who slew his master and usurped his throne (2 K. xv. 25-37, xvi. 1, 5; 2 Chr. xxviii. 6; Is. vii. 1-9, viii. 6).

[a] The existence of the second rests but on slender foundation. It is shown in the map in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, and is mentioned by the two Jewish authorities named above: but it does not appear in the work of Col. Chesney.

[b] Reading ע for י.

REM'ETH (רֶמֶת: Ῥεμμάς; Alex. Ῥαμμαθ: *Rameth*). One of the towns of Issachar (Josh. xix. 21), occurring in the list next to En-gannim, the modern *Jenîn*. It is probably (though not certainly) a distinct place from the RAMOTH of 1 Chr. vi. 73. A place bearing the name of *Rameh* is found on the west of the track from Samaria to *Jenîn*, about 6 miles N. of the former and 9 S.W. of the latter (Porter, *Handb.* 348 *a*; Van de Velde, *Map*). Its situation, on an isolated rocky *tell* in the middle of a green plain buried in the hills, is quite in accordance with its name, which is probably a mere variation of Ramah, "height." But it appears to be too far south to be within the territory of Issachar, which, as far as the scanty indications of the record can be made out, can hardly have extended below the southern border of the plain of Esdraelon.

For Schwarz's conjecture that *Rameh* is RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM, see that article (p. 999). [G.]

REM'MON (רִמּוֹן, *i. e.* Rimmon: Ἐρεμμών: * Alex. Ῥεμμωθ: *Remmon*). A town in the allotment of Simeon, one of a group of four (Josh. xix. 7). It is the same place which is elsewhere accurately given in the A. V. as RIMMON; the inaccuracy both in this case and that of REMMON-METHOAR having no doubt arisen from our translators inadvertently following the Vulgate, which again followed the LXX. [G.]

REM'MON-METH'OAR (רִמּוֹן הַמְּתוֹאַר, *i. e.* Rimmon ham-methôar: Ῥεμμωναὰ Μαθαροζᾶ; Alex. Ῥεμμωναμ μαθαριμ: *Remmon, Amthar*). A place which formed one of the landmarks of the eastern boundary of the territory of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 13 only). It occurs between Eth-Katsin and Neah. Methoar does not really form a part of the name; but is the *Pual* of תָּאַר, to stretch, and should be translated accordingly (as in the margin of the A. V.)—"R. which reaches to Neah." This is the judgment of Gesenius, *Thes.* 1292 *a*. Rödiger, *Ib.* 1491 *a*; Fürst, *Handwb.* ii. 512 *a*, and Bunsen, as well as of the ancient Jewish commentator Rashi, who quotes as his authority the Targum of Jonathan, the text of which has however been subsequently altered, since in its present state it agrees with the A. V. in not translating the word. The latter course is taken by the LXX. and Vulgate as above, and by the Peshito, Junius and Tremellius, and Luther. The A. V. has here further erroneously followed the Vulgate in giving the first part of the name as Remmon instead of Rimmon.

This Rimmon does not appear to have been known to Eusebius and Jerome, but it is mentioned by the early traveller Parchi, who says that it is called Rumaneh, and stands an hour south of Sepphoris (Zunz's *Benjamin*, ii. 433). If for south we read north, this is in close agreement with the statements of Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* iii. 110), and Mr. Van de Velde (*Map*; *Memoir*, 344), who place *Rummâneh* on the S. border of the Plain of *Buttauf*, 3 miles N.N.E. of *Seffurieh*. It is difficult, however, to see how this can have been on the eastern boundary of Zebulun.

Rimmon is not improbably identical with the Levitical city, which in Josh. xxi. 35 appears in the form of Dimnah, and again, in the parallel lists of Chronicles (1 Chr. vi. 77) as Rimmono (A. V. RIMMON, p. 1043*b*). [G.]

* The LXX. here combine the Ain and Rimmon of the A. V. into one name, and make up the four cities of this group by inserting a Θαλχέ, of which there is no trace in the Hebrew, but which is possibly the Tochen of 1 Chr. iv. 32—in the LXX. of that passage, Θοκαδ.

REM'PHAN (Ῥεμφάν, Ῥεφάι: *Remphan*. Acts vii. 43): and CHIUN (כִּיּוּן: Ῥαιφάν, Ῥομφᾶ, *Compl.* Am. v. 26) have been supposed to be names of an idol worshipped by the Israelites in the wilderness, but seem to be the names of two idols. The second occurs in Amos, in the Heb.; the first, in a quotation of that passage in St. Stephen's address, in the Acts: the LXX. of Amos has, however, the same name as in the Acts, though not written in exactly the same manner. Much difficulty has been occasioned by this corresponding occurrence of two names so wholly different in sound. The most reasonable opinion seemed to be that Chiun was a Hebrew or Semitic name, and Remphan an Egyptian equivalent substituted by the LXX. The former, rendered Saturn in the Syr., was compared with the Arab. and Pers.

كيوان, "the planet Saturn," and, according to Kircher, the latter was found in Coptic with the same signification; but perhaps he had no authority for this excepting the supposed meaning of the Hebrew Chiun. Egyptology has, however, shown that this is not the true explanation. Among the foreign divinities worshipped in Egypt, two, the god RENPU, perhaps pronounced REMPU, and the goddess KEN, occur together. Before endeavouring to explain the passages in which Chiun and Remphan are mentioned, it will be desirable to speak, on the evidence of the monuments, of the foreign gods worshipped in Egypt, particularly RENPU and KEN, and of the idolatry of the Israelites while in that country.

Besides those divinities represented on the monuments of Egypt which have Egyptian forms or names, or both, others have foreign forms or names, or both. Of the latter, some appear to have been introduced at a very remote age. This is certainly the case with the principal divinity of Memphis, Ptah, the Egyptian Hephaestus. The name Ptah is from a Semitic root, for it signifies "open," and in Heb. we find the root פָּתַח, and its cognates, "he or it opened," whereas there is no word related to it in Coptic. The figure of this divinity is that of a deformed pigmy, or perhaps unborn child, and is unlike the usual representations of divinities on the monuments. In this case there can be no doubt that the introduction took place at an extremely early date, as the name of Ptah occurs in very old tombs in the necropolis of Memphis, and is found throughout the religious records. It is also to be noticed that this name is not traceable in the mythology of neighbouring nations, unless indeed it corresponds to that of the Πάταικοι or Παταῖκοί, whose images, according to Herodotus, were the figure-heads of Phoenician ships (iii. 37). The foreign divinities that seem to be of later introduction are not found throughout the religious records, but only in single tablets, or are otherwise very rarely mentioned, and two out of their four names are immediately recognized to be non-Egyptian. They are RENPÚ, and the goddesses KEN, ANTA, and ASTARTA. The first and second of these have foreign forms; the third and fourth have Egyptian forms: there would therefore seem to be an especially foreign character about the former two.

RENPU, pronounced REMPU (?),[a] is represented as an Asiatic, with the full beard and apparently the general type of face given on the monuments to most nations east of Egypt, and to the RFBU or Libyans. This type is evidently that of the Shemites. His hair is bound with a fillet, which is ornamented in front with the head of an antelope.

KEN is represented perfectly naked, holding in both hands corn, and standing upon a lion. In the last particular the figure of a goddess at Maltheiyyeh in Assyria may be compared (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 212). From this occurrence of a similar representation, from her being naked and carrying corn, and from her being worshipped with KHEM, we may suppose that KEN corresponded to the Syrian goddess, at least when the latter had the character of Venus. She is also called KETESH, which is the name in hieroglyphics of the great Hittite town on the Orontes. This in the present case is probably a title, קְדֵשָׁה: it can scarcely be the name of a town where she was worshipped, applied to her as personifying it.

ANATA appears to be Anaïtis, and her foreign character seems almost certain from her being jointly worshipped with RENPU and KEN.

ASTARTA is of course the Ashtoreth of Canaan.

On a tablet in the British Museum the principal subject is a group representing KEN, having KHEM on one side and RENPU on the other: beneath is an adoration of ANATA. On the half of another tablet KEN and KHEM occur, and a dedication to RENPU and KETESH.

We have no clue to the exact time of the introduction of these divinities into Egypt, nor, except in one case, to any particular places of their worship. Their names occur as early as the period of the xviiith and xixth dynasties, and it is therefore not improbable that they were introduced by the Shepherds. ASTARTA is mentioned in a tablet of Amenoph II., opposite Memphis, which leads to the conjecture that she was the foreign Venus there worshipped, in the quarter of the Phoenicians of Tyre, according to Herodotus (ii. 112). It is observable that the Shepherds worshipped SUTEKH, corresponding to SETH, and also called BAR, that is, Baal, and that, under king APEPEE, he was the sole god of the foreigners. SUTEKH was probably a foreign god, and was certainly identified with Baal. The idea that the Shepherds introduced the foreign gods is therefore partly confirmed. As to RENPU and KEN we can only offer a conjecture. They occur together, and KEN is a form of the Syrian goddess, and also bears some relation to the Egyptian god of productiveness, KHEM. Their similarity to Baal and Ashtoreth seems strong, and perhaps it is not unreasonable to suppose that they were the divinities of some tribe from the east, not of Phoenicians or Canaanites, settled in Egypt during the Shepherd-period. The naked goddess KEN would suggest such worship as that of the Babylonian Mylitta, but the thoroughly Shemite appearance of RENPU is rather in favour of an Arab source. Although we have not discovered a Semitic origin of either name, the absence of the names in the mythologies of Canaan and the neighbouring countries, as far as they are known to us, inclines us to look to Arabia, of which the early mythology is extremely obscure.

The Israelites in Egypt, after Joseph's rule, appear to have fallen into a general, but doubtless not universal, practice of idolatry. This is only twice distinctly stated and once alluded to (Josh. xxiv. 14; Ezek. xx. 7, 8, xxiii. 3), but the indications are perfectly clear. The mention of CHIUN or REMPHAN as worshipped in the desert shows that this idolatry was, in part at least, that of foreigners, and no doubt of those settled in Lower Egypt. The golden calf, at first sight, would appear to be an image of Apis of Memphis, or Mnevis of Heliopolis, or some other sacred bull of Egypt; but it must be remembered that we read in the Apocrypha of "the heifer Baal" (Tob. i. 5), so that it was possibly a Phoenician or Canaanite idol. The best parallel to this idolatry is that of the Phoenician colonies in Europe, as seen in the idols discovered in tombs at Camirus in Rhodes by M. Salzmann, and those found in tombs in the island of Sardinia (of both of which there are specimens in the British Museum), and those represented on the coins of Melita and the island of Ebusus.

We can now endeavour to explain the passages in which Chiun and Remphan occur. The Masoretic text of Amos v. 26 reads thus:—"But ye bare the tent [or 'tabernacle'] of your king and Chiun your images, the star of your gods [or 'your god'], which ye made for yourselves." In the LXX. we find remarkable differences: it reads: Καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολὸχ, καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ῥαιφὰν, τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν οὓς ἐποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς. The Vulg. agrees with the Masoretic text in the order of the clauses, though omitting Chiun or Remphan. "Et portastis tabernaculum Moloch vestro, et imaginem idolorum vestrorum, sidus dei vestri, quae fecistis vobis." The passage is cited in the Acts almost in the words of the LXX.:—"Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures which ye made to worship them" (Καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολὸχ, καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ῥεμφὰν, τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποιήσατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς). A slight change in the Hebrew would enable us to read Moloch (Malcam or Milcom) instead of "your king." Beyond this it is extremely difficult to explain the differences. The substitution of Remphan for Chiun cannot be accounted for by verbal criticism. The Hebrew does not seem as distinct in meaning as the LXX., and if we may conjecturally emend it from the latter, the last clause would be, "your images which ye made for yourselves:" and if we further transpose Chiun to the place of "your god Remphan," in the LXX., את סכות מלכם would correspond to את כוכב אלהיכם כיון, but how can we account for such a transposition as would thus be supposed, which, be it remembered, is less likely in the Hebrew than in a translation of a difficult passage? If we compare the Masoretic text and the supposed original, we perceive that in the former כיון צלמיכם corresponds in position to כוכב אלהיכם, and it does not seem an unwarrantable conjecture that כיון having been by mistake written in the place of כוכב by some copyist, צלמיכם was also trans-

[a] In illustration of this probable pronunciation, we may cite the occurrence in hieroglyphics of RENPA or RANP, "youth, young, to renew;" and, in Coptic, of the supposed cognate ⲣⲁⲛⲡⲉ, ⲣⲟⲛⲡⲉ, S. ⲣⲁⲛⲡⲉ, "a year;" so MENNUFR, Memphis, ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲫⲣ, ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲫⲓ, also ⲙⲉⲛⲃⲉ, ⲙⲉⲛⲕⲩⲓ, S. ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲫⲉ, ⲙⲛⲃⲉ, Μέμφις, and UN-NUFR, Ὄμφις.

posed. It appears to be more reasonable to read "images which ye made," than "gods which ye made," as the former word occurs. Supposing these emendations to be probable, we may now examine the meaning of the passage.

The tent or tabernacle of Moloch is supposed by Gesenius to have been an actual tent, and he compares the σκηνὴ ἱερά of the Carthaginians (Diod. Sic. xx. 65; *Lex.* s. v. סֻכּוּת). But there is some difficulty in the idea that the Israelites carried about so large an object for the purpose of idolatry, and it seems more likely that it was a small model of a larger tent or shrine. The reading Moloch appears preferable to "your king;" but the mention of the idol of the Ammonites as worshipped in the desert stands quite alone. It is perhaps worthy of note that there is reason for supposing that Moloch was a name of the planet Saturn, and that this planet was evidently supposed by the ancient translators to be intended by Chiun and Remphan. The correspondence of Remphan or Raiphan to Chiun is extremely remarkable, and can, we think, only be accounted for by the supposition that the LXX. translator or translators of the prophet had Egyptian knowledge, and being thus acquainted with the ancient joint worship of Ken and Renpu, substituted the latter for the former, as they may have been unwilling to repeat the name of a foreign Venus. The star of Remphan, if indeed the passage is to be read so as to connect these words, would be especially appropriate if Remphan were a planetary god; but the evidence for this, especially as partly founded upon an Arab. or Pers. word like Chiun, is not sufficiently strong to enable us to lay any stress upon the agreement. In hieroglyphics the sign for a star is one of the two composing the word SEB, "to adore," and is undoubtedly there used in a symbolical as well as a phonetic sense, indicating that the ancient Egyptian religion was partly derived from a system of star-worship; and there are representations on the monuments of mythical creatures or men adoring stars (*Ancient Egyptians*, pl. 30 A.). We have, however, no positive indication of any figure of a star being used as an idolatrous object of worship. From the manner in which it is mentioned we may conjecture that the star of Remphan was of the same character as the tabernacle of Moloch, an object connected with false worship rather than an image of a false god. According to the LXX. reading of the last clause it might be thought that these objects were actually images of Moloch and Remphan; but it must be remembered that we cannot suppose an image to have had the form of a tent, and that the version of the passage in the Acts, as well as the Masoretic text, if in the latter case we may change the order of the words, give a clear sense. As to the meaning of the last clause, it need only be remarked that it does not oblige us to infer that the Israelites made the images of the false gods, though they may have done so, as in the case of the golden calf: it may mean no more than that they adopted these gods.

It is to be observed that the whole passage does not indicate that distinct Egyptian idolatry was practised by the Israelites. It is very remarkable that the only false gods mentioned as worshipped by them in the desert should be probably Moloch, and Chiun, and Remphan, of which the latter two were foreign divinities worshipped in Egypt. From this we may reasonably infer, that while the Israelites sojourned in Egypt there was also a great stranger-population in the Lower Country, and therefore that it is probable that then the Shepherds still occupied the land. [R. S. P.]

REPHAEL (רְפָאֵל: Ῥαφαήλ: *Raphaël*). Son of Shemaiah, the firstborn of Obed-edom, and one of the gate-keepers of the tabernacle, "able men for strength for the service" (1 Chr. xxvi. 7).

RE'PHAH (רָפָה: Ῥαφή: *Rapha*). A son of Ephraim, and ancestor of Joshua the son of Nun (1 Chr. vii. 25).

REPHAI'AH (רְפָיָה: Ῥαφάλ; Alex. Ῥαφαΐα: *Raphaïa*). 1. The sons of Rephaiah appear among the descendants of Zerubbabel in 1 Chr. iii. 21. In the Peshito-Syriac he is made the son of Jesaiah.

2. (Ῥαφαΐα). One of the chieftains of the tribe of Simeon in the reign of Hezekiah, who headed the expedition of five hundred men against the Amalekites of Mount Seir, and drove them out (1 Chr. iv. 42).

3. One of the sons of Tola, the son of Issachar, "heads of their father's house" (1 Chr. vii. 2).

4. Son of Binea, and descendant of Saul and Jonathan (1 Chr. ix. 43). In 1 Chr. viii. 37 he is called RAPHA.

5. The son of Hur, and ruler of a portion of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 9). He assisted in rebuilding the city wall under Nehemiah.

REPH'AIM. [GIANTS, vol. i. 687*b*.]

REPH'AIM, THE VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק רְפָאִים: ἡ κοιλὰς τῶν Τιτάνων, and τῶν Γιγάντων; κ. Ῥαφαείμ; in Isaiah φάραγξ στερεά), 2 Sam. v. 18, 22, xxiii. 13; 1 Chr. xi. 15, xiv. 9; Is. xvii. 5. Also in Josh. xv. 8, and xviii. 16, where it is translated in the A. V. "the valley of the giants" (γῆ Ῥαφαείν and Ἐμὲκ Ῥαφαείν). A spot which was the scene of some of David's most remarkable adventures. He twice encountered the Philistines there, and inflicted a destruction on them and on their idols so signal that it gave the place a new name, and impressed itself on the popular mind of Israel with such distinctness that the Prophet Isaiah could employ it, centuries after, as a symbol of a tremendous impending judgment of God—nothing less than the desolation and destruction of the whole earth (Is. xxviii. 21, 22). [PERAZIM, MOUNT.]

It was probably during the former of these two contests that the incident of the water of Bethlehem (2 Sam. xxiii. 13, &c.) occurred. The "hold"[a] (ver. 14) in which David found himself, seems (though it is not clear) to have been the cave of Adullam, the scene of the commencement of his freebooting life; but, wherever situated, we need not doubt that it was the same fastness as that mentioned in 2 Sam. v. 17, since, in both cases, the same word (הַמְּצוּדָה, with the def. article), and that not a usual one, is employed. The story shows very clearly the predatory nature of these incursions of the Philistines. It was in "harvest time" (ver. 13). They had come to carry off the ripe crops, for which the valley was proverbial (Is. xvii. 5), just as at Pas-dammim (1 Chr. xi. 13) we find them in the parcel of

[a] There is no warrant for "*down* to the hold" in A. V. Had it been עַל "down" might have been added with safety.

ground full of barley, at Lehi in the field of lentiles (2 Sam. xxiii. 11), or at Keilah in the threshing-floors (1 Sam. xxiii. 1). Their animals[b] were scattered among the ripe corn receiving their load of plunder. The "garrison," or the officer[c] in charge of the expedition, was on the watch in the village of Bethlehem.

This narrative seems to imply that the valley of Rephaim was near Bethlehem; but unfortunately neither this nor the notice in Josh. xv. 8 and xviii. 16, in connexion with the boundary line between Judah and Benjamin, gives any clue to its situation, still less does its connexion with the groves of mulberry trees or Baca (2 Sam. v. 23), itself unknown. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, §4) mentions it as "the valley which extends (from Jerusalem) to the city of Bethlehem."

Since the latter part of the 16th cent.[d] the name has been attached to the upland plain which stretches south of Jerusalem, and is crossed by the road to Bethlehem—the *el Bŭk'ah* of the modern Arabs (Tobler, *Jerusalem*, &c., ii. 401). But this, though appropriate enough as regards its proximity to Bethlehem, does not answer at all to the meaning of the Hebrew word *Emek*, which appears always to designate an inclosed valley, never an open upland plain like that in question,[e] the level of which is as high, or nearly as high, as that of Mount Zion itself. [VALLEY.] Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, Ῥαφαείν and Ἐμεκραφαείμ) calls it the valley of the Philistines (κοιλὰς ἀλλοφύλων), and places it "on the north of Jerusalem," in the tribe of Benjamin.

A position N. W. of the city is adopted by Fürst (*Handwb.* ii. 383b), apparently on the ground of the terms of Josh. xv. 8 and xviii. 16, which certainly do leave it doubtful whether the valley is on the north of the boundary or the boundary on the north of the valley; and Tobler, in his last investigations (3tte *Wanderung*, 202), conclusively adopts the *Wady Dêr Jasîn* (*W. Makhrior*, in Van de Velde's map), one of the side valleys of the great *Wady Beit Hanina*, as the valley of Rephaim. This position is open to the obvious objection of too great distance from both Bethlehem and the cave of Adullam (according to any position assignable to the latter) to meet the requirements of 2 Sam. xxiii. 13.

The valley appears to derive its name from the ancient nation of the Rephaim. It may be a trace of an early settlement of theirs, possibly after they were driven from their original seats east of the Jordan by Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 5), and before they again migrated northward to the more secure wooded districts in which we find them at the date of the partition of the country among the tribes (Josh. xvii. 15; A. V. "giants"). In this case it is a parallel to the "mount of the Amalekites" in the centre of Palestine, and to the towns bearing the name of the Zemaraim, the Avim, the Ophnites, &c., which occur so frequently in Benjamin. [vol. i. p. 188 note.] [G.]

[b] This is the rendering in the ancient and trustworthy Syriac version of the rare word חַיָּה (2 Sam. xxiii. 13), rendered in our version "troop."

[c] *Netsîb*. The meaning is uncertain (see vol. ii. 353 note).

[d] According to Tobler (*Topographie*, &c., ii. 404), Cotovycus is the first who records this identification.

[e] On the other hand it is somewhat singular that the modern name for this upland plain, *Bŭka'ah*, should be the same with that of the great enclosed valley of Lebanon, which differs from it as widely as it can differ from the signification of *Emek*. There is no connexion between *Bŭk'ah* and Baca: they are essentially distinct.

REPHI'DIM (רְפִידִים: Ῥαφιδίν). Ex. xvii. 1, 8, xix. 2. The name means "rests" or "stays;" the place lies in the march of the Israelites from Egypt to Sinai. The "wilderness of Sin" was succeeded by Rephidim according to these passages, but in Num. xxxiii. 12, 13, Dophkah and Alush are mentioned as occurring between the people's exit from that wilderness and their entry into the latter locality. There is nothing known of these two places which will enable us to fix the site of Rephidim. [ALUSH; DOPHKAH.] Lepsius' view is that Mount *Serbâl* is the true Horeb, and that Rephidim is *Wady Feiran*, the well known valley, richer in water and vegetation than any other in the peninsula (Lepsius' *Tour from Thebes to Sinai*, 1845, pp. 21, 37). This would account for the expectation of finding water here, which, however, from some unexplained cause failed. In Ex. xvii. 6, "the rock in Horeb" is named as the source of the water miraculously supplied. On the other hand, the language used Ex. xix. 1, 2, seems precise, as regards the point that the journey from Rephidim to *Sinai* was a distinct stage. The time from the wilderness of Sin, reached on the fifteenth day of the second month of the Exodus (Ex. xvi. 1), to the wilderness of Sinai, reached on the first day of the third month (xix. 1), is from fourteen to sixteen days. This, if we follow Num. xxxiii. 12-15, has to be distributed between the four march-stations Sin, Dophkah, Alush, and Rephidim, and their corresponding stages of journey, which would allow two days' repose to every day's march, as there are four marches, and $4 \times 2 + 4 = 12$, leaving two days over from the fourteen. The first grand object being the arrival at Sinai, the intervening distance may probably have been despatched with all possible speed, considering the weakness of the host by reason of women, &c. The name Horeb is by Robinson taken to mean an extended range or region, some part of which was near to Rephidim, which he places at *Wady esh Sheikh*,[a] running from N.E. to S.W., on the W. side of *Gebel Fureia*, opposite the northern face of the modern Horeb. [SINAI.] It joins the *Wady Feiran*. The exact spot of Robinson's Rephidim is a defile in the *esh Sheikh* visited and described by Burckhardt (*Syria*, &c., 488) as at about five hours' distance from where it issues from the plain *Er Raheh*, narrowing between abrupt cliffs of blackened granite to about 40 feet in width. Here is also the traditional "Seat of Moses" (Robinson, i. 121). The opinion of Stanley (*S. and P.* 40-42), on the contrary, with Ritter (xiv. 740, 741), places Rephidim in *Wady Feiran*, where the traces of building and cultivation still attest the importance of this valley to all occupants of the desert. It narrows in one spot to 100 yards, showing high mountains and thick woods, with gardens and date-groves. Here stood a Christian church, city and episcopal residence, under the name of Paran, before the foundation of the convent of Mount St. Catherine by Justinian. It is the finest valley in the

[a] On this Lepsius remarks that Robinson would have certainly recognised the true position of Rephidim (*i. e.* at *Wady Feiran*), had he not passed by *Wady Feiran* with its brook, garden, and ruins—the most interesting spot in the peninsula—in order to see *Sarbût el Chadem* (*ibid.* p. 22). And Stanley admits the objection of bringing the Israelites through the most striking scenery in the desert, that of *Feiran*, without any event of importance to mark it.

whole peninsula (Burckhardt, *Arab.* 602, see also Robinson, i. 117, 118). Its fertility and richness account, as Stanley thinks, for the Amalekites' struggle to retain possession against those whom they viewed as intrusive aggressors. This view seems to meet the largest amount of possible conditions for a site of Sinai. Lepsius too (see above) dwells on the fact that it was of no use for Moses to occupy any other part of the wilderness, if he could not deprive the Amalekites of the only spot (*Feiran*) which was inhabited. Stanley (41) thinks the word describing the ground, rendered the "hill" in Ex. xvii. 9, 10, and said adequately to describe that on which the church of Paran stood, affords an argument in favour of the *Feiran* identity. [H. H.]

RES'EN (רֶסֶן: Ασσέμ, Ααση: *Resen*) is mentioned only in Gen. x. 12, where it is said to have been one of the cities built by Asshur, after he went out of the land of Shinar, and to have lain "*between* Nineveh and Calah." Many writers have been inclined to identify it with the Rhesina or Rhesaena of the Byzantine authors (Amm. Marc. xxiii. 5; Procop. *Bell. Pers.* ii. 19; Steph. Byz. *sub voce* Ῥέσινα), and of Ptolemy (*Geograph.* v. 18), which was near the true source of the western Khabour, and which is most probably the modern *Ras-el-ain*. (See Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, sub voce "Resen.") There are no grounds, however, for this identification, except the similarity of name (which similarity is perhaps fallacious, since the LXX. evidently read דסן for רסן), while it is a fatal objection to the theory that Resaena or Resina was not in Assyria at all, but in Western Mesopotamia, 200 miles to the west of both the cities between which it is said to have lain. A far more probable conjecture was that of Bochart (*Geograph. Sacr.* iv. 23), who found Resen in the Larissa of Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 4, §7), which is most certainly the modern *Nimrud*. Resen, or Dasen—whichever may be the true form of the word—must assuredly have been in this neighbourhood. As, however, the *Nimrud* ruins seem really to represent CALAH, while those opposite Mosul are the remains of Nineveh, we must look for Resen in the tract lying between these two sites. Assyrian remains of some considerable extent are found in this situation, near the modern village of *Selamiyeh*, and it is perhaps the most probable conjecture that these represent the Resen of Genesis. No doubt it may be said that a "great city," such as Resen is declared to have been (Gen. x. 12), could scarcely have intervened between two other large cities which are not twenty miles apart; and the ruins at Selamiyeh, it must be admitted, are not *very* extensive. But perhaps we ought to understand the phrase "a great city" relatively—*i. e.* great, as cities went in early times, or great, considering its proximity to two other larger towns.

If this explanation seem unsatisfactory, we might perhaps conjecture that originally Asshur (*Kileh-Sherghat*) was called Calah, and *Nimrud* Resen; but that, when the seat of empire was removed northwards from the former place to the latter, the name Calah was transferred to the new capital. Instances of such transfers of name are not unfrequent.

The later Jews appear to have identified Resen with the *Kileh-Sherghat* ruins. At least the Targums of Jonathan and of Jerusalem explain Resen by Tel-Assar (תלאסר or תלאסר), "the mound of Asshur." [G. R.]

RESH'EPH (רֶשֶׁף: Σαράφ; Alex. Ῥασέφ *Reseph*). A son of Ephraim and brother of Rephah (1 Chr. vii. 25).

RE'U (רְעוּ: Ῥαγαῦ in Gen., Ῥαγάν in Chr.: *Reu*). Son of Peleg, in the line of Abraham's ancestors (Gen. xi. 18, 19, 20, 21; 1 Chr. i. 25). He lived two hundred and thirty-nine years according to the genealogy in Genesis. Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*) says Reu is *Roha*, the Arabic name for Edessa, an assertion which, borrowed from Knobel, is utterly destitute of foundation, as will be seen at once on comparing the Hebrew and Arabic words. A closer resemblance might be found between Reu and *Rhagae*, a large town of Media, especially if the Greek equivalents of the two names be taken.

REU'BEN (רְאוּבֵן: Ῥουβήν and Ῥουβήν, Joseph. Ῥούβηλος: Pesh. Syr. *Rûbîl*, and so also in Arab. vers. of Joshua *Ruben*), Jacob's firstborn child (Gen. xxix. 32), the son of Leah, apparently not born till an unusual interval had elapsed after the marriage (31; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 19, §8). This is perhaps denoted by the name itself, whether we adopt the obvious signification of its present form—*reu ben*, i. e. "behold ye, a son!" (Gesen. *Thes.* 1247*b*)—or (2) the explanation given in the text, which seems to imply that the original form was רְאוּבִי בְעָנְיִי, *râû bĕonyî*, "Jehovah hath *seen my affliction*," or (3) that of Josephus, who uniformly presents it as Roubel, and explains it (*Ant.* i. 19, §8) as the "pity of God"—ἔλεον τοῦ Θεοῦ, as if from רְאוּבִי בְּאֵל (Fürst, *Handwb.* ii. 344*a*).[a] The notices of the patriarch Reuben in the Book of Genesis and the early Jewish traditional literature are unusually frequent, and on the whole give a favourable view of his disposition. To him, and him alone, the preservation of Joseph's life appears to have been due. His anguish at the disappearance of his brother, and the frustration of his kindly artifice for delivering him (Gen. xxxvii. 22), his recollection of the minute details of the painful scene many years afterwards (xlii. 22), his offer to take the sole responsibility of the safety of the brother who had succeeded to Joseph's place in the family (xlii. 37), all testify to a warm and (for those rough times) a kindly nature. Of the repulsive crime which mars his history, and which turned the blessing of his dying father into a curse—his adulterous connexion with Bilhah—we know from the Scriptures only the fact (Gen. xxxv. 22). In the post-biblical traditions it is treated either as not having actually occurred (as in the *Targum Pseudojonathan*), or else as the result of a sudden temptation acting on a hot and vigorous nature (as in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*)—a

[a] Redslob (*Die Alttestamentl. Namen*, 86) maintains that Reubel is the original form of the name, which was corrupted into Reuben, as Bethel into *Beitin*, and Jezreel into *Serin*. He treats it as signifying the "flock of Bel," a deity whose worship greatly flourished in the neighbouring country of Moab, and who under the name of Nobo had a famous sanctuary in the very territory of Reuben. In this case it would be a parallel to the title "people of Chemosh," which is bestowed on Moab. The alteration of the obnoxious syllable in Reubel would, on this theory, find a parallel in the Meribbaal and Eshbaal of Saul's family, who became Mephibosheth and Ishbosheth.

parallel, in some of its circumstances, to the intrigue of David with Bathsheba. Some severe temptation there must surely have been to impel Reuben to an act which, regarded in its social rather than in its moral aspect, would be peculiarly abhorrent to a patriarchal society, and which is specially and repeatedly reprobated in the law of Moses. The Rabbinical version of the occurrence (as given in *Targ. Pseudojon.*) is very characteristic, and well illustrates the difference between the spirit of early and of late Jewish history. "Reuben went and disordered the couch of Bilhah, his father's concubine, which was placed right opposite the couch of Leah, and it was counted unto him as if he had lain with her. And when Israel heard it it displeased him, and he said 'Lo! an unworthy person shall proceed from me, as Ishmael did from Abraham and Esau from my father.' And the Holy Spirit answered him and said 'All are righteous, and there is not one unworthy among them.'" Reuben's anxiety to save Joseph is represented as arising from a desire to conciliate Jacob, and his absence while Joseph was sold from his sitting alone on the mountains in penitent fasting.

These traits, slight as they are, are those of an ardent, impetuous, unbalanced, but not ungenerous nature; not crafty and cruel, as were Simeon and Levi, but rather, to use the metaphor of the dying patriarch, boiling[b] up like a vessel of water over the rapid wood-fire of the nomad tent, and as quickly subsiding into apathy when the fuel was withdrawn.

At the time of the migration into Egypt[c] Reuben's sons were four (Gen. xlvi. 9; 1 Chr. v. 3). From them sprang the chief families of the tribe (Num. xxvi. 5-11). One of these families—that of Pallu—became notorious as producing Eliab, whose sons or descendants, Dathan and Abiram, perished with their kinsman On in the divine retribution for their conspiracy against Moses (Num. xvi. 1, xxvi. 8-11). The census at Mount Sinai (Num. i. 20, 21, ii. 11) shows that at the Exodus the numbers of the tribe were 46,500 men above twenty years of age, and fit for active warlike service. In point of numerical strength, Reuben was then sixth on the list, Gad, with 45,650 men, being next below. On the borders of Canaan, after the plague which punished the idolatry of Baalpeor, the numbers had fallen slightly, and were 43,730; Gad was 40,500; and the position of the two in the list is lower than before, Ephraim and Simeon being the only two smaller tribes (Num. xxvi. 7, &c.).

During the journey through the wilderness the position of Reuben was on the south side of the Tabernacle. The "camp" which went under his name was formed of his own tribe, that of Simeon[d] (Leah's second son), and Gad (son of Zilpah, Leah's slave). The standard of the camp was a deer[e] with the inscription, "Hear, oh Israel! the Lord thy God is one Lord!" and its place in the march was second (*Targum Pseudojon.* Num. ii. 10-16).

The Reubenites, like their relatives and neighbours on the journey, the Gadites, had maintained through the march to Canaan, the ancient calling of their forefathers. The patriarchs were "feeding their flocks" at Shechem when Joseph was sold into Egypt. It was as men whose "trade had been about cattle from their youth" that they were presented to Pharaoh (Gen. xlvi. 32, 34), and in the land of Goshen they settled "with their flocks and herds and all that they had" (xlvi. 32, xlvii. 1). Their cattle accompanied them in their flight from Egypt (Ex. xii. 38), not a hoof was left behind; and there are frequent allusions to them on the journey (Ex. xxxiv. 3; Num. xi. 22; Deut. viii. 13, &c.). But it would appear that the tribes who were destined to settle in the confined territory between the Mediterranean and the Jordan had, during the journey through the wilderness, fortunately relinquished that taste for the possession of cattle which they could not have maintained after their settlement at a distance from the wide pastures of the wilderness. Thus the cattle had come into the hands of Reuben, Gad, and the half of Manasseh (Num. xxxii. 1), and it followed naturally that when the nation arrived on the open downs east of the Jordan, the three tribes just named should prefer a request to their leader to be allowed to remain in a place so perfectly suited to their requirements. The part selected by Reuben had at that date the special name of "the Mishor," with reference possibly to its evenness (Stanley, *S. & P.* App. §6). Under its modern name of the *Belka* it is still esteemed beyond all others by the Arab sheepmasters. It is well watered, covered with smooth short turf, and losing itself gradually in those illimitable wastes which have always been and always will be the favourite resort of pastoral nomad tribes. The country east of Jordan does not appear to have been included in the original land promised to Abraham. That which the spies examined was comprised, on the east and west, between the "coast of Jordan" and "the sea." But for the pusillanimity of the greater number of the tribes it would have been entered from the south (Num. xiii. 30), and in that case the east of Jordan might never have been peopled by Israel at all.

Accordingly, when the Reubenites and their fellows approach Moses with their request, his main objection is that by what they propose they will discourage the hearts of the children of Israel from going over Jordan into the land which Jehovah had given them (Num. xxxii. 7). It is only on their undertaking to fulfil their part in the conquest of the western country, the land of Canaan proper, and thus satisfying him that their proposal was grounded in no selfish desire to escape a full share of the difficulties of the conquest, that Moses will consent to their proposal.

The "blessing" of Reuben by the departing Lawgiver is a passage which has severely exercised translators and commentators. Strictly translated as they stand in the received Hebrew text, the words are as follow:[f]—

> "Let Reuben live and not die,
> And let his men be a number" (*i. e.* few).

As to the first line there appears to be no doubt,

[b] Such appears to be a more accurate rendering of the word which in the A. V. is rendered "unstable" (Gesen. *Lex. Sam.* p. 33).

[c] According to the ancient tradition preserved by Demetrius (in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 21), Reuben was 45 years old at the time of the migration.

[d] Reuben and Simeon are named together by Jacob in Gen. xlviii. 5; and there is perhaps a trace of the connexion in the interchange of the names in Jud. viii. 1 (Vulg.) and ix. 2.

[e] It is said that this was originally an ox, but changed by Moses, lest it should recal the sin of the golden calf.

[f] A few versions have been bold enough to render the Hebrew as it stands. Thus the Vulgate, Luther, De Wette and Bunsen.

but the second line has been interpreted in two exactly opposite ways. 1. By the LXX.:—

"And let his men g be many in number."

This has the disadvantage that מְסִפָּר is never employed elsewhere for a large number, but always for a small one (*e. g.* 1 Chr. xvi. 19; Job xvi. 22; Is. x. 19; Ez. xii. 16).

2. That of our own Auth. Version:—

"And let *not* his men be few."

Here the negative of the first line is presumed to convey its force to the second, though not there expressed. This is countenanced by the ancient Syriac Version (Peshito) and the translations of Junius and Tremellius, and Schott and Winzer. It also has the important support of Gesenius (*Thes.* 968 *a*, and *Pent. Sam.* p. 44).

3. A third and very ingenious interpretation is that adopted by the Veneto-Greek Version, and also by Michaelis (*Bibel für Ungelehrten*, Text), which assumes that the vowel-points of the word מְתֵי, "his men," are altered to מֵתֵי, "his dead"—

"And let his dead be few"—

as if in allusion to some recent mortality in the tribe, such as that in Simeon after the plague of Baal-Peor.

These interpretations, unless the last should prove to be the original reading, originate in the fact that the words in their naked sense convey a curse and not a blessing. Fortunately, though differing widely in detail, they agree in general meaning.h The benediction of the great leader goes out over the tribe which was about to separate itself from its brethren, in a fervent aspiration for its welfare through all the risks of that remote and trying situation.

Both in this and the earlier blessing of Jacob, Reuben retains his place at the head of the family, and it must not be overlooked that the tribe, together with the two who associated themselves with it, actually received its inheritance before either Judah or Ephraim, to whom the birthright which Reuben had forfeited was transferred (1 Chr. v. 1).

From this time it seems as if a bar, not only the material one of distance, and of the intervening river and mountain-wall, but also of difference in feeling and habits, gradually grew up more substantially between the Eastern and Western tribes. The first act of the former after the completion of the conquest, and after they had taken part in the solemn ceremonial in the Valley between Ebal and Gerizim, shows how wide a gap already existed between their ideas and those of the Western tribes.

The pile of stones which they erected on the western bank of the Jordan to mark their boundary—to testify to after ages that though separated by the rushing river from their brethren and the country in which Jehovah had fixed the place where He would be worshipped, they had still a right to return to it for His worship—was erected in accordance with the unalterable habits of Bedouin tribes both before and since. It was an act identical with that in which Laban and Jacob engaged at parting, with that which is constantly performed by the Bedouins of the present day. But by the Israelites west of Jordan, who were fast relinquishing their nomad habits and feelings for those of more settled permanent life, this act was completely misunderstood, and was construed into an attempt to set up a rival altar to that of the Sacred Tent. The incompatibility of the idea to the mind of the Western Israelites, is shown by the fact, that notwithstanding the disclaimer of the 2½ tribes, and notwithstanding that disclaimer having proved satisfactory even to Phinehas, the author of Joshua xxii. retains the name *mizbêach* for the pile, a word which involves the idea of sacrifice—*i. e.* of *slaughter* (see Gesenius, *Thes.* 402)—instead of applying to it the term *gal*, as is done in the case (Gen. xxxi. 46) of the precisely similar "heap of witness."i —Another Reubenite erection, which for long kept up the memory of the presence of the tribe on the west of Jordan, was the stone of Bohan ben-Reuben which formed a landmark on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin. (Josh. xv. 6.) This was a single stone (*Eben*), not a pile, and it appears to have stood somewhere on the road from Bethany to Jericho, not far from the ruined khan so well known to travellers.

No judge, no prophet, no hero of the tribe of Reuben is handed down to us. In the dire extremity of their brethren in the north under Deborah and Barak, they contented themselves with debating the news amongst the streams k of the Mishor; the distant distress of his brethren could not move Reuben, he lingered among his sheepfolds and preferred the shepherd's pipe l and the bleating of the flocks, to the clamour of the trumpet and the turmoil of battle. His individuality fades more rapidly than Gad's. The eleven valiant Gadites who swam the Jordan at its highest to join the son of Jesse in his trouble (1 Chr. xii. 8-15), Barzillai, Elijah the Gileadite, the siege of Ramoth-Gilead with its picturesque incidents, all give a substantial reality to the tribe and country of Gad. But no person, no incident, is recorded, to place Reuben before us in any distincter form than as a member of the community (if community it can be called) of "the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh" (1 Chr. xii. 37). The very towns of his inheritance—Heshbon, Aroer, Kirjathaim, Dibon, Baal-meon, Sibmah, Jazer,—are familiar to us as Moabite, and not as Israelite towns. The city-life so characteristic of Moabite civilisation had no hold on the Reubenites. They are most in their element when engaged in continual broils with the children of the desert, the Bedouin tribes of Hagar, Jetur, Nephish, Nodab; driving off their myriads of cattle, asses, camels; dwelling *in their tents*, as if to the manner born (1 Chr. v. 10), gradually spreading over the vast wilderness which extends

g The Alex. LXX. adds the name of Simeon ("and let Symeon be many in number"): but this, though approved of by Michaelis (in the notes to the passage in his *Bibel für Ungelehrten*), on the ground that there is no reason for omitting Simeon, is not supported by any Codex or any other Version.

h In the *Revised Translation of the Holy Scriptures* by the Rev. C. Wellbeloved and others (London, 1857) the passage is rendered—

"May Reuben live and not die,
Though his men be few."

An excellent evasion of the difficulty, provided it be admissible as a translation.

i The "altar" is actually called Ed, or "witness" (Josh. xxii. 34) by the Bedouin Reubenites, just as the pile of Jacob and Laban was called Gal-ed, the heap of witness.

k The word used here, *peleg*, seems to refer to artificial streams or ditches for irrigation. [RIVER.]

l This is Ewald's rendering (*Dichter des A. B.* i. 130) adopted by Bunsen, of the passage rendered in the A. V "bleating of the flocks."

from Jordan to the Euphrates (v. 9), and every day receding further and further from any community of feeling or of interest with the Western tribes.

Thus remote from the central seat of the national government and of the national religion, it is not to be wondered at that Reuben relinquished the faith of Jehovah. "They went a whoring after the gods of the people of the land whom God destroyed before them," and the last historical notice which we possess of them, while it records this fact, records also as its natural consequence that the Reubenites and Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh were carried off by Pul and Tiglath-Pileser, and placed in the districts on and about the river *Khabûr* in the upper part of Mesopotamia—"in Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and the river Gozan" (1 Chr. v. 26). [G.]

REU'EL (רְעוּאֵל: Ῥαγουήλ: *Rahuel, Raguel*). The name of several persons mentioned in the Bible.

1. One of the sons of Esau, by his wife Bashemath sister of Ishmael. His sons were four—Nahath, Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah, "dukes" of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 4, 10, 13, 17; 1 Chr. i. 35, 37).

2. One of the names of Moses' father-in-law (Ex. ii. 18); the same which, through adherence to the LXX. form, is given in another passage of the A. V. RAGUEL. Moses' father-in-law was a Midianite, but the Midianites are in a well-known passage (Gen. xxxvii. 28) called also Ishmaelites, and if this may be taken strictly, it is not impossible that the name of Reuel may be a token of his connexion with the Ishmaelite tribe of that name. There is, however, nothing to confirm this suggestion.

3. Father of Eliasaph, the leader of the tribe of Gad, at the time of the census at Sinai (Num. ii. 14). In the parallel passages the name is given DEUEL, which is retained in this instance also by the Vulgate (*Duel*).

4. A Benjamite whose name occurs in the genealogy of a certain Elah, one of the chiefs of the tribe at the date of the settlement of Jerusalem (1 Chr. ix. 8). [G.]

RE'UMAH (רְאוּמָה: Ῥεύμα; Alex. Ῥεήρα: *Roma*). The concubine of Nahor, Abraham's brother (Gen. xxii. 24).

REVELATION OF ST. JOHN (Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου: *Apocalypsis Beati Joannis Apostoli*). The following subjects in connexion with this book seem to have the chief claim for a place in this article:—

A. CANONICAL AUTHORITY AND AUTHORSHIP.
B. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.
C. LANGUAGE.
D. CONTENTS AND STRUCTURE.
E. HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION.

A. CANONICAL AUTHORITY AND AUTHORSHIP.—The question as to the canonical authority of the Revelation resolves itself into a question of authorship. If it can be proved that a book, claiming so distinctly as this does the authority of divine inspiration, was actually written by St. John, then no doubt will be entertained as to its title to a place in the Canon of Scripture.

Was, then, St. John the Apostle and Evangelist the writer of the Revelation? This question was first mooted by Dionysius of Alexandria (Eusebius, *H. E.* vii. 25). The doubt which he modestly suggested has been confidently proclaimed in modern times by Luther (*Vorrede auf die Offenbarung*, 1522 and 1534), and widely diffused through his influence. Lücke (*Einleitung*, 802), the most learned and diligent of modern critics of the Revelation, agrees with a majority of the eminent scholars of Germany in denying that St. John was the author.

But the general belief of the mass of Christians in all ages has been in favour of St. John's authorship. The evidence adduced in support of that belief consists of (1) the assertions of the author, and (2) historical tradition.

(1) The author's description of himself in the 1st and 22nd chapters is certainly equivalent to an assertion that he is the Apostle. (*a*) He names himself simply John, without prefix or addition—a name which at that period, and in Asia, must have been taken by every Christian as the designation in the first instance of the great Apostle who dwelt at Ephesus. Doubtless there were other Johns among the Christians at that time, but only arrogance or an intention to deceive could account for the assumption of this simple style by any other writer. He is also described as (*b*) a servant of Christ, (*c*) one who had borne testimony as an eye-witness of the word of God and of the testimony of Christ—terms which were surely designed to identify him with the writer of the verses John xix. 35, i. 14, and 1 John i. 2. He is (*d*) in Patmos for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ: it may be easy to suppose that other Christians of the same name were banished thither, but the Apostle is the only John who is distinctly named in early history as an exile at Patmos. He is also (*e*) a fellow-sufferer with those whom he addresses, and (*f*) the authorised channel of the most direct and important communication that was ever made to the seven churches of Asia, of which churches John the Apostle was at that time the spiritual governor and teacher. Lastly (*g*) the writer was a fellow-servant of angels and a brother of prophets—titles which are far more suitable to one of the chief Apostles, and far more likely to have been assigned to him than to any other man of less distinction. All these marks are found united together in the Apostle John, and in him alone of all historical persons. We must go out of the region of fact into the region of conjecture to find such another person. A candid reader of the Revelation, if previously acquainted with St. John's other writings and life, must inevitably conclude that the writer intended to be identified with St. John. It is strange to see so able a critic as Lücke (*Einleitung*, 514) meeting this conclusion with the conjecture that some Asiatic disciple and namesake of the Apostle may have written the book in the course of some missionary labours or some time of sacred retirement in Patmos. Equally unavailing against this conclusion is the objection brought by Ewald, Credner, and others, from the fact that a promise of the future blessedness of the Apostles is implied in xviii. 20 and xxi. 14; as if it were inconsistent with the true modesty and humility of an Apostle to record—as Daniel of old did in much plainer terms (Dan. xii. 13)—a divine promise of salvation to himself personally. Rather those passages may be taken as instances of the writer quietly accepting as his just due such honourable mention as belongs to all the Apostolic company. Unless we are prepared to give up the veracity and divine origin of the whole book, and to treat the writer's account of himself as a mere

fiction of a poet trying to cover his own insignificance with an honoured name, we must accept that description as a plain statement of fact, equally credible with the rest of the book, and in harmony with the simple, honest, truthful character which is stamped on the face of the whole narrative.

Besides this direct assertion of St. John's authorship, there is also an implication of it running through the book. Generally, the instinct of single-minded, patient, faithful students has led them to discern a connexion between the Revelation and St. John, and to recognise not merely the same Spirit as the source of this and other books of Holy Scripture, but also the same peculiarly-formed human instrument employed both in producing this book and the fourth Gospel, and in speaking the characteristic words and performing the characteristic actions recorded of St. John. This evidence is set forth at great length, and with much force and eloquence, by J. P. Lange, in his Essay on the Connexion between the Individuality of the Apostle John and that of the Apocalypse, 1838 (*Vermischte Schriften*, ii. 173-231). After investigating the peculiar features of the Apostle's character and position, and (in reply to Lücke) the personal traits shown by the writer of the Revelation, he concludes that the book is a mysterious but genuine effusion of prophecy under the New Testament, imbued with the spirit of the Gospel, the product of a spiritual gift so peculiar, so great and noble that it can be ascribed to the Apostle John alone. The Revelation requires for its writer St. John, just as his peculiar genius requires for its utterance a revelation.

(2) To come to the historical testimonies in favour of St. John's authorship:—these are singularly distinct and numerous, and there is very little to weigh against them. (*a*) Justin Martyr, circ. 150 A.D., says:—"A man among us whose name was John, one of the Apostles of Christ, in a revelation which was made to him, prophesied that the believers in our Christ shall live a thousand years in Jerusalem" (*Tryph.* §81, p. 179, ed. Ben.). (*b*) The author of the Muratorian Fragment, circ. 170 A.D., speaks of St. John as the writer of the Apocalypse, and describes him as a predecessor of St. Paul, *i. e.* as Credner and Lücke candidly interpret it, his predecessor in the office of Apostle. (*c*) Melito of Sardis, circ. 170 A.D., wrote a treatise on the Revelation of John. Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 26) mentions this among the books of Melito which had come to his knowledge; and, as he carefully records objections against the Apostle's authorship, it may be fairly presumed, notwithstanding the doubts of Klenker and Lücke (p. 514), that Eusebius found no doubt as to St. John's authorship in the book of this ancient Asiatic bishop. (*d*) Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, circ. 180, in a controversy with Hermogenes, quotes passages out of the Revelation of John (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 24). (*e*) Irenaeus, circ. 195, apparently never having heard a suggestion of any other author than the Apostle, often quotes the Revelation as the work of John. In iv. 20, §11, he describes John the writer of the Revelation as the same who was leaning on Jesus' bosom at supper, and asked Him who should betray Him. The testimony of Irenaeus as to the authorship of Revelation is perhaps more important than that of any other writer: it mounts up into the preceding generation, and is virtually that of a contemporary of the Apostle. For in v. 30, §1, where he vindicates the true reading (666) of the number of the Beast, he cites in support of it not only the old correct copies of the book, but also the oral testimony of the very persons who themselves had seen St. John face to face. It is obvious that Irenaeus' reference for information on such a point to those contemporaries of St. John implies his undoubting belief that they, in common with himself, viewed St. John as the writer of the book. Lücke (p. 574) suggests that this view was possibly groundless because it was entertained before the learned fathers of Alexandria had set the example of historical criticism; but his suggestion scarcely weakens the force of the fact that such was the belief of Asia, and it appears a strange suggestion when we remember that the critical discernment of the Alexandrians, to whom he refers, led them to coincide with Irenaeus in his view. (*f*) Apollonius (circ. 200) of Ephesus (?), in controversy with the Montanists of Phrygia, quoted passages out of the Revelation of John, and narrated a miracle wrought by John at Ephesus (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18). (*g*) Clement of Alexandria (circ. 200) quotes the book as the Revelation of John (*Stromata*, vi. 13, p. 667), and as the work of an Apostle (*Paed.* ii. 12, p. 207). (*h*) Tertullian (A.D. 207), in at least one place, quotes by name "the Apostle John in the Apocalypse" (*Adv. Marcion.* iii. 14). (*i*) Hippolytus (circ. 230) is said, in the inscription on his statue at Rome, to have composed an apology for the Apocalypse and Gospel of St. John the Apostle. He quotes it as the work of St. John (*De Antichristo*, §36, p. 756, ed. Migne). (*j*) Origen (circ. 233), in his Commentary on St. John, quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 25), says of the Apostle, "he wrote also the Revelation." The testimonies of later writers, in the third and fourth centuries, in favour of St. John's authorship of the Revelation, are equally distinct and far more numerous. They may be seen quoted at length in Lücke, pp. 628-638, or in Dean Alford's *Prolegomena* (*N. T.*, vol. iv. pt. ii.). It may suffice here to say that they include the names of Victorinus, Methodius, Ephrem Syrus, Epiphanius, Basil, Hilary, Athanasius, Gregory, Didymus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome.

All the foregoing writers, testifying that the book came from an Apostle, believed that it was a part of Holy Scripture. But many whose extant works cannot be quoted for testimony to the authorship of the book refer to it as possessing canonical authority. Thus (*a*) Papias, who is described by Irenaeus as a hearer of St. John and friend of Polycarp, is cited, together with other writers, by Andreas of Cappadocia, in his Commentary on the Revelation, as a guarantee to later ages of the divine inspiration of the book (Routh, *Reliq. Sacr.* i. 15; Cramer's *Catena*, Oxford, 1840, p. 176). The value of this testimony has not been impaired by the controversy to which it has given rise, in which Lücke, Bleek, Hengstenberg, and Rettig have taken different parts. (*b*) In the Epistle from the Churches of Lyons and Vienne, A.D. 177, inserted in Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 1-3, several passages (*e. g.* i. 5, xiv. 4, xxii. 11) are quoted or referred to in the same way as passages of books whose canonical authority is unquestioned. (*c*) Cyprian (*Epp.* 10, 12, 14, 19, ed. Fell) repeatedly quotes it as a part of canonical Scripture. Chrysostom makes no distinct allusion to it in any extant writing; but we are informed by Suidas that he received it as canonical. Although omitted (perhaps as not adapted for public reading in church) from the list of canonical books in the

Counci. of Laodicea, it was admitted into the list of the Third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397.

Such is the evidence in favour of St. John's authorship and of the canonical authority of this book. The following facts must be weighed on the other side.

Marcion, who regarded all the Apostles except St. Paul as corrupters of the truth, rejected the Apocalypse and all other books of the N. T. which were not written by St. Paul. The Alogi, an obscure sect, circa 180 A.D., in their zeal against Montanism, denied the existence of spiritual gifts in the Church, and rejected the Revelation, saying it was the work, not of John, but of Cerinthus (Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* li.). The Roman presbyter Caius (circa 196 A.D.), who also wrote against Montanism, is quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 28) as ascribing certain Revelations to Cerinthus: but it is doubted (see Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* ii. 138) whether the Revelation of St. John is the book to which Caius refers. But the testimony which is considered the most important of all in ancient times against the Revelation is contained in a fragment of Dionysius of Alexandria, circa 240 A.D., the most influential and perhaps the ablest bishop in that age. The passage taken from a book *On the Promises*, written in reply to Nepos, a learned Judaising Chiliast, is quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 25). The principal points in it are these:—Dionysius testifies that some writers before him altogether repudiated the Revelation as a forgery of Cerinthus; many brethren, however, prized it very highly, and Dionysius would not venture to reject it, but received it in faith as containing things too deep and too sublime for his understanding. [In his Epistle to Hermammon (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 10) he quotes it as he would quote Holy Scripture.] He accepts as true what is stated in the book itself, that it was written by John, but he argues that the way in which that name is mentioned, and the general character of the language, are unlike what we should expect from John the Evangelist and Apostle; that there were many Johns in that age. He would not say that John Mark was the writer, since it is not known that he was in Asia. He supposes it must be the work of some John who lived in Asia; and he observes there are said to be two tombs in Ephesus, each of which bears the name of John. He then points out at length the superiority of the style of the Gospel and the First Epistle of John to the style of the Apocalypse, and says, in conclusion, that, whatever he may think of the language, he does not deny that the writer of the Apocalypse actually saw what he describes, and was endowed with the divine gifts of knowledge and prophecy. To this extent, and no farther, Dionysius is a witness against St. John's authorship. It is obvious that he felt keenly the difficulty arising from the use made of the contents of this book by certain unsound Christians under his jurisdiction; that he was acquainted with the doubt as to its canonical authority which some of his predecessors entertained as an inference from the nature of its contents; that he deliberately rejected their doubt and accepted the contents of the book as given by the inspiration of God; that, although he did not understand how St. John could write in the style in which the Revelation is written, he yet knew of no authority for attributing it, as he desired to attribute it, to some other of the numerous persons who bore the name of John. A weightier difficulty arises from the fact that the Revelation is one of the books which are absent from the ancient Peshito version; and the only trustworthy evidence in favour of its reception by the ancient Syrian Church is a single quotation which is adduced from the Syriac works (ii. 332 *c*) of Ephrem Syrus. Eusebius is remarkably sparing in his quotations from the "Revelation of John," and the uncertainty of his opinion about it is best shown by his statement in *H. E.* iii. 39, that "it is likely that the Revelation was seen by the second John (the Ephesian presbyter), if anyone is unwilling to believe that it was seen by the Apostle." Jerome states (*Ep. ad Dardanum*, &c.) that the Greek Churches felt, with respect to the Revelation, a similar doubt to that of the Latins respecting the Epistle to the Hebrews. Neither he nor his equally influential contemporary Augustine shared such doubts. Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret abstained from making use of the book, sharing, it is possible, the doubts to which Jerome refers. But they have not gone so far as to express a distinct opinion against it. The silence of these writers is the latest evidence of any importance that has been adduced against the overwhelming weight of the testimony in favour of the canonical authority and authorship of this book

B. TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.—The date of the Revelation is given by the great majority of critics as A.D. 95-97. The weighty testimony of Irenaeus is almost sufficient to prevent any other conclusion. He says (*Adv. Haer.* v. 30, §3): "It (*i. e.* the Revelation) was seen no very long time ago, but almost in our own generation, at the close of Domitian's reign." Eusebius also records as a tradition which he does not question, that in the persecution under Domitian, John the Apostle and Evangelist, being yet alive, was banished to the island Patmos for his testimony of the divine word. Allusions in Clement of Alexandria and Origen point in the same direction. There is no mention in any writer of the first three centuries of any other time or place. Epiphanius (li. 12), obviously by mistake, says that John prophesied in the reign of Claudius. Two or three obscure and later authorities say that John was banished under Nero.

Unsupported by any historical evidence, some commentators have put forth the conjecture that the Revelation was written as early as the time of Nero. This is simply their inference from the style and contents of the book. But it is difficult to see why St. John's old age rendered it, as they allege, impossible for him to write his inspired message with force and vigour, or why his residence in Ephesus must have removed the Hebraistic peculiarities of his Greek. It is difficult to see in the passages i. 7, ii. 9, iii. 9, vi. 12, 16, xi. 1, anything which would lead necessarily to the conclusion that Jerusalem was in a prosperous condition, and that the predictions of its fall had not been fulfilled when those verses were written. A more weighty argument in favour of an early date might be urged from a modern interpretation of xvii. 10, if that interpretation could be established. Galba is alleged to be the sixth king, the one that "is." In Nero these interpreters see the Beast that was wounded (xiii. 3), the Beast that was and is not, the eighth king (xvii. 11). For some time after Nero's death the Roman populace believed that he was not dead, but had fled into the East, whence he would return and regain his throne: and these interpreters venture to suggest that the writer of the Revelation shared and meant to express the

absurd popular delusion. Even the able and learned Reuss (*Théol. Chrét.* i. 443), by way of supporting this interpretation, advances his untenable claim to the first discovery of the name of Nero Caesar in the number of the beast, 666. The inconsistency of this interpretation with prophetic analogy, with the context of Revelation, and with the fact that the book is of divine origin, is pointed out by Hengstenberg at the end of his Commentary on ch. xiii., and by Elliott, *Horae Apoc.* iv. 547.

It has been inferred from i. 2, 9, 10, that the Revelation was written in Ephesus, immediately after the Apostle's return from Patmos. But the text is scarcely sufficient to support this conclusion. The style in which the messages to the seven Churches are delivered rather suggests the notion that the book was written in Patmos.

C. LANGUAGE.—The doubt first suggested by Hareuberg, whether the Revelation was written in Aramaic, has met with little or no reception. The silence of all ancient writers as to any Aramaic original is alone a sufficient answer to the suggestion. Lücke (*Einleit.* 441) has also collected internal evidence to show that the original is the Greek of a Jewish Christian.

Lücke has also (pp. 448-464) examined in minute detail, after the preceding labours of Donker-Curtius, Vogel, Winer, Ewald, Kolthoff, and Hitzig, the peculiarities of language which obviously distinguish the Revelation from every other book of the New Testament. And in subsequent sections (pp. 680-747) he urges with great force the difference between the Revelation on one side and the fourth Gospel and first Epistle on the other, in respect of their style and composition and the mental character and attainments of the writer of each. Hengstenberg, in a dissertation appended to his Commentary, maintains that they are by one writer. That the anomalies and peculiarities of the Revelation have been greatly exaggerated by some critics, is sufficiently shown by Hitzig's plausible and ingenious, though unsuccessful, attempt to prove the identity of style and diction in the Revelation and the Gospel of St. Mark. It may be admitted that the Revelation has many surprising grammatical peculiarities. But much of this is accounted for by the fact that it was probably written down, as it was seen, "in the Spirit," whilst the ideas, in all their novelty and vastness, filled the Apostle's mind, and rendered him less capable of attending to forms of speech. His Gospel and Epistles, on the other hand, were composed equally under divine influence, but an influence of a gentler, more ordinary kind, with much care, after long deliberation, after frequent recollection and recital of the facts, and deep pondering of the doctrinal truths which they involve.

D. CONTENTS.—The first three verses contain the title of the book, the description of the writer, and the blessing pronounced on the readers, which possibly, like the last two verses of the fourth Gospel, may be an addition by the hand of inspired survivors of the writer. John begins (i. 4) with a salutation of the seven Churches of Asia. This, coming before the announcement that he was in the Spirit, looks like a dedication not merely of the first vision, but of all the book, to those Churches. In the next five verses (i. 5-9) he touches the keynote of the whole following book, the great fundamental ideas on which all our notions of the government of the world and the Church are built; the Person of Christ, the redemption wrought by Him, His second coming to judge mankind, the painful hopeful discipline of Christians in the midst of this present world: thoughts which may well be supposed to have been uppermost in the mind of the persecuted and exiled Apostle even before the Divine Inspiration came on him.

a. The first vision (i. 7–iii. 22) shows the Son of Man with His injunction, or Epistles to the seven Churches. While the Apostle is pondering those great truths and the critical condition of his Church which he had left, a Divine Person resembling those seen by Ezekiel and Daniel, and identified by name and by description as Jesus, appears to John, and with the discriminating authority of a Lord and Judge reviews the state of those Churches, pronounces his decision upon their several characters, and takes occasion from them to speak to all Christians who may deserve similar encouragement or similar condemnation. Each of these sentences, spoken by the Son of Man, is described as said by the Spirit. Hitherto the Apostle has been speaking primarily though not exclusively to some of his own contemporaries concerning the present events and circumstances. Henceforth he ceases to address them particularly. His words are for the ear of the universal Church in all ages, and show the significance of things which are present in hope or fear, in sorrow or in joy, to Christians everywhere.

b. (iv. 1–viii. 1.) In the next vision, Patmos and the Divine Person whom he saw are gone. Only the trumpet voice is heard again calling him to a change of place. He is in the highest court of heaven, and sees God sitting on His throne. The seven-sealed book or roll is produced, and the slain Lamb, the Redeemer, receives it amid the sound of universal adoration. As the seals are opened in order, the Apostle sees (1) a conqueror on a white horse, (2) a red horse betokening war, (3) the black horse of famine, (4) the pale horse of death, (5) the eager souls of martyrs under the altar, (6) an earthquake with universal commotion and terror. After this there is a pause, the course of avenging angels is checked while 144,000, the children of Israel, servants of God, are sealed, and an innumerable multitude of the redeemed of all nations are seen worshipping God. Next (7) the seventh seal is opened, and half an hour's silence in heaven ensues.

c. Then (viii.2–xi. 19) seven angels appear with trumpets, the prayers of saints are offered up, the earth is struck with fire from the altar, and the seven trumpets are sounded. (1) The earth, and (2) the sea and (3) the springs of water and (4) the heavenly bodies are successively smitten, (5) a plague of locusts afflicts the men who are not sealed (the first woe), (6) the third part of men are slain (the second woe), but the rest are impenitent. Then there is a pause: a mighty angel with a book appears and cries out, seven thunders sound, but their words are not recorded, the approaching completion of the mystery of God is announced, the angel bids the Apostle eat the book, and measure the temple with its worshippers and the outer court given up to the Gentiles; the two witnesses of God, their martyrdom, resurrection, ascension, are foretold. The approach of the third woe is announced and (7) the seventh trumpet is sounded, the reign of Christ is proclaimed, God has taken His great power, the time has come for judgment and for the destruction of the destroyers of the earth.

The three preceding visions are distinct from one another. Each of the last two, like the longer

one which follows, has the appearance of a distinct prophecy, reaching from the prophet's time to the end of the world. The second half of the Revelation (xii.–xxii.) comprises a series of visions which are connected by various links. It may be described generally as a prophecy of the assaults of the devil and his agents (= the dragon, the ten-horned beast, the two-horned beast or false prophet, and the harlot) upon the Church, and their final destruction. It appears to begin with a reference to events anterior, not only to those which are predicted in the preceding chapter, but also to the time in which it was written. It seems hard to interpret the birth of the child as a prediction, and not as a retrospective allusion.

d. A woman (xii.) clothed with the sun is seen in heaven, and a great red dragon with seven crowned heads stands waiting to devour her offspring; her child is caught up unto God, and the mother flees into the wilderness for 1260 days. The persecution of the woman and her seed on earth by the dragon, is described as the consequence of a war in heaven in which the dragon was overcome and cast out upon the earth.

St. John (xiii.) standing on the seashore sees a beast with seven heads, one wounded, with ten crowned horns, rising from the water, the representative of the dragon. All the world wonder at and worship him, and he attacks the saints and prevails. He is followed by another two-horned beast rising out of the earth, who compels men to wear the mark of the beast, whose number is 666.

St. John (xiv.) sees the Lamb with 144,000 standing on Mount Zion learning the song of praise of the heavenly host. Three angels fly forth calling men to worship God, proclaiming the fall of Babylon, denouncing the worshippers of the beast. A blessing is pronounced on the faithful dead, and the judgment of the world is described under the image of a harvest reaped by angels.

St. John (xv., xvi.) sees in heaven the saints who had overcome the beast, singing the song of Moses and the Lamb. Then seven angels come out of the heavenly temple having seven vials of wrath which they pour out upon the earth, sea, rivers, sun, the seat of the beast, Euphrates, and the air, after which there is a great earthquake and a hailstorm.

One (xvii., xviii.) of the last seven angels carries St. John into the wilderness and shows him a harlot, Babylon, sitting on a scarlet beast with seven heads and ten horns. She is explained to be that great city, sitting upon seven mountains, reigning over the kings of the earth. Afterwards St. John sees a vision of the destruction of Babylon, portrayed as the burning of a great city amid the lamentations of worldly men and the rejoicing of saints.

Afterwards (xix.) the worshippers in heaven are heard celebrating Babylon's fall and the approaching marriage-supper of the Lamb. The Word of God is seen going forth to war at the head of the heavenly armies: the beast and his false prophet are taken and cast into the burning lake, and their worshippers are slain.

An angel (xx.–xxii. 5) binds the dragon, *i. e.* the devil, for 1000 years, whilst the martyred saints who had not worshipped the beast reign with Christ. Then the devil is unloosed, gathers a host against the camp of the saints, but is overcome by fire from heaven, and is cast into the burning lake with the beast and false prophet. St. John then witnesses the process of the final judgment, and sees and describes the new heaven and the new earth, and the new Jerusalem, with its people and their way of life.

In the last sixteen verses (xxii. 6-21) the angel solemnly asseverates the truthfulness and importance of the foregoing sayings, pronounces a blessing on those who keep them exactly, gives warning of His speedy coming to judgment, and of the nearness of the time when these prophecies shall be fulfilled.

E. INTERPRETATION.—A short account of the different directions in which attempts have been made to interpret the Revelation, is all that can be given in this place. The special blessing promised to the reader of this book (i. 3), the assistance to common Christian experience afforded by its precepts and by some of its visions, the striking imagery of others, the tempting field which it supplies for intellectual exercise, will always attract students to this book and secure for it the labours of many commentators. Ebrard reckons that not less than eighty systematic commentaries are worthy of note, and states that the less valuable writings on this inexhaustible subject are unnumbered, if not innumerable. Fanaticism, theological hatred, and vain curiosity, may have largely influenced their composition; but any one who will compare the necessarily inadequate, and sometimes erroneous, exposition of early times with a good modern commentary will see that the pious ingenuity of so many centuries has not been exerted quite in vain.

The interval between the Apostolic age and that of Constantine has been called the Chiliastic period of Apocalyptic interpretation. The visions of St. John were chiefly regarded as representations of general Christian truths, scarcely yet embodied in actual facts, for the most part to be exemplified or fulfilled in the reign of Antichrist, the coming of Christ, the millennium, and the day of judgment. The fresh hopes of the early Christians, and the severe persecution they endured, taught them to live in those future events with intense satisfaction and comfort. They did not entertain the thought of building up a definite consecutive chronological scheme even of those symbols which some moderns regard as then already fulfilled; although from the beginning a connexion between Rome and Antichrist was universally allowed, and parts of the Revelation were regarded as the filling-up of the great outline sketched by Daniel and St. Paul.

The only extant systematic interpretations in this period, are the interpolated Commentary on the Revelation by the martyr Victorinus, circ. 270 A.D. (*Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima*, iii. 414, and Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, v. 318; the two editions should be compared), and the disputed Treatise on Antichrist by Hippolytus (Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, x. 726). But the prevalent views of that age are to be gathered also from a passage in Justin Martyr (*Trypho*, 80, 81), from the later books, especially the fifth, of Irenaeus, and from various scattered passages in Tertullian, Origen, and Methodius. The general anticipation of the last days of the world in Lactantius, vii. 14-25, has little direct reference to the Revelation.

Immediately after the triumph of Constantine, the Christians, emancipated from oppression and persecution, and dominant and prosperous in their turn, began to lose their vivid expectation of our Lord's speedy Advent, and their spiritual conception of His kingdom, and to look upon the temporal supremacy of Christianity as a fulfilment of the promised reign of Christ on earth. The Roman empire become Christian was regarded no longer as

the object of prophetic denunciation, but as the scene of a millennial development. This view, however, was soon met by the figurative interpretation of the millennium as the reign of Christ in the hearts of all true believers. As the barbarous and heretical invaders of the falling empire appeared, they were regarded by the suffering Christians as fulfilling the woes denounced in the Revelation. The beginning of a regular chronological interpretation is seen in Berengaud (assigned by some critics to the 9th century), who treated the Revelation as a history of the Church from the beginning of the world to its end. And the original Commentary of the Abbot Joachim is remarkable, not only for a farther development of that method of interpretation, but for the scarcely disguised identification of Babylon with Papal Rome, and of the second Beast or Antichrist with some Universal Pontiff.

The chief commentaries belonging to this period are that which is ascribed to Tichonius, circ. 390 A.D., printed in the works of St. Augustine; Primasius, of Adrumetum in Africa, A.D. 550, in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, lxviii. p. 1406; Andreas of Crete, circ. 650 A.D., Arethas of Cappadocia and Oecumenius of Thessaly in the 10th century, whose commentaries were published together in Cramer's *Catena*, Oxon., 1840; the *Explanatio Apoc.* in the works of Bede, A.D. 735; the *Expositio* of Berengaud, printed in the works of Ambrose; the Commentary of Haymo, A.D. 853, first published at Cologne in 1531; a short Treatise on the Seals by Anselm, bishop of Havilberg, A.D. 1145, printed in D'Achéry's *Spicilegium*, i. 161; the *Expositio* of Abbot Joachim of Calabria, A.D. 1200, printed at Venice in 1527.

In the dawn of the Reformation, the views to which the reputation of Abbot Joachim gave currency, were taken up by the harbingers of the impending change, as by Wiclife and others; and they became the foundation of that great historical school of interpretation, which up to this time seems the most popular of all. It is impossible to construct an exact classification of modern interpreters of the Revelation. They are generally placed in three great divisions.

a. The Historical or Continuous expositors, in whose opinion the Revelation is a progressive history of the fortunes of the Church from the first century to the end of time. The chief supporters of this most interesting interpretation are Mede, Sir I. Newton, Vitringa, Bengel, Woodhouse, Faber, E. B. Elliott, Wordsworth, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, and others. The recent commentary of Dean Alford belongs mainly to this school.

b. The Praeterist expositors, who are of opinion that the Revelation has been almost, or altogether, fulfilled in the time which has passed since it was written; that it refers principally to the triumph of Christianity over Judaism and Paganism, signalised in the downfall of Jerusalem and of Rome. The most eminent expounders of this view are Alcasar, Grotius, Hammond, Bossuet, Calmet, Wetstein, Eichhorn, Hug, Herder, Ewald, Lücke, De Wette, Düsterdieck, Stuart, Lee, and Maurice. This is the favourite interpretation with the critics of Germany, one of whom goes so far as to state that the writer of the Revelation promised the fulfilment of his visions within the space of three years and a half from the time in which he wrote.

c. The Futurist expositors, whose views show a strong reaction against some extravagancies of the two preceding schools. They believe that the whole book, excepting perhaps the first three chapters, refers principally, if not exclusively, to events which are yet to come. This view, which is asserted to be merely a revival of the primitive interpretation, has been advocated in recent times by Dr. J. H. Todd, Dr. S. R. Maitland, B. Newton, C. Maitland, I. Williams, De Burgh, and others.

Each of these three schemes is open to objection. Against the Futurist it is argued, that it is not consistent with the repeated declarations of a speedy fulfilment at the beginning and end of the book itself (see ch. i. 3, xxii. 6, 7, 12, 20). Christians, to whom it was originally addressed, would have derived no special comfort from it, had its fulfilment been altogether deferred for so many centuries. The rigidly literal interpretation of Babylon, the Jewish tribes, and other symbols which generally forms a part of Futurist schemes, presents peculiar difficulties.

Against the Praeterist expositors it is urged, that prophecies fulfilled ought to be rendered so perspicuous to the general sense of the Church as to supply an argument against infidelity; that the destruction of Jerusalem, having occurred twenty-five years previously, could not occupy a large space in a prophecy; that the supposed predictions of the downfalls of Jerusalem and of Nero appear from the context to refer to one event, but are by this scheme separated, and, moreover, placed in a wrong order; that the measuring of the temple and the altar, and the death of the two witnesses (ch. xi.), cannot be explained consistently with the context.

Against the Historical scheme it is urged, that its advocates differ very widely among themselves; that they assume without any authority that the 1260 days are so many years; that several of its applications—*e. g.* of the symbol of the ten-horned beast to the Popes, and the sixth seal to the conversion of Constantine—are inconsistent with the context; that attempts by some of this school to predict future events by the help of Revelation have ended in repeated failures.

In conclusion, it may be stated that two methods have been proposed by which the student of the Revelation may escape the incongruities and fallacies of the different interpretations, whilst he may derive edification from whatever truth they contain. It has been suggested that the book may be regarded as a prophetic poem, dealing in general and inexact descriptions, much of which may be set down as poetic imagery, mere embellishment. But such a view would be difficult to reconcile with the belief that the book is an inspired prophecy. A better suggestion is made, or rather is revived, by Dr. Arnold in his Sermons *On the Interpretation of Prophecy*: that we should bear in mind that predictions have a lower historical sense, as well as a higher spiritual sense; that there may be one or more than one typical, imperfect, historical fulfilment of a prophecy, in each of which the higher spiritual fulfilment is shadowed forth more or less distinctly. Mr. Elliott, in his *Horae Apocalypticae*, iv. 622, argues against this principle; but perhaps not successfully. The recognition of it would pave the way for the acceptance in a modified sense of many of the interpretations of the Historical school, and would not exclude the most valuable portions of the other schemes. [W. T. B.]

REZ'EPH (רֶצֶף: ἡ Ῥαφεις, and Ῥαφέθ[a]

[a] The Alex. MS. exhibits the same forms of the name as the Vat.; but by a curious coincidence interchanges, viz. Ῥαφεθ in 2 Kings, Ῥαφεις in Isaiah.

Reseph). One of the places which Sennacherib mentions, in his taunting message to Hezekiah, as having been destroyed by his predecessor (2 K. xix. 12; Is. xxxvii. 12). He couples it with Haran and other well-known Mesopotamian spots. The name is still a common one, Yakût's Lexicon quoting nine towns so called. Interpreters, however, are at variance between the principal two of these. The one is a day's march west of the Euphrates, on the road from *Racca* to *Hûms* (Gesenius, Keil, Thenius, Michaelis, *Suppl.*); the other, again, is east of the Euphrates, near Bagdad (Hitzig). The former is mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 15) under the name of Ῥησάφα, and appears, in the present imperfect state of our Mesopotamian knowledge, to be the more feasible of the two. [G.]

REZ'IA (רְצִיָא: Ῥασιά: *Resia*). An Asherite, of the sons of Ulla (1 Chr. vii. 39).

REZ'IN (רְצִין: Ῥασίν, Ῥαασσών: *Rasin*).

1. A king of Damascus, contemporary with Pekah in Israel, and with Jotham and Ahaz in Judaea. The policy of Rezin seems to have been to ally himself closely with the kingdom of Israel, and, thus strengthened, to carry on constant war against the kings of Judah. He attacked Jotham during the latter part of his reign (2 K. xv. 37); but his chief war was with Ahaz, whose territories he invaded, in company with Pekah, soon after Ahaz had mounted the throne (about B.C. 741). The combined army laid siege to Jerusalem, where Ahaz was, but "could not prevail against it" (Is. vii. 1; 2 K xvi. 5). Rezin, however, "recovered Elath to Syria" (2 K. xvi. 6); that is, he conquered and held possession of the celebrated town of that name at the head of the Gulf of Akabah, which commanded one of the most important lines of trade in the East. Soon after this he was attacked by Tiglath-Pileser II., king of Assyria, to whom Ahaz in his distress had made application; his armies were defeated by the Assyrian hosts; his city besieged and taken; his people carried away captive into Susiana (? KIR); and he himself slain (2 K. xvi. 9; compare Tiglath-Pileser's own inscriptions, where the defeat of Rezin and the destruction of Damascus are distinctly mentioned). This treatment was probably owing to his being regarded as a rebel; since Damascus had been taken and laid under tribute by the Assyrians some time previously (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 467). [G. R.]

2. One of the families of the Nethinim (Ezr. ii. 48; Neh. vii. 50). It furnishes another example of the occurrence of non-Israelite names amongst them, which is already noticed under MEHUNIM [313 note; and see SISERA]. In 1 Esd. the name appears as Daisan, in which the change from R to D seems to imply that 1 Esdras at one time existed in Syriac or some other Semitic language. [G.]

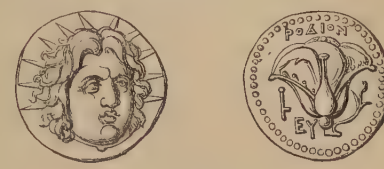
REZ'ON (רְזוֹן: Ἐσρώμ: Alex. Ῥαζών: *Razon*). The son of Eliadah, a Syrian, who when David defeated Hadadezer king of Zobah, put himself at the head of a band of freebooters and set up a petty kingdom at Damascus (1 K. xi. 23). Whether he was an officer of Hadadezer, who, foreseeing the destruction which David would inflict, prudently escaped with some followers; or whether he gathered his band of the remnant of those who survived the slaughter, does not appear. The latter is more probable. The settlement of Rezon at Damascus could not have been till some time after the disastrous battle in which the power of Hadadezer was broken, for we are told that David at the same time defeated the army of Damascene Syrians who came to the relief of Hadadezer, and put garrisons in Damascus. From his position at Damascus he harassed the kingdom of Solomon during his whole reign. With regard to the statement of Nicolaus in the 4th book of his History, quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 5, §2), there is less difficulty, as there seems to be no reason for attributing to it any historical authority. He says that the name of the king of Damascus, whom David defeated, was Hadad, and that his descendants and successors took the same name for ten generations. If this be true, Rezon was a usurper, but the origin of the story is probably the confused account of the LXX. In the Vatican MS. of the LXX. the account of Rezon is inserted in ver. 14 in close connexion with Hadad, and on this Josephus appears to have founded his story that Hadad, on leaving Egypt, endeavoured without success to excite Idumea to revolt, and then went to Syria, where he joined himself with Rezon, called by Josephus Raazarus, who at the head of a band of robbers was plundering the country (*Ant.* viii. 7, §6). It was Hadad and not Rezon, according to the account in Josephus, who established himself king of that part of Syria, and made inroads upon the Israelites. In 1 K. xv. 18, Benhadad, king of Damascus in the reign of Asa, is described as the grandson of Hezion, and from the resemblance between the names Rezon and Hezion, when written in Hebrew characters, it has been suggested that the latter is a corrupt reading for the former. For this suggestion, however, there does not appear to be sufficient ground, though it was adopted both by Sir John Marsham (*Chron. Can.* p. 346) and Sir Isaac Newton (*Chronol.* p. 221). Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, i. p. cclxxi.) makes Hezion contemporary with Rehoboam, and probably a grandson of Rezon. The name is Aramaic, and Ewald compares it with Rezin. [W. A. W.]

RHE'GIUM (Ῥήγιον: *Rhegium*). The mention of this Italian town (which was situated on the Bruttian coast, just at the southern entrance of the straits of Messina) occurs quite incidentally (Acts xxviii. 13) in the account of St. Paul's voyage from Syracuse to Puteoli, after the shipwreck at Malta. But, for two reasons, it is worthy of careful attention. By a curious coincidence the figures on its coins are the very "twin-brothers" which gave the name to St. Paul's ship. See (attached to the article CASTOR AND POLLUX) the coin of Bruttii, which doubtless represents the forms that were painted or sculptured on the vessel. And, again, the notice of the intermediate position of Rhegium, the waiting there for a southerly wind to carry the ship through the straits, the run to Puteoli with such a wind within the twenty four hours, are all points of geographical accuracy which help us to realise the narrative. As to the history of the place, it was originally a Greek colony: it was miserably destroyed by Dionysius of Syracuse: from Augustus it received advantages which combined with its geographical position in making it important throughout the duration of the Roman empire: it was prominently associated, in the middle ages, with the varied fortunes of the Greek emperors, the Saracens, and the Romans: and still the modern *Reggio* is a town of 10,000 inhabitants. Its distance across the straits from Messina is only about six miles, and it is well seen from the telegraph station above that Sicilian town. [J. S. H.]

RHE'SA (Ῥησά: *Resa*), son of Zorobabel in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 27). Lord A. Hervey has ingeniously conjectured that Rhesa is no person, but merely the title *Rosh*, i. e. "Prince," originally attached to the name of Zerubbabel, and gradually introduced as an independent name into the genealogy. He thus removes an important obstacle to the reconciliation of the pedigrees in Matthew and Luke (Hervey's *Genealogies*, &c., 111, 114, 356-60). [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, 675*a*; ZERUBBABEL.] [G.]

RHO'DA (Ῥόδη; *Rhode*), lit. *Rose*, the name of a maid who announced Peter's arrival at the door of Mary's house after his miraculous release from prison (Acts xii. 13).

RHODES (Ῥόδος; *Rhodus*). The history of this island is so illustrious, that it is interesting to see it connected, even in a small degree, with the life of St. Paul. He touched there on his return-voyage to Syria from the third missionary journey (Acts xxi. 1). It does not appear that he landed from the ship. The day before he had been at Cos, an island to the N.W.; and from Rhodes he proceeded eastwards to PATARA in Lycia. It seems, from all the circumstances of the narrative, that the wind was blowing from the N.W., as it very often does in that part of the Levant. Rhodes is immediately opposite the high Carian and Lycian headlands at the S.W. extremity of the peninsula of Asia Minor. Its position has had much to do with its history. The outline of that history is as follows. Its real eminence began (about 400 B.C.) with the founding of that city at the N.E. extremity of the island, which still continues to be the capital. Though the Dorian race was originally and firmly established here, yet Rhodes was very frequently dependent on others, between the Peloponnesian war and the time of Alexander's campaign. After Alexander's death it entered on a glorious period, its material prosperity being largely developed, and its institutions deserving and obtaining general esteem. As we approach the time of the consolidation of the Roman power in the Levant, we have a notice of Jewish residents in Rhodes (1 Macc. xv. 23). The Romans, after the defeat of Antiochus, assigned, during some time, to Rhodes certain districts on the mainland [CARIA, LYCIA]; and when these were withdrawn, upon more mature provincial arrangements being made, the island still enjoyed (from Augustus to Vespasian) a considerable amount of independence.[a] It is in this interval that St. Paul was there. Its Byzantine history is again eminent. Under Constantine it was the metropolis of the "Province of the Islands." It was the last place where the Christians of the East held out against the advancing Saracens; and subsequently it was once more famous as the home and fortress of the Knights of St. John. The most prominent remains of the city and harbour are memorials of those knights. The best account of Rhodes will be found in Ross, *Reisen auf den Griech. Inseln*, iii. 70-113, and *Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos*, &c., pp. 53-80. There is a good view, as well as an accurate delineation of the coast, in the English Admiralty Chart No. 1639. Perhaps the best illustration we can adduce here is one of the early coins of Rhodes, with the conventional rose-flower, which bore the name of the island on one side, and the head of Apollo, radiated like the sun, on the other. It was a proverb that the sun shone every day in Rhodes. [J. S. H.]



Coin of Rhodes.

RHO'DOCUS (Ῥόδοκος: *Rhodocus*). A Jew who betrayed the plans of his countrymen to Antiochus Eupator. His treason was discovered, and he was placed in confinement (2 Macc. xiii. 21.) [B. F. W.]

RHODUS (Ῥόδος: *Rhodus*), 1 Macc. xv. 23. [RHODES.]

RIBA'I (רִיבַי: Ῥιβά in Sam., Ῥεβιέ; Alex. Ῥηβαί in Chr.: *Ribai*). The father of Ittai the Benjamite of Gibeah, who was one of David's mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii. 29; 1 Chr. xi. 31).

RIB'LAH, 1. (הָרִבְלָה, with the definite article: Βηλάθ[b] in both MSS.: *Rebla*). One of the landmarks on the eastern boundary of the land of Israel, as specified by Moses (Num. xxxiv. 11). Its position is noted in this passage with much precision. It was immediately between Shepham and the sea of Cinnereth, and on the "east side of the spring." Unfortunately Shepham has not yet been identified, and which of the great fountains of northern Palestine is intended by "the spring" is uncertain. It seems hardly possible, without entirely disarranging the specification of the boundary, that the Riblah in question can be the same with the "Riblah in the land of Hamath" which is mentioned at a much later period of the history. For, according to this passage, a great distance must necessarily have intervened between Riblah and Hamath. This will be evident from a mere enumeration of the landmarks.

1. The north boundary: The Mediterranean, Mount Hor, the entrance of Hamath, Zedad, Ziphron, Hazar-enan.

2. The eastern boundary commenced from Hazar-enan, turning south: Shepham, Riblah, passing east of the spring, to east side of Sea of Galilee.

Now it seems impossible that Riblah can be in the land of Hamath,[c] seeing that four landmarks occur between them. Add to this its apparent proximity to the Sea of Galilee.

The early Jewish interpreters have felt the force of this. Confused as is the catalogue of the boundary in the Targum Pseudojonathan of Num. xxxiv., it is plain that the author of that version considers "the spring" as the spring of Jordan at *Banias*, and Riblah, therefore, as a place near it. With this agrees Parchi the Jewish traveller in the 13th and 14th centuries, who expressly discriminates

[a] Two incidents in the life of Herod the Great connected with Rhodes, are well worthy of mention here. When he went to Italy, about the close of the last Republican struggle, he found that the city had suffered much from Cassius, and gave liberal sums to restore it (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 14, §3). Here also after the battle of Actium, he met Augustus and secured his favour (*ib.* xv. 6, §6).

[b] Originally it appears to have stood Ἀρβήλα; but the Αρ has now attached itself to the preceding name—Σεπφαμαρ. Can this be the ARBELA of 1 Macc. ix. 2?

[c] If Mr. Porter's identifications of Zedad and Hatsar-enan are adopted the difficulty is increased tenfold.

between the two (see the extracts in Zunz's *Benjamin*, ii. 41b), and in our own day J. D. Michaelis *Bibel für Ungelehrten*; *Suppl. ad Lexica*, No. 2313), and Bonfrerius, the learned editor of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*.

No place bearing the name of Riblah has been yet discovered in the neighbourhood of Banias.

2. Riblah in the land of Hamath (רִבְלָה, once רִבְלָתָה, *i. e.* Riblathah: [a] Δεβλαθᾶ in both MSS.: *Reblatha*). A place on the great road between Palestine and Babylonia, at which the kings of Babylonia were accustomed to remain while directing the operations of their armies in Palestine and Phoenicia. Here Nebuchadnezzar waited while the sieges of Jerusalem and of Tyre were being conducted by his lieutenants; hither were brought to him the wretched king of Judaea and his sons, and after a time a selection from all ranks and conditions of the conquered city, who were put to death, doubtless by the horrible death of impaling, which the Assyrians practised, and the long lines of the victims to which are still to be seen on their monuments (Jer. xxxix. 5, 6, lii. 9, 10, 26, 27; 2 K. xxv. 6, 20, 21). In like manner Pharaoh-Necho, after his successful victory over the Babylonians at Carchemish, returned to Riblah and summoned Jehoahaz from Jerusalem before him (2 K. xxiii. 33).

This Riblah has no doubt been discovered, still retaining its ancient name, on the right (east) bank of the *el Asy* (Orontes), upon the great road which connects *Baalbek* and *Hums*, about 35 miles N.E. of the former and 20 miles S.W. of the latter place. The advantages of its position for the encampment of vast hosts, such as those of Egypt and Babylon, are enumerated by Dr. Robinson, who visited it in 1852 (*Bib. Res.* iii. 545). He describes it as "lying on the banks of a mountain stream in the midst of a vast and fertile plain yielding the most abundant supplies of forage. From this point the roads were open by Aleppo and the Euphrates to Nineveh, or by Palmyra to Babylon . . . . by the end of Lebanon and the coast to Palestine and Egypt, or through the Bukâa and the Jordan valley to the centre of the Holy Land." It appears to have been first alluded to by Buckingham in 1816.

Riblah is probably mentioned by Ezekiel (vi. 14), though in the present Hebrew text and A. V. it appears as Diblah or Diblath. The change from R to D is in Hebrew a very easy one. Riblah suits the sense of the passage very well, while on the other hand Diblah is not known. [DIBLATH.] [G.]

RIDDLE (חִידָה: αἴνιγμα, πρόβλημα: *problema, propositio*). The Hebrew word is derived from an Arabic root meaning "to bend off," "to twist," and is used for artifice (Dan. viii. 23), a proverb (Prov. i. 6), a song (Ps. xlix. 4, lxxviii. 2), an oracle (Num. xii. 8), a parable (Ez. xvii. 2), and in general any wise or intricate sentence (Ps. xciv. 4; Hab. ii. 6, &c.), as well as a riddle in our sense of the word (Judg. xiv. 12-19). In these senses we may compare the phrases στροφὴ λόγων, στροφαὶ παραβολῶν (Wisd. viii. 8; Ecclus. xxxix. 2), and περιπλοκὴ λόγων (Eur. *Phoen.* 497; Gesen. *s. v.*), and the Latin *scirpus*, which appears to have been similarly used (Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* xii. 6). Augustine defines an enigma to be any "obscura allegoria" (*de Trin.* xv. 9), and points out, as an instance, the passage about the daughter of the horse-leech in Prov. xxx. 15, which has been elaborately explained by Bellermann in a monograph on the subject (*Aenigmata Hebraica*, Erf. 1798). Many passages, although not definitely propounded as riddles, may be regarded as such, *e. g.* Prov. xxvi. 10, a verse in the rendering of which every version differs from all others. The riddles which the queen of Sheba came to ask of Solomon (1 K. x. 1, ἦλθε πειράσαι αὐτὸν ἐν αἰνιγμασι; 2 Chr. ix. 1) were rather "hard questions" referring to profound enquiries. Solomon is said, however, to have been very fond of the riddle proper, for Josephus quotes two profane historians (Menander of Ephesus, and Dius) to authenticate a story that Solomon proposed numerous riddles to Hiram, for the non-solution of which Hiram was obliged to pay a large fine, until he summoned to his assistance a Tyrian named Abdemon, who not only solved the riddles, but propounded others which Solomon was himself unable to answer, and consequently in his turn incurred the penalty. The word αἴνιγμα occurs only once in the N. T. (1 Cor. xiii. 12, "darkly," ἐν αἰνίγματι, comp. Num. xii. 8; Wetstein, *N. T.* ii. 158); but, in the wider meaning of the word, many instances of it occur in our Lord's discourses. Thus Erasmus applies the term to Matt. xii. 43-45. The object of such implicated meanings is obvious, and is well explained by St. Augustine: "manifestis pascimur, *obscuris exercemur*" (*de Doct. Christ.* ii. 6).

We know that all ancient nations, and especially Orientals, have been fond of riddles (Rosenmüller, *Morgenl.* iii. 68). We find traces of the custom among the Arabs (Koran, xxv. 35), and indeed several Arabic books of riddles exist—as Ketâb al Algáz in 1469, and a book of riddles solved, called Akd al themin. But these are rather emblems and devices than what we call riddles, although they are very ingenious. The Persians call them Algáz and Maamma (D'Herbelot, *s. v.* Algaz). They were also known to the Ancient Egyptians (Jablonski, *Pantheon Aegypt.* 48). They were especially used in banquets both by Greeks and Romans (Müller, *Dor.* ii. 392; Athen. x. 457; Pollux, vi. 107; A. Gell. xviii. 2; *Dict. of Ant.* p. 22), and the kind of witticisms adopted may be seen in the literary dinners described by Plato, Xenophon, Athenaeus, Plutarch, and Macrobius. Some have groundlessly supposed that the proverbs of Solomon, Lemuel, and Agur, were propounded at feasts, like the parables spoken by our Lord on similar occasions (Luke xiv. 7, &c.).

Riddles were generally proposed in verse, like the celebrated riddle of Samson, which, however, was properly (as Voss points out, *Instt. Oratt.* iv. 11) no riddle at all, because the Philistines did not possess the only clue on which the solution *could* depend. For this reason Samson had carefully concealed the fact even from his parents (Judg. xiv. 14, &c.). Other ancient riddles in verse are that of the Sphinx, and that which is said to have caused the death of Homer by his mortification at being unable to solve it (Plutarch, *Vit. Hom.*).

Franc. Junius distinguishes between the *greater* enigma, where the allegory or obscure intimation

[a] The two great MSS. of the LXX.—Vatican (Mai) and Alex.—present the name as follow:—

2 K. xxiii. 33, Ἀβλαά; Δεβλαα.
xxv. 6. Ἱερδεβλαθάν; Δεβλαθα.
2 K. xxv. 20, Δεβλαθᾶ; Δεβλαθα.
„ 21, Ῥεβλαθᾶ; „
Jer. lii. 9, 10, 26, 27, Δεβλαθᾶ, in both.

is continuous throughout the passage (as in Ez. xvii. 2, and in such poems as the Syrinx attributed to Theocritus); and the *lesser* enigma or ὑπαίνιγμα, where the difficulty is concentrated in the peculiar use of some one word. It may be useful to refer to one or two instances of the latter, since they are very frequently to be found in the Bible, and especially in the Prophets. Such is the play on the word שֶׁכֶם ("a portion," and "Shechem," the town of Ephraim) in Gen. xlviii. 22; on מְצוֹר (*mâtzôr*, "a fortified city," and מִצְרַיִם, *Mizraïm*, Egypt) in Mic. vii. 12; on שָׁקֵד (*Shâkêd*, "an almond-tree"), and שָׁקַד (*shâkad*, "to hasten"), in Jer. i. 11; on דּוּמָה (*Dûmâh*, meaning "Edom" and "the land of death"), in Is. xxi. 11; on שֵׁשַׁךְ,[a] *Sheshach* (meaning "Babylon," and perhaps "arrogance"), in Jer. xxv. 26, li. 41.

It only remains to notice the single instance of a riddle occurring in the N. T., viz., *the number of the beast*. This belongs to a class of riddles very common among Egyptian mystics, the Gnostics, some of the Fathers, and the Jewish Cabbalists. The latter called it *Gematria* (i. e. γεωμετρία) of which instances may be found in Carpzov (*App. Crit.* p. 542), Reland (*Ant. Hebr.* i. 25), and some of the commentators on Rev. xiii. 16-18. Thus נָחָשׁ (*nâchâsh*), "serpent," is made by the Jews one of the names of the Messiah, because its numerical value is equivalent to מָשִׁיחַ; and the names Shushan and Esther are connected together because the numerical value of the letters composing them is 661. Thus the Marcosians regarded the number 24 as sacred from its being the sum of numerical values in the names of two quaternions of their Aeons, and the Gnostics used the name *Abraxas* as an amulet, because its letters amount numerically to 365. Such idle fancies are not unfrequent in some of the Fathers. We have already mentioned (see CROSS) the mystic explanation by Clem. Alexandrinus of the number 318 in Gen. xiv. 14, and by Tertullian of the number 300 (represented by the letter T or a *cross*) in Judg. vii. 6, and similar instances are supplied by the Testimonia of the Pseudo-Cyprian. The most exact analogies, however, to the enigma on the name of the beast, are to be found in the so-called Sibylline verses. We quote one which is exactly similar to it, the answer being found in the name Ἰησοῦς = 888, thus: Ι = 10 + η = 8 + σ = 200 + ο = 70 + υ = 400 + ς = 200 = 888. It is as follows, and is extremely curious:

> ἥξει σαρκοφόρος θνητοῖς ὁμοιούμενος ἐν γῇ
> τέσσερα φωνήεντα φέρει, τὰ δ' ἄφωνα δύ' αὐτῷ
> δίσσων ἀστραγάλων (?), ἀριθμὸν δ' ὅλον ἐξονομήνω·
> ὅκτω γὰρ μονάδας, ὅσσας δεκάδας ἐπὶ τούτοις,
> ἠδ' ἑκατοντάδας ὅκτω ἀπιστοτέροις ἀνθρώποις
> οὔνομα δηλώσει.

With examples like this before us, it would be absurd to doubt that St. John (not *greatly* removed in time from the Christian forgers of the Sibylline verses) intended some *name* as an answer to the number 666. The true answer must be settled by the Apocalyptic commentators. Most of the Fathers supposed, even as far back as Irenaeus, the name Λάτεινος to be indicated. A list of the other very numerous solutions, proposed in different ages, may be found in Elliott's *Horae Apocalypticae*, from which we have quoted several of these instances (*Hor. Apoc.* iii. 222-234). [F. W. F.]

RIM'MON (רִמּוֹן: Ῥεμμών: *Remmon*). Rimmon, a Benjamite of Beeroth, was the father of Rechab and Baanah, the murderers of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. iv. 2, 5, 9).

RIM'MON (רִמּוֹן: Ῥεμμάν: *Remmon*). A deity, worshipped by the Syrians of Damascus, where there was a temple or house of Rimmon (2 K. v. 18). Traces of the name of this god appear also in the proper names Hadad-rimmon and Tabrimmon, but its signification is doubtful. Serarius, quoted by Selden (*De dîs Syris*, ii. 10), refers it to the Heb. *rimmon*, a pomegranate, a fruit sacred to Venus, who is thus the deity worshipped under this title (compare *Pomona*, from *pomum*). Ursinus (*Arboretum Bibl.* cap. 32, 7) explains Rimmon as the pomegranate, the emblem of the fertilizing principle of nature, the personified *natura naturans*, a symbol of frequent occurrence in the old religions (Bähr, *Symbolik*, ii. 122). If this be the true origin of the name, it presents us with a relic of the ancient tree-worship of the East, which we know to have prevailed in Palestine. But Selden rejects this derivation, and proposes instead that Rimmon is from the root רוּם, *rûm*, "to be high," and signifies "most high;" like the Phoenician *Elioun*, and Heb. עֶלְיוֹן. Hesychius gives Ῥαμὰς, ὁ ὕψιστος θεός. Clericus, Vitringa, Rosenmüller, and Gesenius were of the same opinion.

Movers (*Phoen.* i. 196, &c.) regards Rimmon as the abbreviated form of Hadad-Rimmon (as Peor for Baal-Peor), Hadad being the sun-god of the Syrians. Combining this with the pomegranate, which was his symbol, Hadad-Rimmon would then be the sun-god of the late summer, who ripens the pomegranate and other fruits, and, after infusing into them his productive power, dies, and is mourned with the "mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon" (Zech. xii. 11).

Between these different opinions there is no possibility of deciding. The name occurs but once, and there is no evidence on the point. But the conjecture of Selden, which is approved by Gesenius, has the greater show of probability. [W. A. W.]

RIM'MON (רִמּוֹנוֹ, *i. e.* Rimmônô: ἡ Ῥεμμών: *Remmono*). A city of Zebulun belonging to the Merarite Levites (1 Chr. vi. 77). There is great discrepancy between the list in which it occurs and the parallel catalogue of Josh. xxi. The former contains two names in place of the four of the latter, and neither of them the same. But it is not impossible that DIMNAH (Josh. xxi. 35) may have been originally Rimmon, as the D and R in Hebrew are notoriously easy to confound. At any rate there is no reason for supposing that Rimmono is not identical with Rimmon of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 13), in the A. V. REMMON-METHOAR. The redundant letter was probably transferred, in copying, from the succeeding word—at an early date, since all the MSS.

[a] In this passage it is generally thought that Sheshach is put for Babel, by the principle of alphabetical inversion known as the *athbash*. It will be seen that the passages above quoted are chiefly instances of *paronomasia*. On the profound use of this figure by the prophets and other writers see Ewald, *Die Propheten d. Alt. Bund.* i. 48; Steinthal, *Urspr. d. Sprache*, p. 23.

appear to exhibit it, as does also the Targum of Joseph. [G.]

RIM'MON (רִמּוֹן: Ἐρωμώθ; Alex. Ῥεμμωι; Ῥεμμών; *Remmon*). A town in the southern portion of Judah (Josh. xv. 32), allotted to Simeon (Josh. xix. 7; 1 Chr. iv. 32: in the former of these two passages it is inaccurately given in the A. V. as REMMON). In each of the above lists the name succeeds that of AIN, also one of the cities of Judah and Simeon. In the catalogue of the places reoccupied by the Jews after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 29) the two are joined (עֵין רִמּוֹן: LXX. omits: *et in Remmon*), and appear in the A. V. as En-Rimmon. There is nothing to support this single departure of the Hebrew text from its practice in the other lists except the fact that the Vatican LXX. (if the edition of Mai may be trusted) has joined the names in each of the lists of Joshua, from which it may be inferred that at the time of the LXX. translation the Hebrew text there also showed them joined. On the other hand there does not appear to be any sign of such a thing in the present Hebrew MSS.

No trace of Rimmon has been yet discovered in the south of Palestine. True, it is mentioned in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome; but they locate it at 15 miles *north* of Jerusalem, obviously confounding it with the Rock Rimmon. That it was in the south would be plain, even though the lists above cited were not extant, from Zech. xiv. 10, where it is stated to be "south of Jerusalem," and where it and Geba (the northern frontier of the southern kingdom) are named as the limits of the change which is to take place in the aspect and formation of the country. In this case Jerome, both in the Vulgate and in his Commentary (*in Zech.* xiv. 9 seqq.), joins the two names, and understands them to denote a hill north of Jerusalem, apparently well known (doubtless the ancient GIBEAH), marked by a pomegranate tree—"collis Rimmon (hoc enim Gabaa sonat, ubi arbor malagranati est) usque ad australem plagam Jerusalem." [G.]

RIM'MON PA'REZ (רִמּוֹן פָּרֶץ: Ῥεμμὼν Φαρές). The name of a march-station in the wilderness (Num. xxxiii. 19, 20). Rimmon is a common name of locality. The latter word is the same as that found in the plural form in Baal-Perazim, "Baal of the breaches." Perhaps some local configuration, such as a "cleft," might account for its being added. It stands between Rithmah and Libnah. No place now known has been identified with it. [H. H.]

RIM'MON, THE ROCK (סֶלַע הָרִמּוֹן: ἡ πέτρα τοῦ Ῥεμμών; Joseph. πέτρα Ῥοα: *petra cujus vocabulum est Remmon*; *petra Remmon*). A cliff (such seems rather the force of the Hebrew word *sela*) or inaccessible natural fastness, in which the six hundred Benjamites who escaped the slaughter of Gibeah took refuge, and maintained themselves for four months until released by the act of the general body of the tribes (Judg. xx. 45, 47, xxi. 13).

It is described as in the "wilderness" (*midbar*), that is, the wild uncultivated (though not unproductive) country which lies on the east of the central highlands of Benjamin, on which Gibeah was situated — between them and the Jordan Valley. Here the name is still found attached to a village perched on the summit of a conical chalky hill, visible in all directions, and commanding the whole country (Rob. *B. R.* i. 440).

The hill is steep and naked, the white limestone everywhere protruding, and the houses clinging to its sides and forming as it were huge steps. On the south side it rises to a height of several hundred feet from the great ravine of the *Wady Mutyáh*; while on the west side it is almost equally isolated by a cross valley of great depth (Porter, *Handbk.* 217; Mr. Finn, in Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 345). In position it is (as the crow flies) 3 miles east of Bethel, and 7 N.E. of Gibeah (*Tuleil el-Ful*). Thus in every particular of name, character, and situation it agrees with the requirements of the Rock Rimmon. It was known in the days of Eusebius and Jerome, who mention it (*Onomasticon*, "Remmon")—though confounding it with Rimmon in Simeon—as 15 Roman miles northwards from Jerusalem. [G.]

RING (טַבַּעַת: δακτύλιος: *annulus*). The ring was regarded as an indispensable article of a Hebrew's attire, inasmuch as it contained his signet, and even owed its name to this circumstance, the term *tabbaath* being derived from a root signifying "to impress a seal." It was hence the symbol of authority, and as such was presented by Pharaoh to Joseph (Gen. xli. 42), by Ahasuerus to Haman (Esth. iii. 10), by Antiochus to Philip (1 Macc. vi. 15), and by the father to the prodigal son in the parable (Luke xv. 22). It was treasured accordingly, and became a proverbial expression for a most valued object (Jer. xxii. 24; Hagg. ii. 23; Ecclus. xlix. 11). Such rings were worn not only by men, but by women (Is. iii. 21; Mishn. *Sabb.* 6, §3), and are enumerated among the articles presented by men and women for the service of the tabernacle (Ex. xxxv. 22). The signet-ring was worn on the right hand (Jer. *l. c.*). We may conclude, from Ex. xxviii. 11, that the rings contained a stone engraven with a device, or with the owner's name. Numerous specimens of Egyptian rings have been discovered, most of them made of gold, very massive, and containing either a scarabaeus or an engraved stone (Wilkinson, ii. 337). The number of rings worn

Egyptian Rings.

by the Egyptians was truly remarkable. The same profusion was exhibited also by the Greeks and Romans, particularly by men (*Dict. of Ant.* "Rings") It appears also to have prevailed among the Jews of the Apostolic age; for in Jam. ii. 2, a rich man is described as χρυσοδακτύλιος, meaning not simply "with a gold ring," as in the A. V., but "golden-ringed" (like the χρυσόχειρ, "golden-handed" of Lucian, *Timon*, 20), implying equally well the presence of several gold rings. For the term *gâlil*, rendered "ring" in Cant. v. 14, see ORNAMENTS. [W. L. B.]

RIN'NAH (רִנָּה: Ἀνά; Alex. Ῥαννών, *Rinna*) One of the sons of Shimon in an obscure and fragmentary genealogy of the descendants of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 20). In the LXX. and Vulgate

* In two out of its four occurrences, the article is omitted both in the Hebrew and LXX.

he is made "the son of Hanan," Ben-hanan being thus translated.

RI'PHATH (רִיפַת; Ῥιφάθ; Alex. Ῥιφαε in Chr.: *Riphath*), the second son of Gomer, and the brother of Ashkenaz and Togarmah (Gen. x. 3). The Hebrew text in 1 Chr. i. 6 gives the form Diphath,[a] but this arises out of a clerical error similar to that which gives the forms Rodanim and Hadad for Dodanim and Hadar (1 Chr. i. 7, 50; Gen. xxxvi. 39). The name Riphath occurs only in the genealogical table, and hence there is little to guide us to the locality which it indicates. The name itself has been variously identified with that of the Rhipaean mountains (Knobel), the river Rhebas in Bithynia (Bochart), the Rhibii, a people living eastward of the Caspian Sea (Schulthess), and the Ripheans, the ancient name of the Paphlagonians (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6, §1). This last view is certainly favoured by the contiguity of Ashkenaz and Togarmah. The weight of opinion is, however, in favour of the Rhipaean mountains, which Knobel (*Völkert.* p. 44) identifies etymologically and geographically with the Carpathian range in the N.E. of Dacia. The attempt of that writer to identify Riphath with the Celts or Gauls, is evidently based on the assumption that so important a race ought to be mentioned in the table, and that there is no other name to apply to them; but we have no evidence that the Gauls were for any lengthened period settled in the neighbourhood of the Carpathian range. The Rhipaean mountains themselves existed more in the imagination of the Greeks than in reality, and if the received etymology of that name (from ῥιπαί, "blasts") be correct, the coincidence in sound with Riphath is merely accidental, and no connexion can be held to exist between the names. The later geographers, Ptolemy (iii. 5, §15, 19) and others, placed the Rhipaean range where no range really exists, viz., about the elevated ground that separates the basins of the Euxine and Baltic seas. [W. L. B.]

RIS'SAH (רִסָּה: Ῥεσσά: *Ressa*). The name, identical with the word which signifies "a worm," is that of a march-station in the wilderness (Num. xxxiii. 21, 22). It lies, as there given, between Libnah and Kehelathah, and has been considered (Winer, *s. v.*) identical with Rasa in the *Peuting. Itiner.*, 32 Roman miles from Ailah (Elah), and 203 miles south of Jerusalem, distinct, however, from the Ῥῆσσα of Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 15, §2). No site has been identified with Rissah. [H. H.]

RITH'MAH (רִתְמָה: Ῥαθαμᾶ: *Rethma*). The name of a march-station in the wilderness (Num. xxxiii. 18, 19). It stands there next to Hazeroth [HAZEROTH], and probably lay in a N.E. direction from that spot, but no place now known has been identified with it. The name is probably connected with רֹתֶם, Arab. رتم, commonly rendered "juniper," but more correctly "broom." It carries the affirmative ה, common in names of locality, and found especially among many in the catalogue of Num. xxxiii. [H. H.]

RIVER. In the sense in which we employ the word, viz. for a perennial stream of considerable size, a river is a much rarer object in the East than in the West. The majority of the inhabitants of Palestine at the present day have probably never seen one. With the exception of the Jordan and the *Litany*, the streams of the Holy Land are either entirely dried up in the summer months, and converted into hot lanes of glaring stones, or else reduced to very small streamlets deeply sunk in a narrow bed, and concealed from view by a dense growth of shrubs.

The cause of this is twofold: on the one hand the hilly nature of the country — a central mass of highland descending on each side to a lower level, and on the other the extreme heat of the climate during the summer. There is little doubt that in ancient times the country was more wooded than it now is, and that, in consequence, the evaporation was less, and the streams more frequent: yet this cannot have made any very material difference in the permanence of the water in the thousands of valleys which divide the hills of Palestine.

For the various aspects of the streams of the country which such conditions inevitably produced, the ancient Hebrews had very exact terms, which they employed habitually with much precision.

1. For the perennial river, *Nâhâr* (נָהָר). Possibly used of the Jordan in Ps. lxvi. 6, lxxiv. 15; of the great Mesopotamian and Egyptian rivers generally in Gen. ii. 10; Ex. vii. 19; 2 K. xvii. 6; Ez. iii. 15, &c. But with the definite article, *han-Nahar*, "*the* river," it signifies invariably the Euphrates (Gen. xxxi. 21; Ex. xxiii. 31; Num. xxiv. 6; 2 Sam. x. 16, &c. &c.). With a few exceptions (Josh. i. 4, xxiv. 2, 14, 15; Is. lix. 19; Ez. xxxi. 15), *nâhâr* is uniformly rendered "river" in our version, and accurately, since it is never applied to the fleeting fugitive torrents of Palestine.

2. The term for these is *nachal* (נַחַל), for which our translators have used promiscuously, and sometimes almost alternately, "valley," "brook," and "river." Thus the "brook" and the "valley" of Eshcol (Num. xiii. 23 and xxxii. 9); the "valley," the "brook," and the "river" Zered (Num. xxi. 12; Deut. ii. 13; Am. vi. 14); the "brook" and the "river" of Jabbok (Gen. xxxii. 23; Deut. ii. 37), of Arnon (Num. xxi. 14; Deut. ii. 24), of Kishon (Judg. iv. 7; 1 K. xviii. 40). Compare also Deut. iii. 16, &c.[b]

Neither of these words expresses the thing intended; but the term "brook" is peculiarly unhappy, since the pastoral idea which it conveys is quite at variance with the general character of the wadys of Palestine. Many of these are deep abrupt chasms or rents in the solid rock of the hills, and have a savage, gloomy aspect, far removed from that of an English brook. For example, the Arnon forces its way through a ravine several hundred feet deep and about two miles wide across the top. The *Wady Zerka*, probably the Jabbok, which Jacob was so anxious to interpose between his family and Esau, is equally unlike the quiet "meadowy brook" with which we are familiar. And those which are not so abrupt and savage are in their width, their irregularity, their forlorn arid look when the torrent has subsided, utterly unlike "brooks." Un-

[a] דִיפַת. This reading is preferred by Bochart (*Phaleg*, iii. 10), and is connected by him with the names of the town Tobata and the mountain Tibium in the N. of Asia Minor.

[b] Jerome, in his *Quaestiones in Genesim*, xxvi. 19, draws the following curious distinction between a valley and a torrent: "*Et hic pro valle torrens scriptus est quamquam enim in valle inveniatur puteus aquae vivae.*"

fortunately our language does not contain any single word which has both the meanings of the Hebrew *nachal* and its Arabic equivalent *wady*, which can be used at once for a dry valley and for the stream which occasionally flows through it. Ainsworth, in his *Annotations* (on Num. xiii. 23), says that "bourne" has both meanings; but "bourne" is now obsolete in English, though still in use in Scotland, where, owing to the mountainous nature of the country, the "burns" partake of the nature of the *wadys* of Palestine in the irregularity of their flow. Mr. Burton (*Geog. Journ.* xxiv. 209) adopts the Italian *fiumara*. Others have proposed the Indian term *nullah*.—The double application of the Hebrew *nachal* is evident in 1 K. xvii. 3, where Elijah is commanded to hide himself in (not by) the *nachal* Cherith and to drink of the *nachal*.

3. *Yeôr* (יְאוֹר), a word of Egyptian origin (see Gesen. *Thes.* 558), applied to the Nile only, and, in the plural, to the canals by which the Nile water was distributed throughout Egypt, or to streams having a connexion with that country. It is the word employed for the Nile in Genesis and Exodus, and is rendered by our translators "the river," except in the following passages, Jer. xlvi. 7, 8; Am. viii. 8, ix. 5, where they substitute "a flood"—much to the detriment of the prophet's metaphor. [See NILE, vol. ii. p. 539 *b*.]

4. *Yûbal* (יוּבַל), from a root signifying tumult or fulness, occurs only six times, in four of which it is rendered "river," viz. Jer. xvii. 8; Dan. viii. 2, 3, 6.

5. *Peleg* (פֶּלֶג), from an uncertain root, probably connected with the idea of the division of the land for irrigation, is translated "river" in Ps. i. 3, lxv. 9; Is. xxx. 25; Job xx. 17. Elsewhere it is rendered "stream" (Ps. xlvi. 4), and in Judg. v. 15, 16, "divisions," where the allusion is probably to the artificial streams with which the pastoral and agricultural country of Reuben was irrigated (Ewald, *Dichter*, i. 129; Gesen. *Thes.* 1103 *b*).

6. *Aphîk* (אֲפִיק). This appears to be used without any clearly distinctive meaning. It is probably from a root signifying strength or force, and may signify any rush or body of water. It is translated "river" in a few passages:—Cant. v. 12; Ez. vi. 3, xxxi. 12, xxxii. 6, xxxiv. 13, xxxv. 8, xxxvi. 4, 6; Joel i. 20, iii. 18. In Ps. cxxvi. 4 the allusion is to temporary streams in the dry regions of the "south." [G.]

RIVER OF EGYPT. Two Hebrew terms are thus rendered in the A. V.

1. נְהַר מִצְרַיִם: ποταμὸς Αἰγύπτου: *fluvius Aegypti* (Gen. xv. 18), "the river of Egypt," that is, the Nile, and here—as the western border of the Promised Land, of which the eastern border was Euphrates—the Pelusiac or easternmost branch.

2. נַחַל מִצְרַיִם: χειμάρρους Αἰγύπτου, φάραγξ Αἰγύπτου, ποταμὸς Αἰγύπτου, Ῥινοκόρουρα, pl.: *torrens Aegypti, rivus Aegypti* (Num. xxxiv. 5; Josh. xv. 4, 47; 1 K. viii. 65; 2 K. xxiv. 7; Is. xxvii. 12, in the last passage translated "the stream of Egypt"). It is the common opinion that this second term designates a desert stream on the border of Egypt, still occasionally flowing in the valley called Wâdi-l-'Areesh. The centre of the valley is occupied by the bed of this torrent, which only flows after rains, as is usual in the desert valleys. The correctness of this opinion can only be decided by an examination of the passages in which the term occurs, for the ancient translations do not aid us. When they were made there must have been great uncertainty on the subject. In the LXX. the term is translated by two literal meanings, or perhaps three, but it is doubtful whether נַחַל can be rendered "river," and is once represented by Rhinocorura (or Rhinocolura), the name of a town on the coast, near the Wâdi-l-'Areesh, to which the modern El-'Areesh has succeeded.

This stream is first mentioned as the point where the southern border of the Promised Land touched the Mediterranean, which formed its western border (Num. xxxiv. 3-6). Next it is spoken of as in the same position with reference to the prescribed borders of the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 4), and as beyond Gaza and its territory, the westernmost of the Philistine cities (47). In the later history we find Solomon's kingdom extending "from the entering in of Hamath unto the river of Egypt" (1 K. viii. 65), and Egypt limited in the same manner where the loss of the eastern provinces is mentioned: "And the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt" (2 K. xxiv. 7). In Isaiah it seems to be spoken of as forming one boundary of the Israelite territory, Euphrates being the other, "from the channel of the river unto the stream of Egypt" (xxvii. 12), appearing to correspond to the limits promised to Abraham.

In certain parallel passages the Nile is distinctly specified instead of "the Nachal of Egypt." In the promise to Abraham, the Nile, "the river of Egypt," is mentioned with Euphrates as bounding the land in which he then was, and which was promised to his posterity (Gen. xv. 18). Still more unmistakeably is Shihor, which is always the Nile, spoken of as a border of the land, in Joshua's description of the territory yet to be conquered: "This [is] the land that yet remaineth: all the regions of the Philistines, and all Geshuri, from the Sihor, which [is] before Egypt, even unto the borders of Ekron northward, [which] is counted to the Canaanite" (Josh. xiii. 2, 3).

It must be observed that the distinctive character of the name, "Nachal *of Egypt*," as has been well suggested to us, almost forbids our supposing an insignificant stream to be intended; although such a stream might be of importance from position as forming the boundary.

If we infer that the Nachal of Egypt is the Nile, we have to consider the geographical consequences, and to compare the name with known names of the Nile. Of the branches of the Nile, the easternmost or Pelusiac, would necessarily be the one intended. On looking at the map it seems incredible that the Philistine territory should ever have extended so far; the Wâdi-l-'Areesh is distant from Gaza, the most western of the Philistine towns; but Pelusium, at the mouth and most eastern part of the Pelusiac branch, is very remote. It must, however, be remembered, that the tract from Gaza to Pelusium is a desert that could never have been cultivated, or indeed inhabited by a settled population, and was probably only held in the period to which we refer by marauding Arab tribes, which may well have been tributary to the Philistines, for they must have been tributary to them or to the

Egyptians, on account of their isolated position and the sterility of the country, though no doubt maintaining a half-independence.[a] All doubt on this point seems to be set at rest by a passage, in a hieroglyphic inscription of Sethee I., head of the sixth dynasty, B.C. cir. 1340, on the north wall of the great temple of El-Karnak, which mentions "the foreigners of the SHASU from the fort of TARU to the land of KANANA" (SHASU SHA'A EM SHTEM EN TARU ER PA-KAN'ANA, Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* i. p. 261, No. 1265, pl. xlvii.). The identification of "the fort of TARU" with any place mentioned by the Greek and Latin geographers has not yet been satisfactorily accomplished. It appears, from the bas-relief, representing the return of Sethee I. to Egypt from an eastern expedition, near the inscription just mentioned, to have been between a Leontopolis and a branch of the Nile, or perhaps canal, on the west side of which it was situate, commanding a bridge (Ibid. No. 1266, pl. xlviii.). The Leontopolis is either the capital of the Leontopolite Nome, or a town in the Heliopolite Nome mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 3, §1). In the former case the stream would probably be the Tanitic branch, or perhaps the Pelusiac; in the latter, perhaps the Canal of the Red Sea. We prefer the first Leontopolis, but no identification is necessary to prove that the SHASU at this time extended from Canaan to the east of the Delta (see on the whole subject *Geogr. Inschr.* i. pp. 260-266, iii. pp. 20, 21).

Egypt, therefore, in its most flourishing period, evidently extended no further than the east of the Delta, its eastern boundary being probably the Pelusiac branch, the territory of the SHASU, an Arab nation or tribe, lying between Egypt and Canaan. It might be supposed that at this time the SHASU had made an inroad into Egypt, but it must be remembered that in the latter period of the kings of Judah, and during the classical period, Pelusium was the key of Egypt on this side. The Philistines, in the time of their greatest power, which appears to have been contemporary with the period of the Judges, may well be supposed to have reduced the Arabs of this neutral territory to the condition of tributaries, as doubtless was also done by the Pharaohs.

It must be remembered that the specification of a certain boundary does not necessarily prove that the actual lands of a state extended so far; the limit of its sway is sometimes rather to be understood. Solomon ruled as tributaries all the kingdoms between the Euphrates and the land of the Philistines and the border of Egypt, when the Land of Promise appears to have been fully occupied (1 K. iv. 21, comp. 24). When, therefore, it is specified that the Philistine territory as far as the Nachal-Mizraim remained to be taken, it need scarcely be inferred that the territory to be inhabited by the Israelites was to extend so far, and this stream's being an actual boundary of a tribe may be explained on the same principle.

If, with the generality of critics, we think that the Nachal-Mizraim is the Wâdi-l-'Areesh, we must conclude that the name Shihor is also applied to the latter, although elsewhere designating the Nile,[b] for we have seen that Nachal-Mizraim and Shihor are used interchangeably to designate a stream on the border of the Promised Land. This difficulty seems to overthrow the common opinion. It must, however, be remembered that in Joshua xiii. 3, Shihor has the article, as though actually or originally an appellative, the former seeming to be the more obvious inference from the context. [SHIHOR OF EGYPT; SIHOR.]

The word Nachal may be cited on either side. Certainly in Hebrew it is rather used for a torrent or stream than for a river; but the name Nachal-Mizraim may come from a lost dialect, and the parallel Arabic word wâdee, وادى, though ordinarily used for valleys and their winter-torrents, as in the case of the Wâdi-l-'Areesh itself, has been employed by the Arabs in Spain for true rivers, the Guadalquivir, &c. It may, however, be suggested, that in Nachal-Mizraim we have the ancient form of the Neel-Misr of the Arabs, and that Nachal was adopted from its similarity of sound to the original of Νεῖλος. It may, indeed, be objected that Νεῖλος is held to be of Iranian origin. The answer to this is, that we find Javan, we will not say the Ionians, called by the very name, HANEN, used in the Rosetta Stone for "Greek" (SHAEE EN HANEN, ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΙΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ), in the lists of countries and nations, or tribes, conquered by, or subject to, the Pharaohs, as early as the reign of Amenoph III., B.C. cir. 1400.[c] An Iranian and even a Greek connexion with Egypt as early as the time of the Exodus, is therefore not to be treated as an impossibility. It is, however, remarkable, that the word Νεῖλος does not occur in the Homeric poems, as though it were not of Sanskrit origin, but derived from the Egyptians or Phoenicians.

Brugsch compares the Egyptian MUAW EN KEM "Water of Egypt," mentioned in the phrase "From the water of Egypt as far as NEHEREEN [Mesopotamia] inclusive," but there is no internal

[a] Herodotus, whose account is rather obscure, says that from Phoenicia to the borders of the city Cadytis (probably Gaza) the country belonged to the Palaestine Syrians; from Cadytis to Jenysus, to the Arabian king; then to the Syrians again, as far as Lake Serbonis, near Mount Casius. At Lake Serbonis, Egypt began. The eastern extremity of Lake Serbonis is somewhat to the westward of Rhinocolura, and Mount Casius is more than halfway from the latter to Pelusium. As Herodotus afterwards states more precisely that from Jenysus to "Lake Serbonis and Mount Casius" was three days' journey through a desert without water, he evidently makes Mount Casius mark the western boundary of the Syrians; for although the position of Jenysus is uncertain, the whole distance from Gaza (and if Cadytis be not Gaza, we cannot extend the Arabian territory further east) does not greatly exceed three days' journey (iii 5. See Rawlinson's edit., ii. 398-400). If we adopt Capt. Spratt's identifications of Pelusium and Mount Casius, we must place them much nearer together, and the latter far to the west of the usual supposed place (SIN, town). But in this case Herodotus would intend the western extremity of Lake Serbonis, which seems unlikely.

[b] There is a Shihor-libnath in the north of Palestine, mentioned in Joshua (xix. 26), and supposed to correspond to the Belus, if its name signify "the river of glass." But we have no ground for giving Shihor the signification "river;" and when the connexion of the Egyptians, and doubtless of the Phoenician and other colonists of north-eastern Egypt, with the manufacture of glass is remembered, it seems more likely that Shihor-libnath was named from the Nile.

[c] We agree with Lepsius in this identification (*Ueber der Namen der Ionier auf den Aeg. Denkmälern*, Königl. Akad. Berlin). His views have, however, been combated by Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, iii. 603-606), Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschr.* ii. p. 19, pl. xiii. no. 2), and De Rougé (*Tombeau d'Ahmes*, p. 43).

evidence in favour of his conjectural identification with the stream of Wádi-l-'Areesh (*Geog. Inschr.* i. 54, 55, pl. vii. no. 303). [R. S. P.]

RIZPAH (רִצְפָּה: Ῥεσφᾶ and Ῥέσφα: Joseph. Ῥαισφα: *Respha*), concubine to king Saul, and mother of his two sons Armoni and Mephibosheth. Like many others of the prominent female characters of the Old Testament—Ruth, Rahab, Jezebel, &c.—Rizpah would seem to have been a foreigner, a Hivite, descended from one of the ancient worthies of that nation, Ajah or Aiah,[a] son of Zibeon, whose name and fame are preserved in the Ishmaelite record of Gen. xxxvi. If this be the case, Saul was commencing a practice, which seems with subsequent kings to have grown almost into a rule, of choosing non-Israelite women for their inferior wives. David's intrigue with Bathsheba, or Bath-shua, the wife of a Hittite, and possibly herself a Canaanitess,[b] is perhaps not a case in point; but Solomon, Rehoboam, and their successors, seem to have had their harems filled with foreign women.

After the death of Saul and occupation of the country west of the Jordan by the Philistines, Rizpah accompanied the other inmates of the royal family to their new residence at Mahanaim; and it is here that her name is first introduced to us as the subject of an accusation levelled at Abner by Ishbosheth (2 Sam. iii. 7), a piece of spite which led first to Abner's death through Joab's treachery, and ultimately to the murder of Ishbosheth himself. The accusation, whether true or false—and from Abner's vehement denial we should naturally conclude that it was false—involved more than meets the ear of a modern and English reader. For amongst the Israelites it was considered "as a step to the throne to have connexion with the widow or the mistress of the deceased king." (See Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. 54.) It therefore amounted to an insinuation that Abner was about to make an attempt on the throne.

We hear nothing more of Rizpah till the tragic story which has made her one of the most familiar objects to young and old in the whole Bible (2 Sam. xxi. 8-11). Every one can appreciate the love and endurance with which the mother watched over the bodies of her two sons and her five relatives, to save them from an indignity peculiarly painful to the whole of the ancient world (see Ps. lxxix. 2; Hom. *Il.* i. 4, 5, &c. &c.). But it is questionable whether the ordinary conception of the scene is accurate. The seven victims were not, as the A. V. implies, "hung;" they were crucified. The seven crosses were planted in the rock on the top of the sacred hill of Gibeah; the hill which, though not Saul's native place,[c] was through his long residence there so identified with him as to retain his name to the latest existence of the Jewish nation (1 Sam. xi. 4 &c., and see Joseph. *B. J.* v. 2, §1). The whole or part of this hill seems at the time of this occurrence to have been in some special manner[d] dedicated to Jehovah, possibly the spot on which Ahiah the priest had deposited the Ark when he took refuge in Gibeah during the Philistine war (1 Sam. xiv. 18). The victims were sacrificed at the beginning of barley-harvest—the sacred and festal time of the Passover—and in the full blaze of the summer sun they hung till the fall of the periodical rain in October. During the whole of that time Rizpah remained at the foot of the crosses on which the bodies of her sons were exposed: the *Mater dolorosa*, if the expression may be allowed, of the ancient dispensation. She had no tent to shelter her from the scorching sun which beats on that open spot all day, or from the drenching dews at night, but she spread on the rocky floor the thick mourning garment of black sackcloth[e] which as a widow she wore, and crouching there she watched that neither vulture nor jackal should molest the bodies. We may surely be justified in applying to Rizpah the words with which another act of womanly kindness was commended, and may say, that "wheresoever the Bible shall go, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her." [G.]

ROAD. This word occurs but once in the Authorised Version of the Bible, viz. in 1 Sam. xxvii. 10, where it is used in the sense of "raid" or "inroad," the Hebrew word (פְּשַׁט) being elsewhere (*e. g.* ver. 8, xxiii. 27, xxx. 1, 14, &c.) rendered "invade" and "invasion."

A Road in the sense which we now attach to the term is expressed in the A. V. by "way" and "path." [G.]

ROBBERY.[f] Whether in the larger sense of plunder, or the more limited sense of theft, sys-

[a] The Syriac-Peshito and Arabic Versions, in 2 Sam. iii., read Ana for Aiah—the name of another ancient Hivite, the brother of Ajah, and equally the son of Zibeon. But it is not fair to lay much stress on this, as it may be only the error—easily made—of a careless transcriber; or of one so familiar with the ancient names as to have confounded one with the other.

[b] Comp. Gen. xxxviii., where the "daughter of Shua," the Canaanitess, should really be Bath-shua.

[c] Saul was probably born at Zelah, where Kish's sepulchre, and therefore his home, was situated. [ZELAH.]

[d] בָּחִיר, 2 Sam. xxi. 6. [e] חַשָּׁק, *has-Sak.*

[f] 1. גָּזֵל; ἁρπαγή, ἁρπάγματα; *rapinae.*

2. פֶּרֶק, from פָּרַק, "break;" ἀδικία; *dilaceratio.*

3. שֹׁדֶד, from שָׁדַד, "waste;" ὄλεθρος; *rapinae.*

4. שָׁלָל; προνομη; *praeda*; "prey," "spoil." [BOOTY.]

(2.) ROBBER:—

1. בּוֹז, part. from בָּזַז, "rob;" προνομεύων; *vastans.*

2 פָּרִיץ, part. of פָּרַץ, "break;" λοιμός; *latro*; Mic. ii. 13, "breaker."

3. צָפִים, Job xviii. 9; διψῶντες; *sitis.* Targum, with A. V., has "robbers;" but it is most commonly rendered as LXX., Job v. 5, *sitientes.*

4. שֹׁדֵד; λῃστής; *latro*: from שָׁדַד, "waste."

5. שֹׂסָה; ἐχθρός; *deripiens*; A. V. "spoiler."

6. גַּנָּב; κλέπτης; *fur*; A. V. "thief."

(3.) ROB:—

1. בָּזַז; διαρπάζω; *depopulor.*

2. גָּזַל; ἁφαιρέω; *violenter aufero.*

3. עוּר, "return," "repeat;" hence in Pi. surround, circumvent (Ps. cxix. 61); περιπλακῆναι; *circumplecti*; usually affirm, reiterate assertions (Ges. p. 997).

4. כָּבַע, "cover," "hide;" πτερνίζω; *affigo* (Ges. p. 1190).

5. שָׁסָה; διαρπάζω; *diripio.*

6. שָׁסַס (same as last); προνομεύω; *depraedor.*

7. גָּנַב; κλέπτω; *furor*; A. V. "steal."

ternatically organized, robbery has ever been one of the principal employments of the nomad tribes of the East. From the time of Ishmael to the present day, the Bedouin has been a "wild man," and a robber by trade, and to carry out his objects successfully, so far from being esteemed disgraceful, is regarded as in the highest degree creditable (Gen. xvi. 12; Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 137, 157). An instance of an enterprize of a truly Bedouin character, but distinguished by the exceptional features belonging to its principal actor, is seen in the night-foray of David (1 Sam. xxvi. 6-12), with which also we may fairly compare Hom. *Il.* K. 204, &c. Predatory inroads on a large scale are seen in the incursions of the Sabaeans and Chaldaeans on the property of Job (Job i. 15, 17); the revenge coupled with plunder of Simeon and Levi (Gen. xxxiv. 28, 29); the reprisals of the Hebrews upon the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 32-54), and the frequent and often prolonged invasions of "spoilers" upon the Israelites, together with their reprisals, during the period of the Judges and Kings (Judg. ii. 14, vi. 3, 4; 1 Sam. xi., xv.; 2 Sam. viii., x.; 2 K. v. 2; 1 Chr. v. 10, 18-22). Individual instances, indicating an unsettled state of the country during the same period, are seen in the "liers-in-wait" of the men of Shechem (Judg. ix. 25), and the mountain retreats of David in the cave of Adullam, the hill of Hachilah, and the wilderness of Maon, and his abode in Ziklag, invaded and plundered in like manner by the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxii. 1, 2, xxiii. 19-25, xxvi. 1, xxvii. 6-10, xxx. 1).

Similar disorder in the country, complained of more than once by the prophets (Hos. iv. 2, vi. 9; Mic. ii. 8), continued more or less through Maccabaean down to Roman times, favoured by the corrupt administration of some of the Roman governors, in accepting money in redemption of punishment, produced those formidable bands of robbers, so easily collected and with so much difficulty subdued, who found shelter in the caves of Palestine and Syria, and who infested the country even in the time of our Lord, almost to the very gates of Jerusalem (Luke x. 30; Acts v. 36, 37, xxi. 38.) [JUDAS OF GALILEE; CAVES.] In the later history also of the country the robbers, or sicarii, together with their leader, John of Gischala, played a conspicuous part (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 2, §1; 3, §4; 7, §2).

The Mosaic law on the subject of theft is contained in Ex. xxii., and consists of the following enactments:—

1. He who stole and killed an ox or a sheep, was to restore five oxen for the ox, and four sheep for the sheep.

2. If the stolen animal was found alive the thief was to restore double.

3. If a man was found stealing in a dwelling house at night, and was killed in the act, the homicide was not held guilty of murder.

4. If the act was committed during daylight, the thief might not be killed, but was bound to make full restitution or be sold into slavery.

5. If money or goods deposited in a man's house were stolen therefrom, the thief, when detected, was to pay double: but

6. If the thief could not be found, the master of the house was to be examined before the judges.

7. If an animal given in charge to a man to keep were stolen from him, *i. e.* through his negligence, he was to make restitution to the owner. [OATH.]

There seems no reason to suppose that the law underwent any alteration in Solomon's time, as Michaelis supposes; the expression in Prov. vi. 30, 31 is, that a thief detected in stealing should restore sevenfold, *i. e.* to the full amount, and for this purpose, even give all the substance of his house, and thus in case of failure be liable to servitude (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, §284). On the other hand, see Bertheau on Prov. vi.; and Keil, *Arch. Hebr.* §154.—Man-stealing was punishable with death (Ex. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7).—Invasion of right in land was strictly forbidden (Deut. xxvii. 17; Is. v. 8; Mic. ii. 2).

The question of sacrilege does not properly come within the scope of the present article. [H. W. P.]

ROBOAM (Ῥοβοάμ: *Roboam*), Ecclus. xlvii. 23; Matt. i. 7. [REHOBOAM.]

ROE, ROEBUCK (צְבִי, *tzĕbî* (m.), צְבִיָּה *tzĕbiyyâh* (f.): δορκάς, δόρκων, δορκάδιον: *caprea, damula*). There seems to be little or no doubt that the Heb. word, which occurs frequently in the O. T., denotes some species of antelope, probably the *Gazella dorcas*, a native of Egypt and North Africa, or the *G. Arabica* of Syria and Arabia, which appears to be a variety only of the *dorcas*. The gazelle was allowed as food (Deut. xii. 15. 22, &c.); it is mentioned as very fleet of foot (2 Sam. ii. 18; 1 Chr. xii. 8); it was hunted (Is. xiii. 14; Prov. vi. 5); it was celebrated for its loveliness (Cant. ii. 9, 17, viii. 14). The gazelle is found in Egypt, Barbary, and Syria. Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 207) says that the signification of the word Ajalon, the valley "of stags," is still justified by "the gazelles which the peasants hunt on its mountain slopes." Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 172) says that the mountains of Naphtali "abound in gazelles to this day."

Gazella Arabica.

The ariel gazelle (*G. Arabica*), which, if not a different species, is at least a well marked variety of the *dorcas*, is common in Syria, and is hunted by the Arabs with a falcon and a greyhound; the repeated attacks of the bird upon the head of the animal so bewilder it that it falls an easy prey to the greyhound, which is trained to watch the flight of the falcon. Many of these antelopes are also taken in pitfals into which they are driven by the shouts of the hunters. The large full soft eye of the gazelle has long been the theme of Oriental praises. [W. H.]

ROGELIM (רוֹגְלִים: Ῥωγελλείμ, and so Alex.

though once 'Ρωγελειμ: *Rogelim*). The residence of Barzillai the Gileadite (2 Sam. xvii 27, xix. 31) in the highlands east of the Jordan. It is mentioned on this occasion only. Nothing is said to guide us to its situation, and no name at all resembling it appears to have been hitherto discovered on the spot.

If interpreted as Hebrew the name is derivable from *regel*, the foot, and signifies the "fullers" or "washers," who were in the habit (as they still are in the East) of using their feet to tread the cloth which they are cleansing. But this is extremely uncertain. The same word occurs in the name EN-ROGEL. [G.]

ROH'GAH (רוֹהָגָה, *Cethîb*, רֹהְגָה, *Keri*: 'Ροογά; Alex. Οὐραογά: *Roaga*). An Asherite, of the sons of Shamer (1 Chr. vii. 34).

RO'IMUS ('Ροΐμος). REHUM 1 (1 Esd. v. 8). The name is not traceable in the Vulgate.

ROLL (מְגִלָּה; κεφαλίς). A book in ancient times consisted of a single long strip of paper or parchment, which was usually kept rolled up on a stick, and was unrolled when a person wished to read it. Hence arose the term *megillah*, from *gâlal*,[a] "to roll," strictly answering to the Latin *volumen*, whence comes our *volume*; hence also the expressions, "to spread" and "roll together,"[b] instead of "to open" and "to shut" a book. The full expression for a book was "a roll of writing," or "a roll of a book" (Jer. xxxvi. 2; Ps. xl. 7; Ez. ii. 9), but occasionally "roll" stands by itself (Zech. v. 1, 2; Ezr. vi. 2). The κεφαλίς of the LXX. originally referred to the ornamental knob (the *umbilicus* of the Latins) at the top of the stick or cylinder round which the roll was wound. The use of the term *megillah* implies, of course, the existence of a soft and pliant material: what this material was in the Old Testament period, we are not informed; but as a knife was required for its destruction (Jer. xxxvi. 23), we infer that it was parchment. The roll was usually written on one side only (Mishn. *Erub.* 10, §3), and hence the particular notice of one that was "written within and without" (Ez. ii. 10). The writing was arranged in columns, resembling a door in shape, and hence deriving their Hebrew name,[c] just as "column," from its resemblance to a *columna* or pillar. It has been asserted that the term *megillah* does not occur before the 7th cent. B.C., being first used by Jeremiah (Hitzig, *in Jer.* xxxvi. 2); and the conclusion has been drawn that the use of such materials as parchment was not known until that period (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 71, *note*; Gesen. *Thes.* p. 289). This is to assume, perhaps too confidently, a late date for the composition of Ps. xl., and to ignore the collateral evidence arising out of the expression "roll together" used by Is. xxxiv. 4, and also out of the probable reference to the Pentateuch in Ps. xl. 7, "the roll of the book," a copy of which was deposited by the side of the ark (Deut. xxxi. 26). We may here add that the term in Is. viii. 1, rendered in the A. V. "roll," more correctly means *tablet*. [W. L. B.]

[a] גָּלַל.

[b] In the Hebrew, פָּרַשׂ (2 K. xix. 14) and גָּלַל (Is xxxiv. 4): in the Greek, ἀναπτύσσειν and πτύσσειν (Luke iv. 17, 20).

ROMAM'TI-EZ'ER (רוֹמַמְתִּי עֶזֶר 'Ρωμετθι-έζερ; Alex. 'Ρωμεμθι-έζερ in 1 Chr. xxv. 4, but 'Ρωμεθ-μιέζερ in 1 Chr. xxv. 31: *Romemthiezer*). One of the fourteen sons of Heman, and chief of the 24th division of the singers in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxv. 4, 31).

ROMAN EMPIRE. The history of the Roman Empire, properly so called, extends over a period of rather more than five hundred years, viz. from the battle of Actium, B.C. 31, when Augustus became sole ruler of the Roman world, to the abdication of Augustulus, A.D. 476. The Empire, however, in the sense of the dominion of Rome over a large number of conquered nations, was in full force and had reached wide limits some time before the monarchy of Augustus was established. The notices of Roman history which occur in the Bible are confined to the last century and a half of the commonwealth and the first century of the imperial monarchy.

The first historic mention of Rome in the Bible is in 1 Macc. i. 10. Though the date of the foundation of Rome coincides nearly with the beginning of the reign of Pekah in Israel, it was not till the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. that the Romans had leisure to interfere in the affairs of the East. When, however, the power of Carthage had been effectually broken at Zama, B.C. 202, Roman arms and intrigues soon made themselves felt throughout Macedonia, Greece, and Asia Minor. About the year 161 B.C. Judas Maccabaeus heard of the Romans as the conquerors of Philip, Perseus, and Antiochus (1 Macc. viii. 5, 6). "It was told him also how they destroyed and brought under their dominion all other kingdoms and isles that at any time resisted them, but with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept amity" (viii. 11, 12). In order to strengthen himself against Demetrius king of Syria he sent ambassadors to Rome (viii. 17), and concluded a defensive alliance with the senate (viii. 22-32). This was renewed by Jonathan (xii. 1) and by Simon (xv. 17; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, §6, xiii. 5, §8, 7, §3). Notices of the embassy sent by Judas, of a tribute paid to Rome by the Syrian king, and of further intercourse between the Romans and the Jews, occur in 2 Macc. iv. 11, viii. 10, 36, xi. 34. In the course of the narrative mention is made of the Roman senate (τὸ βουλευτήριον, 1 Macc. xii. 3), of the consul Lucius (ὁ ὕπατος, 1 Macc. xv. 15, 16), and the Roman constitution is described in a somewhat distorted form (1 Macc. viii. 14-16).

The history of the Maccabaean and Idumaean dynasties forms no part of our present subject. [MACCABEES; HEROD.] Here a brief summary of the progress of Roman dominion in Judaea will suffice.

In the year 65 B.C., when Syria was made a Roman province by Pompey, the Jews were still governed by one of the Asmonaean princes. Aristobulus had lately driven his brother Hyrcanus from the chief priesthood, and was now in his turn attacked by Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, the ally of Hyrcanus. Pompey's lieutenant, M. Aemilius Scaurus, interfered in the contest B.C. 64, and the

[c] דַּלְתוֹת (A. V. "leaves," Jer. xxxvi. 23). Hitzig maintains that the word means "leaves," and that the *megillah* in this case was a book like our own, consisting of numerous pages

next year Pompey himself marched an army into Judaea and took Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 2, 3, 4; *B. J.* i. 6, 7). From this time the Jews were practically under the government of Rome. Hyrcanus retained the high-priesthood and a titular sovereignty, subject to the watchful control of his minister Antipater, an active partisan of the Roman interests. Finally, Antipater's son, Herod the Great, was made king by Antony's interest, B.C. 40, and confirmed in the kingdom by Augustus, B.C. 30 (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 14, xv. 6). The Jews, however, were all this time tributaries of Rome, and their princes in reality were mere Roman procurators. Julius Caesar is said to have exacted from them a fourth part of their agricultural produce in addition to the tithe paid to Hyrcanus (*Ant.* xiv. 10, §6). Roman soldiers were quartered at Jerusalem in Herod's time to support him in his authority (*Ant.* xv. 3, §7). Tribute was paid to Rome, and an oath of allegiance to the emperor as well as to Herod appears to have been taken by the people (*Ant.* xvii. 2, §2). On the banishment of Archelaus, A.D. 6, Judaea became a mere appendage of the province of Syria, and was governed by a Roman procurator, who resided at Caesarea. Galilee and the adjoining districts were still left under the government of Herod's sons and other petty princes, whose dominions and titles were changed from time to time by successive emperors: for details see HEROD.

Such were the relations of the Jewish people to the Roman government at the time when the N. T. history begins. An ingenious illustration of this state of things has been drawn from the condition of British India. The Governor General at Calcutta, the subordinate governors at Madras and Bombay, and the native princes, whose dominions have been at one time enlarged, at another incorporated with the British presidencies, find their respective counterparts in the governor of Syria at Antioch, the procurators of Judaea at Caesarea, and the members of Herod's family, whose dominions were alternately enlarged and suppressed by the Roman emperors (Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, i. 27). These and other characteristics of Roman rule come before us constantly in the N. T. Thus we hear of Caesar the sole king (John xix. 15)—of Cyrenius, "governor of Syria" (Luke ii. 2)—of Pontius Pilate, Felix, and Festus, the "governors," *i. e.* procurators, of Judaea—of the "tetrarchs" Herod, Philip, and Lysanias (Luke iii. 1)—of "king Agrippa" (Acts xxv. 13)—of Roman soldiers, legions, centurions, publicans—of the tribute-money (Matt. xxii. 19)—the taxing of "the whole world" (Luke ii. 1)—Italian and Augustan cohorts (Acts x. 1, xxvii. 1)—the appeal to Caesar (Acts xxv. 11). Three of the Roman emperors are mentioned in the N. T.—Augustus (Luke ii. 1), Tiberius (Luke iii. 1), and Claudius (Acts xi. 28, xviii. 2). Nero is alluded to under various titles, as Augustus (Σεβαστός) and Caesar (Acts xxv. 10, 11, 21, 25; Phil. iv. 22), as ὁ κύριος, "my lord" (Acts xxv. 26), and apparently in other passages (1 Pet. ii. 17; Rom. xiii. 1). Several notices of the provincial administration of the Romans and the condition of provincial cities occur in the narrative of St. Paul's journeys (Acts xiii. 7, xviii. 12, xvi. 12, 35, 38, xix. 38).

In illustration of the sacred narrative it may be well to give a general account, though necessarily a short and imperfect one, of the position of the emperor, the extent of the empire, and the administration of the provinces in the time of our Lord and His Apostles. Fuller information will be found under special articles.

I. When Augustus became sole ruler of the Roman world he was in theory simply the first citizen of the republic, entrusted with temporary powers to settle the disorders of the state. Tacitus says that he was neither king nor dictator, but "prince" (Tac. *Ann.* i. 9), a title implying no civil authority, but simply the position of chief member of the senate (princeps senatus). The old magistracies were retained, but the various powers and prerogatives of each were conferred upon Augustus, so that while others commonly bore the chief official titles, Augustus had the supreme control of every department of the state. Above all he was the Emperor (Imperator). This word, used originally to designate any one entrusted with the imperium or full military authority over a Roman army, acquired a new significance when adopted as a permanent title by Julius Caesar. By his use of it as a constant prefix to his name in the city and in the camp he openly asserted a paramount military authority over the state. Augustus, by resuming it, plainly indicated, in spite of much artful concealment, the real basis on which his power rested, viz. the support of the army (Merivale, *Roman Empire*, vol. iii.). In the N. T. the emperor is commonly designated by the family name "Caesar," or the dignified and almost sacred title "Augustus" (for its meaning, comp. Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 609). Tiberius is called by implication ἡγεμὼν in Luke iii. 1, a title applied in the N. T. to Cyrenius, Pilate, and others. Notwithstanding the despotic character of the government, the Romans seem to have shrunk from speaking of their ruler under his military title (see Merivale, *Rom. Empire*, iii. 452, and note) or any other avowedly despotic appellation. The use of the word ὁ κύριος, *dominus*, "my lord," in Acts xxv. 26, marks the progress of Roman servility between the time of Augustus and Nero. Augustus and Tiberius refused this title. Caligula first bore it (see Alford's note in *l. c.*; Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 142). The term βασιλεύς, "king," in John xix. 15, 1 Pet. ii. 17, cannot be closely pressed.

The Empire was nominally elective (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 4); but practically it passed by adoption (see Galba's speech in Tac. *Hist.* i. 15), and till Nero's time a sort of hereditary right seemed to be recognised. The dangers inherent in a military government were, on the whole, successfully averted till the death of Pertinax, A.D. 193 (Gibbon, ch. iii. p. 80), but outbreaks of military violence were not wanting in this earlier period (comp. Wenck's note on Gibbon, *l. c.*). The army was systematically bribed by donatives at the commencement of each reign, and the mob of the capital continually fed and amused at the expense of the provinces. We are reminded of the insolence and avarice of the soldiers in Luke iii. 14. The reigns of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian show that an emperor might shed the noblest blood with impunity, so long as he abstained from offending the soldiery and the populace.

II. *Extent of the Empire.*—Cicero's description of the Greek states and colonies as a "fringe on the skirts of barbarism" (Cic. *De Rep.* ii. 4) has been well applied to the Roman dominions before the conquests of Pompey and Caesar (Merivale, *Rom. Empire*, iv. 409). The Roman Empire was still confined to a narrow strip encircling the Mediterranean Sea. Pompey added Asia Minor and Syria, Caesar added Gaul. The generals of Augustus over-

ran the N.W. portion of Spain and the country between the Alps and the Danube. The boundaries of the Empire were now, the Atlantic on the W., the Euphrates on the E., the deserts of Africa, the cataracts of the Nile, and the Arabian deserts on the S., the British Channel, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Black Sea on the N. The only subsequent conquests of importance were those of Britain by Claudius and of Dacia by Trajan. The only independent powers of importance were the Parthians on the E. and the Germans on the N.

The population of the Empire in the time of Augustus has been calculated at 85,000,000 (Merivale, *Rom. Empire*, iv. 442-450). Gibbon, speaking of the time of Claudius, puts the population at 120,000,000 (*Decline and Fall*, ch. ii.). Count Franz de Champagny adopts the same number for the reign of Nero (*Les Césars*, ii. 428). All these estimates are confessedly somewhat uncertain and conjectural.

This large population was controlled in the time of Tiberius by an army of 25 legions, exclusive of the praetorian guards and other cohorts in the capital. The soldiers who composed the legions may be reckoned in round numbers at 170,000 men. If we add to these an equal number of auxiliaries (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5) we have a total force of 340,000 men. The praetorian guards may be reckoned at 10,000 (Dion Cass. lv. 24). The other cohorts would swell the garrison at Rome to fifteen or sixteen thousand men. For the number and stations of the legions in the time of Tiberius, comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5.

The navy may have contained about 21,000 men (*Les Césars*, ii. 429 ; comp. Merivale, iii. 534). The legion, as appears from what has been said, must have been "more like a brigade than a regiment," consisting as it did of more than 6000 infantry with cavalry attached (Conybeare and Howson, ii. 285). For the "Italian and Augustan bands" (Acts x. 1, xxvii. 1) see ARMY, vol. i. p. 114.

III. *The Provinces.*—The usual fate of a country conquered by Rome was to become a subject province, governed directly from Rome by officers sent out for that purpose. Sometimes, however, as we have seen, petty sovereigns were left in possession of a nominal independence on the borders, or within the natural limits, of the province. Such a system was useful for rewarding an ally, for employing a busy ruler, for gradually accustoming a stubborn people to the yoke of dependence. There were differences too in the political condition of cities within the provinces. Some were free cities, *i. e.* were governed by their own magistrates, and were exempted from occupation by a Roman garrison. Such were Tarsus, Antioch in Syria, Athens, Ephesus, Thessalonica. See the notices of the "Politarchs" and "Demos" at Thessalonica, Acts xvii. 5-8. The "town-clerk" and the assembly at Ephesus, Acts xix. 35, 39 (C. and H. *Life of St. Paul*, i. 357, ii. 79). Occasionally, but rarely, free cities were exempted from taxation. Other cities were "Colonies," *i. e.* communities of Roman citizens transplanted, like garrisons of the imperial city, into a foreign land. Such was Philippi (Acts xvi. 12). Such too were Corinth, Troas, the Pisidian Antioch. The inhabitants were for the most part Romans (Acts xvi. 21), and their magistrates delighted in the Roman title of Praetor (στρατηγοί), and in the attendance of lictors (ῥαβδοῦχοι), Acts xvi. 35. (C. and H. i. 315.)

Augustus divided the provinces into two classes, 1.) Imperial, (2.) Senatorial; retaining in his own hands, for obvious reasons, those provinces where the presence of a large military force was necessary, and committing the peaceful and unarmed provinces to the Senate. The Imperial provinces at first were—Gaul, Lusitania, Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Aegypt. The Senatorial provinces were Africa, Numidia, Asia, Achaea and Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Sicily, Crete and Cyrene, Bithynia and Pontus, Sardinia, Baetica (Dion C. liii. 12). Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis were subsequently given up by Augustus, who in turn received Dalmatia from the Senate. Many other changes were made afterwards. The N. T. writers invariably designate the governors of Senatorial provinces by the correct title of ἀνθύπατοι, proconsuls (Acts xiii. 7, xviii. 12, xix. 38). [CYPRUS.] For the governor of an Imperial province, properly styled "Legatus Caesaris" (Πρεσβευτής), the word Ἡγεμών (Governor) is used in the N. T.

The provinces were heavily taxed for the benefit of Rome and her citizens. "It was as if England were to defray the expenses of her own administration by the proceeds of a tax levied on her Indian empire" (Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, i. p. 448). In old times the Roman revenues were raised mainly from three sources: (1.) The domain lands; (2.) A direct tax (tributum) levied upon every citizen; (3.) From customs, tolls, harbour duties, &c. The agrarian law of Julius Caesar is said to have extinguished the first source of revenue (Cic. *ad Att.* ii. xvi.; Dureau de la Malle, ii. 430). Roman citizens had ceased to pay direct taxes since the conquest of Macedonia, B.C. 167 (Cic. *de Off.* ii. 22; Plut. *Aemil. Paul.* 38), except in extraordinary emergencies. The main part of the Roman revenue was now drawn from the provinces by a direct tax (κῆνσος, φόρος, Matt. xxii. 17, Luke xx. 22), amounting probably to from 5 to 7 per cent. on the estimated produce of the soil (Dureau de la Malle, ii. p. 418). The indirect taxes too (τέλη, *vectigalia*, Matt. xvii. 25 ; Dureau de la Malle, ii. 449) appear to have been very heavy (ibid. ii. 452, 448). Augustus on coming to the empire found the regular sources of revenue impaired, while his expenses must have been very great. To say nothing of the pay of the army, he is said to have supported no less than 200,000 citizens in idleness by the miserable system of public gratuities. Hence the necessity of a careful valuation of the property of the whole empire, which appears to have been made more than once in his reign. [CENSUS.] For the historical difficulty about the taxing in Luke ii. 1, see CYRENIUS. Augustus appears to have raised both the direct and indirect taxes (Dureau de la Malle, ii. 433, 448).

The provinces are said to have been better governed under the Empire than under the Commonwealth, and those of the emperor better than those of the Senate (Tac. *Ann.* i. 76, iv. 6; Dion, liii. 14). Two important changes were introduced under the Empire. The governors received a fixed pay, and the term of their command was prolonged (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 6, §5). But the old mode of levying the taxes seems to have been continued. The companies who farmed the taxes, consisting generally of knights, paid a certain sum into the Roman treasury, and proceeded to wring what they could from the provincials, often with the connivance and support of the provincial governor. The work was done chiefly by underlings of the lowest class (portitores). These are the publicans of the N. T.

On the whole it seems doubtful whether the wrongs of the provinces can have been materially alleviated under the Imperial government. It is not likely that such rulers as Caligula and Nero would be scrupulous about the means used for replenishing their treasury. The stories related even of the reign of Augustus show how slight were the checks on the tyranny of provincial governors. See the story of Licinus in Gaul (*Dict. of Gr. & Rom. Biog.* sub voce), and that of the Dalmatian chief (Dion, lv.). The sufferings of St. Paul, protected as he was to a certain extent by his Roman citizenship, show plainly how little a provincial had to hope from the justice of a Roman governor.

It is impossible here to discuss the difficult question relating to Roman provincial government raised on John xviii. 31. It may be sufficient here to state, that according to strict Roman law the Jews would lose the power of life and death when their country became a province, and there seems no sufficient reason to depart from the literal interpretation of the verse just cited. See Alford, *in l. c.* On the other side see Biscoe, *On the Acts*, p. 113.

The condition of the Roman Empire at the time when Christianity appeared has often been dwelt upon, as affording obvious illustrations of St. Paul's expression that the "fulness of time had come" (Gal. iv. 4). The general peace within the limits of the Empire, the formation of military roads, the suppression of piracy, the march of the legions, the voyages of the corn fleets, the general increase of traffic, the spread of the Latin language in the West as Greek had already spread in the East, the external unity of the Empire, offered facilities hitherto unknown for the spread of a world-wide religion. The tendency too of a despotism like that of the Roman Empire to reduce all its subjects to a dead level, was a powerful instrument in breaking down the pride of privileged races and national religions, and familiarizing men with the truth that "God hath made of one blood all nations on the face of the earth" (Acts xvii. 24, 26). But still more striking than this outward preparation for the diffusion of the Gospel was the appearance of a deep and wide-spread corruption which seemed to defy any human remedy. It would be easy to accumulate proofs of the moral and political degradation of the Romans under the Empire. It is needless to do more than allude to the corruption, the cruelty, the sensuality, the monstrous and unnatural wickedness of the period as revealed in the heathen historians and satirists. "Viewed as a national or political history," says the great historian of Rome, "the history of the Roman Empire is sad and discouraging in the last degree. We see that things had come to a point at which no earthly power could afford any help; we now have the development of dead powers instead of that of a vital energy" (Niebuhr, *Lect.* v. 194). Notwithstanding the outward appearance of peace, unity, and reviving prosperity, the general condition of the people must have been one of great misery. To say nothing of the fact that probably one-half of the population consisted of slaves, the great inequality of wealth at a time when a whole province could be owned by six landowners, the absence of any middle class, the utter want of any institutions for alleviating distress such as are found in all Christian countries, the inhuman tone of feeling and practice generally prevailing, forbid us to think favourably of the happiness of the world in the famous Augustan age. We must remember that "there were no public hospitals, no institutions for the relief of the infirm and poor, no societies for the improvement of the condition of mankind from motives of charity. Nothing was done to promote the instruction of the lower classes, nothing to mitigate the miseries of domestic slavery. Charity and general philanthropy were so little regarded as duties, that it requires a very extensive acquaintance with the literature of the times to find any allusion to them" (Arnold's *Later Roman Commonwealth*, ii. 398). If we add to this that there was probably not a single religion, except the Jewish, which was felt by the more enlightened part of its professors to be real, we may form some notion of the world which Christianity had to reform and purify. We venture to quote an eloquent description of its "slow, imperceptible, continuous aggression on the heathenism of the Roman Empire."

"Christianity was gradually withdrawing some of all orders, even slaves, out of the vices, the ignorance, the misery of that corrupted social system. It was ever instilling feelings of humanity, yet unknown or coldly commended by an impotent philosophy, among men and women whose infant ears had been habituated to the shrieks of dying gladiators; it was giving dignity to minds prostrated by years, almost centuries, of degrading despotism; it was nurturing purity and modesty of manners in an unspeakable state of depravation; it was enshrining the marriage-bed in a sanctity long almost entirely lost, and rekindling to a steady warmth the domestic affections; it was substituting a simple, calm, and rational faith for the worn-out superstitions of heathenism; gently establishing in the soul of man the sense of immortality, till it became a natural and inextinguishable part of his moral being" (Milman's *Latin Christianity*, i. p. 24).

The chief prophetic notices of the Roman Empire are found in the Book of Daniel, especially in ch. xi. 30-40, and in ii. 40, vii. 7, 17-19, according to the common interpretation of the "fourth kingdom;" comp. 2 Esdr. xi. 1, but see DANIEL. According to some interpreters the Romans are intended in Deut. xxviii. 49-57. For the mystical notices of Rome in the Revelation comp. ROME. [J. J. H.]

ROMANS, THE EPISTLE TO THE.

1. The *date* of this Epistle is fixed with more absolute certainty and within narrower limits, than that of any other of St. Paul's Epistles. The following considerations determine the time of writing. *First.* Certain names in the salutations point to Corinth, as the place from which the letter was sent. (1.) Phoebe, a deaconess of Cenchreae, one of the port towns of Corinth, is commended to the Romans (xvi. 1, 2). (2.) Gaius, in whose house St. Paul was lodged at the time (xvi. 23), is probably the person mentioned as one of the chief members of the Corinthian Church in 1 Cor. i. 14, though the name was very common. (3.) Erastus, here designated "the treasurer of the city" (*οἰκονόμος*, xvi. 23, E. V. "chamberlain") is elsewhere mentioned in connexion with Corinth (2 Tim. iv. 20; see also Acts xix. 22). *Secondly.* Having thus determined the place of writing to be Corinth, we have no hesitation in fixing upon the visit recorded in Acts xx. 3, during the winter and spring following the Apostle's long residence at Ephesus, as the occasion on which the Epistle was written. For St. Paul, when he wrote the letter, was on the point of carrying the contributions of Macedonia and Achaia to Jerusalem (xv. 25-27), and a comparison with Acts xx. 22, xxiv. 17, and also 1 Cor. xvi. 4; 2 Cor. viii.

1, 2, ix 1 ff., shows that he was so engaged at this period of his life. (See Paley's *Horae Paulinae*, ch. ii. §1.) Moreover, in this Epistle he declares his intention of visiting the Romans after he has been at Jerusalem (xv. 23-25), and that such was his design at this particular time appears from a casual notice in Acts xix. 21.

The Epistle then was written from Corinth during St. Paul's third missionary journey, on the occasion of the second of the two visits recorded in the Acts. On this occasion he remained three months in Greece (Acts xx. 3). When he left, the sea was already navigable, for he was on the point of sailing for Jerusalem when he was obliged to change his plans. On the other hand, it cannot have been late in the spring, because after passing through Macedonia and visiting several places on the coast of Asia Minor, he still hoped to reach Jerusalem by Pentecost (xx. 16). It was therefore in the winter or early spring of the year that the Epistle to the Romans was written. According to the most probable system of chronology, adopted by Anger and Wieseler, this would be the year A.D. 58.

2. The Epistle to the Romans is thus placed in *chronological connexion* with the Epistles to the Galatians and Corinthians, which appear to have been written within the twelve months preceding. The First Epistle to the Corinthians was written before St. Paul left Ephesus, the Second from Macedonia when he was on his way to Corinth, and the Epistle to the Galatians most probably either in Macedonia or after his arrival at Corinth, *i. e.* after the Epistles to the Corinthians, though the date of the Galatian Epistle is not absolutely certain. [GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.] We shall have to notice the relations existing between these contemporaneous Epistles hereafter. At present it will be sufficient to say that they present a remarkable resemblance to each other in style and matter—a much greater resemblance than can be traced to any other of St. Paul's Epistles. They are at once the most intense and most varied in feeling and expression—if we may so say, the most Pauline of all St. Paul's Epistles. When Baur excepts these four Epistles alone from his sweeping condemnation of the genuineness of all the letters bearing St. Paul's name (*Paulus, der Apostel*) this is a mere caricature of sober criticism; but underlying this erroneous exaggeration is the fact, that the Epistles of this period—St. Paul's third missionary journey—have a character and an intensity peculiarly their own, corresponding to the circumstances of the Apostle's outward and inward life at the time when they were written. For the special characteristics of this group of Epistles, see a paper on the Epistle to the Galatians in the *Journal of Class. and Sacr. Phil.*, iii. p. 289.

3. The *occasion* which prompted this Epistle, and the *circumstances* attending its writing, were as follows. St. Paul had long purposed visiting Rome, and still retained this purpose, wishing also to extend his journey to Spain (i. 9-13, xv. 22-29). For the time however, he was prevented from carrying out his design, as he was bound for Jerusalem with the alms of the Gentile Christians, and meanwhile he addressed this letter to the Romans, to supply the lack of his personal teaching. Phoebe, a deaconess of the neighbouring Church of Cenchreae, was on the point of starting for Rome (xvi. 1, 2), and probably conveyed the letter. The body of the Epistle was written at the Apostle's dictation by Tertius (xvi. 22); but perhaps we may infer from the abruptness of the final doxology, that it was added by the Apostle himself, more especially as we gather from other Epistles that it was his practice to conclude with a few striking words in his own hand-writing, to vouch for the authorship of the letter, and frequently also to impress some important truth more strongly on his readers.

4. The *Origin of the Roman Church* is involved in obscurity. If it had been founded by St. Peter, according to a later tradition, the absence of any allusion to him both in this Epistle and in the letters written by St. Paul from Rome would admit of no explanation. It is equally clear that no other Apostle was the Founder. In this very Epistle, and in close connexion with the mention of his proposed visit to Rome, the Apostle declares that it was his rule not to build on another man's foundation (xv. 20), and we cannot suppose that he violated it in this instance. Again, he speaks of the Romans as especially falling to his share as the Apostle of the Gentiles (i. 13), with an evident reference to the partition of the field of labour between himself and St. Peter, mentioned in Gal. ii. 7-9. Moreover, when he declares his wish to impart some spiritual gift (χάρισμα) to them, "that they might be established" (i. 11), this implies that they had not yet been visited by an Apostle, and that St. Paul contemplated supplying the defect, as was done by St. Peter and St. John in the analogous case of the Churches founded by Philip in Samaria (Acts viii. 14-17).

The statement in the Clementines (*Hom.* i. §6) that the first tidings of the Gospel reached Rome during the lifetime of our Lord, is evidently a fiction for the purposes of the romance. On the other hand, it is clear that the foundation of this Church dates very far back. St. Paul in this Epistle salutes certain believers resident in Rome—Andronicus and Junia (or Junianus?)—adding that they were distinguished among the Apostles, and that they were converted to Christ before himself (xvi. 7), for such seems to be the meaning of the passage, rendered somewhat ambiguous by the position of the relative pronouns. It may be that some of those Romans, "both Jews and proselytes," present on the day of Pentecost (οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι, Acts ii. 10), carried back the earliest tidings of the new doctrine, or the Gospel may have first reached the imperial city through those who were scattered abroad to escape the persecution which followed on the death of Stephen (Acts viii. 4, xi. 19). At all events, a close and constant communication was kept up between the Jewish residents in Rome and their fellow-countrymen in Palestine by the exigencies of commerce, in which they became more and more engrossed, as their national hopes declined, and by the custom of repairing regularly to their sacred festivals at Jerusalem. Again, the imperial edicts alternately banishing and recalling the Jews (compare *e. g.* in the case of Claudius, Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 5, §3, with Suet. *Claud.* 25) must have kept up a constant ebb and flow of migration between Rome and the East, and the case of Aquila and Priscilla (Acts xviii. 2; see Paley, *Hor. Paul.* c. ii. §2), probably represents a numerous class through whose means the opinions and doctrines promulgated in Palestine might reach the metropolis. At first we may suppose that the Gospel was preached there in a confused and imperfect form, scarcely more than a phase of Judaism, as in the case of Apollos at Corinth (Acts xviii. 25), or the disciples at Ephesus (Acts xix. 1-3). As time advanced and

better instructed teachers arrived, the clouds would gradually clear away, till at length the presence of the great Apostle himself at Rome, dispersed the mists of Judaism which still hung about the Roman Church. Long after Christianity had taken up a position of direct antagonism to Judaism in Rome, heathen statesmen and writers still persisted in confounding the one with the other. (See Merivale, *Hist. of Rome*, vi. p. 278, &c.)

5. A question next arises as to the *composition of the Roman Church*, at the time when St. Paul wrote. Did the Apostle address a Jewish or a Gentile community, or, if the two elements were combined, was one or other predominant so as to give a character to the whole Church? Either extreme has been vigorously maintained, Baur for instance asserting that St. Paul was writing to Jewish Christians, Olshausen arguing that the Roman Church consisted almost solely of Gentiles. We are naturally led to seek the truth in some intermediate position. Jowett finds a solution of the difficulty in the supposition that the members of the Roman Church, though Gentiles, had passed through a phase of Jewish proselytism. This will explain some of the phenomena of the Epistle, but not all. It is more probable that St. Paul addressed a mixed Church of Jews and Gentiles, the latter perhaps being the more numerous.

There are certainly passages which imply the presence of a large number of Jewish converts to Christianity. The use of the second person in addressing the Jews (chaps. ii. and iii.) is clearly not assumed merely for argumentative purposes, but applies to a portion at least of those into whose hands the letter would fall. The constant appeals to the authority of "the law" may in many cases be accounted for by the Jewish education of the Gentile believers (so Jowett, vol. ii. p. 22), but sometimes they seem too direct and positive to admit of this explanation (iii. 19, vii. 1). In the 7th chapter St. Paul appears to be addressing Jews, as those who like himself had once been under the dominion of the law, but had been delivered from it in Christ (see especially verses 4 and 6). And when in xi. 13, he says "I am speaking to you—the Gentiles," this very limiting expression "the Gentiles," implies that the letter was addressed to not a few to whom the term would not apply.

Again, if we analyse the list of names in the 16th chapter, and assume that this list approximately represents the proportion of Jew and Gentile in the Roman Church (an assumption at least not improbable), we arrive at the same result. It is true that Mary, or rather Mariam (xvi. 6), is the only strictly Jewish name. But this fact is not worth the stress apparently laid on it by Mr. Jowett (ii. p. 27). For Aquila and Priscilla (ver. 3) were Jews (Acts xviii. 2, 26), and the Church which met in their house was probably of the same nation. Andronicus and Junia (or Junias? ver. 7) are called St. Paul's kinsmen. The same term is applied to Herodion (ver. 11). These persons then must have been Jews, whether "kinsmen" is taken in the wider or the more restricted sense. The name Apelles (ver. 10), though a heathen name also, was most commonly borne by Jews, as appears from Horace, *Sat.* I. v. 100. If the Aristobulus of ver. 10 was one of the princes of the Herodian house, as seems probable, we have also in "the household of Aristobulus" several Jewish converts. Altogether it appears that a very large fraction of the Christian believers mentioned in these salutations were Jews, even supposing that the others, bearing Greek and Latin names, of whom we know nothing, were heathens.

Nor does the existence of a large Jewish element in the Roman Church present any difficulty. The captives carried to Rome by Pompeius formed the nucleus of the Jewish population in the metropolis [ROME]. Since that time they had largely increased. During the reign of Augustus we hear of above 8000 resident Jews attaching themselves to a Jewish embassy which appealed to this emperor (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 11, §1). The same emperor gave them a quarter beyond the Tiber, and allowed them the free exercise of their religion (Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, p. 568 M.). About the time when St. Paul wrote, Seneca, speaking of the influence of Judaism, echoes the famous expression of Horace (*Ep.* ii. 1, 156) respecting the Greeks—"victi victoribus leges dederunt" (Seneca, in Augustin. *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 11). And the bitter satire of Juvenal and indignant complaints of Tacitus of the spread of the infection through Roman society, are well known.

On the other hand, situated in the metropolis of the great empire of heathendom, the Roman Church must necessarily have been in great measure a Gentile Church; and the language of the Epistle bears out this supposition. It is professedly as the Apostle of the Gentiles that St. Paul writes to the Romans (i. 5). He hopes to have some fruit among them, as he had among the other Gentiles (i. 13). Later on in the Epistle he speaks of the Jews in the third person, as if addressing Gentiles, "I could wish that myself were accursed for my brethren, my kinsmen after the flesh, who are Israelites, etc." (ix. 3, 4). And again, "my heart's desire and prayer to God for *them* is that they might be saved" (x. 1, the right reading is ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, not ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ as in the Received Text). Compare also xi. 23, 25, and especially xi. 30, "For as ye in times past did not believe God . . . so did these also (*i. e.* the Jews) now not believe," etc. In all these passages St. Paul clearly addresses himself to Gentile readers.

These Gentile converts, however, were not for the most part native Romans. Strange as the paradox appears, nothing is more certain than that the Church of Rome was at this time a Greek and not a Latin Church. It is clearly established that the early Latin versions of the New Testament were made not for the use of Rome, but of the provinces, especially Africa (Westcott, *Canon*, p. 269). All the literature of the early Roman Church was written in the Greek tongue. The names of the bishops of Rome during the first two centuries are with but few exceptions Greek. (See Milman, *Latin Christ.* i. 27.) And in accordance with these facts we find that a very large proportion of the names in the salutations of this Epistle are Greek names; while of the exceptions, Priscilla, Aquila, and Junia (or Junias), were certainly Jews; and the same is true of Rufus, if, as is not improbable, he is the same mentioned Mark xv. 21. Julia was probably a dependent of the imperial household, and derived her name accordingly. The only Roman names remaining are Amplias (*i. e.* Ampliatus) and Urbanus, of whom nothing is known, but their names are of late growth, and certainly do not point to an old Roman stock. It was therefore from the Greek population of Rome, pure or mixed, that the Gentile portion of the Church was almost entirely drawn. And this might be expected. The Greeks formed a very considerable fraction of the whole people of Rome. They were the most busy and

adventurous, and also the most intelligent of the middle and lower classes of society. The influence which they were acquiring by their numbers and versatility is a constant theme of reproach in the Roman philosopher and satirist (Juv. iii. 60-80, vi. 84; Tac. *de Orat.* 29). They complain that the national character is undermined, that the whole city has become Greek. Speaking the language of international intercourse, and brought by their restless habits into contact with foreign religions, the Greeks had larger opportunities than others of acquainting themselve with the truths of the Gospel: while at the same time holding more loosely to traditional beliefs, and with minds naturally more enquiring, they would be more ready to welcome these truths when they came in their way. At all events, for whatever reason, the Gentile converts at Rome were Greeks, not Romans: and it was an unfortunate conjecture on the part of the transcriber of the Syriac Peshito, that this letter was written "in the Latin tongue," (רומאית). Every line in the Epistle bespeaks an original.

When we enquire into the probable rank and station of the Roman believers, an analysis of the names in the list of salutations again gives an approximate answer. These names belong for the most part to the middle and lower grades of society. Many of them are found in the columbaria of the freedmen and slaves of the early Roman emperors. (See *Journal of Class. and Sacr. Phil.* iv. p. 57.) It would be too much to assume that they were the same persons, but at all events the identity of names points to the same social rank. Among the less wealthy merchants and tradesmen, among the petty officers of the army, among the slaves and freedmen of the imperial palace—whether Jews or Greeks—the Gospel would first find a firm footing. To this last class allusion is made in Phil. iv. 22, "they that are of Caesar's household." From these it would gradually work upwards and downwards; but we may be sure that in respect of rank the Church of Rome was no exception to the general rule, that "not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble" were called (1 Cor. i. 26).

It seems probable from what has been said above, that the Roman Church at this time was composed of Jews and Gentiles in nearly equal portions. This fact finds expression in the account, whether true or false, which represents St. Peter and St. Paul as presiding at the same time over the Church at Rome (Dionys. Cor. *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25; Iren. iii. 3). Possibly also the discrepancies in the lists of the early bishops of Rome may find a solution (Pearson, *Minor Theol. Works*, ii. 449; Bunsen, *Hippolytus*, i. p. 44), in the joint Episcopate of Linus and Cletus, the one ruling over the Jewish, the other over the Gentile congregation of the metropolis. If this conjecture be accepted, it is an important testimony to the view here maintained, though we cannot suppose that in St. Paul's time the two elements of the Roman Church had distinct organizations.

6. The heterogeneous composition of this Church explains *the general character of the Epistle to the Romans.* In an assemblage so various, we should expect to find not the exclusive predominance of a single form of error, but the coincidence of different and opposing forms. The Gospel had here to contend not specially with Judaism nor specially with heathenism, but with both together. It was therefore the business of the Christian Teacher to reconcile the opposing difficulties and to hold out a meeting point in the Gospel. This is exactly what St. Paul does in the Epistle to the Romans, and what from the circumstances of the case he was well enabled to do. He was addressing a large and varied community which had not been founded by himself, and with which he had had no direct intercourse. Again, it does not appear that the letter was specially written to answer any doubts or settle any controversies then rife in the Roman Church. There were therefore no disturbing influences, such as arise out of personal relations, or peculiar circumstances, to derange a general and systematic exposition of the nature and working of the Gospel. At the same time the vast importance of the metropolitan Church, which could not have been overlooked even by an uninspired teacher, naturally pointed it out to the Apostle, as the fittest body to whom to address such an exposition. Thus the Epistle to the Romans is more of a treatise than of a letter. If we remove the personal allusions in the opening verses, and the salutations at the close, it seems not more particularly addressed to the Church of Rome, than to any other Church of Christendom. In this respect it differs widely from the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians, with which as being written about the same time it may most fairly be compared, and which are full of personal and direct allusions. In one instance alone we seem to trace a special reference to the Church of the metropolis. The injunction of obedience to temporal rulers (xiii. 1) would most fitly be addressed to a congregation brought face to face with the imperial government, and the more so, as Rome had recently been the scene of frequent disturbances on the part of either Jews or Christians arising out of a feverish and restless anticipation of Messiah's coming (Suet. *Claud.* 25). Other apparent exceptions admit of a different explanation.

7. This explanation is in fact to be sought in its *relation to the contemporaneous Epistles.* The letter to the Romans closes the group of Epistles written during the second missionary journey. This group contains besides, as already mentioned, the letters to the Corinthians and Galatians, written probably within the few months preceding. At Corinth, the capital of Achaia, and the stronghold of heathendom, the Gospel would encounter its severest struggle with Gentile vices and prejudices. In Galatia, which either from natural sympathy or from close contact seems to have been more exposed to Jewish influence, than any other Church within St. Paul's sphere of labour, it had a sharp contest with Judaism. In the Epistles to these two Churches we study the attitude of the Gospel towards the Gentile and Jewish world respectively. These letters are direct and special. They are evoked by present emergencies, are directed against actual evils, are full of personal applications. The Epistle to the Romans is the summary of what he had written before, the result of his dealing with the two antagonistic forms of error, the gathering together of the fragmentary teaching in the Corinthian and Galatian letters. What is there immediate, irregular, and of partial application, is here arranged and completed, and thrown into a general form. Thus on the one hand his treatment of the Mosaic law points to the difficulties he encountered in dealing with the Galatian Church, while on the other his cautions against antinomian excesses (Rom. vi. 15, &c.), and his precepts against giving offence in the matter of meats and the observance of days (Rom. xiv.), remind us of the errors which he had to correct in his Corinthiar converts. (Compar

1 Cor. vi. 12 ff., and 1 Cor. viii. 1 ff.) Those injunctions then which seem at first sight special, appear not to be directed against any actual known failings in the Roman Church, but to be suggested by the possibility of those irregularities occurring in Rome which he had already encountered elsewhere.

8. Viewing this Epistle then rather in the light of a treatise than of a letter, we are enabled to explain certain *phenomena in the text*. In the received text a doxology stands at the close of the Epistle (xvi. 25-27). The preponderance of evidence is in favour of this position, but there is respectable authority for placing it at the end of ch. xiv. In some texts again it is found in both places, while others omit it entirely. How can we account for this? It has been thought by some to discredit the genuineness of the doxology itself: but there is no sufficient ground for this view. The arguments against its genuineness on the ground of style, advanced by Reiche, are met and refuted by Fritzsche (*Rom.* vol. i. p. xxxv.). Baur goes still farther, and rejects the two last chapters; but such an inference falls without the range of sober criticism. The phenomena of the MSS. seem best explained by supposing that the letter was circulated at an early date (whether during the Apostle's lifetime or not it is idle to inquire) in two forms, both with and without the two last chapters. In the shorter form it was divested as far as possible of its epistolary character by abstracting the personal matter addressed especially to the Romans, the doxology being retained at the close. A still further attempt to strip this Epistle of any special references is found in MS. G, which omits ἐν Ῥώμῃ (i. 7), and τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ (i. 15), for it is to be observed at the same time that this MS. omits the doxology entirely, and leaves a space after ch. xiv. This view is somewhat confirmed by the parallel case of the opening of the Ephesian Epistle, in which there is very high authority for omitting the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, and which bears strong marks of having been intended for a circular letter.

9. In describing the *purport* of this Epistle we may start from St. Paul's own words, which, standing at the beginning of the doctrinal portion, may be taken as giving a summary of the contents: "The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first and also to the Greek: for therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith" (i. 16, 17). Accordingly the Epistle has been described as comprising "the religious philosophy of the world's history." The world in its religious aspect is divided into Jew and Gentile. The different positions of the two as regards their past and present relation to God, and their future prospects, are explained. The atonement of Christ is the centre of religious history. The doctrine of justification by faith is the key which unlocks the hidden mysteries of the divine dispensation.

The Epistle, from its general character, lends itself more readily to an *analysis* than is often the case with St. Paul's Epistles. The body of the letter consists of four portions, of which the first and last relate to personal matters, the second is argumentative and doctrinal, and the third practical and hortatory. The following is a table of its contents:—

Salutation (i. 1-7). The Apostle at the outset strikes the keynote of the Epistle in the expressions "*called* as an apostle," "*called* as saints." Divine grace is everything, human merit nothing.

I. Personal explanations. Purposed visit to Rome (i. 8-15).

II. Doctrinal (i. 16–xi. 36).

The *general proposition*. The Gospel is the salvation of Jew and Gentile alike. This salvation comes by faith (i. 16, 17).

The rest of this section is taken up in establishing this thesis, and drawing deductions from it, or correcting misapprehensions.

(*a*) All alike were under *condemnation* before the Gospel:

The heathen (i. 18-32).

The Jew (ii. 1-29).

Objections to this statement answered (iii. 1-8).

And the position itself established from Scripture (iii. 9-20).

(*b*) A *righteousness* (justification) is revealed under the Gospel, which being of faith, not of law, is also universal (iii. 21-26).

And boasting is thereby excluded (iii. 27-31).

Of this justification by faith Abraham is an example (iv. 1-25).

Thus then we are justified in Christ, in whom alone we glory (v. 1-11).

And this acceptance in Christ is as universal as was the condemnation in Adam (v. 12-19).

(*c*) The *moral consequences* of our deliverance.

The law was given to multiply sin (v. 20, 21). When we died to the law we died to sin (vi. 1-14). The abolition of the law, however, is not a signal for moral license (vi. 15-23). On the contrary, as the law has passed away, so must sin, for sin and the law are correlative; at the same time this is no disparagement of the law, but rather a proof of human weakness (vii. 1-25). So henceforth in Christ we are free from sin, we have the Spirit, and look forward in hope, triumphing over our present afflictions (viii. 1-39).

(*d*) The *rejection of the Jews* is a matter of deep sorrow (ix. 1-5).

Yet we must remember—

(i.) That the promise was not to the whole people, but only to a select seed (ix. 6-13) And the absolute purpose of God in so ordaining is not to be canvassed by man (ix. 14-19).

(ii.) That the Jews did not seek justification aright, and so missed it. This justification was promised by *faith*, and is offered to all alike, the preaching to the Gentiles being implied therein. The character and results of the Gospel dispensation are foreshadowed in Scripture (x. 1-21).

(iii.) That the rejection of the Jews is not final. This rejection has been the means of gathering in the Gentiles, and through the Gentiles they themselves will ultimately be brought to Christ (xi. 1-36).

III. Practical exhortations (xii. 1–xv. 13).

(*a*) To holiness of life and to charity in general, the duty of obedience to rulers being inculcated by the way (xii. 1–xiii. 14).

(*b*) And more particularly against giving offence to weaker brethren (xiv. 1–xv. 13).

IV. Personal matters.

(*a*) The Apostle's motive in writing the letter, and his intention of visiting the Romans (xv. 14-33).

(*b*) Greetings (xvi. 1-23).

The letter ends with a benediction and doxology (xvi. 24-27).

While this Epistle contains the fullest and most systematic exposition of the Apostle's *teaching*, it is at the same time a very striking expression of his *character*. Nowhere do his earnest and affectionate nature, and his tact and delicacy in handling unwelcome topics appear more strongly than when he is dealing with the rejection of his fellow-countrymen the Jews.

The reader may be referred especially to the introductions of Olshausen, Tholuck, and Jowett, for suggestive remarks relating to the scope and purport of the Epistle to the Romans.

10. Internal evidence is so strongly in favour of the *genuineness* of the Epistle to the Romans that it has never been seriously questioned. Even the sweeping criticism of Baur did not go beyond condemning the two last chapters as spurious. But while the Epistle bears in itself the strongest proofs of its Pauline authorship, the external testimony in its favour is not inconsiderable.

The reference to Rom. ii. 4 in 2 Pet. iii. 15 is indeed more than doubtful. In the Epistle of St. James again (ii. 14), there is an allusion to perversions of St. Paul's language and doctrine which has several points of contact with the Epistle to the Romans, but this may perhaps be explained by the oral rather than the written teaching of the Apostle, as the dates seem to require. It is not the practice of the Apostolic fathers to cite the N. T. writers by name, but marked passages from the Romans are found embedded in the Epistles of Clement and Polycarp (Rom. i. 29-32 in Clem. *Cor.* c. xxxv., and Rom. xiv. 10, 12, in Polyc. *Phil.* c. vi.). It seems also to have been directly cited by the elder quoted in Irenaeus (iv. 27, 2, "ideo Paulum dixisse;" cf. Rom. xi. 21, 17), and is alluded to by the writer of the Epistle to Diognetus (c. ix., cf. Rom. iii. 21 foll., v. 20), and by Justin Martyr (*Dial.* c. 23, cf. Rom. iv. 10, 11, and in other passages). The title of Melito's treatise, *On the Hearing of Faith*, seems to be an allusion to this Epistle (see however Gal. iii. 2, 3). It has a place moreover in the Muratorian Canon and in the Syriac and Old Latin Versions. Nor have we the testimony of orthodox writers alone. The Epistle was commonly quoted as an authority by the heretics of the subapostolic age, by the Ophites (Hippol. *adv. Haer.* p. 99, cf. Rom. i. 20-26), by Basilides (*ib.* p. 238, cf. Rom. viii. 19, 22, and v. 13, 14), by Valentinus (*ib.* p. 195, cf. Rom. viii. 11), by the Valentinians Heracleon and Ptolemaeus (Westcott, *On the Canon*, pp. 335, 340), and perhaps also by Tatian (*Orat.* c. iv., cf. Rom. i. 20), besides being included in Marcion's Canon. In the latter part of the second century the evidence in its favour is still fuller. It is obviously alluded to in the letter of the churches of Vienne and Lyons (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1, cf. Rom. viii. 18), and by Athenagoras (p. 13, cf. Rom. xii. 1; p. 37, cf. Rom. i. 24) and Theophilus of Antioch (*Ad Autol.* p. 79, cf. Rom. ii. 6 foll.; p. 126, cf. Rom. xiii. 7, 8); and is quoted frequently and by name by Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria (see Kirchhofer, *Quellen*, p. 192, and esp. Westcott, *On the Canon*, passim).

11. The *Commentaries* on this Epistle are very numerous, as might be expected from its importance. Of the many patristic expositions only a few are now extant. The work of Origen is preserved entire only in a loose Latin translation of Rufinus (*Orig.* ed. de la Rue, iv. 458), but some fragments of the original are found in the *Philocalia*, and more in Cramer's *Catena*. The commentary on St. Paul's Epistles printed among the works of St. Ambrose (ed. Ben. ii. Appx. p. 21), and hence bearing the name Ambrosiaster, is probably to be attributed to Hilary the deacon. Besides these are the expositions of St. Paul's Epistles by Chrysostom (ed. Montf. ix. p. 425, edited separately by Field), by Pelagius (printed among Jerome's works, ed. Vallarsi, xi. Pt. 3, p. 135), by Primasius (*Magn. Bibl. Vet. Patr.* vi. Pt. 2, p. 30), and by Theodoret (ed. Schulze, iii. p. 1). Augustine commenced a work, but broke off at i. 4: it bears the name *Inchoata Expositio Epistolae ad Rom.* (ed. Ben. iii. p. 925). Later he wrote *Expositio quarundam Propositionum Epistolae ad Rom.*, also extant (ed. Ben. iii. p. 903). To these should be added the later *Catena* of Oecumenius (10th cent.) and the notes of Theophylact (11th cent.), the former containing valuable extracts from Photius. Portions of a commentary of Cyril of Alexandria were published by Mai (*Nov. Patr. Bibl.* iii. p. 1). The *Catena* edited by Cramer (1844) comprises two collections of Variorum notes, the one extending from i. 1 to ix. 1, the other from vii. 7 to the end. Besides passages from extant commentaries, they contain important extracts from Apollinarius, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Severianus, Gennadius, Photius, and others. There are also the Greek *Scholia*, edited by Matthäi, in his large Greek Test. (Riga, 1782), from Moscow MSS. The commentary of Euthymius Zigabenus (Tholuck, *Einl.* §6) exists in MS., but has never been printed.

Of later commentaries we can only mention a few of the most important. The dogmatic value of this Epistle naturally attracted the early reformers. Melancthon wrote several expositions of it (Walch, *Bibl. Theol.* iv. 679). The Commentary of Calvin on the Romans is considered the ablest part of his able work. Among Roman Catholic writers, the older works of Estius and Corn. a Lapide deserve to be mentioned. Of foreign annotators of a more recent date, besides the general commentaries of Bengel, Olshausen, De Wette, and Meyer (3rd ed. 1859), which are highly valuable aids to the study of this Epistle, we may single out the special works of Rückert (2nd ed. 1839), Reiche (1834), Fritzsche (1836-43), and Tholuck (5th ed. 1856). An elaborate commentary has also been published lately by Van Hengel. Among English writers, besides the editions of the whole of the New Testament by Alford (4th ed. 1861) and Wordsworth (new ed. 1861), the most important annotations on the Epistle to the Romans are those of Stuart (6th ed. 1857), Jowett (2nd ed. 1859), and Vaughan (2nd ed. 1861). Further information on the subject of the literature of the Epistle to the Romans may be found in the introductions of Reiche and Tholuck. [J. B. L.]

ROME ('Ρώμη, *Ethn.* and *Adj.* Ῥωμαῖος, Ῥωμαικός in the phrase γράμματα Ῥωμαϊκά, Luke xxiii. 38), the famous capital of the ancient world, is situated on the Tiber at a distance of about 15 miles from its mouth. The "seven hills" (Rev. xvii 9) which formed the nucleus of the ancient city stand on the left bank. On the opposite side of the river rises the far higher ridge of the Janiculum.

Here from very early times was a fortress with a suburb beneath it extending to the river. Modern Rome lies to the N. of the ancient city, covering with its principal portion the plain to the N. of the seven hills, once known as the Campus Martius, and on the opposite bank extending over the low ground beneath the Vatican to the N. of the ancient Janiculum. A full account of the history and topography of the city is given elsewhere (*Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.* ii. 719). Here it will be considered only in its relation to Bible history.

Rome is not mentioned in the Bible except in the books of Maccabees and in three books of the N. T., viz. the Acts, the Epistle to the Romans, and the 2nd Epistle to Timothy. For the notices of Rome in the books of Maccabees see ROMAN EMPIRE.

The conquests of Pompey seem to have given rise to the first settlement of Jews at Rome. The Jewish king Aristobulus and his son formed part of Pompey's triumph, and many Jewish captives and emigrants were brought to Rome at that time. A special district was assigned to them, not on the site of the modern "Ghetto," between the Capitol and the island of the Tiber, but across the Tiber (Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, p. 568, ed. Mangey). Many of these Jews were made freedmen (Philo, *l. c.*). Julius Caesar showed them some kindness (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10, §8; Suet. *Caesar*, 84). They were favoured also by Augustus, and by Tiberius during the latter part of his reign (Philo, *l. c.*). At an earlier period apparently he banished a great number of them to Sardinia (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 3, §5; Suet. *Tib.* 36). Claudius "commanded all Jews to depart from Rome" (Acts xviii. 2), on account of tumults connected, possibly, with the preaching of Christianity at Rome (Suet. *Claud.* 25, "Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Româ expulit"). This banishment cannot have been of long duration, for we find Jews residing at Rome apparently in considerable numbers at the time of St. Paul's visit (Acts xxviii. 17). It is chiefly in connexion with St. Paul's history that Rome comes before us in the Bible.

In illustration of that history it may be useful to give some account of Rome in the time of Nero, the "Caesar" to whom St. Paul appealed, and in whose reign he suffered martyrdom (Eus. *H. E.* ii. 25).

1. The city at that time must be imagined as a large and irregular mass of buildings unprotected by an outer wall. It had long outgrown the old Servian wall (Dionys. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* iv. 13; ap. Merivale, *Rom. Hist.* iv. 497); but the limits of the suburbs cannot be exactly defined. Neither the nature of the buildings nor the configuration of the ground were such as to give a striking appearance to the city viewed from without. "Ancient Rome had neither cupola nor campanile" (Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, i. 371; Merivale, *Rom. Emp.* iv. 512), and the hills, never lofty or imposing, would present, when covered with the buildings and streets of a huge city, a confused appearance like the hills of modern London, to which they have sometimes been compared. The visit of St. Paul lies between two famous epochs in the history of the city, viz. its restoration by Augustus and its restoration by Nero (C. and H. i. 13). The boast of Augustus is well known, "that he had found the city of brick and left it of marble" (Suet. *Aug.* 28). For the improvements effected by him, see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.* ii. 740, and Niebuhr's *Lectures on Rom. Hist* ii. 177. Some parts of the city, especially the Forum and Campus Martius, must now have presented a magnificent appearance, but many of the principal buildings which attract the attention of modern travellers in ancient Rome were not yet built. The streets were generally narrow and winding, flanked by densely crowded lodging-houses (insulae) of enormous height. Augustus found it necessary to limit their height to 70 feet (Strab. v. 235). St. Paul's first visit to Rome took place before the Neronian conflagration, but even after the restoration of the city, which followed upon that event, many of the old evils continued (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 71; Juv. *Sat.* iii. 193, 269). The population of the city has been variously estimated: at half a million (by Dureau de la Malle, i. 403 and Merivale, *Rom. Empire*, iv. 525), at two millions and upwards (Hoeck, *Römische Geschichte*, i. ii. 131; C. and H. *Life of St. Paul*, ii. 376; *Dict. of Geogr.* ii. 746), even at eight millions (Lipsius, *De Magnitudine Rom.*, quoted in *Dict. of Geogr.*). Probably Gibbon's estimate of one million two hundred thousand is nearest to the truth (Milman's note on Gibbon, ch. xxxi. vol. iii. p. 120). One half of the population consisted, in all probability, of slaves. The larger part of the remainder consisted of pauper citizens supported in idleness by the miserable system of public gratuities. There appears to have been no middle class and no free industrial population. Side by side with the wretched classes just mentioned was the comparatively small body of the wealthy nobility, of whose luxury and profligacy we hear so much in the heathen writers of the time. (See for calculations and proofs the works cited.)

Such was the population which St. Paul would find at Rome at the time of his visit. We learn from the Acts of the Apostles that he was detained at Rome for "two whole years," "dwelling in his own hired house with a soldier that kept him" (Acts xxviii. 16, 30), to whom apparently, according to Roman custom (Senec. *Ep.* v.; Acts xii. 6, quoted by Brotier, *ad Tac. Ann.* iii. 22), he was bound with a chain (Acts xxviii. 20; Eph. vi. 20; Phil. i. 13). Here he preached to all that came to him, no man forbidding him (Acts xxviii. 30, 31). It is generally believed that on his "appeal to Caesar" he was acquitted, and, after some time spent in freedom, was a second time imprisoned at Rome (for proofs, see C. and H. *Life of St. Paul*, ch. xxvii., and Alford, *Gr. Test.* iii. ch. 7). Five of his Epistles, viz. those to the Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians, that to Philemon, and the 2nd Epistle to Timothy, were, in all probability, written from Rome, the latter shortly before his death (2 Tim. iv. 6), the others during his first imprisonment. It is universally believed that he suffered martyrdom at Rome.

2. The localities in and about Rome especially connected with the life of St. Paul, are—(1.) The Appian way, by which he approached Rome (Acts xxviii. 15). (See APPII FORUM, and *Dict. of Geogr.* "Via Appia") (2.) "The palace," or "Caesar's court" (τὸ πραιτώριον, Phil. i. 13). This may mean either the great camp of the Praetorian guards which Tiberius established outside the walls on the N.E. of the city (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 2 Suet. *Tib.* 37), or, as seems more probable, a barrack attached to the Imperial residence on the Palatine (Wieseler, as quoted by C. and H., *Life of St. Paul*, ii. 423). There is no sufficient proof that the word "praetorium" was ever used to designate the emperor's palace, though it is used for the official residence of a Roman governor (John

xviii. 28; Acts xxiii. 35). The mention of "Caesar's household" (Phil. iv. 22), confirms the notion that St. Paul's residence was in the immediate neighbourhood of the emperor's house on the Palatine.

3. The connexion of other localities at Rome with St. Paul's name rests only on traditions of more or less probability. We may mention especially—(1.) The Mamertine prison or Tullianum, built by Ancus Martius near the forum (Liv. i. 33), described by Sallust (*Cat.* 55). It still exists beneath the church of *S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami*. Here it is said that St. Peter and St. Paul were fellow-prisoners for nine months. This is not the place to discuss the question whether St. Peter was ever at Rome. It may be sufficient to state, that though there is no evidence of such a visit in the N. T., unless Babylon in 1 Pet. v. 13 is a mystical name for Rome, yet early testimony (Dionysius, *ap.* Euseb. ii. 25), and the universal belief of the early Church seem sufficient to establish the fact of his having suffered martyrdom there. [PETER; vol. ii. 805.] The story, however, of the imprisonment in the Mamertine prison seems inconsistent with 2 Tim., esp. iv. 11. (2.) The chapel on the Ostian road which marks the spot where the two Apostles are said to have separated on their way to martyrdom. (3.) The supposed scene of St. Paul's martyrdom, viz. the church of St. Paolo alle tre fontane on the Ostian road. (See the notice of the Ostian road in Caius, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* ii. 25.) To these may be added (4.) The supposed scene of St. Peter's martyrdom, viz., the church of St. Pietro in Montorio, on the Janiculum. (5.) The chapel "Domine quo Vadis," on the Appian road, the scene of the beautiful legend of our Lord's appearance to St. Peter as he was escaping from martyrdom (Ambrose, *Ep.* 33). (6.) The places where the bodies of the two Apostles, after having been deposited first in the catacombs (*κοιμητήρια*) (Eus. *H. E.* ii. 25), are supposed to have been finally buried—that of St. Paul by the Ostian road—that of St. Peter beneath the dome of the famous Basilica which bears his name (see Caius, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* ii. 25). All these and many other traditions will be found in the Annals of Baronius, under the last year of Nero. "Valueless as may be the historical testimony of each of these traditions singly, yet collectively they are of some importance as expressing the consciousness of the third and fourth centuries, that there had been an early contest, or at least contrast, between the two Apostles, which in the end was completely reconciled; and it is this feeling which gives a real interest to the outward forms in which it is brought before us, more or less indeed in all the south of Europe, but especially in Rome itself" (Stanley's *Sermons and Essays*, p. 101).

4. We must add, as sites unquestionably connected with the Roman Christians of the Apostolic age—(1.) The gardens of Nero in the Vatican, not far from the spot where St. Peter's now stands. Here Christians wrapped in the skins of beasts were torn to pieces by dogs, or, clothed in inflammable robes, were burnt to serve as torches during the midnight games. Others were crucified (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44). (2.) The Catacombs. These subterranean galleries, commonly from 8 to 10 feet in height, and from 4 to 6 in width, and extending for miles, especially in the neighbourhood of the old Appian and Nomentan ways, were unquestionably used as places of refuge, of worship, and of burial by the early Christians. It is impossible here to enter upon the difficult question of their origin, and their possible connexion with the deep sand-pits and subterranean works at Rome mentioned by classical writers. See the story of the murder of Asinius (Cic. *pro Cluent.* 13), and the account of the concealment offered to Nero before his death (Suet. *Nero*, 48). A more complete account of the Catacombs than any yet given, may be expected in the forthcoming work of the Cavaliere G. B. de Rossi. Some very interesting notices of this work, and descriptions of the Roman catacombs are given in Burgon's *Letters from Rome*, p. 120-258. "De Rossi finds his earliest dated inscription A.D. 71. From that date to A.D. 300 there are not known to exist so many as thirty Christian inscriptions bearing dates. Of undated inscriptions, however, about 4000 are referable to the period antecedent to the emperor Constantine" (Burgon, p. 148).

Nothing is known of the first founder of the Christian Church at Rome. Christianity may, perhaps, have been introduced into the city not long after the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost by the "strangers of Rome," who were then at Jerusalem (Acts ii. 10). It is clear that there were many Christians at Rome before St. Paul visited the city (Rom. i. 8, 13, 15, xv. 20). The names of twenty-four Christians at Rome are given in the salutations at the end of the Epistle to the Romans. For the difficult question whether the Roman Church consisted mainly of Jews or Gentiles, see C. and H., *Life of St. Paul*, ii. 157; Alford's *Proleg.*; and especially Prof. Jowett's *Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, Galatians, and Thessalonians*, ii. 7-26. The view there adopted that they were a Gentile church but Jewish converts, seems most in harmony with such passages as ch. i. 5, 13, xi. 13, and with the general tone of the Epistle.

Linus (who is mentioned, 2 Tim. iv. 21), and Clement (Phil. iv. 3) are supposed to have succeeded St. Peter as bishops of Rome.

Rome seems to be described under the name of Babylon in Rev. xiv. 8, xvi. 19, xvii. 5, xviii. 2, 21; and again, as the city of the seven hills (Rev. xvii. 9, cf. xii. 3, xiii. 1). See too, for the interpretation of the mystical number 666 in Rev. xiii. 18, Alford's *note, l. c.*

For a good account of Rome at the time of St. Paul's visit see Conybeare and Howson's *Life of St. Paul*, ch. xxiv., of which free use has been made for the sketch of the city given in this article. [J. J. H.]

ROOF. [HOUSE.]

ROOM. This word is employed in the A. V. of the New Testament as the equivalent of no less than eight distinct Greek[a] terms. The only one of these, however, which need be noticed here is *πρωτοκλισία* (Matt. xxiii. 6; Mark xii. 39; Luke xiv. 7, 8, xx. 46), which signifies, not a "room" in the sense we commonly attach to it of a chamber,

a 1. *ἀντὶ* (Matt. ii. 22).
2. *χωρεῖν* (Mark ii. 2).
3. *τόπος* (Luke ii. 7, xiv. 22; 1 Cor. xiv. 16).
4. *ποῦ* (Luke xii. 17, where the word *room* should be printed in italics).
5. *διάδοχος* (*i. e.* a successor, Acts xxiv. 27).
6. *πρωτοκλισία* (chief, highest, uppermost room. See above.)
7. *ἀνάγαιον* (an upper room, Mark xiv. 15, Luke xxii. 2).
8. *τὸ ὑπερῷον* (the upper room, Acts i. 13).

but the highest place on the highest couch round the dinner or supper-table—the "uppermost seat," as it is more accurately rendered in Luke xi. 43. [MEALS.] The word "seat" is, however, generally appropriated by our translators to *καθέδρα*, which seems to mean some kind of official chair. In Luke xiv. 9, 10, they have rendered *τόπος* by both "place" and "room."

The UPPER ROOM of the Last Supper is noticed under its own head. [See HOUSE, Vol. I. p. 838.] [G.]

ROSE (חֲבַצֶּלֶת, *chabatstseleth*: *κρίνον, ἄνθος*; Aq. *κάλυξ*: *flos, lilium*) occurs twice only, viz. in Cant. ii. 1, "I am the *Rose* of Sharon," and in Is. xxxv. 1, "the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the *Rose*." There is much difference of opinion as to what particular flower is here denoted. Tremellius and Diodati, with some of the Rabbins, believe the rose is intended, but there seems to be no foundation for such a translation. Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 488) has argued in favour of the Narcissus (*Polyanthus narcissus*). This rendering is supported by the Targum on Cant. ii. 1, where *Chabatstseleth* is explained by *narkos* (נרקוס). This word, says Royle (Kitto's *Cyc.* art. "Chabazzeleth"), is "the same as the Persian *nargus*, the Arabic نرجس, which throughout the East indicates *Narcissus Tazetta*, or the polyanthus narcissus." Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.) has no doubt that the plant denoted is the "autumn crocus" (*Colchicum autumnale*). It is well worthy of remark that the Syriac translator of Is. xxxv. 1 explains *chabatstseleth* by *chamtsalyotho*,[a] which is evidently the same word, *m* and *b* being interchanged. This Syriac word, according to Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 659), Gesenius, and Rosenmüller (*Bib. Bot.* p. 142), denotes the *Colchicum autumnale*. The Hebrew word points etymologically to some bulbous plant; it appears to us more probable that the narcissus is intended than the crocus, the former plant being long celebrated for its fragrance, while the other has no odorous qualities to recommend it. Again, as the *chabatstseleth* is associated with the lily in Cant. *l.c.*, it seems probable that Solomon is speaking of two plants which blossomed about the same time. The narcissus and the lily (*Lilium candidum*) would be in blossom together in the early spring, while the *Colchicum* is an autumn plant. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, pp. 112, 513) suggests the possibility of the Hebrew name being identical with the Arabic *Khubbaizy* (خبيزة or خبازي), "the mallow," which plant he saw growing abundantly on Sharon; but this view can hardly be maintained: the Hebrew term is probably a quadriliteral noun, with the harsh aspirate prefixed, and the prominent notion implied in it is *betsel*, "a bulb," and has therefore no connexion with the above-named Arabic word. Chateaubriand (*Itinéraire*, ii. p. 130) mentions the narcissus as growing in the plain of Sharon; and Strand (*Flor. Palaest.* No. 177) names it as a plant of Palestine, on the authority of Rauwolf and Hasselquist; see also Kitto's *Phys. Hist. of Palest.* p. 216. Hiller (*Hierophyt.* ii. 30) thinks the *chabatstseleth* denotes some species of asphodel (*Asphodelus*); but the fingerlike roots of this genus of plants do not well accord with the "bulb" root implied in the original word.

Though the Rose is apparently not mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, it is referred to in Ecclus. xxiv. 14, where it is said of Wisdom that she is exalted "as a rose-plant (*ὡς φυτὰ ῥόδου*) in Jericho" (comp. also ch. l. 8; xxxix. 13; Wisd. ii. 8). Roses are greatly prized in the East, more especially for the sake of the rose-water, which is in much request (see Hasselquist, *Trav.* p. 248). Dr. Hooker observed the following wild roses in Syria:—*Rosa eglanteria* (L.), *R. sempervirens* (L.), *R. Henkeliana*, *R. Phoenicia* (Boiss.), *R. seriacea*, *R. angustifolia*, and *R. Libanotica*. Some of these are doubtful species. *R. centifolia* and *damascena* are cultivated everywhere. The so-called "Rose of Jericho" is no rose at all, but the *Anastatica Hierochuntina*, a cruciferous plant, not uncommon on sandy soil in Palestine and Egypt. [W. H.]

ROSH (רֹאשׁ: Ῥώς: *Ros*). In the genealogy of Gen. xlvi. 21, Rosh is reckoned among the sons of Benjamin, but the name does not occur elsewhere, and it is extremely probable that "Ehi and Rosh" is a corruption of "Ahiram" (comp. Num. xxvi. 38). See Burrington's *Genealogies*, i. 281.

ROSH (רֹאשׁ: Ῥώς, Ez. xxxviii. 2, 3, xxxix. 1: translated by the Vulg. *capitis*, and by the A. V. "chief," as if רֹאשׁ, "head"). The whole sentence thus rendered by the A. V. "Magog the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal," ought to run "Magog the prince of Rosh, Mesech, and Tubal;" the word translated "prince" being נְשִׂיא, the term usually employed for the head of a nomad tribe, as of Abraham, in Gen. xxiii. 6, of the Arabians, Gen. xvii. 20, and of the chiefs of the several Israelite tribes, Num. vii. 11, xxxiv. 18, or in a general sense, 1 K. xi. 34, Ez. xii. 10, xlv. 7, xlvi. 2. The meaning is that Magog is the head of the three great Scythian tribes, of which "Rosh" is thus the first. Gesenius considers it beyond doubt that by *Rosh*, or Ῥώς, is intended the tribe on the north of the Taurus, so called from their neighbourhood to the *Rha*, or Volga, and that in this name and tribe we have the first trace of the RUSS or RUSSIAN nation. Von Hammer identifies this name with *Rass* in the Koran (xxv. 40; l. 12), "the peoples Aad, Thamud, and the Asshabir (or inhabitants) of Rass or Ross." He considers that Mohammed had actually the passage of Ezekiel in view, and that "Asshabir" corresponds to *Nâsi*, the "prince" of the A. V., and ἄρχοντα of the LXX. (*Sur les Origines Russes*, Petersburg, 1825, p. 24-29). The first certain mention of the Russians under this name is in a Latin Chronicle under the year A.D. 839, quoted by Bayer (*Origines Russicae, Comment. Acad. Petropol.* 1726, p. 409). From the junction of *Tiras* with Meshech and Tubal in Gen. x. 2, Von Hammer conjectures the identity of *Tiras* and *Rosh* (p. 26).

The name probably occurs again under the altered form of Rasses, in Judith ii. 23—this time in the ancient Latin, and possibly also in the Syriac versions, in connexion with Thiras or Thars. But the passage is too corrupt to admit of any certain deduction from it. [RASSES.]

This early Biblical notice of so great an empire is doubly interesting from its being a solitary instance. No other name of any modern nation

[a] سعرخشا.

occurs in the Scriptures, and the obliteration of it by the A. V. is one of the many remarkable variations of our version from the meaning of the sacred text of the Old Testament. For all further information see the above-quoted treatises of Von Hammer and Bayer. [A. P. S.]

ROSIN. Properly "naphtha," as it is both in the LXX. and Vulg. (*νάφθα, naphtha*), as well as the Peshito-Syriac. In the Song of the Three Children (23), the servants of the king of Babylon are said to have "ceased not to make the oven hot with *rosin*, pitch, tow, and small wood." Pliny (ii. 101) mentions naphtha as a product of Babylonia, similar in appearance to liquid bitumen, and having a remarkable affinity to fire. To this natural product (known also as Persian naphtha, petroleum, rock oil, Rangoon tar, Burmese naphtha, &c.) reference is made in the passage in question. Sir R. K. Porter thus describes the naphtha springs at Kirkook in Lower Courdistan, mentioned by Strabo (xvii. p. 738):—"They are ten in number. For a considerable distance from them we felt the air sulphurous; but in drawing near it became worse, and we were all instantly struck with excruciating headaches. The springs consist of several pits or wells, seven or eight feet in diameter, and ten or twelve deep. The whole number are within the compass of five hundred yards. A flight of steps has been cut into each pit for the purpose of approaching the fluid, which rises and falls according to the dryness or moisture of the weather. The natives lave it out with ladles into bags made of skins, which are carried on the backs of asses to Kirkook, or to any other mart for its sale. . . . . The Kirkook naphtha is principally consumed by the markets in the south-west of Courdistan, while the pits not far from Kufri supply Bagdad and its environs. The Bagdad naphtha is black" (*Trav.* ii. 440). It is described by Dioscorides (i. 101) as the dregs of the Babylonian asphalt, and white in colour. According to Plutarch (*Alex.* 35) Alexander first saw it in the city of Ecbatana, where the inhabitants exhibited its marvellous effects by strewing it along the street which led to his headquarters and setting it on fire. He then tried an experiment on a page who attended him, putting him into a bath of naphtha and setting light to it (Strabo, xvii. p. 743), which nearly resulted in the boy's death. Plutarch suggests that it was naphtha in which Medea steeped the crown and robe which she gave to the daughter of Creon; and Suidas says that the Greeks called it "Medea's oil," but the Medes "naphtha." The Persian name is نفط *'naft*). Posidonius (in Strabo) relates that in Babylonia there were springs of black and white naphtha. The former, says Strabo (xvii. p. 743), were of liquid bitumen, which they burnt in lamps instead of oil. The latter were of liquid sulphur. [W. A. W.]

RUBIES (פְּנִיִּים, *pĕnîyyim*; פְּנִינִים, *pĕnînim*; λίθοι, λ. πολυτελεῖς: *cunctae opes, cuncta pretiosissima, gemmae, de ultimis finibus, ebor antiquum*), the invariable rendering of the above-named Hebrew words, concerning the meaning of which there is much difference of opinion and great uncertainty. "The price of wisdom is above *penînîm*" (Job xxviii. 18; see also Prov. iii. 15, viii. 11, xxxi. 10). In Lam. iv. 7 it is said, "the Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than *penînîm*." A. Boote (*Animad. Sac.* iv. 3), on account of the ruddiness mentioned in the last passage, supposed "coral" to be intended, for which, however, there appears to be another Hebrew word. [CORAL.] J. D. Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 2023) is of the same opinion, and compares the Hebrew פְּנִנָּה with the Arab. فنن, "a branch." Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.) defends this argument. Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 601) contends that the Hebrew term denotes pearls, and explains the "ruddiness" alluded to above, by supposing that the original word (אַרְמוֹן) signifies merely "bright in colour," or "colour of a reddish tinge." This opinion is supported by Rosenmüller (*Schol. in Thren.*), and others, but opposed by Maurer (*Comment.*) and Gesenius. Certainly it would be no compliment to the great people of the land to say that their bodies were as red as coral or rubies, unless we adopt Maurer's explanation, who refers the "ruddiness" to the blood which flowed in their veins. On the whole, considering that the Hebrew word is always used in the plural, we are inclined to adopt Bochart's explanation, and understand pearls to be intended.* [PEARLS.] [W. H.]

RUE (*πήγανον*: *ruta*) occurs only in Luke xi. 42: "Woe unto you, Pharisees! for ye tithe mint and rue and all manner of herbs." The rue here spoken of is doubtless the common *Ruta graveolens*, a shrubby plant about 2 feet high, of strong medicinal virtues. It is a native of the Mediterranean coasts, and has been found by Hasselquist on Mount Tabor. Dioscorides (iii. 45) describes two kinds of *πήγανον*, viz. *π. ὀρεινόν* and *π. κηπευτόν*, which denote the *Ruta montana* and *R. graveolens* respectively. Rue was in great repute amongst the ancients, both as a condiment and as a medicine (Pliny, *N. H.* xix. 8; Columell. *R. Rus.* xii. 7, §5; Dioscorides, *l. c.*). The Talmud enumerates rue amongst kitchen-herbs (*Shebiith*, ch. ix. §1), and regards it as free of tithe, as being a plant not cultivated in gardens. In our Lord's time, however, rue was doubtless a garden-plant, and therefore titheable, as is evident from our Lord's words, "these things ought ye to have done." The rue is too well known to need description. [W. H.]

RU'FUS (Ῥοῦφος: *Rufus*) is mentioned in Mark xv. 21, along with Alexander, as a son of Simon the Cyrenean, whom the Jews compelled to bear the cross of Jesus on the way to Golgotha (Luke xxiii. 26). As the Evangelist informs his readers who Simon was by naming the sons, it is evident that the latter were better known than the father in the circle of Christians where Mark lived. Again, in Rom. xvi. 13, the Apostle Paul salutes a Rufus whom he designates as "elect in the Lord" (*ἐκλεκτὸν ἐν Κυρίῳ*), and whose mother he gracefully recognises as having earned a mother's claim upon himself by acts of kindness shown to him. It is generally supposed that this Rufus was identical

* The Chald. דַּר (Esth. i. 6), which the A. V renders white," and which seems to be identical with the Arab. دُرّ, *durr*, "pearls;" دُرَّة, *durrah*, "a pearl," is by some understood to mean "mother of pearl," or the kind of alabaster called in German *Perlenmutterstein*. The LXX. has *πίννινος λίθος*. See Gesenius, and Winer (*Bibl. Realw.* i. 71).

with the one to whom Mark refers; and in that case, as Mark wrote his gospel in all probability at Rome, it was natural that he should describe to his readers the father (who, since the mother was at Rome while he apparently was not there, may have died, or have come later to that city) from his relationship to two well-known members of the same community. It is some proof at least of the early existence of this view that, in the *Actis Andreae et Petri*, both Rufus and Alexander appear as companions of Peter in Rome. Assuming, then, that the same person is meant in the two passages, we have before us an interesting group of believers—a father (for we can hardly doubt that Simon became a Christian, if he was not already such, at the time of the crucifixion), a mother, and two brothers, all in the same family. Yet we are to bear in mind that Rufus was not an uncommon name (Wetstein, *Nov. Test.*, vol. i. p. 634); and possibly, therefore, Mark and Paul may have had in view different individuals. [H. B. H.]

RUHA'MAH (רֻחָמָה: ἠλεημένη: *misericordiam consecuta*). The margin of our version renders it "having obtained mercy" (Hos. ii. 1). The name, if name it be, is like Lo-ruhamah, symbolical, and as that was given to the daughter of the prophet Hosea, to denote that God's mercy was turned away from Israel, so the name Ruhamah is addressed to the daughters of the people to denote that they were still the objects of His love and tender compassion.

RU'MAH (רוּמָה: Ῥουμά; Alex. Ῥυμα; Joseph. Ἀβούμα: *Ruma*). Mentioned, once only (2 K. xxiii. 36), as the native place of a certain Pedaiah, the father of Zebudah, a member of the harem of king Josiah, and mother of Eliakim or Jehoiakim king of Judah.

It has been conjectured to be the same place as Arumah (Judg. ix. 41), which was apparently near Shechem. It is more probable that it is identical with Dumah, one of the towns in the mountains of Judah, near Hebron (Josh. xv. 52), not far distant from Libnah, the native town of another of Josiah's wives. The Hebrew D and R are so similar as often to be confounded together, and Dumah must have, at any rate, been written Rumah in the Hebrew text from which the LXX. translated, since they give it as Remna and Rouma.

Josephus mentions a Rumah in Galilee (*B. J.* iii. 7, §21). [G.]

RUSH. [REED.]

RUST (βρῶσις, ἰός: *aerugo*) occurs as the translation of two different Greek words in Matt. vi. 19, 20, and in Jam. v. 3. In the former passage the word βρῶσις, which is joined with σής, "moth," has by some been understood to denote the larva of some moth injurious to corn, as the *Tinea granella* (see Stainton, *Insecta Britan.* iii. 30). The Hebrew עֵשׁ (Is. l. 9) is rendered βρῶσις by Aquila; comp. also *Epist. Jerem.* v. 12, ἀπὸ ἰοῦ καὶ βρωμάτων, "from rust and moths" (A. V. Bar. vi. 12). Scultetus (*Exerc. Evang.* ii. 35, *Crit. Sac.* vi.) believes that the words σὴς καὶ βρῶσις are an hendiadys for σὴς βρώσκων. The word can scarcely be taken to signify "rust," for which there is another term, ἰός, which is used by St. James to express rather the "tarnish" which overspreads silver than "rust," by which name we now understand "oxide of iron." Βρῶσις is no doubt intended to have reference in a general sense to any corrupting and destroying substance that may attack treasures of any kind which have long been suffered to remain undisturbed. The allusion of St. James is to the corroding nature of ἰός on metals. Scultetus correctly observes, "aerugine deformantur quidem, sed non corrumpuntur nummi;" but though this is strictly speaking true, the ancients, just as ourselves in common parlance, spoke of the corroding nature of "rust" (comp. Hammond, *Annotat.* in Matt. vi. 19). [W. H.]

RUTH (רוּת: Ῥούθ: probably for רְעוּת,[a] "a friend," the feminine of Reu). A Moabitish woman, the wife, first, of Mahlon, secondly of Boaz, and by him mother of Obed, the ancestress of David and of Christ, and one of the four women (Thamar, Rahab, and Uriah's wife being the other three) who are named by St. Matthew in the genealogy of Christ. [RAHAB.] The incidents in Ruth's life, as detailed in the beautiful book that bears her name, may be epitomised as follows. A severe famine in the land of Judah, caused perhaps by the occupation of the land by the Moabites under Eglon (as Ussher thinks possible),[b] induced Elimelech, a native of Bethlehem Ephratah, to emigrate into the land of Moab, with his wife Naomi, and his two sons, Mahlon and Chilion. At the end of ten years Naomi, now left a widow and childless, having heard that there was plenty again in Judah, resolved to return to Bethlehem, and her daughter-in-law, Ruth, returned with her. "Whither thou goest, I will go, and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God: where thou diest I will die, and there will I be buried: the Lord do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part thee and me;" was the expression of the unalterable attachment of the young Moabitish widow to the mother, to the land, and to the religion of her lost husband. They arrived at Bethlehem just at the beginning of barley harvest, and Ruth, going out to glean for the support of her mother-in-law and herself, chanced to go into the field of Boaz, a wealthy man, the near kinsman of her father-in-law Elimelech. The story of her virtues and her kindness and fidelity to her mother-in-law, and her preference for the land of her husband's birth, had gone before her; and immediately upon learning who the strange young woman was, Boaz treated her with the utmost kindness and respect, and sent her home laden with corn which she had gleaned. Encouraged by this incident, Naomi instructed Ruth to claim at the hand of Boaz that he should perform the part of her husband's near kinsman, by purchasing the inheritance of Elimelech, and taking her to be his wife. But there was a nearer kinsman than Boaz, and it was necessary that he should have the option of redeeming the inheritance for himself. He, however, declined, fearing to mar his own inheritance. Upon which, with all due solemnity, Boaz took Ruth to be his wife, amidst the blessings and congratulations of their neighbours. As a singular example of virtue and piety in a rude age and among an idolatrous people; as one of the first-fruits of the Gentile harvest gathered into the Church; as the heroine of a story of exquisite beauty and simplicity; as illustrating in her history the workings of Divine Providence, and the truth of the

[a] Some think it is for רְאוּת, "beauty."

[b] Patrick suggests the famine in the days of Gideon (Judg. vi. 3, 4).

saying that "the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous;" and for the many interesting revelations of ancient domestic and social customs which are associated with her story, Ruth has always held a foremost place among the Scripture characters. St. Augustine has a curious speculation on the relative blessedness of Ruth, twice married, and by her second marriage becoming the ancestress of Christ, and Anna remaining constant in her widowhood (*De bono Viduit.*). Jerome observes that we can measure the greatness of Ruth's virtue by the greatness of her reward—"Ex ejus semine Christus oritur" (*Epist.* xxii. *ad Paulam*). As the great-grandmother of King David, Ruth must have flourished in the latter part of Eli's judgeship, or the beginning of that of Samuel. But there seem to be no particular notes of time in the book, by which her age can be more exactly defined. The story was put into its present shape, avowedly, long after her lifetime: see Ruth i. 1, iv. 7, 17. (Bertheau on Ruth, in the *Exeg. Handb.*; Rosenmüll. *Proem. in Lib. Ruth*; Parker's De Wette; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 205, iii. 760 sqq.) [A. C. H.]

RYE (כֻּסֶּמֶת, *cussemeth*: ζειά, ὄλυρα; *far*, *vicia*) occurs in Ex. ix. 32; Is. xxviii. 25: in the latter the margin reads "spelt." In Ez. iv. 9 the text has "fitches" and the margin "rie." There are many opinions as to the signification of *Cussemeth*; some authorities maintaining that fitches are denoted, others oats, and others rye. Celsius has shown that in all probability "spelt" is intended (*Hierob.* ii. 98), and this opinion is supported by the LXX. and the Vulg. in Ex. ix. 32, and by the Syriac versions. Rye is for the most part a northern plant, and was probably not cultivated in Egypt or Palestine in early times, whereas spelt has been long cultivated in the East, where it is held in high estimation. Herodotus (ii. 36) says the Egyptians "make bread from spelt (ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων), which some call zea." See also Pliny (*N. H.* xviii. 8) and Dioscorides (ii. 111), who speaks of two kinds. The *Cussemeth* was cultivated in Egypt; it was not injured by the hailstorm of the seventh plague (Ex. *l. c.*), as it was not grown up. This cereal was also sown in Palestine (Is. *l. c.*), on the margins or "headlands" of the fields (גְּבֻלְתּוֹ); it was used for mixing with wheat, barley, &c., for making bread (Ez. *l. c.*). The Arabic, *Chirsanat*, "spelt," is regarded by Gesenius as identical with the Hebrew word, *m* and *n* being interchanged and *r* inserted. "Spelt" (*Triticum spelta*) is grown in some parts of the south of Germany; it differs but slightly from our common wheat (*T. vulgare*). There are three kinds of spelt, viz. *T. spelta*, *T. dicoccum* (Rice wheat), and *T. monococcum*. [W. H.]

S

SAB'AOTH, THE LORD OF (Κύριος σαβαώθ: *Dominus Sabaoth*). The name is found in the English Bible only twice (Rom. ix. 29; James v. 4). It is probably more familiar through its occurrence in the Sanctus of the Te Deum[a]—"Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth." It is too often considered to be a synonym of, or to have some connexion with Sabbath, and to express the idea of rest. And this not only popularly, but in some of our most classical writers.[b] Thus Spenser, *Faery Queen*. canto viii. 2:—

> "But thenceforth all shall rest eternally
> With Him that is the God of Sabaoth hight:
> O that great Sabaoth God, grant me that Sabaoth's sight."

And Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, ii. 24:—"... sacred and inspired Divinity, the Sabaoth and port of all men's labours and peregrinations." And Johnson, in the 1st edition of whose *Dictionary* (1755) Sabaoth and Sabbath are treated as the same word. And Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe*, i. ch. 11 (1st ed.):—"a week, aye the space between two Sabaoths." But this connexion is quite fictitious. The two words are not only entirely different, but have nothing in common.

Sabaoth is the Greek form of the Hebrew word *tsebâôth*, "armies," and occurs in the oft-repeated formula which is translated in the Authorised Version of the Old Test. by "Lord of hosts," "Lord God of *hosts*." We are apt to take "*hosts*" (probably in connexion with the modern expression the "heavenly host") as implying the angels—but this is surely inaccurate. *Tsebâôth* is in constant use in the O. T. for the national army or force of fighting-men,[c] and there can be no doubt that in the mouth and the mind of an ancient Hebrew, *Jehovah-tsebâôth* was the leader and commander of the armies of the nation, who "went forth with them" (Ps. xliv. 9), and led them to certain victory over the worshippers of Baal, Chemosh, Molech, Ashtaroth, and other false gods. In later times it lost this peculiar significance, and became little if anything more than an alternative title for God. The name is not found in the Pentateuch, or the Books of Joshua, Judges, or Ruth. It is frequent in the Books of Samuel, rarer in Kings, is found twice only in the Chronicles, and not at all in Ezekiel; but in the Psalms, in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the minor Prophets it is of constant occurrence, and in fact is used almost to the exclusion of every other title. [G.]

SA'BAT (Σαφάγ; Alex. Σαφάτ: *Phasphat*). **1.** The sons of Sabat are enumerated among the sons of Solomon's servants who returned with Zorobabel (1 Esd. v. 34). There is no corresponding name in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

2. (Σαβάτ: *Sabath.*) The month SEBAT (1 Macc. xvi. 14).

SABATE'AS (Σαβαταῖος; Alex. Σαββαταῖας: *Sabbatheus*). SHABBETHAI (1 Esd. ix. 48; comp. Neh. viii. 7).

SAB'ATUS (Σάβαθος: *Zabdis*). ZABAD (1 Esd. ix. 28; comp. Ezr. x. 27).

SAB'BAN (Σαβάννος: *Banni*). BINNUI 1 (1 Esd. viii. 63; comp. Ezr. viii. 33).

SABBATH (שַׁבָּת, "a day of rest," from שָׁבַת, "to cease to do," "to rest"). This is the obvious and undoubted etymology. The resemblance of the word to שֶׁבַע, "seven," misled Lactantius (*Inst.* iii. 14) and others; but it does not seem more than accidental. Bähr (*Symbolik*, ii. 533-4) does not reject the derivation from שָׁבַת,

[a] Can it be this phrase which determined the use of the Te Deum as a thanksgiving for victories?

[b] For the passages which follow, the writer is indebted to the kindness of a friend.

[c] צְבָאוֹת. See 1 Sam. xii. 9, 1 K. i. 19, and *passim* in Burgh's *Concordance*, p. 1058.

but traces that to שׁוּב, somewhat needlessly and fancifully, as it appears to us. Plutarch's association of the word with the Bacchanalian cry σαβοῖ may of course be dismissed at once. We have also (Ex. xvi. 23, and Lev. xxiii. 24) שַׁבָּתוֹן, of more intense signification than שַׁבָּת; also שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן, "a Sabbath of Sabbaths" (Ex. xxxi. 15, and elsewhere). The name *Sabbath* is thus applied to divers great festivals, but principally and usually to the seventh day of the week, the strict observance of which is enforced not merely in the general Mosaic code, but in the Decalogue itself.

The first Scriptural notice of the weekly Sabbath, though it is not mentioned by name, is to be found in Gen. ii. 3, at the close of the record of the six days' creation. And hence it is frequently argued that the institution is as old as mankind, and is consequently of universal concern and obligation. We cannot, however, approach this question till we have examined the account of its enforcement upon the Israelites. It is in Ex. xvi. 23-29 that we find the first incontrovertible institution of the day, as one given to, and to be kept by, the children of Israel. Shortly afterwards it was re-enacted in the Fourth Commandment, which gave it a rank above that of an ordinary law, making it one of the signs of the Covenant. As such it remained together with the Passover, the two forming the most solemn and distinctive features of Hebrew religious life. Its neglect or profanation ranked foremost among national sins; the renewed observance of it was sure to accompany national reformation.

Before, then, dealing with the question whether its original institution comprised mankind at large, or merely stamped on Israel a very marked badge of nationality, it will be well to trace somewhat of its position and history among the chosen people.

Many of the Rabbis date its first institution from the incident[a] recorded in Ex. xv. 25; and believe that the "statute and ordinance" there mentioned as being given by God to the children of Israel was that of the Sabbath, together with the commandment to honour father and mother, their previous law having consisted only of what are called the "seven precepts of Noah." This, however, seems to want foundation of any sort, and the statute and ordinance in question are, we think, sufficiently explained by the words of ver. 26, "If thou wilt diligently hearken," &c. We are not on sure ground till we come to the unmistakeable institution in chap. xvi. in connexion with the gathering of manna. The words in this latter are not in themselves enough to indicate whether such institution was altogether a novelty, or whether it referred to a day the sanctity of which was already known to those to whom it was given. There is plausibility certainly in the opinion of Grotius, that the day was already known, and in some measure observed as holy, but that the rule of abstinence from work was first given then, and shortly afterwards more explicitly imposed in the Fourth Commandment. There it is distinctly set forth, and extended to the whole of an Israelite's household, his son and his daughter, his slaves, male and female, his ox and his ass, and the stranger within his gates. It would seem that by this last was understood the stranger who while still uncircumcised yet worshipped the true God; for the mere heathen stranger was not considered to be under the law of the Sabbath[b] In the Fourth Commandment, too, the institution is grounded on the revealed truth of the six days creation and the Divine rest on the seventh; but in the version of it which we find in Deuteronomy a further reason is added—"and remember that thou wast a stranger in the land of Egypt, and that the LORD thy God brought thee forth with a mighty hand and by a stretched-out arm; therefore the LORD thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day" (Deut. v. 15).

Penalties and provisions in other parts of the Law construed the abstinence from labour prescribed in the commandment. It was forbidden to light a fire, a man was stoned for gathering sticks, on the Sabbath. At a later period we find the Prophet Isaiah uttering solemn warnings against profaning, and promising large blessings on the due observance of the day (Is. lviii. 13, 14). In Jeremiah's time there seems to have been an habitual violation of it, amounting to transacting on it such an extent of business as involved the carrying burdens about (Jer. xvii. 21-27). His denunciations of this seem to have led the Pharisees in their bondage to the letter to condemn the impotent man for carrying his bed on the Sabbath in obedience to Christ who had healed him (John v. 10). We must not suppose that our Lord prescribed a real violation of the Law; and it requires little thought to distinguish between such a natural and almost necessary act as that which He commanded, and the carrying of burdens in connexion with business which is denounced by Jeremiah. By Ezekiel (xx. 12-24), a passage to which we must shortly return, the profanation of the Sabbath is made foremost among the national sins of the Jews. From Nehemiah x. 31, we learn that the people entered into a covenant to renew the observance of the Law, in which they pledged themselves neither to buy nor sell victuals on the Sabbath. The practice was then not infrequent, and Nehemiah tells us (xiii. 15-22) of the successful steps which he took for its stoppage.

Henceforward there is no evidence of the Sabbath being neglected by the Jews, except such as (1 Macc. i. 11-15, 39-45) went into open apostasy. The faithful remnant were so scrupulous concerning it, as to forbear fighting in self-defence on that day (1 Macc. ii. 36), and it was only the terrible consequences that ensued which led Mattathias and his friends to decree the lawfulness of self-defence on the Sabbath (1 Macc. ii. 41).

When we come to the N. T. we find the most marked stress laid on the Sabbath. In whatever ways the Jew might err respecting it, he had altogether ceased to neglect it. On the contrary, wherever he went its observance became the most visible badge of his nationality. The passages of Latin literature, such as Ovid, *Art. Amat.* i. 415; Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 96-106, which indicate this, are too well known to require citation. Our Lord's mode of observing the Sabbath was one of the main features of His life, which His Pharisaic adversaries most eagerly watched and criticised. They had by that time invented many of those fantastic prohibitions whereby the letter of the commandment seemed to be honoured at the expense of its whole spirit, dignity, and value; and our Lord, coming to vindicate and fulfil the Law in its real scope and intention, must needs come into collision with these.

Before proceeding to any of the more curious

[a] Vide Patrick *in loc.*, and Selden, *De Jure Nat. et Gent.* ii. 5.

[b] Vide Grotius *in loc.*, who refers to Aben-ezra.

questions connected with the Sabbath, such as that of its alleged prae-Mosaic origin and observance, it will be well to consider and determine what were its true idea and purpose in that Law of which beyond doubt it formed a leading feature, and among that people for whom, if for none else, we know that it was designed. And we shall do this with most advantage, as it seems to us, by pursuing the inquiry in the following order:—

I. By considering, with a view to their elimination, the Pharisaic and Rabbinical prohibitions. These we have the highest authority for rejecting, as inconsistent with the true scope of the Law.

II. By taking a survey of the general Sabbatical periods of Hebrew time. The weekly Sabbath stood in the relation of keynote to a scale of Sabbatical observance, mounting to the Sabbatical year and the year of Jubilee.[c] It is but reasonable to suspect that these can in some degree interpret each other.

III. By examining the actual enactments of Scripture respecting the seventh day, and the mode in which such observance was maintained by the best Israelites.

I. Nearly every one is aware that the Pharisaic and Rabbinical schools invented many prohibitions respecting the Sabbath of which we find nothing in the original institution. Of these some may have been legitimate enforcements in detail of that institution, such as the Scribes and Pharisees "sitting in Moses' seat" (Matt. xxiii. 2, 3) had a right to impose. How a general law is to be carried out in particular cases, must often be determined for others by such as have authority to do so. To this class may belong the limitation of a Sabbath-day's journey, a limitation not absolutely at variance with the fundamental canon that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath, although it may have proceeded from mistaking a temporary enactment for a permanent one. Many, however, of these prohibitions were fantastic and arbitrary, in the number of those "heavy burdens and grievous to be borne" which the later expounders of the Law "laid on men's shoulders." We have seen that the impotent man's carrying his bed was considered a violation of the Sabbath—a notion probably derived from Jeremiah's warnings against the commercial traffic carried on at the gates of Jerusalem in his day. The harmless act of the disciples in the corn-field, and the beneficent healing of the man in the synagogue with the withered hand (Matt. xii. 1-13), were alike regarded as breaches of the Law. Our Lord's reply in the former case will come before us under our third head; in the latter He appeals to the practice of the objectors, who would any one of them raise his own sheep out of the pit into which the animal had fallen on the Sabbath-day. From this appeal, we are forced to infer that such practice would have been held lawful at the time and place in which He spoke. It is remarkable, however, that we find it prohibited in other traditions, the law laid down being, that in this case a man might throw some needful nourishment to the animal, but must not pull him out till the next day. (See Heylin, *Hist. of Sabbath*, i. 8, quoting Buxtorf.) This rule possibly came into existence in consequence of our Lord's appeal, and with a view to warding off the necessary inference from it. Still more fantastic prohibitions were issued. It was unlawful to catch a flea on the Sabbath, except the insect were actually hurting his assailant, or to mount into a tree, lest a branch or twig should be broken in the process. The Samaritans were especially rigid in matters like these; and Dositheus, who founded a sect amongst them, went so far as to maintain the obligation of a man's remaining throughout the Sabbath in the posture wherein he chanced to be at its commencement—a rule which most people would find quite destructive of its character as a day of rest. When minds were occupied with such *micrology*, as this has been well called, there was obviously no limit to the number of prohibitions which they might devise, confusing, as they obviously did, abstinence from action of every sort with rest from business and labour.

That this perversion of the Sabbath had become very general in our Saviour's time is apparent both from the recorded objections to acts of His on that day, and from His marked conduct on occasions to which those objections were sure to be urged. There is no reason, however, for thinking that the Pharisees had arrived at a sentence against pleasure of every sort on the sacred day. The duty of hospitality was remembered. It was usual for the rich to give a feast on that day; and our Lord's attendance at such a feast, and making it the occasion of putting forth His rules for the demeanour of guests, and for the right exercise of hospitality, show that the gathering of friends and social enjoyment were not deemed inconsistent with the true scope and spirit of the Sabbath. It was thought right that the meats, though cold, should be of the best and choicest, nor might the Sabbath be chosen for a fast.

Such are the inferences to which we are brought by our Lord's words concerning, and works on, the sacred day. We have already protested against the notion which has been entertained that they were breaches of the Sabbath intended as harbingers of its abolition. Granting for argument's sake that such abolition was in prospect, still our Lord, "made under the Law," would have violated no part of it so long as it was Law. Nor can anything be inferred on the other side from the Evangelist's language (John v. 18). The phrase "He had broken the Sabbath," obviously denotes not the character of our Saviour's act, but the Jewish estimate of it. He had broken the Pharisaic rules respecting the Sabbath. Similarly His own phrase, "the priests profane the Sabbath and are blameless," can only be understood to assert the lawfulness of certain acts done for certain reasons on that day, which, taken in themselves and without those reasons, would be profanations of it. There remains only His appeal to the eating of the shewbread by David and his companions, which was no doubt in its matter a breach of the Law. It does not follow, however, that the act in justification of which it is appealed to was such a breach. It is rather, we think, an argument *a fortiori*, to the effect, that if even a positive law might give place on occasion, much more might an arbitrary rule like that of the Rabbis in the case in question.

Finally, the declaration that "the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath," must not be viewed

[c] It is obvious from the whole scope of the chapter that the words, "Ye shall keep my sabbaths," in Lev. xxvi. 2, related to all these. In the ensuing threat of judgment in case of neglect or violation of the Law, the Sabbatical year would seem to be mainly referred to (ver. 1, 34, 35).

though our Lord held Himself free from the law respecting it. It is to be taken in connexion with the preceding words, "the Sabbath was made for man," &c., from which it is an inference, as is shown by the adverb *therefore*; and the Son of Man is plainly speaking of Himself as *the* Man, the Representative and Exemplar of all mankind, and teaching us that the human race is lord of the Sabbath, the day being made for man, not man for the day.

If, then, our Lord, coming to fulfil and rightly interpret the Law, did thus protest against the Pharisaical and Rabbinical rules respecting the Sabbath, we are supplied by this protest with a large negative view of that ordinance. The acts condemned by the Pharisees *were not* violations of it. Mere action, as such, was not a violation of it, and far less was a work of healing and beneficence. To this we shall have occasion by and bye to return. Meanwhile we must try to gain a positive view of the institution, and proceed in furtherance of this to our second head.

II. The Sabbath, as we have said, was the keynote to a scale of Sabbatical observance—consisting of itself, the seventh month, the seventh year, and the year of Jubilee. As each seventh day was sacred, so was each seventh month, and each seventh year. Of the observances of the seventh month, little needs be said. That month opened with the Feast of Trumpets, and contained the Day of Atonement and Feast of Tabernacles—the last named being the most joyful of Hebrew festivals. It is not apparent, nor likely, that the whole of the month was to be characterised by cessation from labour; but it certainly has a place in the Sabbatical scale. Its great centre was the Feast of Tabernacles or Ingathering, the year and the year's labour having then done their work and yielded their issues. In this last respect its analogy to the weekly Sabbath is obvious. Only at this part of the Sabbatical cycle do we find any notice of humiliation. On the Day of Atonement the people were to afflict their souls (Lev. xxiii. 27-29).

The rules for the Sabbatical year are very precise. As labour was prohibited on the seventh day, so the land was to rest every seventh year. And as each forty-ninth year wound up seven of such weeks of years, so it either was itself, or it ushered in, what was called "the year of Jubilee."

In Exodus xxiii. 10, 11, we find the Sabbatical year placed in close connexion with the Sabbath day, and the words in which the former is prescribed are analogous to those of the Fourth Commandment: "Six years thou shalt sow thy land and gather in the fruits thereof; but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still; that the poor of thy people may eat; and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat." This is immediately followed by a renewed proclamation of the law of the Sabbath, "Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest: that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and the stranger may be refreshed." It is impossible to avoid perceiving that in these passages the two institutions are put on the same ground, and are represented as quite homogeneous. Their aim, as here exhibited, is eminently a beneficent one. To give rights to classes that would otherwise have been without such, to the bondman and bondmaid, nay, to the beast of the field, is viewed here as their main end. "The stranger," too, is comprehended in the benefit. Many, we suspect, while reading the Fourth Commandment, merely regard him as subjected, together with his host and family, to a prohibition. But if we consider how continually *the stranger* is referred to in the enactments of the Law, and that with a view to his protection, the instances being one-and-twenty in number, we shall be led to regard his inclusion in the Fourth Commandment rather as a benefit conferred than a prohibition imposed on him.

The same beneficent aim is still more apparent in the fuller legislation respecting the Sabbatical year which we find in Lev. xxv. 2-7, "When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the land keep a sabbath unto the Lord. Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof; but in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath unto the Lord; thou shalt neither sow thy field nor prune thy vineyard. That which groweth of its own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed: for it is a year of rest unto the land. And the sabbath of the land shall be meat for you; for thee, and for thy slave, and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant, and for thy stranger that sojourneth with thee, and for thy cattle, and for the beasts that are in thy land, shall all the increase thereof be meat." One great aim of both institutions, the Sabbath-day and the Sabbatical year, clearly was to debar the Hebrew from the thought of absolute ownership of anything. His time was not his own, as was shown him by each seventh day being the Sabbath of the Lord his God; his land was not his own but God's (Lev. xxv. 23), as was shown by the Sabbath of each seventh year, during which it was to have rest, and all individual right over it was to be suspended. It was also to be the year of release from debt (Deut. xv.). We do not read much of the way in which, or the extent to which, the Hebrews observed the Sabbatical year. The reference to it (2 Chr. xxxvi. 21) leads us to conclude that it had been much neglected previous to the Captivity, but it was certainly not lost sight of afterwards, since Alexander the Great absolved the Jews from paying tribute on it, their religion debarring them from acquiring the means of doing so. [SABBATICAL YEAR.]

The year of Jubilee must be regarded as completing this Sabbatical Scale, whether we consider it as really the forty-ninth year, the seventh of a week of Sabbatical years or the fiftieth, a question on which opinions are divided. [JUBILEE, YEAR OF.] The difficulty in the way of deciding for the latter, that the land could hardly bear enough spontaneously to suffice for two years, seems disposed of by reference to Isaiah xxxvii. 30. Adopting, therefore, that opinion as the most probable, we must consider each week of Sabbatical years to have ended in a double Sabbatical period, to which, moreover, increased emphasis was given by the peculiar enactments respecting the second half of such period, the year of Jubilee.

Those enactments have been already considered in the article just referred to, and throw further light on the beneficent character of the Sabbatical Law.

III. We must consider the actual enactments of Scripture respecting the seventh day. However homogeneous the different Sabbatical periods may be, the weekly Sabbath is, as we have said, the

tonic or keynote. It alone is prescribed in the Decalogue, and it alone has in any shape survived the earthly commonwealth of Israel. We must still postpone the question of its observance by the patriarchs, and commence our inquiry with the institution of it in the wilderness, in connexion with the gathering of manna (Ex. xvi. 23). The prohibition to gather the manna on the Sabbath is accompanied by one to bake or to seethe on that day. The Fourth Commandment gives us but the generality, "all manner of work," and, seeing that action of one kind or another is a necessary accompaniment of waking life, and cannot therefore in itself be intended, as the later Jews imagined, by the prohibition, we are left to seek elsewhere for the particular application of the general principle. That general principle in itself, however, obviously embraces an abstinence from worldly labour or occupation, and from the enforcing such on servants or dependents, or on the stranger. By him, as we have said, is most probably meant the partial proselyte, who would not have received much consideration from the Hebrews had they been left to themselves, as we must infer from the numerous laws enacted for his protection. Had man been then regarded by him as made for the Sabbath, not the Sabbath for man, that is, had the prohibitions of the commandment been viewed as the putting on of a yoke, not the conferring of a privilege, one of the dominant race would probably have felt no reluctance to placing such a stranger under that yoke. The naming him therefore in the commandment helps to interpret its whole principle, and testifies to its having been a beneficent privilege for all who came within it. It gave rights to the slave, to the despised stranger, even to the ox and the ass.

This beneficent character of the Fourth Commandment is very apparent in the version of it which we find in Deuteronomy: "Keep the Sabbath-day to sanctify it, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee. Six days thou shalt labour and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy bondman, nor thy bondwoman, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: that thy bondman and thy bondwoman may rest as well as thou. And remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched-out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath-day" (Deut. v. 12-15). But although this be so, and though it be plain that to come within the scope of the commandment was to possess a franchise, to share in a privilege, yet does the original proclamation of it in Exodus place it on a ground which, closely connected no doubt with these others, is yet higher and more comprehensive. The Divine method of working and rest is there proposed to man as the model after which he is to work and to rest. Time then presents a perfect whole, is then well rounded and entire, when it is shaped into a week, modelled on the six days of creation and their following Sabbath. Six days' work and the seventh day's rest conform the life of man to the method of his Creator. In distributing his life thus, man may look up to God as his Archetype. We need not suppose that the Hebrew, even in that early stage of spiritual education, was limited by so gross a conception as that of God working and then resting, as if needing rest. The idea awakened by the record of creation and by the Fourth Commandment is that of work that has a consummation, perfect in itself and coming to a perfect end; and man's work is to be like this, not aimless, indefinite, and incessant, but having an issue on which he can repose, and see and rejoice in its fruits. God's rest consists in His seeing that all which He has made is very good; and man's works are in their measure and degree very good when a six days' faithful labour has its issue in a seventh of rest after God's pattern. It is most important to remember that the Fourth Commandment is not limited to a mere enactment respecting one day, but prescribes the due distribution of a week, and enforces the six days' work as much as the seventh day's rest.

This higher ground of observance was felt to invest the Sabbath with a theological character, and rendered it the great witness for faith in a personal and creating God. Hence its supremacy over all the Law, being sometimes taken as the representative of it all (Neh. ix. 14). The Talmud says that "the Sabbath is in importance equal to the whole Law;" that "he who desecrates the Sabbath openly is like him who transgresses the whole Law;" while Maimonides winds up his discussion of the subject thus: "He who breaks the Sabbath openly is like the worshipper of the stars, and both are like heathens in every respect."

In all this, however, we have but an assertion of the general principle of resting on the Sabbath, and must seek elsewhere for information as to the details wherewith that principle was to be brought out. We have already seen that the work forbidden is not to be confounded with action of every sort. To make this confusion was the error of the later Jews, and their prohibitions would go far to render the Sabbath incompatible with waking life. The terms in the commandment show plainly enough the sort of work which is contemplated. They are תעבד and מלאכה, the former denoting *servile work*, and the latter *business* (see Gesenius *sub. voc.*; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, iv. 195). The Pentateuch presents us with but three applications of the general principle. The lighting a fire in any house on the Sabbath was strictly forbidden (Ex. xxxv. 3) and a man was stoned for gathering sticks on that day (Num. xv. 32-36). The former prohibition is thought by the Jews to be of perpetual force; but some at least of the Rabbis have held that it applies only to lighting a fire for culinary purposes, not to doing so in cold weather for the sake of warmth. The latter case, that of the man gathering sticks, was perhaps one of more *labour* and *business* than we are apt to imagine. The third application of the general principle which we find in the Pentateuch was the prohibition to go out of the camp, the command to every one to abide in his place (Ex. xvi. 29) on the Sabbath-day. This is so obviously connected with the gathering the manna, that it seems most natural to regard it as a mere temporary enactment for the circumstances of the people in the wilderness. It was, however, afterwards considered by the Hebrews a permanent law, and applied, in the absence of the camp, to the city in which a man might reside. To this was appended the *dictum* that a space of two thousand ells on every side of a city belonged to it, and to go that distance beyond the walls was permitted as "a Sabbath-day's journey."

The reference of Isaiah to the Sabbath gives us

no details. Those in Jeremiah and Nehemiah show that carrying goods for sale, and buying such, were equally profanations of the day.

There is no ground for supposing that to engage the enemy on the Sabbath was considered unlawful before the Captivity. On the contrary, there is much force in the argument of Michaelis (*Laws of Moses*, iv. 196) to show that it was not. His reasons are as follows:—

1. The prohibited עבדן, *service*, does not even suggest the thought of war.

2. The enemies of the chosen people would have continually selected the Sabbath as a day of attack, had the latter been forbidden to defend themselves then.

3. We read of long-protracted sieges, that of Rabbah (2 Sam. xi., xii.), and that of Jerusalem in the reign of Zedekiah, which latter lasted a year and a half, during which the enemy would certainly have taken advantage of any such abstinence from warfare on the part of the chosen people.

At a subsequent period we know (1 Macc. ii. 34-38) that the scruple existed and was acted on with most calamitous effects. Those effects led (1 Macc. ii. 41) to determining that action in self-defence was lawful on the Sabbath, initiatory attack not. The reservation was, it must be thought, nearly as great a misconception of the institution as the overruled scruple. Certainly warfare has nothing to do with the servile labour or the worldly business contemplated in the Fourth Commandment, and is, as regards religious observance, a law to itself. Yet the scruple, like many other scruples, proved a convenience, and under the Roman Empire the Jews procured exemption from military service by means of it. It was not, however, without its evils. In the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4), as well as in the final one by Titus, the Romans took advantage of it, and, abstaining from attack, prosecuted on the Sabbath, without molestation from the enemy, such works as enabled them to renew the assault with increased resources.

So far therefore as we have yet gone, so far as the negative side of Sabbatical observance is concerned, it would seem that servile labour, whether that of slaves or of hired servants, and all worldly business on the part of masters, was suspended on the Sabbath, and the day was a common right to rest and be refreshed, possessed by all classes in the Hebrew community. It was thus, as we have urged, a beneficent institution.[4] As a sign between God and His chosen people, it was also a monitor of faith, keeping up a constant witness, on the ground taken in Gen. ii. 3, and in the Fourth Commandment, for the one living and personal God whom they worshipped, and for the truth, in opposition to all the cosmogonies of the heathen, that everything was created by Him.

We must now quit the negative for the positive side of the institution.

In the first place, we learn from the Pentateuch that the morning and evening sacrifice were both doubled on the Sabbath-day, and that the fresh shew-bread was then baked, and substituted on the table for that of the previous week. And this at once leads to the observation that the negative rules, proscribing work, lighting of fires, &c., did not apply to the rites of religion. It became a *dictum* that *there was no Sabbath in holy things*. To this our Saviour appeals when He says that the priests in the Temple profane the Sabbath and are blameless.

Next, it is clear that individual offerings were not breaches of the Sabbath; and from this doubtless came the feasts of the rich on that day, which were sanctioned, as we have seen, by our Saviour's attendance on one such. It was, we may be pretty sure, a feast on a sacrifice, and therefore a religious act. All around the giver, the poor as well as others, were admitted to it. Yet further, "in cases of illness, and in any, even the remotest, danger," the prohibitions of work were not held to apply. The general principle was that "the Sabbath is delivered into your hand, not you into the hand of the Sabbath" (comp. Mark ii. 27, 28).

We have no ground for supposing that anything like the didactic institutions of the synagogue formed part of the original observance of the Sabbath. Such institutions do not come into being while the matter to which they relate is itself only in process of formation. Expounding the Law presumes the completed existence of the Law, and the removal of the living lawgiver. The assertion of the Talmud that "Moses ordained to the Israelites that they should read the Law on the Sabbath-days, the feasts, and the new moons," in itself improbable, is utterly unsupported by the Pentateuch. The rise of such custom in after times is explicable enough. [SYNAGOGUE.] But from an early period, if not, as is most probable, from the very institution, occupation with holy themes was regarded as an essential part of the observance of the Sabbath. It would seem to have been an habitual practice to repair to a prophet on that day, in order, it must be presumed, to listen to his teaching (2 K. iv. 23). Certain Psalms too, *e. g.* the 92nd, were composed for the Sabbath, and probably used in private as well as in the Tabernacle. At a later period we come upon precepts that on the Sabbath the mind should be uplifted to high and holy themes—to God, His character, His revelations of Himself, His mighty works. Still the thoughts with which the day was invested were ever thoughts, not of restriction, but of freedom and of joy. Such indeed would seem, from Neh. viii. 9-12, to have been essential to the notion of a *holy* day. We have more than once pointed out that pleasure, as such, was never considered by the Jews a breach of the Sabbath; and their practice in this respect is often animadverted on by the early Christian Fathers, who taunt them with abstaining on that day only from what is good and useful, but indulging in dancing and luxury. Some of the heathen, indeed, such as Tacitus, imagined that the Sabbath was kept by them as a fast, a mistake which might have arisen from their abstinence from cookery on that day, and perhaps, as Heylin conjectures, from their postponement of their meals till the more solemn services of religion had been performed. But there can be no doubt that it was kept as a feast, and the phrase *luxus Sabbatarius*, which we find in Sidonius Apollinaris (i. 2), and which has been thought a proverbial one, illustrates the mode in which they celebrated it in the early centuries of our era. The following is Augustine's description of their practice:—"Ecce hodiernus dies Sabbati est: hunc in praesenti tempore otio quodammodo corporaliter languido et fluxo et luxurioso celebrant Judaei. Vacant enim ad nugas, et cum Deus prae-

[4] In this light the Sabbath has found a champion in one who would not, we suppose, have paid it much respect in its theological character; we mean no less a person than M. Proudhon (*De la Célébration du Dimanche*).

operil Sabbatum, illi in his quae Deus prohibet exercent Sabbatum. Vacatio nostra a malis operibus, vacatio illorum a bonis operibus est. Melius est enim arare quam saltare. Illi ab opere bono vacant, ab opere nugatorio non vacant" (Aug. *Enarr. in Psalmos*, Ps. xci.: see too Aug. *De decem Chordis*, iii. 3; Chrysost. *Homil.* I., *De Lazaro*; and other references given by Bingham, *Eccl. Ant.* lib. xx. cap. ii.). And if we take what alone is in the Law, we shall find nothing to be counted absolutely obligatory but rest, cessation from labour. Now, as we have more than once had occasion to observe, rest, cessation from labour, cannot in the waking moments mean avoidance of all action. This, therefore, would be the question respecting the scope and purpose of the Sabbath which would always demand to be devoutly considered and intelligently answered—what is truly rest, what is that cessation from labour which is really Sabbatical? And it is plain that, in application and in detail, the answer to this must almost indefinitely vary with men's varying circumstances, habits, education, and familiar associations.

We have seen, then, that, for whomsoever else the provision was intended, the chosen race were in possession of an ordinance, whereby neither a man's time nor his property could be considered absolutely his own, the seventh of each week being holy to God, and dedicated to rest after the pattern of God's rest, and giving equal rights to all. We have also seen that this provision was the tonic to a chord of Sabbatical observance, through which the same great principles of God's claim and society's, on every man's time and every man's property, were extended and developed. Of the Sabbatical year, indeed, and of the year of Jubilee, it may be questioned whether they were ever persistently observed, the only indications that we possess of Hebrew practice respecting them being the exemption from tribute during the former accorded to the Jews by Alexander, to which we have already referred, and one or two others, all, however, after the Captivity. [SABBATICAL YEAR; YEAR OF JUBILEE.]

But no doubt exists that the weekly Sabbath was always partially, and in the Pharisaic and subsequent times very strictly, however mistakenly, observed.

We have hitherto viewed the Sabbath merely as a Mosaic ordinance. It remains to ask whether, first, there be indications of its having been previously known and observed; and, secondly, whether it have an universal scope and authority over all men.

The former of these questions is usually approached with a feeling of its being connected with the latter, and perhaps therefore with a bias in favour of the view which the questioner thinks will support his opinion on the latter. It seems, however, to us, that we may dismiss any anxiety as to the results we may arrive at concerning it. No doubt, if we see strong reason for thinking that the Sabbath had a prae-Mosaic existence, we see something in it that has more than a Mosaic character and scope. But it might have had such without having an universal authority, unless we are prepared to ascribe that to the prohibition of eating blood or things strangled. And again, it might have originated in the Law of Moses, and yet possess an universally human scope, and an authority over all men and through all time. Whichever way, therefore, the second of our questions is to be determined, we may easily approach the first without anxiety.

The first and chief argument of those who maintain that the Sabbath was known before Moses, is the reference to it in Gen. ii. 2, 3. This is considered to represent it as co-aeval with man, being instituted at the Creation, or at least, as Lightfoot views the matter, immediately upon the Fall. This latter opinion is so entirely without rational ground of any kind that we may dismiss it at once. But the whole argument is very precarious. We have no materials for ascertaining, or even conjecturing, which was put forth first, the record of the Creation, or the Fourth Commandment. If the latter, then the reference to the Sabbath in the former is abundantly natural. Had, indeed, the Hebrew tongue the variety of preterite tenses of the Greek, the words in Genesis might require careful consideration in that regard; but as the case is, no light can be had from grammar; and on the supposition of these being written after the Fourth Commandment, their absence, or that of any equivalent to them, would be really marvellous.

The next indication of a prae-Mosaic Sabbath has been found in Gen. iv. 3, where we read that "in process of time it came to pass that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord." The words rendered *in process of time* mean literally "at the end of days," and it is contended that they designate a fixed period of days, probably the end of a week, the seventh or Sabbath-day. Again, the division of time into weeks seems recognised in Jacob's courtship of Rachel (Gen. xxix. 27, 28). Indeed the large recognition of that division from the earliest time is considered a proof that it must have had an origin above and independent of local and accidental circumstances, and been imposed on man at the beginning from above. Its arbitrary and factitious character is appealed to in further confirmation of this. The sacredness of the seventh day among the Egyptians, as recorded by Herodotus, and the well-known words of Hesiod respecting it, have long been cited among those who adopt this view, though neither of them in reality gives it the slightest support. Lastly, the opening of the Fourth Commandment, the injunction to *remember* the Sabbath-day, is appealed to as proof that that day was already known.

It is easy to see that all this is but a precarious foundation on which to build. It is not clear that the words in Gen. iv. 3 denote a fixed division of time of any sort. Those in Gen. xxix. obviously do, but carry us no farther than proving that the week was known and recognized by Jacob and Laban; though it must be admitted that, in the case of time so divided, sacred rites would probably be celebrated on a fixed and statedly recurring day. The argument from the prevalence of the weekly division of time would require a greater approach to universality in such practice than the facts exhibit, to make it a cogent one. That division was unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans, being adopted by the latter people from the Egyptians, as must be inferred from the well-known passage of Dion Cassius (xxxvii. 18, 19), at a period in his own time comparatively recent; while of the Egyptians themselves it is thought improbable that they were acquainted with such division in early times. The sacredness of the seventh day mentioned by Hesiod, is obviously that of the seventh day, not of the week, but of the month. And even after the weekly division was established, no trace can be found of anything resembling the Hebrew Sabbath.

While the injunction in the Fourth Commandment to *remember* the Sabbath-day may refer only to its previous institution in connexion with the gathering

of manna, or may be but the natural precept to *keep in mind* the rule about to be delivered—a phrase natural, and continually recurring in the intercourse of life, as, for example, between parent and child—on the other hand, the perplexity of the Israelites respecting the double supply of manna on the sixth day (Ex. xvi. 22) leads us to infer that the Sabbath for which such extra supply was designed was not then known to them. Moreover the language of Ezekiel (xx.) seems to designate it as an ordinance distinctively Hebrew and Mosaic.

We cannot then, from the uncertain notices which we possess, infer more than that the weekly division of time was known to the Israelites and others before the Law of Moses. [WEEK.] There is probability, though not more, in the opinion of Grotius, that the seventh day was deemed sacred to religious observance; but that the Sabbatical observance of it, the cessation from labour, was superinduced on it in the wilderness.

But to come to our second question, it by no means follows, that even if the Sabbath were no older than Moses, its scope and obligation are limited to Israel, and that itself belongs only to the obsolete enactments of the Levitical Law. That law contains two elements, the code of a particular nation, and commandments of human and universal character. For it must not be forgotten that the Hebrew was called out from the world, not to live on a narrower but a far wider footing than the children of earth; that he was called out to be the true man, bearing witness for the destiny, exhibiting the aspect, and realizing the blessedness, of true manhood. Hence, we can always see, if we have a mind, the difference between such features of his Law as are but local and temporary, and such as are human and universal. To which class belongs the Sabbath, viewed simply in itself, is a question which will soon come before us, and one which does not appear hard to settle. Meanwhile, we must inquire into the case as exhibited by Scripture.

And here we are at once confronted with the fact that the command to keep the Sabbath forms part of the Decalogue. And that the Decalogue had a rank and authority above the other enactments of the Law, is plain to the most cursory readers of the Old Testament, and is indicated by its being written on the two Tables of the Covenant. And though even the Decalogue is *affected* by the New Testament, it is not so in the way of repeal or obliteration. It is raised, transfigured, glorified there, but itself remains in its authority and supremacy. Not to refer just now to our Saviour's teaching (Matt. xix. 17-19), of which it might be alleged that it was delivered when, and to the persons over whom, the Old Law was in force—such passages as Rom. xiii. 8, 9, and Eph. vi. 2, 3, seem decisive of this. In some way, therefore, the Fourth Commandment has an authority over, and is to be obeyed by, Christians, though whether in the letter, or in some large spiritual sense and scope, is a question which still remains.

The phenomena respecting the Sabbath presented by the New Testament are, 1st, the frequent reference to it in the four Gospels; and 2ndly, the silence of the Epistles, with the exception of one place (Col. ii. 16, 17), where its repeal would seem to be asserted, and perhaps one other (Heb. iv. 9).

1st. The references to it in the four Gospels are, it needs not be said, numerous enough. We have already seen the high position which it took in the minds of the Rabbis, and the strange code of prohibitions which they put forth in connexion with it. The consequence of this was, that no part of our Saviour's teaching and practice would seem to have been so eagerly and narrowly watched as that which related to the Sabbath. He seems even to have directed attention to this, thereby intimating surely that on the one hand the misapprehension, and on the other the true fulfilment of the Sabbath were matters of deepest concern. We have already seen the kind of prohibitions against which both His teaching and practice were directed; and His two pregnant declarations, "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," and "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work," surely exhibit to us the Law of the Sabbath as human and universal. The former sets it forth as a privilege and a blessing, and were we therefore to suppose it absent from the provisions of the covenant of grace, we must suppose that covenant to have stinted man of something that was made for him, something that conduces to his well-being. The latter wonderfully exalts the Sabbath by referring it, even as do the record of Creation and the Fourth Commandment, to God as its archetype; and in showing us that the repose of God does not exclude work—inasmuch as God opens His hand daily and filleth all things living with plenteousness—shows us that the rest of the Sabbath does not exclude action, which would be but a death, but only that week-day action which requires to be wound up in a rest that shall be after the pattern of His, who though He has rested from all the work that He hath made, yet "worketh hitherto."

2ndly. The Epistles, it must be admitted, with the exception of one place, and perhaps another to which we have already referred, are silent on the subject of the Sabbath. No rules for its observance are ever given by the Apostles—its violation is never denounced by them, Sabbath-breakers are never included in any list of offenders. Col. ii. 16, 17, seems a far stronger argument for the abolition of the Sabbath in the Christian dispensation than is furnished by Heb. iv. 9 for its continuance; and while the first day of the week is more than once referred to as one of religious observance, it is never identified with the Sabbath, nor are any *prohibitions* issued in connexion with the former, while the omission of the Sabbath from the list of "necessary things" to be observed by the Gentiles (Acts xv. 29), shows that they were regarded by the Apostles as free from obligation in this matter.

When we turn to the monuments which we possess of the early Church, we find ourselves on the whole carried in the same direction. The seventh day of the week continued, indeed, to be observed, being kept as a feast by the greater part of the Church, and as a fast from an early period by that of Rome, and one or two other Churches of the West; but not as obligatory on Christians in the same way as on Jews. The Council of Laodicea prohibited all scruple about working on it; and there was a very general admission among the early Fathers that Christians did not *Sabbatize* in the letter.

Again, the observance of the Lord's Day as a Sabbath would have been well nigh impossible to the majority of Christians in the first ages. The slave of the heathen master, and the child of the heathen father, could neither of them have the control of his own conduct in such a matter; while the Christian in general would have been at once

betrayed and dragged into notice if he was found abstaining from labour of every kind, not on the seventh but the first day of the week. And yet it is clear that many were enabled without blame to keep their Christianity long a secret; nor does there seem to have been any obligation to divulge it, until heathen interrogation or the order to sacrifice dragged it into daylight.

When the early Fathers speak of the Lord's Day, they sometimes, perhaps, by comparing, connect it with the Sabbath; but we have never found a passage, previous to the conversion of Constantine, prohibitory of any work or occupation on the former, and any such, did it exist, would have been in a great measure nugatory, for the reasons just alleged. [LORD'S DAY.] After Constantine things become different at once. His celebrated edict prohibitory of judicial proceedings on the Lord's Day was probably dictated by a wish to give the great Christian festival as much honour as was enjoyed by those of the heathen, rather than by any reference to the Sabbath or the Fourth Commandment; but it was followed by several which extended the prohibition to many other occupations, and to many forms of pleasure held innocent on ordinary days. When this became the case, the Christian Church, which ever believed the Decalogue, in some sense, to be of universal obligation, could not but feel that she was enabled to keep the Fourth Commandment in its letter as well as its spirit; that she had not lost the type even in possessing the antitype; that the great law of week-day work and seventh-day rest, a law so generous and so ennobling to humanity at large, was still in operation. True, the name Sabbath was always used to denote the seventh, as that of the Lord's Day to denote the first, day of the week, which latter is nowhere habitually called the Sabbath, so far as we are aware, except in Scotland and by the English Puritans. But it was surely impossible to observe both the Lord's Day, as was done by Christians after Constantine, and to read the Fourth Commandment, without connecting the two; and, seeing that such was to be the practice of the developed Church, we can understand how the silence of the N. T. Epistles, and even the strong words of St. Paul (Col. ii. 16, 17), do not impair the human and universal scope of the Fourth Commandment, exhibited so strongly in the very nature of the Law, and in the teaching respecting it of Him who came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil.

In the East, indeed, where the seventh day of the week was long kept as a festival, that would, present itself to men's minds as the Sabbath, and the first day of the week would appear rather in its distinctively Christian character, and as of Apostolical and ecclesiastical origin, than in connexion with the Old Law. But in the West the seventh day was kept for the most part as a fast, and that for a reason merely Christian, viz. in commemoration of our Lord's lying in the sepulchre throughout that day. Its observance therefore would not obscure the aspect of the Lord's Day as that of hebdomadal rest and refreshment, and as consequently the prolongation of the Sabbath in the essential character of that benignant ordinance; and, with some variation, therefore, of verbal statement, a connexion between the Fourth Commandment and the first day of the week (together, as should be remembered, with the other festivals of the Church), came to be perceived and proclaimed.

Attention has recently been called, in connexion with our subject, to a circumstance which is important, the adoption by the Roman world of the Egyptian week almost contemporaneously with the founding of the Christian Church. Dion Cassius speaks of that adoption as recent, and we are therefore warranted in conjecturing the time of Hadrian as about that wherein it must have established itself. Here, then, would seem a signal Providential preparation for providing the people of God with a literal Sabbatismus; for prolonging in the Christian kingdom that great institution which, whether or not historically older than the Mosaic Law, is yet in its essential character adapted to all mankind, a witness for a personal Creator and Sustainer of the universe, and for His call to men to model their work, their time, and their lives, on His pattern.

Were we prepared to embrace an exposition which has been given of a remarkable passage already referred to (Heb. iv. 8-10), we should find it singularly illustrative of the view just suggested. The argument of the passage is to this effect, that the rest on which Joshua entered, and into which he made Israel to enter, cannot be the true and final rest, inasmuch as the Psalmist long afterwards speaks of the entering into that rest as still future and contingent. In ver. 9 we have the words "there remaineth, therefore, a rest for the people of God." Now it is important that throughout the passage the word for rest is *κατάπαυσις*, and that in the words just quoted it is changed into *σαββατισμός*, which certainly means the keeping of rest, the act of sabbatizing rather than the objective rest itself. It has accordingly been suggested that those words are not the author's conclusion—which is to be found in the form of thesis in the declaration "we which have believed do enter into rest"—but a parenthesis to the effect that "to the people of God," the Christian community, there remaineth, *there is left, a Sabbatizing*, the great change that has passed upon them and the mighty elevation to which they have been brought as on other matters, so as regards the Rest of God revealed to them, still leaving scope for and justifying the practice.* This exposition is in keeping with the general scope of the Ep. to the Hebrews; and the passage thus viewed will seem to some minds analogous to xiii. 10. It is given by Owen, and is elaborated with great ingenuity by Dr. Wardlaw in his *Discourses on the Sabbath*. It will not be felt fatal to it that more than 300 years should have passed before the Church at large was in a situation to discover the heritage that had been preserved to her, or to enter on its enjoyment, when we consider how development, in all matters of ritual and ordinance, must needs be the law of any living body, and much more of one which had to struggle from its birth with the impeding forces of a heathen empire, frequent persecution, and an unreclaimed society. In such case was the early Church, and therefore she might well have to wait for a Constantine before she could fully open her eyes to the fact that sabbatizing was still left to her, and her members might well be permitted not to see the truth in any steady or consistent way even then.

The objections, however, to this exposition are

* According to this exposition the words of ver. 10 "for he that hath entered, &c." are referred to Christ.

many and great, one being, that it has occurred to so few among the great commentators who have laboured on the Ep. to the Hebrews. Chrysostom (*in loc.*) denies that there is any reference to hebdomadal sabbatizing. Nor have we found any commentators, besides the two just named, who admit that there is such, with the single exception of Ebrard. Dean Alford notices the interpretation only to condemn it, while Dr. Hessey gives another, and that the usual explanation of the verse, suggesting a sufficient reason for the change of word from κατάπαυσις to σαββατισμός. It would not have been right, however, to have passed it over in this article without notice, as it relates to a passage of Scripture in which Sabbath and Sabbatical ideas are markedly brought forward.

It would be going beyond the scope of this article to trace the history of opinion on the Sabbath in the Christian Church. Dr. Hessey, in his *Bampton Lectures*, has sketched and distinguished every variety of doctrine which has been or still is maintained on the subject.

The sentiments and practice of the Jews subsequent to our Saviour's time have been already referred to. A curious account—taken from Buxtorf, *De Synag.*—of their superstitions, scruples, and prohibitions, will be found at the close of the first part of Heylin's *Hist. of the Sabbath*. Calmet, (art. "Sabbath"), gives an interesting sketch of their family practices at the beginning and end of the day. And the estimate of the Sabbath, its uses, and its blessings, which is formed by the more spiritually minded Jews of the present day may be inferred from some striking remarks of Dr. Kalisch (*Comm. on Exodus*), p. 273, who winds up with quoting a beautiful passage from the late Mrs. Horatio Montefiore's work, *A Few Words to the Jews*.

Finally, M. Proudhon's striking pamphlet, *De la Célébration du Dimanche considérée sous les rapports de l'Hygiène publique, de la Morale, des relations de Famille et de Cité*, Paris, 1850, may be studied with great advantage. His remarks (p. 67) on the advantages of the precise proportion established, six days of work to one of rest, and the inconvenience of any other that could be arranged, are well worth attention.

The word *Sabbath* seems sometimes to denote *a week* in the N. T. Hence, by the Hebrew usage of reckoning time by cardinal numbers, ἐν τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββατῶν, means on *the first day of the week*. The Rabbis have the same phraseology, keeping, however, the word *Sabbath* in the singular.

On the phrase of St. Luke, vi. 1, ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ, see SABBATICAL YEAR.

This article should be read in connexion with that on the LORD'S DAY.

Literature:—*Critici Sacri*, on Exod.; Heylin's *Hist. of the Sabbath*; Selden, *De Jure Natur. et Gent.*; Buxtorf, *De Synag.*; Barrow, *Expos. of the Decalogue*; Paley, *Moral and Political Philosophy*, v. 7; James, *On the Sacraments and Sabbath*; Whately's *Thoughts on the Sabbath*; Wardlaw, *On the Sabbath*; Maurice, *On the Sabbath*; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, arts. cxciv.–vi., clxviii.; Oehler, in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* "Sabbath;" Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, "Sabbath;" Bähr, *Symbolik des Mos. Cult.* vol. ii. bk. iv. ch. 11, §2; Kalisch, *Historical and Critical Commentary on O. T. in Exod. XX.*; Proudhon, *De la Célébration du Dimanche*; and especially Dr. Hessey's *Sunday; the Bampton Lecture for* 1860. [F. G.]

SABBATH-DAY'S JOURNEY (Σαββάτου ὁδός, Acts i. 12). On occasion of a violation of the commandment by certain of the people who went to look for manna on the seventh day, Moses enjoined every man to "abide in his place," and forbade any man to "go out of his place" on that day (Ex. xvi. 29). It seems natural to look on this as a mere enactment *pro re natâ*, and having no bearing on any state of affairs subsequent to the journey through the wilderness and the daily gathering of manna. Whether the earlier Hebrews did or did not regard it thus, it is not easy to say. Nevertheless, the natural inference from 2 K. iv. 23 is against the supposition of such a prohibition being known to the spokesman, Elisha almost certainly living—as may be seen from the whole narrative—much more than a Sabbath Day's Journey from Shunem. Heylin infers from the incidents of David's flight from Saul, and Elijah's from Jezebel, that neither felt bound by such a limitation. Their situation, however, being one of extremity, cannot be safely argued from. In after times the precept in Ex. xvi. was undoubtedly viewed as a permanent law. But as some departure from a man's own place was unavoidable, it was thought necessary to determine the allowable amount, which was fixed at 2000 paces, or about six furlongs, from the wall of the city.

Though such an enactment may have proceeded from an erroneous view of Ex. xvi. 29, it is by no means so superstitious and unworthy on the face of it as are most of the Rabbinical rules and prohibitions respecting the Sabbath Day. In the case of a general law, like that of the Sabbath, some authority must settle the application in details, and such an authority "the Scribes and Pharisees sitting in Moses' seat" were entitled to exercise. It is plain that the limits of the Sabbath Day's Journey must have been a great check on the profanation of the day in a country where business was entirely agricultural or pastoral, and must have secured to "the ox and the ass" the rest to which by the Law they were entitled.

Our Saviour seems to refer to this law in warning the disciples to pray that their flight from Jerusalem in the time of its judgment should not be "on the Sabbath Day" (Matt. xxiv. 20). The Christians of Jerusalem would not, as in the case of Gentiles, feel free from the restrictions on journeying on that day; nor would their situation enable them to comply with the forms whereby such journeying when necessary was sanctified; nor would assistance from those around be procurable.

The permitted distance seems to have been grounded on the space to be kept between the Ark and the people (Josh. iii. 4) in the wilderness, which tradition said was that between the Ark and the tents. To repair to the Ark being, of course, a duty on the Sabbath, the walking to it was no violation of the day; and it thus was taken as the measure of a lawful Sabbath Day's Journey. We find the same distance given as the circumference outside the walls of the Levitical cities to be counted as their suburbs (Num. xxxv. 5). The *terminus a quo* was thus not a man's own house, but the wall of the city where he dwelt, and thus the amount of lawful Sabbath Day's journeying must therefore have varied greatly: the movements of a Jew in one of the small cities of his own land being restricted indeed when compared with those of a Jew in Alexandria, Antioch or Rome.

When a man was obliged to go farther than a Sabbath Day's Journey, on some good and allowable ground, it was incumbent on him on the evening before to furnish himself with food enough for two meals. He was to sit down and eat at the appointed distance, to bury what he had left, and utter a thanksgiving to God for the appointed boundary. Next morning he was at liberty to make this point his *terminus a quo*.

The Jewish scruple to go more than 2000 paces from his city on the Sabbath is referred to by Origen, περὶ ἀρχῶν, iv. 2; by Jerome, *ad Algasiam*, quæst. 10; and by Oecumenius—with some apparent difference between them as to the measurement. Jerome gives Akiba, Simeon, and Hillel, as the authorities for the lawful distance. [F. G.]

SABBATHE'US (Σαββαταῖος: *Sabbathaeus*). SHABBETHAI the Levite (1 Esd. ix. 14; comp. Ezr. x. 15).

SABBATICAL YEAR. As each seventh day and each seventh month were holy, so was each seventh year, by the Mosaic code. We first encounter this law in Ex. xxiii. 10, 11, given in words corresponding to those of the Fourth Commandment, and followed (ver. 12) by the re-enforcement of that commandment. It is impossible to read the passage and not feel that the Sabbath Day and the Sabbatical year are parts of one general law.

The commandment is, to sow and reap for six years, and to let the land rest on the seventh, "that the poor of thy people may eat; and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat." It is added, "In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard and thy oliveyard."

We next meet with the enactment in Lev. xxv. 2-7, and finally in Deut. xv., in which last place the new feature presents itself of the seventh year being one of release to debtors.

When we combine these several notices, we find that every seventh year the land was to have rest to *enjoy her Sabbaths*. Neither tillage nor cultivation of any sort was to be practised. The spontaneous growth of the soil was not to be reaped by the owner, whose rights of property were in abeyance. All were to have their share in the gleanings: the poor, the stranger, and even the cattle.

This singular institution has the aspect, at first sight, of total impracticability. This, however, wears off when we consider that in no year was the owner allowed to reap the whole harvest (Lev. xix. 9, xxiii. 22). Unless, therefore, the remainder was gleaned very carefully, there may easily have been enough left to ensure such spontaneous deposit of seed as in the fertile soil of Syria would produce some amount of crop in the succeeding year, while the vines and olives would of course yield their fruit of themselves. Moreover, it is clear that the owners of land were to lay by corn in previous years for their own and their families' wants. This is the unavoidable inference from Lev. xxv. 20-22. And though the right of property was in abeyance during the Sabbatical year, it has been suggested that this only applied to the fields, and not to the gardens attached to houses.

The claiming of debts was unlawful during this year, as we learn from Deut. xv. The exceptions laid down are in the case of a foreigner, and that of there being no poor in the land. This latter, however, it is straightway said, is what will never happen. But though debts might not be claimed, it is not said that they might not be voluntarily paid; and it has been questioned whether the release of the seventh year was final or merely lasted through the year. This law was virtually abrogated in later times by the well-known *prosbol*[a] of the great Hillel, a permission to the judges to allow a creditor to enforce his claim whenever he required to do so. The formula is given in the Mishna (*Sheviith*, 10, 4).

The release of debtors during the Sabbatical year must not be confounded with the release of slaves on the seventh year of their service. The two are obviously distinct—the one occurring at one fixed time for all, while the other must have varied with various families, and with various slaves.

The spirit of this law is the same as that of the weekly Sabbath. Both have a beneficent tendency, limiting the rights and checking the sense of property; the one puts in God's claims on time, the other on the land. The land shall "keep a Sabbath unto the Lord." "The land is mine."

There may also have been, as Kalisch conjectures, an eye to the benefit which would accrue to the land from lying fallow every seventh year, in a time when the rotation of crops was unknown.

The Sabbatical year opened in the Sabbatical month, and the whole Law was to be read every such year, during the Feast of Tabernacles, to the assembled people. It was thus, like the weekly Sabbath, no mere negative rest, but was to be marked by high and holy occupation, and connected with sacred reflection and sentiment.

At the completion of a week of Sabbatical years, the Sabbatical scale received its completion in the year of Jubilee. For the question whether that was identical with the seventh Sabbatical year, or was that which succeeded it, *i. e.* whether the year of Jubilee fell every forty-ninth or every fiftieth year, see JUBILEE, YEAR OF.

The next question that presents itself regarding the Sabbatical year relates to the time when its observance became obligatory. It has been inferred from Leviticus xxv. 2, "When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the land keep a Sabbath unto the Lord," that it was to be held by the people on the first year of their occupation of Canaan; but this mere literalism gives a result in contradiction to the words which immediately follow: "Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof; but in the seventh year shall be a Sabbath of rest unto the land." It is more reasonable to suppose, with the best Jewish authorities, that the law became obligatory fourteen years after the first entrance into the Promised Land, the conquest of which took seven years and the distribution seven more.

A further question arises. At whatever period the obedience to this law ought to have commenced, was it in point of fact obeyed? This is an inquiry which reaches to more of the Mosaic statutes than the one now before us. It is, we apprehend, rare to see the whole of a code in full operation; and the phenomena of Jewish history previous to the Captivity present us with no such spectacle. In the threatenings contained in Lev. xxvi., judgments on the violation of the Sabbatical year are particularly contemplated (vers. 33, 34); and that it was greatly if not quite neglected appears from 2 Chron.

[a] פרוסבול = probably προβουλή or προσβολή. For this and other curious speculations on the etymology of the word see Buxtorf, *Lex. Talmud.* 1807

xxxvi. 20, 21: "Them that escaped from the sword carried he away to Babylon; where they were servants to him and his sons until the reign of the kingdom of Persia: to fulfil the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed her Sabbaths; for as long as she lay desolate she kept Sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years." Some of the Jewish commentators have inferred from this that their forefathers had neglected exactly seventy Sabbatical years. If such neglect was continuous, the law must have been disobeyed throughout a period of 490 years, *i. e.* through nearly the whole duration of the monarchy; and as there is nothing in the previous history leading to the inference that the people were more scrupulous then, we must look to the return from captivity for indications of the Sabbatical year being actually observed. Then we know the former neglect was replaced by a punctilious attention to the Law; and as its leading feature, the Sabbath, began to be scrupulously reverenced, so we now find traces of a like observance of the Sabbatical year. We read (1 Macc. vi. 49) that "they came out of the city, because they had no victuals there to endure the siege, it being a year of rest to the land." Alexander the Great is said to have exempted the Jews from tribute during it, since it was unlawful for them to sow seed or reap harvest then; so, too, did Julius Caesar (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10, §6). Tacitus (*Hist.* lib. v. 2, §4), having mentioned the observance of the Sabbath by the Jews, adds:—"Dein blandienti inertiâ septimum quoque annum ignaviae datum." And St. Paul, in reproaching the Galatians with their Jewish tendencies, taxes them with observing *years* as well as days and months and times (Gal. iv. 10), from which we must infer that the teachers who communicated to them those tendencies did more or less the like themselves. Another allusion in the N. T. to the Sabbatical year is perhaps to be found in the phrase, *ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ* (Luke vi. 1). Various explanations have been given of the term, but one of the most probable is that it denotes the first Sabbath of the second year in the cycle (Wieseler, quoted by Alford, vol. i.). [F. G.]

SABBE'US (Σαββαῖας; Alex. Σαββαιος: *Sameas*), 1 Esdr. ix. 32. [SHEMAIAH, 14.]

SABE'ANS. [SHEBA.]

SA'BI (Σαβεΐν; Alex. Σαβιή: *Sabathen*). "The children of Pochereth of Zebaim" appear in 1 Esd. v. 34 as "the sons of Phacareth, the sons of Sabi."

SAB'TAH (סַבְתָּה, in 21 MSS. שַׁבְתָא, Gen. x. 7; סַבְתָא, 1 Chr. i. 9, A. V. SABTA: Σαβαθά: *Sabatha*). The third in order of the sons of Cush. In accordance with the identifications of the settlements of the Cushites in the article ARABIA and elsewhere, Sabtah should be looked for along the southern coast of Arabia. The writer has found no traces in Arab writers; but the statements of Pliny (vi. 32, §155, xii. 32), Ptolemy (vi. 7, p. 411), and Anon. Peripl. (27), respecting Sabbatha, Sabota, or Sobotale, metropolis of the Atramitae (probably the Chatramotitae), seem to point to a trace of the tribe which descended from Sabtah, always supposing that this city Sabbatha was not a corruption or dialectic variation of Saba, Seba, or Sheba. This point will be discussed under SHEBA. It is only necessary to remark here that the indications afforded by the Greek and Roman writers of Arabian geography require very cautious handling, presenting, as they do, a mass of contradictions and transparent travellers' tales respecting the unknown regions of Arabia the Happy, Arabia Thurifera, &c. Ptolemy places Sabbatha in 77° long. 16° 30 lat. It was an important city, containing no less than sixty temples (Pliny, *N. H.* vi. c. xxiii. §32); it was also situate in the territory of king Elisarus, or Eleazus (comp. *Anon. Peripl.* ap. Müller, *Geog. Min.* 278-9), supposed by Fresnel to be identical with "Ascharides," or "Alascharissoun," in Arabic (*Journ. Asiat.* Nouv. Série, x. 191). Winer thinks the identification of Sabtah with Sabbatha, &c., to be probable; and it is accepted by Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, Gen. x. and *Atlas*). It certainly occupies a position in which we should expect to find traces of Sabtah, where are traces of Cushite tribes in very early times, on their way, as we hold, from their earlier colonies in Ethiopia to the Euphrates.

Gesenius, who sees in Cush only Ethiopia, "has no doubt that Sabtah should be compared with Σαβάτ, Σαβά, Σαβαΐ (see Strab. xvi. p. 770, Casaub.; Ptol. iv. 10), on the shore of the Arabian Gulf, situated just where Arkiko is now, in the neighbourhood of which the Ptolemies hunted elephants. Amongst the ancient translators, Pseudojonathan saw the true meaning, rendering it סמרא, for which read סמרא, *i. e.* the Sembritae, whom Strabo (*loc. cit.* p. 786) places in the same region. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §1) understands it to be the inhabitants of Astabora" (Gesenius, ed. Tregelles, *s. v.*). Here the etymology of Sabtah is compared plausibly with Σαβάτ; but when probability is against his being found in Ethiopia, etymology is of small value, especially when it is remembered that Sabat and its variations (Sabax, Sabai) may be related to *Seba*, which certainly was in Ethiopia. On the Rabbinical authorities which he quotes we place no value. It only remains to add that Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 1712) removes Sabtah to Ceuta opposite Gibraltar, called in Arabic

Sebtah, سبتة (comp. Marásid, *s. v.*); and that Bochart (*Phaleg*, i. 114, 115, 252, *seqq.*), while he mentions Sabbatha, prefers to place Sabtah near the western shore of the Persian Gulf, with the Saphtha of Ptolemy, the name also of an island in that gulf. [E. S. P.]

SAB'TECHA, and SAB'TECHAH (סַבְתְּכָא: Σαβαθακά, Σεβεθαχά: *Sabatacha, Sabathacha*, Gen. x. 7, 1 Chr. i. 9). The fifth in order of the sons of Cush, whose settlements would probably be near the Persian Gulf, where are those of Raamah, the next before him in the order of the Cushites. [RAAMAH, DEDAN, SHEBA.] He has not been identified with any Arabic place or district, nor satisfactorily with any name given by classical writers. Bochart (who is followed by Bunsen, *Bibelw.*, Gen. x. and *Atlas*) argues that he should be placed in Carmania, on the Persian shore of the gulf, comparing Sabtechah with the city of Samydace of Steph. Byz. (Σαμιδάκη or Σαμυκάδη of Ptol. vi. 8, 7). This etymology appears to be very far-fetched. Gesenius merely says that Sabtechah is the proper name of a district of Ethiopia, and adds the reading of the Targ. Pseudojonathan (זְנָגֵאי, *Zingitani*). [E. S. P.]

SA'CAR (שָׂכָר: Ἀχάρ; Alex. Σαχάρ: *Sachar*). 1. A Hararite, father of Ahiam, one of David's mighty men (1 Chr. xi. 35). In 2 Sam. xxiii. 33 he is called SHARAR, but Kennicott regards Sacar as the correct reading.

2. (Ἀχάρ.) The fourth son of Obed-edom (1 Chr. xxvi. 4).

SACKBUT (סַבְּכָא, Dan. iii. 5; שַׂבְּכָא, Dan. iii. 7, 10, 15: σαμβύκη: *sambuca*). The rendering in the A. V. of the Chaldee *sabbĕcâ*. If this musical instrument be the same as the Greek σαμβύκη and Latin *sambuca*,[a] the English translation is entirely wrong. The sackbut was a wind-instrument; the *sambuca* was played with strings. Mr. Chappell says (*Pop. Mus.* i. 35), "The sackbut was a bass trumpet with a slide, like the modern trombone." It had a deep note according to Drayton (*Polyolbion*, iv. 365):

"The hoboy, *sagbut deep*, recorder, and the flute."

The *sambuca* was a triangular instrument with four or more strings played with the fingers. According to Athenaeus (xiv. 633), Masurius described it as having a shrill tone; and Euphorion, in his book on the Isthmian Games, said that it was used by the Parthians and Troglodytes, and had four strings. Its invention is attributed to one Sambyx, and to Sibylla its first use (Athen. xiv. 637). Juba, in the 4th book of his *Theatrical History*, says it was discovered in Syria, but Neanthes of Cyzicum, in the first book of the *Hours*, assigns it to the poet Ibycus of Rhegium (Athen. iv. 77). This last tradition is followed by Suidas, who describes the *sambuca* as a kind of triangular harp. That it was a foreign instrument is clear from the statement of Strabo (x. 471), who says its name is barbarous. Isidore of Seville (*Orig.* iii. 20) appears to regard it as a wind instrument, for he connects it with the *sambucus*, or elder, a kind of light wood of which pipes were made.

The *sambuca* was early known at Rome, for Plautus (*Stich.* ii. 2, 57) mentions the women who played it (*sambucae*, or *sambucistriae*, as they are called in Livy, xxxix. 6). It was a favourite among the Greeks (Polyb. v. 37), and the Rhodian women appear to have been celebrated for their skill on this instrument (Athen. iv. 129).

There was an engine called *sambuca* used in siege operations, which derived its name from the musical instrument, because, according to Athenaeus (xiv. 634), when raised it had the form of a ship and a ladder combined in one. [W. A. W.]

SACKCLOTH (שַׂק: σάκκος: *saccus*). A coarse texture, of a dark colour, made of goats' hair (Is. l. 3; Rev. vi. 12), and resembling the *cilicium* of the Romans. It was used (1.) for making sacks, the same word describing both the material and the article (Gen. xlii. 25; Lev. xi. 32; Josh. ix. 4); and (2.) for making the rough garments used by mourners, which were in extreme cases worn next the skin (1 K. xxi. 27; 2 K. vi. 30; Job xvi. 15; Is. xxxii. 11), and this even by females (Joel i. 8; 2 Macc. iii. 19), but at other times were worn over the coat or *cethoneth* (Jon. iii. 6) in lieu of the outer garment. The robe probably resembled a sack in shape, and fitted close to the person, as we may infer from the application of the term *châgar*[b] to the process of putting it on (2 Sam. iii. 31; Ez. vii. 18, &c.). It was confined by a girdle of similar material (Is. iii. 24). Sometimes it was worn throughout the night (1 K. xxi. 27). [W. L. B.]

[a] Compare *ambubaia*, from Syr. אַבּוּבָא, *abbûbâ*, a flute, where the *m* occupies the place of the dagesh.

[b] הָגַר

SACRIFICE. The peculiar features of each kind of sacrifice are referred to under their respective heads; the object of this article will be:—

I. To examine the meaning and derivation of the various words used to denote sacrifice in Scripture.

II. To examine the historical development of sacrifice in the Old Testament.

III. To sketch briefly the theory of sacrifice, as it is set forth both in the Old and New Testaments, with especial reference to the Atonement of Christ.

I. Of all the words used in reference to sacrifice, the most general appear to be—

(*a.*) מִנְחָה, *minchah*, from the obsolete root מָנַח, "to give;" used in Gen. xxxii. 13, 20, 21, of a gift from Jacob to Esau (LXX. δῶρον); in 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6 (ξένια), in 1 K. iv. 21 (δῶρα), in 2 K. xvii. 4 (μανάδ), of a tribute from a vassal king; in Gen. iv. 3, 5, of a sacrifice generally (δῶρον and θυσία, indifferently); and in Lev. ii. 1, 4, 5, 6, joined with the word *korban*, of an unbloody sacrifice, or "meat-offering" (generally δῶρον θυσία). Its derivation and usage point to that idea of sacrifice, which represents it as an Eucharistic gift to God our King.

(*b.*) קָרְבָּן, *korban*, derived from the root קָרַב, "to approach," or (in Hiphil) to "make to approach;" used with *minchah* in Lev. ii. 1, 4, 5, 6, (LXX. δῶρον θυσία), generally rendered δῶρον (see Mark vii. 11, κορβᾶν, ὅ ἐστι δῶρον) or προσφόρα. The idea of a gift hardly seems inherent in the root; which rather points to sacrifice, as a symbol of communion or covenant between God and man.

(*c.*) זֶבַח, *zebach*, derived from the root זָבַח, to "slaughter animals," especially to "slay in sacrifice," refers emphatically to a bloody sacrifice, one in which the shedding of blood is the essential idea. Thus it is opposed to *minchah*, in Ps. xl. 6 (θυσίαν καὶ προσφοράν), and to *ôlah* (the whole burnt-offering) in Ex. x. 25, xviii. 12, &c. With it the expiatory idea of sacrifice is naturally connected.

Distinct from these general terms, and often appended to them, are the words denoting special kinds of sacrifice:—

(*d.*) עוֹלָה, *ôlah* (generally ὁλοκαύτωμα), the "whole burnt-offering."

(*e.*) שֶׁלֶם, *shelem* (θυσία σωτηρίου), used frequently with זֶבַח, and sometimes called קָרְבָּן, the "peace-" or "thank-offering."

(*f.*) חַטָּאת, *chattâth* (generally περὶ ἁμαρτίας), the "sin-offering."

(*g.*) אָשָׁם, *âshâm* (generally πλημμελεία) the "trespass-offering."

For the examination of the derivation and meaning of these, see each under its own head.

II. (A.) ORIGIN OF SACRIFICE.

In tracing the history of sacrifice, from its first beginning to its perfect development in the Mosaic ritual, we are at once met by the long-disputed question, as to the *origin of sacrifice*; whether it arose from a natural instinct of man, sanctioned and guided by God, or whether it was the subject of some distinct primeval revelation.

It is a question, the importance of which has probably been exaggerated. There can be no doubt,

that sacrifice was sanctioned by God's Law, with a special typical reference to the Atonement of Christ; its universal prevalence, independent of, and often opposed to, man's natural reasonings on his relation to God, shows it to have been primeval, and deeply rooted in the instincts of humanity. Whether it was first enjoined by an external command, or whether it was based on that sense of sin and lost communion with God, which is stamped by His hand on the heart of man—is a historical question, perhaps insoluble, probably one which cannot be treated at all, except in connexion with some general theory of the method of primeval revelation, but certainly one, which does not affect the authority and the meaning of the rite itself.

The great difficulty in the theory, which refers it to a distinct command of God, is the total silence of Holy Scripture—a silence the more remarkable, when contrasted with the distinct reference made in Gen. ii. to the origin of the Sabbath. Sacrifice when first mentioned, in the case of Cain and Abel, is referred to as a thing of course; it is said to have been brought by men; there is no hint of any command given by God. This consideration, the strength of which no ingenuity* has been able to impair, although it does not actually disprove the formal revelation of sacrifice, yet at least forbids the assertion of it, as of a positive and important doctrine.

Nor is the fact of the mysterious and supernatural character of the doctrine of Atonement, with which the sacrifices of the O. T. are expressly connected, any conclusive argument on this side of the question. All allow that the eucharistic and deprecatory ideas of sacrifice are perfectly natural to man. The higher view of its expiatory character, dependent, as it is, entirely on its typical nature, appears but gradually in Scripture. It is veiled under other ideas in the case of the patriarchal sacrifices. It is first distinctly mentioned in the Law (Lev. xvii. 11, &c.); but even then the theory of the sin-offering, and of the classes of sins to which it referred, is allowed to be obscure and difficult; it is only in the N. T. (especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews) that its nature is clearly unfolded. It is as likely that it pleased God gradually to superadd the higher idea to an institution, derived by man from the lower ideas (which must eventually find their justification in the higher), as that He originally commanded the institution when the time for the revelation of its full meaning was not yet come. The rainbow was just as truly the symbol of God's new promise in Gen. ix. 13-17, whether it had or had not existed, as a natural phenomenon before the Flood. What God sets His seal to, He makes a part of His revelation, whatever its origin may be. It is to be noticed (see Warburton's *Div. Leg.* ix. c. 2) that, except in Gen. xv. 9, the method of patriarchal sacrifice is left free, without any direction on the part of God, while in all the Mosaic ritual the limitation and regulation of sacrifice, as to time, place, and material, is a most prominent feature, on which much of its distinction from heathen sacrifice depended. The inference is at least probable, that when God sanctioned formally a natural rite, then, and not till then, did He define its method.

The question, therefore, of the origin of sacrifice is best left in the silence, with which Scripture surrounds it.

(B.) ANTE-MOSAIC HISTORY OF SACRIFICE.

In examining the various sacrifices, recorded in Scripture before the establishment of the Law, we find that the words specially denoting expiatory sacrifice (חַטָּאת and אָשָׁם) are not applied to them. This fact does not at all show, that they were not actually expiatory, nor even that the offerers had not that idea of expiation, which must have been vaguely felt in all sacrifices; but it justifies the inference, that this idea was not then the prominent one in the doctrine of sacrifice.

The sacrifice of Cain and Abel is called *minchah*, although in the case of the latter it was a bloody sacrifice. (So in Heb. xi. 4 the word θυσία is explained by the τοῖς δώροις below.) In the case of both it would appear to have been eucharistic, and the distinction between the offerers to have lain in their "faith" (Heb. xi. 4). Whether that faith of Abel referred to the promise of the Redeemer, and was connected with any idea of the typical meaning of sacrifice, or whether it was a simple and humble faith in the unseen God, as the giver and promiser of all good, we are not authorised by Scripture to decide.

The sacrifice of Noah after the Flood (Gen. viii. 20) is called burnt-offering (*ôlah*). This sacrifice is expressly connected with the institution of the *Covenant* which follows in ix. 8-17. The same ratification of a covenant is seen in the defined offering of Abraham, especially enjoined and burnt-by God in Gen. xv. 9; and is probably to be traced in the "building of altars" by Abraham on entering Canaan at Bethel (Gen. xii. 7, 8) and Mamre (xiii. 18), by Isaac at Beersheba (xxvi. 25), and by Jacob at Shechem (xxxiii. 20), and in Jacob's setting up and anointing of the pillar at Bethel (xxviii. 18, xxxv. 14). The sacrifice (*zebach*) of Jacob at Mizpah also marks a covenant with Laban, to which God is called to be a witness and a party. In all these, therefore, the prominent idea seems to have been what is called the *federative*, the recognition of a bond between the sacrificer and God, and the dedication of himself, as represented by the victim, to the service of the Lord.

The sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. xxii. 1-13) stands by itself, as the sole instance in which the idea of human sacrifice was even for a moment, and as a trial, countenanced by God. Yet in its principle it appears to have been of the same nature as before: the voluntary surrender of an only son on Abraham's part, and the willing dedication of himself on Isaac's, are in the foreground; the expiatory idea, if recognised at all, holds certainly a secondary position.

In the burnt-offerings of Job for his children (Job i. 5) and for his three friends (xlii. 8), we, for the first time, find the expression of the desire

* See, for example (as in Faber's *Origin of Sacrifice*), the elaborate reasoning on the translation of חַטָּאת in Gen. iv. 7. Even supposing the version, a "sin-offering coucheth at the door" to be correct, on the ground of general usage of the word, of the curious version of the LXX., and of the remarkable grammatical construction of the masculine participle, with the feminine noun (as referring to the fact that the sin-offering was actually a male), still it does not settle the matter. The Lord even then speaks of sacrifice as existing, and as known to exist: He does not institute it. The supposition that the "skins of beasts" in Gen. iii. 21 were skins of animals sacrificed by God's command is a pure assumption. The argument on Heb. xi. 4, that faith can rest only on a distinct Divine command as to the special occasion of its exercise, is contradicted by the general definition of it given in v. 1.

of expiation for sin, accompanied by repentance and prayer, and brought prominently forward. The same is the case in the words of Moses to Pharaoh, as to the necessity of sacrifice in the wilderness (Ex. x. 25), where sacrifice (*zebach*) is distinguished from burnt-offering. Here the main idea is at least deprecatory; the object is to appease the wrath, and avert the vengeance of God.

(C.) THE SACRIFICES OF THE MOSAIC PERIOD.

These are inaugurated by the offering of the PASSOVER and the sacrifice of Ex. xxiv. The Passover indeed is unique in its character, and seems to embrace the peculiarities of all the various divisions of sacrifice soon to be established. Its ceremonial, however, most nearly resembles that of the sin-offering in the emphatic use of the blood, which (after the first celebration) was poured at the bottom of the altar (see Lev. iv. 7), and in the care taken that none of the flesh should remain till the morning (see Ex. xii. 10, xxxiv. 25). It was unlike it in that the flesh was to be eaten by all (not burnt, or eaten by the priests alone), in token of their entering into covenant with God, and eating "at His table," as in the case of a peace-offering. Its peculiar position as a historical memorial, and its special reference to the future, naturally mark it out as incapable of being referred to any formal class of sacrifice; but it is clear that the idea of salvation from death by means of sacrifice is brought out in it with a distinctness before unknown.

The sacrifice of Ex. xxiv., offered as a solemn inauguration of the Covenant of Sinai, has a similarly comprehensive character. It is called a "burnt-offering" and "peace-offering" in v. 5; but the solemn use of the blood (comp. Heb. ix. 18-22) distinctly marks the idea that expiatory sacrifice was needed for entering into covenant with God, the idea of which the sin- and trespass-offerings were afterwards the symbols.

The Law of Leviticus now unfolds distinctly the various forms of sacrifice:—

(*a.*) *The burnt-offering.* SELF-DEDICATORY.
(*b.*) *The meat-offering* (*unbloody*) } EUCHARISTIC.
The peace-offering (*bloody*) }
(*c.*) *The sin-offering* } EXPIATORY.
The trespass-offering }

To these may be added,—

(*d.*) *The incense* offered after sacrifice in the Holy Place, and (on the Day of Atonement) in the Holy of Holies, the symbol of the intercession of the priest (as a type of the Great High Priest), accompanying and making efficacious the prayer of the people.

In the consecration of Aaron and his sons (Lev. viii.) we find these offered, in what became ever afterwards the appointed order: first came the sin-offering, to prepare access to God; next the burnt-offering, to mark their dedication to His service; and thirdly the meat-offering of thanksgiving. The same sacrifices, in the same order, with the addition of a peace-offering (eaten no doubt by all the people), were offered a week after for all the congregation, and accepted visibly by the descent of fire upon the burnt-offering. Henceforth the sacrificial system was fixed in all its parts, until He should come whom it typified.

It is to be noticed that the Law of Leviticus takes the rite of sacrifice for granted (see Lev. i. 2, ii. 1, &c., "If a man bring an offering, ye shall," &c.), and is directed chiefly to guide and limit its exercise. In every case but that of the peace-offering, the nature of the victim was carefully prescribed, so as to preserve the ideas symbolized, but so as to avoid the notion (so inherent in heathen systems, and finding its logical result in human sacrifice) that the more costly the offering, the more surely must it meet with acceptance. At the same time, probably in order to impress this truth on their minds, and also to guard against corruption by heathenish ceremonial, and against the notion that sacrifice in itself, without obedience, could avail (see 1 Sam. xv. 22, 23), the place of offering was expressly limited, first to the Tabernacle,[b] afterwards to the Temple. This ordinance also necessitated their periodical gathering as one nation before God, and so kept clearly before their minds their relation to Him as their national King. Both limitations brought out the great truth, that God Himself provided the way by which man should approach Him, and that the method of reconciliation was initiated by Him, and not by them.

In consequence of the peculiarity of the Law, it has been argued (as by Outram, Warburton, &c.) that the whole system of sacrifice was only a condescension to the weakness of the people, borrowed, more or less, from the heathen nations, especially from Egypt, in order to guard against worse superstition and positive idolatry. The argument is mainly based (see Warb. *Div. Leg.* iv., sect. vi. 2) on Ez. xx. 25, and similar references in the O. and N. T. to the nullity of all mere ceremonial. Taken as an explanation of the theory of sacrifice, it is weak and superficial; it labours under two fatal difficulties, the historical fact of the primeval existence of sacrifice, and its typical reference to the one Atonement of Christ, which was foreordained from the very beginning, and had been already typified, as, for example, in the sacrifice of Isaac. But as giving a reason for the minuteness and elaboration of the Mosaic ceremonial, so remarkably contrasted with the freedom of patriarchal sacrifice, and as furnishing an explanation of certain special rites, it may probably have some value. It certainly contains this truth, that the craving for visible tokens of God's presence, and visible rites of worship, from which idolatry proceeds, was provided for and turned into a safe channel, by the whole ritual and typical system, of which sacrifice was the centre. The contact with the gigantic system of idolatry, which prevailed in Egypt, and which had so deeply tainted the spirit of the Israelites, would doubtless render such provision then especially necessary. It was one part of the prophetic office to guard against its degradation into formalism, and to bring out its spiritual meaning with an ever-increasing clearness.

(D.) POST-MOSAIC SACRIFICES.

It will not be necessary to pursue, in detail, the history of Post-Mosaic Sacrifice, for its main principles were now fixed for ever. The most remarkable instances of sacrifice on a large scale are by Solomon at the consecration of the Temple (1 K. viii. 63), by Jehoiada after the death of Athaliah (2 Chr. xxiii. 18), and by Hezekiah at his great Passover and restoration of the Temple-worship

[b] For instances of infringement of this rule uncensured, see Judg. ii. 5, vi. 26, xiii. 19; 1 Sam. xi. 15, xvi. 5; 2 Sam. vi. 13; 1 K. iii. 2, 3. Most of these cases are special, some authorized by special command; but the Law probably did not attain to its full strictness till the foundation of the Temple.

2 Chr. xxx. 21-24). In each case, the lavish use of victims was chiefly in the peace-offerings, which were a sacred national feast to the people at the Table of their Great King.

The regular sacrifices in the Temple service were:—

(*a.*) BURNT-OFFERINGS.

1. The daily burnt-offerings (Ex. xxix. 38-42).

2. The double burnt-offerings on the Sabbath (Num. xxviii. 9, 10).

3. The burnt-offerings at the great festivals (Num. xxviii. 11-xxix. 39).

(*b.*) MEAT-OFFERINGS.

1. The daily meat-offerings accompanying the daily burnt-offerings (flour, oil, and wine) (Ex. xxix. 40, 41).

2. The shew-bread (twelve loaves with frankincense), renewed every Sabbath (Lev. xxiv. 5-9).

3. The special meat-offerings at the Sabbath and the great festivals (Num. xxviii., xxix.).

4. The first-fruits, at the Passover (Lev. xxiii. 10-14), at Pentecost (xxiii. 17-20), both "wave-offerings;" the first-fruits of the dough and threshing-floor at the harvest-time (Num. xv. 20, 21; Deut. xxvi. 1-11), called "heave-offerings."

(*c.*) SIN-OFFERINGS.

1. Sin-offering (a kid) each new moon (Num. xxviii. 15).

2. Sin-offerings at the Passover, Pentecost, Feast of Trumpets, and Tabernacles (Num. xxviii. 22, 30, xxix. 5, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38).

3. The offering of the two goats (the goat sacrificed, and the scape-goat) for the people, and of the bullock for the priest himself, on the Great Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi.).

(*d.*) INCENSE.

1. The morning and evening incense (Ex. xxx. 7-8).

2. The incense on the Great Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 12).

Besides these public sacrifices, there were offerings of the people for themselves individually; at the purification of women (Lev. xii.), the presentation of the first-born, and circumcision of all male children, the cleansing of the leprosy (Lev. xiv.) or any uncleanness (Lev. xv.), at the fulfilment of Nazaritic and other vows (Num. vi. 1-21), on occasions of marriage and of burial, &c., &c., besides the frequent offering of private sin-offerings. These must have kept up a constant succession of sacrifices every day; and brought the rite home to every man's thought, and to every occasion of human life.

(III.) In examining the doctrine of sacrifice, it is necessary to remember, that, in its development, the order of idea is not necessarily the same as the order of time. By the order of sacrifice in its perfect form (as in Lev. viii.) it is clear that the sin-offering occupies the most important place, the burnt-offering comes next, and the meat-offering or peace-offering last of all.[a] The second could only be offered, after the first had been accepted; the third was only a subsidiary part of the second. Yet, in actual order of time, it has been seen, that the patriarchal sacrifices partook much more of the nature of the peace-offering and burnt-offering; and that, under the Law, by which was "the knowledge of sin" (Rom. iii. 20) the sin-offering was for the first time explicitly set forth. This is but natural, that the deepest ideas should be the last in order of development.

It is also obvious, that those, who believe in the unity of the O. and N. T., and the typical nature of the Mosaic Covenant, must view the type in constant reference to the antitype, and be prepared therefore to find in the former vague and recondite meanings, which are fixed and manifested by the latter. The sacrifices must be considered, not merely as they stand in the Law, or even as they might have appeared to a pious Israelite; but as they were illustrated by the Prophets, and perfectly interpreted in the N. T. (*e. g.* in the Epistle to the Hebrews). It follows from this, that, as belonging to a system which was to embrace all mankind in its influence, they should be also compared and contrasted with the sacrifices and worship of God in other nations, and the ideas which in them were dimly and confusedly expressed.

It is needless to dwell on the universality of heathen sacrifices,[a] and difficult to reduce to any single theory the various ideas involved therein. It is clear, that the sacrifice was often looked upon as a gift or tribute to the gods: an idea which (for example) runs through all Greek literature, from the simple conception in Homer to the caricatures of Aristophanes or Lucian, against the perversion of which St. Paul protested at Athens, when he declared that God *needed* nothing at human hands (Acts xvii. 25). It is also clear that sacrifices were used as prayers, to obtain benefits, or to avert wrath; and that this idea was corrupted into the superstition, denounced by heathen satirists as well as by Hebrew prophets, that by them the gods favour could be purchased for the wicked, or their "envy" be averted from the prosperous. On the other hand, that they were regarded as thank-offerings, and the feasting on their flesh as a partaking of the "table of the gods" (comp. 1 Cor. x. 20, 21), is equally certain. Nor was the higher idea of sacrifice, as a representation of the self-devotion of the offerer, body and soul, to the god, wholly lost, although generally obscured by the grosser and more obvious conceptions of the rite. But, besides all these, there seems always to have been latent the idea of propitiation, that is, the belief in a communion with the gods, natural to man, broken off in some way, and by sacrifice to be restored. The emphatic "shedding of the blood," as the essential part of the sacrifice, while the flesh was often eaten by the priests or the sacrificer, is not capable of any full explanation by any of the ideas above referred to. Whether it represented the death of the sacrificer, or (as in cases of national offering of human victims, and of those self-devoted for their country) an atoning death for him; still, in either case, it contained the idea that "without shedding of blood is no remission," and so had a vague and distorted glimpse of the great central truth of Revelation. Such an idea may be (as has been argued) "unnatural," in that it could not be explained by natural reason; but it certainly was not unnatural, if frequency of existence, and accordance with a deep natural instinct, be allowed to preclude that epithet.

Now the essential difference between these heathen views of sacrifice and the Scriptural doctrine of the O. T. is not to be found in its denial of any of

[a] See Magee's *Diss. on Sacr.*, vol. 1. diss. v., and Ernst von Lasaulx's Treatise on Greek and Roman Sacrifice, quoted in notes 23, 26, to Thomson's *Bampton Lectures*, 1853.

these ideas. The very names used in it for sacrifice (as is seen above) involve the conception of the rite as a gift, a form of worship, a thank-offering, a self-devotion, and an atonement. In fact, it brings out, clearly and distinctly, the ideas which in heathenism were uncertain, vague, and perverted.

But the essential points of distinction are two. First, that whereas the heathen conceived of their gods as alienated in jealousy or anger, to be sought after, and to be appeased by the unaided action of man, Scripture represents God Himself as approaching man, as pointing out and sanctioning the way by which the broken covenant should be restored. This was impressed on the Israelites at every step by the minute directions of the Law, as to time, place, victim, and ceremonial, by its utterly discountenancing the "will-worship," which in heathenism found full scope, and rioted in the invention of costly or monstrous sacrifices. And it is especially to be noted, that this particularity is increased, as we approach nearer to the deep propitiatory idea; for that, whereas the patriarchal sacrifices generally seem to have been undefined by God, and even under the Law, the nature of the peace-offerings, and (to some extent) the burnt-offerings, was determined by the sacrificer only, the solemn sacrifice of Abraham in the inauguration of his covenant was prescribed to him, and the sin-offerings under the Law were most accurately and minutely determined. (See, for example, the whole ceremonial of Lev. xvi.) It is needless to remark, how this essential difference purifies all the ideas above noticed from the corruptions, which made them odious or contemptible, and sets on its true basis the relation between God and fallen man.

The second mark of distinction is closely connected with this, inasmuch as it shows sacrifice to be a scheme proceeding from God, and, in His foreknowledge, connected with the one central fact of all human history. It is to be found in the typical character of all Jewish sacrifices, on which, as the Epistle to the Hebrews argues, all their efficacy depended. It must be remembered that, like other ordinances of the Law, they had a twofold effect, depending on the special position of an Israelite, as a member of the natural Theocracy, and on his general position, as a man in relation with God. On the one hand, for example, the sin-offering was an atonement to the national law for moral offences of negligence, which in "presumptuous," *i. e.* deliberate and wilful crime, was rejected (see Num. xv. 27-31; and comp. Heb. x. 26, 27). On the other hand it had, as the prophetic writings show us, a distinct spiritual significance, as a means of expressing repentance and receiving forgiveness, which could have belonged to it only as a type of the Great Atonement. How far that typical meaning was recognized at different periods and by different persons, it is useless to speculate: but it would be impossible to doubt, even if we had no testimony on the subject, that, in the face of the high spiritual teaching of the Law and the Prophets, a pious Israelite must have felt the nullity of material sacrifice in itself, and so believed it to be availing only as an ordinance of God, shadowing out some great spiritual truth, or action of His. Nor is it unlikely that, with more or less distinctness, he connected the evolution of this, as of other truths with the coming of the promised Messiah. But, however this be, we know that, in God's purpose, the whole system was typical, that all its spiritual efficacy depended on the true sacrifice which it represented, and could be received only on condition of Faith, and that, therefore, it passed away when the Antitype was come.

The nature and meaning of the various kinds of sacrifice is partly gathered from the form of their institution and ceremonial, partly from the teaching of the Prophets, and partly from the N. T., especially the Epistle to the Hebrews. All had relation, under different aspects, to a *Covenant* between God and man.

The SIN-OFFERING represented that Covenant as broken by man, and as knit together again, by God's appointment, through the "shedding of blood." Its characteristic ceremony was the sprinkling of the blood before the veil of the Sanctuary, the putting some of it on the horns of the altar of incense, and the pouring out of all the rest at the foot of the altar of burnt-offering. The flesh was in no case touched by the offerer; either it was consumed by fire without the camp, or it was eaten by the priest alone in the holy place, and everything that touched it was holy (קֹדֶשׁ).[d] This latter point marked the distinction from the peace-offering, and showed that the sacrificer had been rendered unworthy of communion with God. The shedding of the blood, the symbol of life, signified that the death of the offender was deserved for sin, but that the death of the victim was accepted for his death by the ordinance of God's mercy. This is seen most clearly in the ceremonial of the Day of Atonement, when, after the sacrifice of the one goat, the high-priest's hand was laid on the head of the scapegoat—which was the other part of the sin-offering—with confession of the sins of the people, that it might visibly bear them away, and so bring out explicitly, what in other sin-offerings was but implied. Accordingly we find (see quotation from the Mishna in Outr. *De Sacr.* i. c. xv., §10) that, in all cases, it was the custom for the offerer to lay his hand on the head of the sin-offering, to confess generally or specially his sins, and to say, "Let *this* be my expiation." Beyond all doubt the sin-offering distinctly witnessed, that sin existed in man, that the "wages of that sin was death," and that God had provided an Atonement by the vicarious suffering of an appointed victim. The reference of the Baptist to a "Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world," was one understood and hailed at once by a "true Israelite."

The ceremonial and meaning of the BURNT-OFFERING were very different. The idea of expiation seems not to have been absent from it (for the blood was sprinkled round about the altar of sacrifice);[e] and, before the Levitical ordinance of the sin-offering to precede it, this idea may have been even prominent. But in the system of Leviticus it is evidently only secondary. The main idea is the offering of the whole victim to God, representing (as the laying of the hand on its head shows) the

[d] Some render this (like *sacer*) "accursed;" but the primitive meaning, "clean," and the usage of the word, seem decisive against this. LXX. ἁγία (*vid.* Gesen. *s. v.*).

[e] In Lev. i. 4, it is said to "atone" (כִּפֶּר, *i. e.* to "cover," and so to "do away;" LXX. ἐξιλάσασθαι). The same word is used below of the sin-offering; and the later Jews distinguished the burnt-offering as atoning for thoughts and designs, the sin-offering for acts of transgression. (See Jonath. Paraphr. on Lev. vi. 17, &c., quoted by Outram.)

devotion of the sacrificer, body and soul, to Him. The death of the victim was (so to speak) an incidental feature, to signify the completeness of the devotion; and it is to be noticed that, in all solemn sacrifices, no burnt-offering could be made until a previous sin-offering had brought the sacrificer again into covenant with God. The main idea of this sacrifice must have been representative, not vicarious, and the best comment upon it is the exhortation in Rom. xii. 1, "to present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God."

The MEAT-OFFERINGS, the peace or thank-offering, the first-fruits, &c., were simply offerings to God of His own best gifts, as a sign of thankful homage, and as a means of maintaining His service and His servants. Whether they were regular or voluntary, individual or national, independent or subsidiary to other offerings, this was still the leading idea. The meat-offering, of flour, oil, and wine, seasoned with salt, and hallowed by frankincense, was usually an appendage to the devotion implied in the burnt-offering; and the peace-offerings for the people held the same place in Aaron's first sacrifice (Lev. ix. 22), and in all others of special solemnity. The characteristic ceremony in the peace-offering was the eating of the flesh by the sacrificer (after the fat had been burnt before the Lord, and the breast and shoulder given to the priests). It betokened the enjoyment of communion with God at "the table of the Lord," in the gifts which His mercy had bestowed, of which a choice portion was offered to Him, to His servants, and to His poor (see Deut. xiv. 28, 29). To this view of sacrifice allusion is made by St. Paul in Phil. iv. 18; Heb. xiii. 15, 16. It follows naturally from the other two.

It is clear from this, that the idea of sacrifice is a complex idea, involving the propitiatory, the dedicatory, and the eucharistic elements. Any one of these, taken by itself, would lead to error and superstition. The propitiatory alone would tend to the idea of atonement by sacrifice for sin, as being effectual without any condition of repentance and faith; the self-dedicatory, taken alone, ignores the barrier of sin between man and God, and undermines the whole idea of atonement; the eucharistic alone leads to the notion that mere gifts can satisfy God's service, and is easily perverted into the heathenish attempt to "bribe" God by vows and offerings. All three probably were more or less implied in each sacrifice, each element predominating in its turn: all must be kept in mind in considering the historical influence, the spiritual meaning, and the typical value of sacrifice.

Now the Israelites, while they seem always to have retained the ideas of propitiation and of eucharistic offering, even when they perverted these by half-heathenish superstition, constantly ignored the self-dedication which is the link between the two, and which the regular burnt-offering should have impressed upon them as their daily thought and duty. It is therefore to this point that the teaching of the Prophets is mainly directed; its key-note is contained in the words of Samuel: "Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" (1 Sam. xv. 22). So Isaiah declares (as in i. 10-20) that "the Lord delights not in the blood of bullocks, or lambs, or goats;" that to those who "cease to do evil and learn to do well. . . . . though their sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow." Jeremiah reminds them (vii. 22, 23) that the Lord did not "command burnt-offerings or sacrifices" under Moses, but said, "Obey my voice, and I will be your God." Ezekiel is full of indignant protests (see xx. 39-44) against the pollution of God's name by offerings of those whose hearts were with their idols. Hosea sets forth God's requirements (vi. 6) in words which our Lord Himself sanctioned: "I desired mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings." Amos (v. 21-27) puts it even more strongly, that God "hates" their sacrifices, unless "judgment run down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream." And Micah (vi. 6-8) answers the question which lies at the root of sacrifice, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord?" by the words, "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God?" All these passages, and many others, are directed to one object—not to discourage sacrifice, but to purify and spiritualize the feelings of the offerers.

The same truth, here enunciated from without, is recognized from within by the Psalmist. Thus he says, in Ps. xl. 8-11, "Sacrifice and meat-offering, burnt-offering and sin-offering, Thou hast not required;" and contrasts with them the homage of the heart—"mine ears hast Thou bored," and the active service of life—"Lo! I come to do Thy will, O God." In Ps. l. 13, 14, sacrifice is contrasted with prayer and adoration (comp. Ps. cxli. 2): "Thinkest thou that I will eat bulls' flesh, and drink the blood of goats? Offer unto God thanksgiving, pay thy vows to the Most Highest, and call upon me in time of trouble." In Ps. li. 16, 17, it is similarly contrasted with true repentance of the heart: "The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit, a broken and a contrite heart." Yet here also the next verse shows that sacrifice was not superseded, but purified: "*Then* shalt thou be pleased with burnt-offerings and oblations; then shall they offer young bullocks upon thine altar." These passages are correlative to the others, expressing the feelings, which those others in God's Name require. It is not to be argued from them, that this idea of self-dedication is the main one of sacrifice. The idea of propitiation lies below it, taken for granted by the Prophets as by the whole people, but still enveloped in mystery until the Antitype should come to make all clear. For the evolution of this doctrine we must look to the N. T.; the preparation for it by the Prophets was (so to speak) negative, the pointing out the nullity of all other propitiations in themselves, and then leaving the warnings of the conscience and the cravings of the heart to fix men's hearts on the better Atonement to come.

Without entering directly on the great subject of the Atonement (which would be foreign to the scope of this article), it will be sufficient to refer to the connexion, established in the N. T., between it and the sacrifices of the Mosaic system. To do this, we need do little more than analyse the Epistle to the Hebrews, which contains the key of the whole sacrificial doctrine.

In the first place, it follows the prophetic books by stating, in the most emphatic terms, the intrinsic nullity of all mere material sacrifices. The "gifts and sacrifices" of the first tabernacle could "never make the sacrificers perfect in conscience" (κατὰ συνείδησιν); they were but "carnal ordinances, imposed on them till the time of reformation" (διορθώσεως) (Heb. ix. 9, 10). The very fact of their constant repetition is said to prove this imperfection,

which depends on the fundamental principle, "that it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin" (x. 4). But it does not lead us to infer, that they actually had no spiritual efficacy, if offered in repentance and faith. On the contrary, the object of the whole Epistle is to show their typical and probationary character, and to assert that in virtue of it alone they had a spiritual meaning. Our Lord is declared (see 1 Pet. i. 20) "to have been foreordained" as a sacrifice "before the foundation of the world;" or (as it is more strikingly expressed in Rev. xiii. 8) "slain from the foundation of the world." The material sacrifices represented this Great Atonement, as already made and accepted in God's foreknowledge; and to those who grasped the ideas of sin, pardon, and self-dedication, symbolized in them, they were means of entering into the blessings which the One True Sacrifice alone procured. Otherwise the whole sacrificial system could have been only a superstition and a snare. The sins provided for by the sin-offering were certainly in some cases moral. [See SIN-OFFERING.] The whole of the Mosaic description of sacrifices clearly implies some real spiritual benefit to be derived from them, besides the temporal privileges belonging to the national theocracy. Just as St. Paul argues (Gal. iii. 15-29) that the Promise and Covenant to Abraham were of primary, the Law only of secondary, importance, so that men had *under* the Law more than they had *by* the Law; so it must be said of the Levitical sacrifices. They could convey nothing in themselves; yet, as types, they might, if accepted by a true, though necessarily imperfect, faith, be means of conveying in some degree the blessings of the Antitype.

This typical character of all sacrifice being thus set forth, the next point dwelt upon is the union in our Lord's Person of the priest, the offerer, and the sacrifice. [PRIEST.] The imperfection of all sacrifices, which made them, in themselves, liable to superstition, and even inexplicable, lies in this, that, on the one hand, the victim seems arbitrarily chosen to be the substitute for, or the representative of, the sacrificer;[1] and that, on the other, if there be a barrier of sin between man and God, he has no right of approach, or security that his sacrifice will be accepted; that there needs, therefore, to be a Mediator, *i. e.* (according to the definition of Heb. v. 1 4), a true Priest, who shall, as being One with man, offer the sacrifice, and accept it, as being One with God. It is shown that this imperfection, which necessarily existed in all types, without which indeed they would have been substitutes, not preparations for the Antitype, was altogether done away in Him; that in the first place He, as the representative of the whole human race, offered no arbitrarily-chosen victim, but the willing sacrifice of His own blood; that, in the second, He was ordained by God, by a solemn oath, to be a high-priest for ever, "after the order of Melchizedek," one "in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin," united to our human nature, susceptible to its infirmities and trials, yet, at the same time, the True Son of God, exalted far above all created things, and ever living to make Intercession in heaven, now that His sacrifice is over, and that, in the last place, the barrier between man and God is by His mediation done away for ever, and the Most Holy Place once for all opened to man. All the points, in the doctrine of sacrifice, which had before been unintelligible, were thus made clear.

This being the case, it next follows that all the various kinds of sacrifices were, each in its measure, representatives and types of the various aspects of the Atonement. It is clear that the Atonement, in this Epistle, as in the N. T. generally, is viewed in a twofold light.

On the one hand, it is set forth distinctly as a vicarious sacrifice, which was rendered necessary by the sin of man, and in which the Lord "bare the sins of many." It is its essential characteristic, that in it He stands absolutely alone, offering His sacrifice without any reference to the faith or the conversion of men—offering it indeed for those who "were still sinners" and at enmity with God. Moreover it is called a "propitiation" (*ἱλασμός* or *ἱλαστήριον*, Rom. iii. 24; 1 John ii. 2); a "ransom" (*ἀπολύτρωσις*, Rom. iii. 25; 1 Cor. i. 30, &c.); which, if words mean anything, must imply that it makes a change in the relation between God and man, from separation to union, from wrath to love, and a change in man's state from bondage to freedom. In it, then, He stands out alone as the Mediator between God and man; and His sacrifice is offered once for all, never to be imitated or repeated.

Now this view of the Atonement is set forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as typified by the sin-offering; especially by that particular sin-offering with which the high-priest entered the Most Holy Place on the Great Day of Atonement (ix. 7-12); and by that which hallowed the inauguration of the Mosaic covenant, and cleansed the vessels of its ministration (ix. 13-23). In the same way, Christ is called "our Passover, sacrificed for us" (1 Cor. v. 7); and is said, in even more startling language, to have been "made sin for us," though He "knew no sin" (2 Cor. v. 21). This typical relation is pursued even into details, and our Lord's suffering without the city is compared to the burning of the public or priestly sin-offerings without the camp (Heb. xiii. 10-13). The altar of sacrifice (*θυσιαστήριον*) is said to have its antitype in His Passion (xiii. 10). All the expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices of the Law are now for the first time brought into full light. And though the principle of vicarious sacrifice still remains, and must remain, a mystery, yet the fact of its existence in Him is illustrated by a thousand types. As the sin-offering, though not the earliest, is the most fundamental of all sacrifices, so the aspect of the Atonement, which it symbolizes, is the one on which all others rest.

On the other hand, the sacrifice of Christ is set forth to us, as the completion of that perfect obedience to the will of the Father, which is the natural duty of sinless man, in which He is the representative of all men, and in which He calls upon us, when reconciled to God, to "take up the Cross and follow Him." "In the days of His flesh He offered up prayers and supplications . . . and was heard, in that He feared; though He were a Son, yet learned He obedience by the things which He suffered. and being made perfect" (by that suffering; see ii. 10), "He became the author of salvation to all them that obey Him" (v. 7, 8, 9). In this view His death is not the principal object; we dwell rather on His lowly Incarnation, and His life of humility, temptation, and suffering, to which that

[1] It may be remembered that devices, sometimes luminous, sometimes horrible, were adopted to make the victim appear willing; and that voluntary sacrifice, such as that of the Decii, was held to be the noblest of all.

death was but a fitting close. In the passage above referred to the allusion is not to the Cross of Calvary, but to the agony in Gethsemane, which bowed His human will to the will of His Father. The main idea of this view of the Atonement is representative, rather than vicarious. In the first view the "second Adam" undid by His atoning blood the work of evil which the first Adam did; in the second He, by His perfect obedience, did that which the first Adam left undone, and, by His grace making us like Himself, calls upon us to follow Him in the same path. This latter view is typified by the burnt-offering: in respect of which the N. T. merely quotes and enforces the language already cited from the O. T., and especially (see Heb. x. 6-9) the words of Ps. xl. 6, &c., which contrast with material sacrifice the "doing the will of God." It is one, which cannot be dwelt upon at all without a previous implication of the other; as both were embraced in one act, so are they inseparably connected in idea. Thus it is put forth in Rom. xii. 1, where the "mercies of God" (*i. e.* the free salvation, through the sin-offering of Christ's blood, dwelt upon in all the preceding part of the Epistle) are made the ground for calling on us "to present our bodies, *a living sacrifice*, holy and acceptable to God," inasmuch as we are all (see v. 5) one with Christ, and members of His body. In this sense it is that we are said to be "crucified with Christ" (Gal. ii. 20; Rom. vi. 6); to have "the sufferings of Christ abound in us" (2 Cor. i. 5); even to "fill up that which is behind" (τὰ ὑστερήματα) thereof (Col. i. 24); and to "be offered" (σπένδεσθαι) "upon the sacrifice of the faith" of others (Phil. ii. 17; comp. 2 Tim. iv. 6; 1 John iii. 16). As without the sin-offering of the Cross, this, our burnt-offering, would be impossible, so also without the burnt-offering the sin-offering will to us be unavailing.

With these views of our Lord's sacrifice on earth, as typified in the Levitical sacrifices on the outer altar, is also to be connected the offering of His Intercession for us in heaven, which was represented by the incense. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, this part of His priestly office is dwelt upon, with particular reference to the offering of incense in the Most Holy Place by the high-priest on the Great Day of Atonement (Heb. ix. 24-28; comp. iv. 14-16, vi. 19, 20, vii. 25). It implies that the sin-offering has been made once for all, to rend asunder the veil (of sin) between man and God; and that the continual burnt-offering is now accepted by Him for the sake of the Great Interceding High-priest. That intercession is the strength of our prayers, and "with the smoke of its incense" they rise up to heaven (Rev. viii. 4). [PRAYER.]

The typical sense of the meat-offering, or peace-offering, is less connected with the sacrifice of Christ Himself, than with those sacrifices of praise, thanksgiving, charity, and devotion, which we, as Christians, offer to God, and "with which He is well pleased" (Heb. xiii. 15, 16) as with "an odour of sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable to God" (Phil. iv. 18). They betoken that, through the peace won by the sin-offering, we have already been enabled to dedicate ourselves to God, and they are, as it were, the ornaments and accessories of that self-dedication.

Such is a brief sketch of the doctrine of Sacrifice. It is seen to have been deeply rooted in men's hearts; and to have been, from the beginning, accepted and sanctioned by God, and made by Him one channel of His Revelation. In virtue of that sanction it had a value, partly symbolical, partly actual, but in all respects derived from the one True Sacrifice, of which it was the type. It involved the expiatory, the self-dedicatory, and the eucharistic ideas, each gradually developed and explained, but all incapable of full explanation only by the light reflected back from the Antitype.

On the antiquarian part of the subject valuable information may be found in Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum*, and Outram, *De Sacrificiis*. The question of the origin of sacrifice is treated clearly on either side by Faber, *On the (Divine) Origin of Sacrifice*, and by Davison, *Inquiry into the Origin of Sacrifice*; and Warburton, *Div. Leg.* (b. ix. c. 2). On the general subject, see Magee's *Dissertation on Atonement*; the Appendix to Tholuck's *Treatise on the Hebrews*; Kurtz, *Der Alttestamentliche Opfercultus*, Mitau, 1862; and the catalogue of authorities in Winer's *Realwörterb.* "Opfer." But it needs for its consideration little but the careful study of Scripture itself. [A. B.]

SADAMI'AS (*Sadanias*). The name of SHALLUM, one of the ancestors of Ezra, is so written in 2 Esd. i. 1.

SA'DAS ('Αργαί; Alex. 'Ασραδ: *Archad*). AZGAD (1 Esd. v. 13; comp. Ezr. ii. 12). The form Sadas is retained from the Geneva Version.

SADDE'US (Λοδδαῖος; Alex. Δολδαῖος: *Loddeus*). "IDDO, the chief at the place Casiphia," is called in 1 Esd. viii. 45, "Saddeus the captain, who was in the place of the treasury." In 1 Esd. viii. 46 the name is written "Daddeus" in the A. V., as in the Geneva Version of both passages.

SAD'DUC (Σαδδούκος: *Sadoc*). ZADOK the high-priest, ancestor of Ezra (1 Esd. viii. 2).

SADDUCEES (Σαδδουκαῖοι: *Sadducaei*: Matt. iii. 7, xvi. 1, 6, 11, 12, xxii. 23, 34; Mark xii. 18; Luke xx. 27; Acts iv. 1, v. 17, xxiii. 6, 7, 8). A religious party or school among the Jews at the time of Christ, who denied that the oral law was a revelation of God to the Israelites, and who deemed the written law alone to be obligatory on the nation, as of divine authority. Although frequently mentioned in the New Testament in conjunction with the Pharisees, they do not throw such vivid light as their great antagonists on the real significance of Christianity. Except on one occasion, when they united with the Pharisees in insidiously asking for a sign from heaven (Matt. xvi. 1, 4, 6), Christ never assailed the Sadducees with the same bitter denunciations which he uttered against the Pharisees; and they do not, like the Pharisees, seem to have taken active measures for causing Him to be put to death. In this respect, and in many others, they have not been so influential as the Pharisees in the world's history; but still they deserve attention, as representing Jewish ideas before the Pharisees became triumphant, and as illustrating one phase of Jewish thought at the time when the new religion of Christianity, destined to produce such a momentous revolution in the opinions of mankind, issued from Judaea.

Authorities.—The sources of information respecting the Sadducees are much the same as for the Pharisees. [PHARISEES, p. 885.] There are, however, some exceptions negatively. Thus, the Sadducees are not spoken of at all in the fourth Gospel, where the Pharisees are frequently mentioned, John vii. 32, 45, xi. 47, 57, xviii. 3, viii. 5, 13-19, ix. 13; an omission, which, as Geiger suggests, is not unim-

portant in reference to the criticism of the Gospels (*Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 107). Moreover, while St. Paul had been a Pharisee and was the son of a Pharisee; while Josephus was a Pharisee, and the Mishna was a Pharisaical digest of Pharisaical opinions and practices, not a single undoubted writing of an acknowledged Sadducee has come down to us, so that for an acquaintance with their opinions we are mainly dependent on their antagonists. This point should be always borne in mind in judging their opinions, and forming an estimate of their character, and its full bearing will be duly appreciated by those who reflect that even at the present day, with all the checks against misrepresentation arising from publicity and the invention of printing probably no religious or political party in England would be content to accept the statements of an opponent as giving a correct view of its opinions.

Origin of the name.—Like etymologies of words, the origin of the name of a sect is, in some cases, almost wholly immaterial, while in other cases it is of extreme importance towards understanding opinions which it is proposed to investigate. The origin of the name Sadducees is of the latter description; and a reasonable certainty on this point would go far towards ensuring correct ideas respecting the position of the Sadducees in the Jewish State. The subject, however, is involved in great difficulties. The Hebrew word by which they are called in the Mishna is *Tsedûkîm*; the plural of *Tsâdôk*, which undoubtedly means "just," or "righteous," but which is never used in the Bible except as a proper name, and in the Anglican Version is always translated "Zadok" (2 K. xv. 33; 2 Sam. viii. 17; 1 Chr. vi. 8, 13, &c.; Neh. iii. 4, 29, xi. 11). The most obvious translation of the word, therefore, is to call them Zadoks or Zadokites; and a question would then arise as to why they were so called. The ordinary Jewish statement is that they are named from a certain Zadok, a disciple of the Antigonus of Socho, who is mentioned in the Mishna (*Avôth* i.) as having received the oral law from Simon the Just, the last of the men of the Great Synagogue. It is recorded of this Antigonus that he used to say: "Be not like servants who serve their Master for the sake of receiving a reward, but be like servants who serve their master without a view of receiving a reward;" and the current statement has been that Zadok, who gave his name to the Zadokites or Sadducees, misinterpreted this saying so far, as not only to maintain the great truth that virtue should be the rule of conduct without reference to the rewards of the individual agent, but likewise to proclaim the doctrine that there was no future state of rewards and punishments. (See Buxtorf, *s. v.* צָדוֹק; Lightfoot's *Horae Hebraicae on Matth.* iii. 8; and the Note of Maimonides in Surenhusius's *Mishna*, iv. p. 411.) If, however, the statement is traced up to its original source, it is found that there is no mention of it either in the Mishna, or in any other part of the Talmud (Geiger's *Urschrift*, &c., p. 105) and that the first mention of something of the kind is in a small work by a certain Rabbi Nathan, which he wrote on the Treatise of the Mishna called the *Avôth*, or "Fathers." But the age in which this Rabbi Nathan lived is uncertain (Bartolocci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, vol. iii. p. 770), and the earliest mention of him is in a well-known Rabbinical dictionary called the Aruch,[a] which was completed about the year 1105, A.D. The following are the words of the above mentioned Rabbi Nathan of the *Avôth*. Adverting to the passage in the Mishna, already quoted, respecting Antigonus's saying, he observes, "Antigonus of Socho had two disciples who taught the saying to their disciples, and these disciples again taught it to their disciples. At last these began to scrutinize it narrowly, and said, 'What did our Fathers mean in teaching this saying? Is it possible that a labourer is to perform his work all the day, and not receive his wages in the evening? Truly, if our Fathers had known that there is another world and a resurrection of the dead, they would not have spoken thus.' They then began to separate themselves from the law; and so there arose two Sects, the Zadokites and Baithusians, the former from Zadok, and the latter from Baithos." Now it is to be observed on this passage that it does not justify the once current belief that Zadok himself misinterpreted Antigonus's saying; and it suggests no reason why the followers of the supposed new doctrines should have taken their name from Zadok rather than Antigonus. Bearing this in mind, in connexion with several other points of the same nature, such as for example, the total silence respecting any such story in the works of Josephus or in the Talmud; the absence of any other special information respecting even the existence of the supposed Zadok; the improbable and childishly illogical reasons assigned for the departure of Zadok's disciples from the Law; the circumstance that Rabbi Nathan held the tenets of the Pharisees, that the statements of a Pharisee respecting the Sadducees must always be received with a certain reserve, that Rabbi Nathan of the *Avôth*, for aught that has ever been proved to the contrary, may have lived as long as 1000 years after the first appearance of the Sadducees as a party in Jewish history, and that he quotes no authority of any kind for his account of their origin, it seems reasonable to reject this Rabbi Nathan's narration as unworthy of credit. Another ancient suggestion concerning the origin of the name "Sadducees," is in Epiphanius (*Adversus Haereses*, i. 4), who states that the Sadducees called themselves by that name from "righteousness," the interpretation of the Hebrew word Zedek; "and that there was likewise anciently a Zadok among the priests, but that they did not continue in the doctrines of their chief." But this statement is unsatisfactory in two respects. 1st. It does not explain why, if the suggested etymology was correct, the name of the Sadducees was not Tsaddîkîm or Zaddikites, which would have been the regular Hebrew adjective for the "Just," or "Righteous;" and 2ndly. While it evidently implies that they once held the doctrines of an ancient priest, Zadok, who is even called their chief or master (ἐπιστάτης), it does not directly assert that there was any connexion between his name and theirs; nor yet does it say that the coincidence between the two names was accidental.

[a] *Aruch*, or *'Arûc* (הערוך), means "arranged," or "set in order." The author of this work was another Rabbi Nathan Ben Jechiel, president of the Jewish Academy at Rome, who died in 1106, A.D. (See Bartolocci, *Bibl. Rabb.* iv. 261). The reference to Rabbi Nathan, author of the treatise on the *Avôth*, is made in the *Aruch* under the word ביתוסין. The treatise itself was published in a Latin translation by F. Tayler, at London, 1657. The original passage respecting Zadok's disciples is printed by Geiger in Hebrew, and translated by him, *Urschrift*, &c., p. 105

Moreover, it does not give information as to when Zadok lived, nor what were those doctrines of his which the Sadducees once held, but subsequently departed from. The unsatisfactoriness of Epiphanius's statement is increased by its being coupled with an assertion that the Sadducees were a branch broken off from Dositheus; or in other words Schismatics from Dositheus (ἀπόσπασμα ὄντες ἀπὸ Δοσιθεοῦ); for Dositheus was a heretic who lived about the time of Christ (Origen, *contra Celsum*, lib. i. c. 17; Clemens, *Recognit.* ii. 8; Photius, *Biblioth.* c. xxx.), and thus, if Epiphanius was correct, the opinions characteristic of the Sadducees were productions of the Christian aera; a supposition contrary to the express declaration of the Pharisee Josephus, and to a notorious fact of history, the connexion of Hyrcanus with the Sadducees more than 100 years before Christ. (See Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 9, §6, and xviii. 1, §2, where observe the phrase ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου...). Hence Epiphanius's explanation of the origin of the word Sadducees must be rejected with that of Rabbi Nathan of the *Avôth*. In these circumstances, if recourse is had to conjecture, the first point to be considered is whether the word is likely to have arisen from the meaning of "righteousness," or from the name of an individual. This must be decided in favour of the latter alternative, inasmuch as the word Zadok never occurs in the Bible, except as a proper name; and then we are led to inquire as to who the Zadok of the Sadducees is likely to have been. Now, according to the existing records of Jewish history, there was one Zadok of transcendent importance, and only one; viz., the priest who acted such a prominent part at the time of David, and who declared in favour of Solomon, when Abiathar took the part of Adonijah as successor to the throne (1 K. i. 32-45). This Zadok was tenth in descent, according to the genealogies, from the high-priest, Aaron; and whatever may be the correct explanation of the statement in the 1st Book of Kings ii. 35, that Solomon put him in the room of Abiathar, although on previous occasions he had, when named with him, been always mentioned first (2 Sam. xv. 35, xix. 11; cf. viii. 17), his line of priests appears to have had decided pre-eminence in subsequent history. Thus, when in 2 Chr. xxxi. 10 Hezekiah is represented as putting a question to the priests and Levites generally, the answer is attributed to Azariah, "the chief priest of the house of Zadok:" and in Ezekiel's prophetic vision of the future Temple, "the sons of Zadok," and "the priests the Levites of the seed of Zadok" are spoken of with peculiar honour, as those who kept the charge of the sanctuary of Jehovah, when the children of Israel went astray (Ez. xl. 46, xlii. 19, xliv. 15, xlviii. 11). Now, as the transition from the expression "sons of Zadok," and "priests of the seed of Zadok" to Zadokites is easy and obvious, and as in the Acts of the Apostles v. 17, it is said, "*Then the high-priest rose, and all they that were with him, which is the sect of the Sadducees*, and were filled with indignation," it has been conjectured by Geiger that the Sadducees or Zadokites were originally identical with the sons of Zadok, and constituted what may be termed a kind of sacerdotal aristocracy (*Urschrift &c.*, p. 104). To these were afterwards attached all who for any reason reckoned themselves as belonging to the aristocracy; such, for example, as the families of the high-priest; who had obtained consideration under the dynasty of Herod. These were for the most part judges,[b] and individuals of the official and governing class. Now, although this view of the Sadducees is only inferential, and mainly conjectural, it certainly explains the name better than any other, and elucidates at once in the Acts of the Apostles the otherwise obscure statement that the high-priest, and those who were with him, were the sect of the Sadducees. Accepting, therefore, this view till a more probable conjecture is suggested, some of the principal peculiarities, or supposed peculiarities of the Sadducees will now be noticed in detail, although in such notice some points must be touched upon, which have been already partly discussed in speaking of the Pharisees.

I. The leading tenet of the Sadducees was the negation of the leading tenet of their opponents. As the Pharisees asserted, so the Sadducees denied, that the Israelites were in possession of an Oral Law transmitted to them by Moses. The manner in which the Pharisees may have gained acceptance for their own view is noticed elsewhere in this work [vol. ii. p. 887]; but, for an equitable estimate of the Sadducees, it is proper to bear in mind emphatically how destitute of historical evidence the doctrine was which they denied. That doctrine is at the present day rejected, probably by almost all, if not by all, Christians; and it is indeed so foreign to their ideas, that the greater number of Christians have never even heard of it, though it is older than Christianity, and has been the support and consolation of the Jews under a series of the most cruel and wicked persecutions to which any nation has ever been exposed during an equal number of centuries. It is likewise now maintained, all over the world, by those who are called the orthodox Jews. It is therefore desirable, to know the kind of arguments by which at the present day, in an historical and critical age, the doctrine is defended. For this an opportunity has been given during the last three years by a learned French Jew, Grand-Rabbi of the circumscription of Colmar (Klein, *Le Judaisme, ou la Vérité sur le Talmud*, Mulhouse, 1859), who still asserts as a fact, the existence of a Mosaic Oral Law. To do full justice to his views, the original work should be perused. But it is doing no injustice to his learning and ability, to point out that not one of his arguments has a positive historical value. Thus he relies mainly on the inconceivability (as will be again noticed in this article) that a Divine revelation should not have explicitly proclaimed the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, or that it should have promulgated laws left in such an incomplete form, and requiring so much explanation, and so many additions, as the laws in the Pentateuch. Now, arguments of this kind may be sound or unsound; based on reason, or illogical; and for many they may have a philosophical or theological value; but they have no pretence to be regarded as historical, inasmuch as the assumed premisses, which involve a knowledge of the attributes of the Supreme Being, and the manner in which He would be likely to deal with man, are far beyond the limits of historical verification. The nearest approach to an historical argument

[b] According to the Mishna, *Sanhed.* iv. 2, no one was "clean," in the Levitical sense, to act as a judge in capital trials, except priests, Levites, and Israelites whose daughters might marry priests. This again tallies with the explanation offered in the text, of the Sadducees, as a sacerdotal aristocracy, being "with the high-priest."

is the following (p. 10): "In the first place, nothing proves better the fact of the existence of the tradition than the belief itself in the tradition. An entire nation does not suddenly forget its religious code, its principles, its laws, the daily ceremonies of its worship, to such a point, that it could easily be persuaded that a new doctrine presented by some impostors is the true and only explanation of its law, and has always determined and ruled its application. Holy Writ often represents the Israelites as a stiff-necked people, impatient of the religious yoke, and would it not be attributing to them rather an excess of docility, a too great condescension, a blind obedience, to suppose that they suddenly consented to troublesome and rigorous innovations which some persons might have wished to impose on them some fine morning? Such a supposition destroys itself, and we are obliged to acknowledge that the tradition is not a new invention, but that its birth goes back to the origin of the religion; and that transmitted from father to son as the word of God, it lived in the heart of the people, identified itself with the blood, and was always considered as an inviolable authority." But if this passage is carefully examined, it will be seen that it does not supply a single fact worthy of being regarded as a proof of a Mosaic Oral Law. Independent testimony of persons contemporary with Moses that he had transmitted such a law to the Israelites would be historical evidence; the testimony of persons in the next generation as to the existence of such an Oral Law which their fathers told them came from Moses, would have been secondary historical evidence; but the belief of the Israelites on the point 1200 years after Moses, cannot, in the absence of any intermediate testimony, be deemed evidence of an historical fact. Moreover, it is a mistake to assume, that they who deny a Mosaic Oral Law, imagine that this Oral Law was at some one time, as one great system, introduced suddenly amongst the Israelites. The real mode of conceiving what occurred is far different. After the return from the Captivity, there existed probably amongst the Jews a large body of customs and decisions not contained in the Pentateuch; and these had practical authority over the people long before they were attributed to Moses. The only phenomenon of importance requiring explanation is not the existence of the customs sanctioned by the Oral Law, but the belief accepted by a certain portion of the Jews that Moses had divinely revealed those customs as laws to the Israelites. To explain this historically from written records is impossible, from the silence on the subject of the very scanty historical Jewish writings purporting to be written between the return from the Captivity in 538 before Christ and that uncertain period when the canon was closed, which at the earliest could not have been long before the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, B. C. 164. For all this space of time, a period of about 374 years, a period as long as from the accession of Henry VII. to the present year (1862) we have no Hebrew account, nor in fact any contemporary account, of the history of the Jews in Palestine, except what may be contained in the short works entitled Ezra and Nehemiah. And the last named of these works does not carry the history much later than one hundred years after the return from the Captivity: so that there is a long and extremely important period of more than two centuries and a half before the heroic rising of the Maccabees, during which there is a total absence of contemporary Jewish history. In this dearth of historical materials, it is idle to attempt a positive narration of the circumstances under which the Oral Law became assigned to Moses as its author. It is amply sufficient if a satisfactory suggestion is made as to how it *might* have been attributed to Moses, and in this there is not much difficulty for any one who bears in mind how notoriously in ancient times laws of a much later date were attributed to Minos, Lycurgus, Solon, and Numa. The unreasonableness of supposing that the belief in the Oral traditions being from Moses must have coincided in point of time with the acceptance of the Oral tradition, may be illustrated by what occurred in England during the present century. During a period when the fitness of maintaining the clergy by tithes was contested, the theory was put forth that the origin of tithes was to be assigned to "an unrecorded revelation made to Adam."[c] Now, let us suppose that England was a country as small as Judaea; that the English were as few in number as the Jews of Judaea must have been in the time of Nehemiah, that a temple in London was the centre of the English religion, and that the population of London hardly ever reached 50,000. [JERUSALEM, p. 1025.] Let us further suppose that printing was not invented, that manuscripts were dear, and that few of the population could read. Under such circumstances it is not impossible that the assertion of an unrecorded revelation made to Adam, might have been gradually accepted by a large religious party in England as a divine authority for tithes. If this belief had continued in the same party during a period of more than 2000 years, if that party had become dominant in the English Church, if for the first 250 years every contemporary record of English history became lost to mankind, and if all previous English writings merely condemned the belief by their silence, so that the precise date of the origin of the belief could not be ascertained, we should have a parallel to the way in which a belief in a Mosaic Oral Law may possibly have arisen. Yet it would have been very illogical for an English reasoner in the year 4000 A. D. to have argued from the burden and annoyance of paying tithes to the correctness of the theory that the institution of tithes was owing to this unrecorded revelation to Adam. It is not meant by this illustration to suggest that reasons as specious could be advanced for such a divine origin of tithes as even for a Mosaic Oral Law. The main object of the illustration is to show that the existence of a practice, and the belief as to the origin of a practice, are two wholly distinct points; and that there is no necessary connexion in time between the introduction of a practice, and the introduction of the prevalent belief in its origin.

Under this head we may add that it must not be assumed that the Sadducees, because they rejected a Mosaic Oral Law, rejected likewise all traditions and all decisions in explanation of passages in the Pentateuch. Although they protested against the

[c] See p. 32 of *Essay on the Revenues of the Church of England*, by the Rev. Morgan Cove, Prebendary of Hereford, and Rector of Eaton Bishop. 578 pp. London, Rivington, 1816. Third Edition. "Thus do we return again to the original difficulty [the origin of tithes], to the solution of which the strength of human reason is unequal. Nor does there remain any other method of solving it, but by assigning the origin of the custom, and the peculiar observance of it, to some unrecorded revelation made to Adam, and by him and his descendants delivered down to posterity."

assertion that such points had been divinely settled by Moses, they probably, in numerous instances, followed practically the same traditions as the Pharisees. This will explain why in the Mishna specific points of difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees are mentioned, which are so unimportant; such, *e. g.* as whether touching the Holy Scriptures made the hands technically "unclean," in the levitical sense, and whether the stream which flows when water is poured from a clean vessel into an unclean one is itself technically "clean" or "unclean" (*Yadaim*, iv. 6, 7). If the Pharisees and Sadducees had differed on all matters not directly contained in the Pentateuch, it would scarcely have been necessary to particularize points of difference such as these, which to Christians imbued with the genuine spirit of Christ's teaching (Matt. xv. 11; Luke xi. 37-40), must appear so trifling, as almost to resemble the products of a diseased imagination.[d]

II. The second distinguishing doctrine of the Sadducees, the denial of man's resurrection after death, followed in their conceptions as a logical conclusion from their denial that Moses had revealed to the Israelites the Oral Law. For on a point so momentous as a second life beyond the grave, no religious party among the Jews would have deemed themselves bound to accept any doctrine as an article of faith, unless it had been proclaimed by Moses, their great legislator; and it is certain that in the written Law of the Pentateuch there is a total absence of any assertion by Moses of the resurrection of the dead. The absence of this doctrine, so far as it involves a future state of rewards and punishments, is emphatically manifest from the numerous occasions for its introduction in the Pentateuch, among the promises and threats, the blessings and curses, with which a portion of that great work abounds. In the Law Moses is represented as promising to those who are obedient to the commands of Jehovah the most alluring temporal rewards, such as success in business, the acquisition of wealth, fruitful seasons, victory over their enemies, long life, and freedom from sickness (Deut. vii. 12-15, xxviii. 1-12; Ex. xx. 12, xxiii. 25, 26); and he likewise menaces the disobedient with the most dreadful evils which can afflict humanity, with poverty, fell diseases, disastrous and disgraceful defeats, subjugation, dispersion, oppression, and overpowering anguish of heart (Deut. xxviii. 15-68); but in not a single instance does he call to his aid the consolations and terrors of rewards and punishments hereafter. Moreover, even in a more restricted indefinite sense, such as might be involved in the transmigration of souls, or in the immortality of the soul as believed in by Plato, and apparently by Cicero,[e] there is a similar absence of any assertion by Moses of a resurrection of the dead. This fact is presented to Christians in a striking manner by the well-known words of the Pentateuch which are quoted by Christ in argument with the Sadducees on this subject (Ex. iii. 6, 16; Mark xii. 26, 27; Matt. xxii. 31, 32; Luke xx. 37). It cannot be doubted that in such a case Christ would quote to his powerful adversaries the most cogent text in the Law; and yet the text actually quoted does not do more than suggest an *inference* on this great doctrine. Indeed it must be deemed probable that the Sadducees, as they did not acknowledge the divine authority of Christ, denied even the logical validity of the inference, and argued that the expression that Jehovah was the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, did not necessarily mean more than that Jehovah had been the God of those patriarchs while they lived on earth, without conveying a suggestion, one way or another, as to whether they were or were not still living elsewhere. It is true that in other parts of the Old Testament there are individual passages which express a belief in a resurrection, such as in Is. xxvi. 19, Dan. xii. 2, Job xix. 26, and in some of the Psalms; and it may at first sight be a subject of surprise that the Sadducees were not convinced by the authority of those passages. But although the Sadducees regarded the books which contained these passages as sacred, it is more than doubtful whether any of the Jews regarded them as sacred in precisely the same sense as the written Law. There is a danger here of confounding the ideas which are now common amongst Christians, who regard the whole ceremonial law as abrogated, with the ideas of Jews after the time of Ezra, while the Temple was still standing, or even with the ideas of orthodox modern Jews. To the Jews Moses was and is a colossal Form, pre-eminent in authority above all subsequent prophets. Not only did his series of signs and wonders in Egypt and at the Red Sea transcend in magnitude and brilliancy those of any other holy men in the Old Testament, not only was he the centre in Mount Sinai of the whole legislation of the Israelites, but even the mode by which divine communications were made to him from Jehovah was peculiar to him alone. While others were addressed in visions or in dreams, the Supreme Being communicated with him alone mouth to mouth and face to face (Num. xii. 6, 7, 8; Ex. xxxiii. 11; Deut. v. 4, xxxiv. 10-12). Hence scarcely any Jew would have deemed himself bound to believe in man's resurrection, unless the doctrine had been proclaimed by Moses; and as the Sadducees disbelieved the transmission of any Oral Law by Moses, the striking absence of that doctrine from the written law freed them from the necessity of accepting the doctrine as divine. It is not meant by this to deny that Jewish believers in the resurrection had their faith strengthened and confirmed by allusions to a resurrection in scattered passages of the other sacred writings; but then these passages were read and interpreted by means of the central light which streamed from the Oral Law. The Sadducees, however, not making use of that light, would have deemed all such passages inconclusive, as being, indeed, the utterances of holy men, yet opposed to other texts which had equal claims to be pronounced sacred, but which could scarcely be sup-

[d] Many other points of difference, ritual and juridical, are mentioned in the Gemaras. See Graetz, (iii. pp. 514-18). But it seems unsafe to admit the Gemaras as an authority for statements respecting the Pharisees and Sadducees. See, as to the date of those works, the article PHARISEES.

[e] See *De Senectute*, xxiii. This treatise was composed within two years before Cicero's death, and although a dialogue, may perhaps be accepted as expressing his philosophical opinions respecting the immortality of the soul. He had held, however, very different language in his oration *pro Cluentio*, cap. lxi., in a passage which is a striking proof of the popular belief at Rome in his time See also Sallust, *Catilin.* li.; Juvenal, ii. 149; and Pliny the Elder vii. 56

posed to have been written by men who believed in a resurrection (Is. xxxviii. 18, 19; Ps. vi. 5, xxx. 9, lxxxviii. 10, 11, 12; Eccles. ix. 4-10). The real truth seems to be that, as in Christianity the doctrine of the resurrection of man rests on belief in the resurrection of Jesus, with subsidiary arguments drawn from texts in the Old Testament, and from man's instincts, aspirations, and moral nature; so, admitting fully the same subsidiary arguments, the doctrine of the resurrection among Pharisees, and the successive generations of orthodox Jews, and the orthodox Jews now living, has rested, and rests, on a belief in the supposed Oral Law of Moses. On this point the statement of the learned Grand-Rabbi to whom allusion has been already made deserves particular attention. "What causes most surprise in perusing the Pentateuch is the silence which it seems to keep respecting the most fundamental and the most consoling truths. The doctrines of the immortality of the soul, and of retribution beyond the tomb, are able powerfully to fortify man against the violence of the passions and the seductive attractions of vice, and to strengthen his steps in the rugged path of virtue: of themselves they smooth all the difficulties which are raised, all the objections which are made, against the government of a Divine Providence, and account for the good fortune of the wicked and the bad fortune of the just. But man searches in vain for these truths, which he desires so ardently; he in vain devours with avidity each page of Holy Writ; he does not find either them, or the simple doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, explicitly announced. Nevertheless truths so consoling and of such an elevated order cannot have been passed over in silence, and certainly God has not relied on the mere sagacity of the human mind in order to announce them only implicitly. *He has transmitted them verbally, with the means of finding them in the text. A supplementary tradition was necessary, indispensable: this tradition exists. Moses received the Law from Sinai, transmitted it to Joshua, Joshua to the elders, the elders transmitted it to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the great synagogue*" (Klein, *Le Judaisme ou la Vérité sur le Talmud*, p. 15).

In connexion with the disbelief of a resurrection by the Sadducees, it is proper to notice the statement (Acts xxiii. 8) that they likewise denied there was "angel or spirit." A perplexity arises as to the precise sense in which this denial is to be understood. Angels are so distinctly mentioned in the Pentateuch and other books of the Old Testament, that it is hard to understand how those who acknowledged the Old Testament to have divine authority could deny the existence of angels (see Gen. xvi. 7, xix. 1, xxii. 11, xxviii. 12; Ex. xxiii. 20; Num. xxii. 23; Judg. xiii. 18; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, and other passages). The difficulty is increased by the fact that no such denial of angels is recorded of the Sadducees either by Josephus, or in the Mishna, or, it is said, in any part of the Talmudical writings. The two principal explanations which have been suggested are, either that the Sadducees regarded the angels of the Old Testament as transitory unsubstantial representations of Jehovah, or that they disbelieved, not the angels of the Old Testament, but merely the angelical system which had become developed in the popular belief of the Jews after their return from the Babylonian Captivity (Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. 364). Either of these explanations may possibly be correct; and the first, although there are numerous texts to which it did not apply, would have received some countenance from passages wherein the same divine appearance which at one time is called the "angel of Jehovah" is afterwards called simply "Jehovah" (see the instances pointed out by Gesenius, *s. v.* מַלְאָךְ, Gen. xvi. 7, 13, xxii. 11, 12, xxxi. 11, 16; Ex. iii. 2, 4; Judg. vi. 14, 22, xiii. 18, 22). Perhaps, however, another suggestion is admissible. It appears from Acts xxiii. 9, that some of the scribes on the side of the Pharisees suggested the possibility of a spirit or an angel having spoken to St. Paul, on the very occasion when it is asserted that the Sadducees denied the existence of angel or spirit. Now the Sadducees may have disbelieved in the occurrence of any such phenomena in their own time, although they accepted all the statements respecting angels in the Old Testament; and thus the key to the assertion in the 8th verse that the Sadducees denied "angel or spirit" would be found exclusively in the 9th verse. This view of the Sadducees may be illustrated by the present state of opinion among Christians, the great majority of whom do not in any way deny the existence of angels as recorded in the Bible, and yet they certainly disbelieve that angels speak, at the present day, even to the most virtuous and pious of mankind.

III. The opinions of the Sadducees respecting the freedom of the will, and the way in which those opinions are treated by Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5, §9), have been noticed elsewhere [PHARISEES, p. 895], and an explanation has been there suggested of the prominence given to a difference in this respect between the Sadducees and the Pharisees. It may be here added that possibly the great stress laid by the Sadducees on the freedom of the will may have had some connexion with their forming such a large portion of that class from which criminal judges were selected. Jewish philosophers in their study, although they knew that punishments as an instrument of good were unavoidable, might indulge in reflections that man seemed to be the creature of circumstances, and might regard with compassion the punishments inflicted on individuals whom a wiser moral training and a more happily balanced nature might have made useful members of society. Those Jews who were almost exclusively religious teachers would naturally insist on the inability of man to do anything good if God's Holy Spirit were taken away from him (Ps. li. 11, 12), and would enlarge on the perils which surrounded man from the temptations of Satan and evil angels or spirits (1 Chr. xxi. 1; Tob. iii. 17). But it is likely that the tendencies of the judicial class would be more practical and direct, and more strictly in accordance with the ideas of the Levitical prophet Ezekiel (xxxiii. 11-19) in a well-known passage in which he gives the responsibility of bad actions, and seems to attribute the power of performing good actions, exclusively to the individual agent. Hence the sentiment of the lines—

> "Our acts our Angels are, or good or ill,
> Our fatal shadows that walk by us still."

would express that portion of truth on which the Sadducees, in inflicting punishments, would dwell with most emphasis: and as, in some sense, they disbelieved in angels, these lines have a peculiar

claim to be regarded as a correct exponent of Sadducean thought.[1] And yet perhaps, if writings were extant in which the Sadducees explained their own ideas, we might find that they reconciled these principles, as we may be certain that Ezekiel did, with other passages apparently of a different import in the Old Testament, and that the line of demarcation between them and the Pharisees was not, in theory, so very sharply marked as the account of Josephus would lead us to suppose.

IV. Some of the early Christian writers, such as Epiphanius (*Haeres.* xiv.), Origen, and Jerome (in their respective Commentaries on Matt. xxii. 31, 32, 33) attribute to the Sadducees the rejection of all the Sacred Scriptures except the Pentateuch. Such rejection, if true, would undoubtedly constitute a most important additional difference between the Sadducees and Pharisees. The statement of these Christian writers is, however, now generally admitted to have been founded on a misconception of the truth, and probably to have arisen from a confusion of the Sadducees with the Samaritans. See Lightfoot's *Horae Hebraicae* on Matt. iii. 7; Herzfeld's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 363. Josephus is wholly silent as to an antagonism on this point between the Sadducees and the Pharisees; and it is absolutely inconceivable that on the three several occasions when he introduces an account of the opinions of the two sects, he should have been silent respecting such an antagonism, if it had really existed (*Ant.* xiii. 5, §9, xviii. 1, §3; *B. J.* ii. 8, §14). Again, the existence of such a momentous antagonism would be incompatible with the manner in which Josephus speaks of John Hyrcanus, who was high-priest and king of Judaea thirty-one years, and who nevertheless, having been previously a Pharisee, became a Sadducee towards the close of his life. This Hyrcanus, who died about 106 B.C., had been so inveterately hostile to the Samaritans, that when about three years before his death, he took their city Samaria, he razed it to the ground; and he is represented to have dug caverns in various parts of the soil in order to sink the surface to a level or slope, and then to have diverted streams of water over it, in order to efface marks of such a city having ever existed. If the Sadducees had come so near to the Samaritans as to reject the divine authority of all the books of the Old Testament, except the Pentateuch, it is very unlikely that Josephus, after mentioning the death of Hyrcanus, should have spoken of him as he does in the following manner:—"He was esteemed by God worthy of three of the greatest privileges, the government of the nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy. For God was with him, and enabled him to know future events." Indeed, it may be inferred from this passage that Josephus did not even deem it a matter of vital importance whether a high-priest was a Sadducee or a Pharisee—a latitude of toleration which we may be confident he would not have indulged in, if the divine authority of all the books of the Old Testament, except the Pentateuch, had been at stake. What probably had more influence than anything else in occasioning this misconception respecting the Sadducees, was the circumstance that in arguing with them on the doctrine of a future life, Christ quoted from the Pentateuch only, although there are stronger texts in favour of the doctrine in some other books of the Old Testament. But probable reasons have been already assigned why Christ in arguing on this subject with the Sadducees referred only to the supposed opinions of Moses rather than to isolated passages extracted from the productions of any other sacred writer.

V. In conclusion, it may be proper to notice a fact, which, while it accounts for misconceptions of early Christian writers respecting the Sadducees, is on other grounds well worthy to arrest the attention. This fact is the rapid disappearance of the Sadducees from history after the first century, and the subsequent predominance among the Jews of the opinions of the Pharisees. Two circumstances, indirectly, but powerfully, contributed to produce this result: 1st. The state of the Jews after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus; and 2ndly. The growth of the Christian religion. As to the first point it is difficult to over-estimate the consternation and dismay which the destruction of Jerusalem occasioned in the minds of sincerely religious Jews. Their holy city was in ruins; their holy and beautiful Temple, the centre of their worship and their love, had been ruthlessly burnt to the ground, and not one stone of it was left upon another: their magnificent hopes, either of an ideal king who was to restore the empire of David, or of a Son of Man who was to appear to them in the clouds of heaven, seemed to them for a while like empty dreams; and the whole visible world was, to their imagination, black with desolation and despair. In this their hour of darkness and anguish, they naturally turned to the consolations and hopes of a future state, and the doctrine of the Sadducees that there was nothing beyond the present life, would have appeared to them cold, heartless, and hateful.—Again, while they were sunk in the lowest depths of depression, a new religion which they despised as a heresy and a superstition, of which one of their own nation was the object, and another the unrivalled missionary to the heathen, was gradually making its way among the subjects of their detested conquerors, the Romans. One of the causes of its success was undoubtedly the vivid belief in the resurrection of Jesus, and a consequent resurrection of all mankind, which was accepted by its heathen converts with a passionate earnestness, of which those who at the present day are familiar from infancy with the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead can form only a faint idea. To attempt to check the progress of this new religion among the Jews by an appeal to the temporary rewards and punishments of the Pentateuch, would have been as idle as an endeavour to check an explosive power by ordinary mechanical restraints. Consciously, therefore, or unconsciously, many circumstances combined to induce the Jews, who were not Pharisees, but who resisted the new heresy, to rally round the standard of the Oral Law, and to assert that their holy legislator, Moses, had transmitted to his faithful people by word of mouth, although not in writing, the revelation of a future state of rewards and punishments. A great belief was thus built up on a great fiction

[1] The preceding lines would be equally applicable, if, as is not improbable, the Sadducees likewise rejected the Chaldaean belief in astrology, so common among the Jews and Christians of the Middle Ages:—

"Man is his own Star; and the soul that can
Render an honest and a perfect man,
Commands all light, all influence, all fate:
Nothing to him falls early, or too late."
FLETCHER'S Lines "*Upon an Honest Man's Fortune*"

early teaching and custom supplied the place of evidence; faith in an imaginary fact produced results as striking as could have flowed from the fact itself; and the doctrine of a Mosaic Oral Law, enshrining convictions and hopes deeply rooted in the human heart, has triumphed for nearly 1800 years in the ideas of the Jewish people. This doctrine, the pledge of eternal life to them, as the resurrection of Jesus to Christians, is still maintained by the majority of our Jewish contemporaries; and it will probably continue to be the creed of millions long after the present generation of mankind has passed away from the earth.[a] [E. T.]

SA'DOC (*Sadoch*). 1. ZADOK the ancestor of Ezra (2 Esd. i. 1; comp. Ezr. vii. 2).

2. (Σαδώκ: *Sadoc.*) A descendant of Zerubbabel in the genealogy of Jesus Christ (Matt. i. 14).

SAFFRON (כַּרְכֹּם, *carcôm*: κρόκος: *crocus*) is mentioned only in Cant. iv. 14 with other odorous substances, such as spikenard, calamus, cinnamon, &c.; there is not the slightest doubt that "saffron" is the correct rendering of the Hebrew word; the Arabic *Kurkum* is similar to the Hebrew, and denotes the *Crocus sativus*, or "saffron crocus." Saffron has from the earliest times been in high esteem as a perfume: "it was used," says Rosenmüller (*Bib. Bot.* p. 138), "for the same purposes as the modern pot-pourri." Saffron was also used in seasoning dishes (Apicius, p. 270), it entered into the composition of many spirituous extracts which retained the scent (see Beckmann's *Hist. of Invent.* i. p. 175, where the whole subject is very fully discussed). The part of the plant which was used was the stigma, which was pulled out of the flower and then dried. Dr. Royle says, that "sometimes the stigmas are prepared by being submitted to pressure, and thus made into cake saffron, a form in which it is still imported from Persia into India." Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 36) states that in certain places, as around Magnesia, large quantities of saffron are gathered and exported to different places in Asia and Europe. Kitto (*Phys. Hist. of Palest.* p. 321) says that the Safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*), a very different plant from the crocus, is cultivated in Syria for the sake of the flowers which are used in dyeing, but the *Karkôm* no doubt denotes the *Crocus sativus*. The word saffron is derived from the Arabic *Zafran*, "yellow." This plant gives its name to Saffron-Walden, in Essex, where it is largely cultivated: it belongs to the Natural Order *Iridaceae*. [W. H.]

SA'LA (Σαλά: *Sale*). SALAH, or SHELAH, the father of Eber (Luke iii. 35).

SA'LAH (שֶׁלַח: Σαλά: *Sale*). The son of Arphaxad and father of Eber (Gen. x. 24, xi. 12-14; Luke iii. 35). The name is significant of *extension*, the cognate verb being applied to the spreading out of the roots and branches of trees (Jer. xvii. 8; Ez. xvii. 6). It thus seems to imply the historical fact of the gradual extension of a branch of the Semitic race from its original seat in Northern Assyria towards the river Euphrates. A place with a similar name in Northern Mesopotamia is noticed by Syrian writers (Knobel, *in Gen.* xi.); but we can hardly assume its identity with the Selah of the Bible. Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 354) and Von Bohlen (*Introd. to Gen.* ii. 205) regard the name as purely fictitious, the former explaining it as a *sow* or *offspring*, the latter as the *father of a race*. That the name is significant does not prove it fictitious, and the conclusions drawn by these writers are unwarranted. [W. L. B.]

SAL'AMIS (Σαλαμίς: *Salamis*), a city at the east end of the island of Cyprus, and the first place visited by Paul and Barnabas, on the first missionary journey, after leaving the mainland at Seleucia. Two reasons why they took this course obviously suggest themselves, viz. the fact that Cyprus (and probably Salamis) was the native-place of Barnabas, and the geographical proximity of this end of the island to Antioch. But a further reason is indicated by a circumstance in the narrative (Acts xiii. 5). Here alone, among all the Greek cities visited by St. Paul, we read expressly of "synagogues" in the plural. Hence we conclude that there were many Jews in Cyprus. And this is in harmony with what we read elsewhere. To say nothing of possible mercantile relations in very early times [CHITTIM; CYPRUS], Jewish residents in the island are mentioned during the period when the Seleucidae reigned at Antioch (1 Macc. xv. 23). In the reign of Augustus the Cyprian copper-mines were farmed to Herod the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 4, §5), and this would probably attract many Hebrew families: to which we may add evidence to the same effect from Philo (*Legat. ad Caium*) at the very time of St. Paul's journey. And again at a later period, in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, we are informed of dreadful tumults here, caused by a vast multitude of Jews, in the course of which "the whole populous city of Salamis became a desert" (Milman's *Hist. of the Jews*, iii. 111, 112). We may well believe that from the Jews of Salamis came some of those early Cypriote Christians, who are so prominently mentioned in the account of the first spreading of the Gospel beyond Palestine (Acts xi. 19, 20), even before the first missionary expedition. Mnason (xxi. 16) might be one of them. Nor ought Mark to be forgotten here. He was at Salamis with Paul, and his own kinsman Barnabas; and again he was there with the same kinsman after the misunderstanding with St. Paul and the separation (xv. 39).

Salamis was not far from the modern *Famagousta*. It was situated near a river called the Pediaeus, on low ground, which is in fact a continuation of the plain running up into the interior towards the place where *Nicosia*, the present capital of Cyprus, stands. We must notice in regard to Salamis that its harbour is spoken of by Greek writers as very good; and that one of the ancient tables lays down a road between this city and PAPHOS, the next place which Paul and Barnabas visited on their journey. Salamis again has rather an eminent position in subsequent Christian history. Constantine or his successor rebuilt it, and called it Constantia ("Salamis, quae nunc Constantia dicitur," Hieronym. *Philem.*), and, while it had this name, Epiphanius was one of its bishops.

[a] In Germany and elsewhere, some of the most learned Jews disbelieve in a Mosaic Oral Law; and Judaism seems ripe to enter on a new phase. Based on the Old Testament, but avoiding the mistakes of the Karaites, it might still have a great future; but whether it could last another 1800 years with the belief in a future life, as a revealed doctrine, depending not on a supposed revelation by Moses, but solely on scattered texts in the Hebrew Scriptures, is an interesting subject for speculation.

Of the travellers who have visited and described Salamis, we must particularly mention Pococke (*Desc. of the East*, ii. 214) and Ross (*Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos, und Cypern*, 118-125). These travellers notice, in the neighbourhood of Salamis, a village named *St. Sergius*, which is doubtless a reminiscence of Sergius Paulus, and a large Byzantine church bearing the name of *St. Barnabas*, and associated with a legend concerning the discovery of his relics. The legend will be found in Cedrenus (i. 618, ed. Bonn). [BARNABAS; SERGIUS PAULUS.] [J. S. H.]

SALASADA'I (Σαλασαδαΐ, Σαρασαδαΐ, Σουρισαδέ), a variation for *Surisadai* (Σουρισαδαΐ, Num. i. 6) in Jud. viii. 1. [ZURISHADDAI.] [B. F. W.]

SALA'THIEL (שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל: Σαλαθιήλ: *Salathiel*: "I have asked God"[a]), son of Jechonias king of Judah, and father of Zorobabel, according to Matt. i. 12; but son of Neri, and father of Zorobabel, according to Luke iii. 27; while the genealogy in 1 Chr. iii. 17-19, leaves it doubtful whether he is the son of Assir or Jechonias, and makes Zorobabel his nephew. [ZERUBBABEL.] Upon the incontrovertible principle that no genealogy would assign to the true son and heir of a king any inferior and private parentage, whereas, on the contrary, the son of a private person would naturally be placed in the royal pedigree on his becoming the rightful heir to the throne; we may assert, with the utmost confidence, that St. Luke gives us the true state of the case, when he informs us that Salathiel was the son of Neri, and a descendant of Nathan the son of David.[b] And from his insertion in the royal pedigree, both in 1 Chr. and St. Matthew's gospel, after the childless Jechonias,[c] we infer, with no less confidence, that, on the failure of Solomon's line, he was the next heir to the throne of David. The appearance of Salathiel in the two pedigrees, though one deduces the descent from Solomon and the other from Nathan, is thus perfectly simple, and, indeed, necessary; whereas the notion of Salathiel being called Neri's son, as Yardley and others have thought, because he married Neri's daughter, is palpably absurd on the supposition of his being the son of Jechonias. On this last principle you *might* have not two but about *a million* different pedigrees between Jechonias and Christ;[d] and yet you have no rational account, why there should actually be more than one. It may therefore be considered as certain, that Salathiel was the son of Neri, and the heir of Jechoniah. The question whether he was the father of Zerubbabel will be considered under that article.[e] Besides the passages already cited, Salathiel occurs in 1 Esdr. v. 5, 48, 56, vi. 2; 2 Esdr. v. 16.

As regards the orthography of the name, it has, as noted above, two forms in Hebrew. The contracted form is peculiar to Haggai, who uses it three times out of five; while in the first and last verse of his prophecy he uses the full form which is also found in Ezr. iii. 2; Neh. xii. 1. The LXX. everywhere have Σαλαθιήλ, while the A. V. has (probably with an eye to correspondence with Matt. and Luke) Salathiel in 1 Chr. iii. 17, but everywhere else in the O. T. SHEALTIEL. [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST; JEHOIACHIN.] [A. C. H.]

SAL'CAH[f] (סַלְכָה: Σελχά, Ἀχά, Σελά; Alex. Ελχα, Ασελχα, Σελχα: *Salecha, Salacha*). A city named in the early records of Israel as the extreme limit of Bashan (Deut. iii. 10; Josh. xiii. 11) and of the tribe of Gad (1 Chr. v. 11). On another occasion the name seems to denote a district rather than a town (Josh. xii. 5). By Eusebius and Jerome it is merely mentioned, apparently without their having had any real knowledge of it.

It is doubtless identical with the town of *Sŭlkhad*, which stands at the southern extremity of the Jebel Hauran, twenty miles S. of *Kunawat* (the ancient Kenath), which was the southern outpost of the *Leja*, the Argob of the Bible. *Sŭlkhad* is named by both the Christian and Mahomedan historians of the middle ages (Will. of Tyre, xvi. 8, "Selcath;" Abulfeda, in Schultens' *Index geogr.* "Sarchad"). It was visited by Burckhardt (*Syria*, Nov. 22, 1810), Seetzen and others, and more recently by Porter, who describes it at some length (*Five Years*, ii. 176-116). Its identification with Salcah appears to be due to Gesenius (Burckhardt's *Reisen*, 507).

Immediately below *Sŭlkhad* commences the plain of the great Euphrates desert, which appears to stretch with hardly an undulation from here to *Busra* on the Persian Gulf. The town is of considerable size, two to three miles in circumference, surrounding a castle on a lofty isolated hill, which rises 300 or 400 feet above the rest of the place (Porter, 178, 179). One of the gateways of the castle bears an inscription containing the date of A.D. 246 (180). A still earlier date, viz. A.D. 196 (Septimius Severus), is found on a grave-stone (185). Other scanty particulars of its later history will be found in Porter. The hill on which the castle stands was probably at one time a crater, and its sides are still covered with volcanic cinder and blocks of lava. [G.]

SAL'CHAH (סַלְכָה: Ελχᾶ: *Selcha*). The form in which the name, elsewhere more accurately given SALCAH, appears in Deut. iii. 10 only. The *Targum Pseudojon.* gives it סלווקיא *i. e.* Selucia; though which Seleucia they can have supposed was here intended it is difficult to imagine. [G.]

[a] Possibly with an allusion to 1 Sam. i. 20, 27, 28. See Broughton's *Our Lord's Family*.

[b] It is worth noting that Josephus speaks of Zorobabel as "the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah" (*A. J.* xi. 3, § 10). Had he believed him to be the son of Jeconiah, of whom he had spoken (x. 11, § 2), he could hardly have failed to say so. Comp. x. 7, § 1.

[c] "Of Jechonias God sware that he should die leaving no child behind him; wherefore it were flat atheism to prate that he naturally became father to Salathiel. Though St. Luke had never left us Salathiel's family up to Nathan, whole brother to Solomon, to show that Salathiel was of another family, God's oath should make us believe that, without any further record" (Broughton, *ut supr.*).

[d] See a curious calculation in Blackstone's *Comment.* ii. 203, that in the 20th degree of ancestry every man has above a million of ancestors, and in the 40th upwards of a million millions.

[e] The theory of two Salathiels, of whom each had a son called Zerubbabel, though adopted by Hottinger and J. G. Vossius, is scarcely worth mentioning, except as a curiosity.

[f] One of the few instances of our translators having represented the Hebrew Caph by C. Their common practice is to use ch for it—as indeed they have done on one occurrence of this very name. [SALCHAH; and compare CALEB; CAPHTOR; CARMEL; COZBI; CUSH, &c.]

SA'LEM (שָׁלֵם, *i. e.* Shalem: Σαλήμ: *Salem*).

1. The place of which Melchizedek was king (Gen. xiv. 18; Heb. vii. 1, 2). No satisfactory identification of it is perhaps possible. The indications of the narrative are not sufficient to give any clue to its position. It is not even safe to infer, as some have done,[a] that it lay between Damascus and Sodom; or though it is said that the king of Sodom—who had probably regained his own city after the retreat of the Assyrians—went out to meet (לִקְרָאת)[b] Abram, yet it is also distinctly stated that this was *after Abram had returned* (אַחֲרֵי שׁוּבוֹ) from the slaughter of the kings. Indeed, it is not certain that there is any connexion of time or place between Abram's encounter with the king of Sodom and the appearance of Melchizedek. Nor, supposing this last doubt to be dispelled, is any clue afforded by the mention of the Valley of Shaveh, since the situation even of that is more than uncertain.

Dr. Wolff—no mean authority on Oriental questions—in a striking passage in his last work, implies that Salem was—what the author of the Epistle of the Hebrews understood it to be—a title, not the name of a place. "Melchizedek of old . . . had a royal title; he was 'King of Righteousness,' in Hebrew *Melchi-zedek*. And he was also 'King of Peace,' *Melek-Salem*. And when Abraham came to his tent he came forth with bread and wine, and was called 'the Priest of the Highest,' and Abraham gave him a portion of his spoil. And just so Wolff's friend in the desert of Meru in the kingdom of Khiva . . . whose name is Abd-er-Rahman, which means 'Slave of the merciful God' . . . has also a royal title. He is called Shahe-Adaalat, 'King of Righteousness'—the same as *Melchizedek* in Hebrew. And when he makes peace between kings he bears the title, Shahe Soolkh, 'King of Peace'—in Hebrew *Melek-Salem*."

To revert, however, to the topographical question; two main opinions have been current from the earliest ages of interpretation. 1. That of the Jewish commentators, who—from Onkelos (*Targum*) and Josephus (*B. J.* vi. 10; *Ant.* i. 10, §2, vii. 3, §2) to Kalisch (*Comm. on Gen.* p. 360)—with one voice affirm that Salem is Jerusalem, on the ground that Jerusalem is so called in Ps. lxxvi. 2, the Psalmist, after the manner of poets, or from some exigency of his poem, making use of the archaic name in preference to that in common use. This is quite feasible; but it is no argument for the identity of Jerusalem with the Salem of Melchizedek. See this well put by Reland (*Pal.* 833). The Christians of the 4th century held the same belief with the Jews, as is evident from an expression of Jerome ("nostri omnes," *Ep. ad Evangelum*, §7).

2. Jerome himself, however, is not of the same opinion. He states (*Ep. ad Evang.* §7) without hesitation, though apparently (as just observed) alone in his belief, that the Salem of Melchizedek was not Jerusalem, but a town near Scythopolis, which in his day was still called Salem, and where the vast ruins of the palace of Melchizedek were still to be seen. Elsewhere (*Onom.* "Salem")[c] locates it more precisely at eight Roman miles from Scythopolis, and gives its then name as Salumias. Further, he identifies this Salem with the Salim (Σαλείμ) of St. John the Baptist. That a Salem existed where St. Jerome thus places it there need be no doubt. Indeed, the name has been recovered at the identical distance below *Beisân* by Mr. Van de Velde, at a spot otherwise suitable for Aenon. But that this Salem, Salim, or Salumias was the Salem of Melchizedek, is as uncertain as that Jerusalem was so. The ruins were probably as much the ruins of Melchizedek's palace as the remains at *Ramet el-Khalîl*, three miles north of Hebron, are those of "Abraham's house." Nor is the decision assisted by a consideration of Abram's homeward route. He probably brought back his party by the road along the Ghor as far as Jericho, and then turning to the right ascended to the upper level of the country in the direction of Mamre; but whether he crossed the Jordan at the *Jisr Benat Yakub* above the Lake of Gennesaret, or at the *Jisr Mejamia* below it, he would equally pass by both Scythopolis and Jerusalem. At the same time it must be confessed that the distance of Salem (at least eighty miles from the probable position of Sodom) makes it difficult to suppose that the king of Sodom can have advanced so far to meet Abram, adds its weight to the statement that the meeting took place after Abram had returned—not during his return—and is thus so far in favour of Salem being Jerusalem.

3. Professor Ewald (*Geschichte*, i. 410 *note*) pronounces that Salem is a town on the further side of Jordan, on the road from Damascus to Sodom, quoting at the same time John iii. 23, but the writer has in vain endeavoured to discover any authority for this, or any notice of the existence of the name in that direction either in former or recent times.

4. A tradition given by Eupolemus, a writer known only through fragments preserved in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius (ix. 17), differs in some important points from the Biblical account. According to this the meeting took place in the sanctuary of the city Argarizin, which is interpreted by Eupolemus to mean "the Mountain of the Most High."[d] Argarizin is of course *har Gerizzim*, Mount Gerizim. The source of the tradition is, therefore, probably Samaritan, since the encounter of Abram and Melchizedek is one of the events to which the Samaritans lay claim for Mount Gerizim. But it may also proceed from the identification of Salem with Shechem, which lying at the foot of Gerizim would easily be confounded with the mountain itself. [See SHALEM.]

5. A Salem is mentioned in Judith iv. 4, among the places which were seized and fortified by the Jews on the approach of Holofernes. "The valley of Salem," as it appears in the A. V. (τὸν αὐλῶνα Σαλήμ), is possibly, as Reland has ingeniously suggested (*Pal.* "Salem," p. 977), a corruption of εἰς αὐλῶνα εἰς Σαλήμ—"into the plain to Salem." If Αὐλών is here, according to frequent usage, the Jordan[e] valley, then the Salem referred to must

[a] For instance, Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii.; 4 Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 410.

[b] The force of this word is *occurrere in obviam* (Gesenius, *Thes.* 1233 *b*).

[c] Professor Stanley seems to have been the first to call attention to this (*S. & P.* 249). See *Eupolemi Fragmenta*, auctore G. A. Kuhlmey (Berlin, 1840); one of those excellent monographs which we owe to the German academical custom of demanding a treatise at each step in honours.

[d] Pliny uses nearly the same form—Argaris (*H. N.* v. 14).

[e] Αὐλών is commonly employed in Palestine topography for the great valley of the Jordan (see Eusebius and Jerome, *Onomasticon*, "Aulon"). But in the Book of Judith it is used with much less precision in the general sense of a valley or plain.

surely be that mentioned by Jerome, and already noticed But in this passage it may be with equal probability the broad plain of the *Mukhna* which stretches from Ebal and Gerizim on the one hand, to the hills on which *Salim* stands on the other, which is said to be still called the "plain of Salim"[f] (Porter, *Handbook*, 340 *a*), and through which runs the central north road of the country. Or, as is perhaps still more likely, it refers to another *Salim* near *Zerin* (Jezreel), and to the plain which runs up between those two places, as far as *Jenin*, and which lay directly in the route of the Assyrian army. There is nothing to show that the invaders reached as far into the interior of the country as the plain of the *Mukhna*. And the other places enumerated in the verse seem, as far as they can be recognized, to be points which guarded the main approaches to the interior (one of the chief of which was by Jezreel and Engannim), not towns in the interior itself, like Shechem or the Salem near it.

2. (שָׁלֵם: ἐν εἰρήνῃ: *in pace*[g]), Ps. lxxvi. 2. It seems to be agreed on all hands that Salem is here employed for Jerusalem, but whether as a mere abbreviation to suit some exigency of the poetry, and point the allusion to the peace (*salem*) which the city enjoyed through the protection of God, or whether, after a well-known habit of poets,[h] it is an antique name preferred to the more modern and familiar one, is a question not yet decided. The latter is the opinion of the Jewish commentators, but it is grounded on their belief that the Salem of Melchizedek was the city which afterwards became Jerusalem. This is to beg the question. See a remarkable passage in Geiger's *Urschrift*, &c., 74-6.

The antithesis in verse 1 betweeen "Judah" and "Israel," would seem to imply that some sacred place in the northern kingdom is being contrasted with Zion, the sanctuary of the south. And if there were in the Bible any sanction to the identification of Salem with Shechem (noticed above), the passage might be taken as referring to the continued relation of God to the kingdom of Israel. But there are no materials even for a conjecture on the point. Zion the sanctuary, however, being named in the one member of the verse, it is tolerably certain that Salem, if Jerusalem, must denote the secular part of the city—a distinction which has been already noticed [vol. i. 1026] as frequently occurring and implied in the Psalms and Prophecies. [G.]

SA'LIM (Σαλείμ; Alex. Σαλλειμ: *Salim*). A place named (John iii. 23) to denote the situation of Aenon, the scene of St. John's last baptisms—Salim being the well-known town or spot, and Aenon a place of fountains, or other water, near it. There is no statement in the narrative itself fixing the situation of Salim, and the only direct testimony we possess is that of Eusebius and Jerome, who both affirm unhesitatingly (*Onom.* "Aenon") that it existed in their day near the Jordan, eight Roman miles south of Scythopolis. Jerome adds (under "Salem") that its name was then Salumias. Elsewhere (*Ep. ad Evangelum*, §7, 8) he states that it was identical with the Salem of Melchizedek.

Various attempts have been more recently made to determine the locality of this interesting spot.

1. Some (as Alford, *Greek Test.* ad loc.) propose SHILHIM and AIN, in the arid country far in the south of Judaea, entirely out of the circle of associations of St. John or our Lord. Others identify it with the SHALIM of 1 Sam. ix. 4, but this latter place is itself unknown, and the name in Hebrew contains ׳, to correspond with which the name in St. John should be Σεγαλείμ or Σααλείμ.

2. Dr. Robinson suggests the modern village of *Salim*, three miles E. of *Nablûs* (*B. R.* iii. 333), but this is no less out of the circle of St. John's ministrations, and is too near the Samaritans; and although there is some reason to believe that the village contains "two sources of living water" (*ib.* 298), yet this is hardly sufficient for the abundance of deep water implied in the narrative. A writer in the *Colonial Ch. Chron.*, No. cxxvi. 464, who concurs in this opinion of Dr. Robinson, was told of a village an hour east (?) of *Salim* "named *Ain-ûn*, with a copious stream of water." The district east of Salim is a blank in the maps. *Yanun* lies about 1½ hour S.E. of Salim, but this can hardly be the place intended; and in the description of Van de Velde, who visited it (ii. 303), no stream or spring is mentioned.

3. Dr. Barclay (*City*, &c., 564) is filled with an "assured conviction" that Salim is to be found in *Wady Seleim*, and Aenon in the copious springs of *Ain Farah* (*ib.* 559), among the deep and intricate ravines some five miles N.E. of Jerusalem. This certainly has the name in its favour, and, if the glowing description and pictorial woodcut of Dr. Barclay may be trusted—has water enough, and of sufficient depth for the purpose.

4. The name of *Salim* has been lately discovered by Mr. Van de Velde (*Syr. & Pal.* ii. 345, 6) in a position exactly in accordance with the notice of Eusebius, viz. six English miles south of *Beisân*, and two miles west of the Jordan. On the northern base of *Tell Redghah* is a site of ruins, and near it a Mussulman tomb, which is called by the Arabs *Sheykh Salim* (see also *Memoir*, 345). Dr. Robinson (iii. 333) complains that the name is attached only to a Mussulman sanctuary, and also that no ruins of any extent are to be found on the spot; but with regard to the first objection, even Dr. Robinson does not dispute that the name is there, and that the locality is in the closest agreement with the notice of Eusebius. As to the second it is only necessary to point to *Kefr-Saba*, where a town (Antipatris), which so late as the time of the destruction of Jerusalem was of great size and extensively fortified, has absolutely disappeared. The career of St. John has been examined in a former part of this work, and it has been shown with great probability that his progress was from south to north, and that the scene of his last baptisms was not far distant from the spot indicated by Eusebius, and now recovered by Mr. Van de Velde. [JORDAN, vol. i. p. 1128.] *Salim* fulfils also the conditions implied in the name of Aenon (springs), and the direct

[f] The writer could not succeed (in 1861) in eliciting this name for any part of the plain. The name, given in answer to repeated questions, for the Eastern branch or leg of the *Mukhna* was always *Wady Sajûa*.

[g] The above is the reading of the Vulgate and of the "Gallican Psalter." But in the *Liber Psalmorum juxta Hebraicam veritatem*, in the *Divina Bibliotheca* included in the Benedictine Edition of Jerome's works, the reading is *Salem*.

[h] The Arab poets are said to use the same abbreviation (Gesenius, *Thes.* 1422 *b*). The preference of an archaic to a modern name will surprise no student of poetry. Few things are of more constant occurrence.

statement of the text, that the place contained abundance of water. "The brook of *Wady Chusneh* runs close to it, a splendid fountain gushes out beside the *Wely*, and rivulets wind about in all directions. . . . Of few places in Palestine could it so truly be said, 'Here is much water'" (*Syr. & Pal.* ii. 346).

A tradition is mentioned by Reland (*Palaestina*, 978) that Salim was the native place of Simon Zelotes. This in itself seems to imply that its position was, at the date of the tradition, believed to be nearer to Galilee than to Judaea. [G.]

SALLA'I (סַלָּי, in pause סַלָּי: Σηλί; Alex. Σηλεί: *Sellaï*). 1. A Benjamite, who with 928 of his tribe settled in Jerusalem after the captivity (Neh. xi. 8).

2. (Σαλαΐ.) The head of one of the courses of priests who went up from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 20). In Neh. xii. 7 he is called SALLU.

SAL'LU (סַלּוּ: Σαλώμ, Σηλώ; Alex. Σαλώ in 1 Chr.: *Salo, Sellum*). 1. The son of Meshullam, a Benjamite who returned and settled in Jerusalem after the captivity (1 Chr. ix. 7; Neh. xi. 7)

2. (Om. in Vat. MS.; Alex. Σαλουαΐ: *Sellum.*) The head of one of the courses of priests who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 7). Called also SALLAI.

SALLU'MUS (Σαλοῦμος; Alex. Σαλλοῦμος: *Salumus*). SHALLUM (1 Esd. ix. 25; comp. Ezr. x. 24).

SAL'MA, or **SAL'MON** (שַׂלְמָה, שַׂלְמָא, or שַׂלְמוֹן: Σαλμών; Alex. Σαλμάν, but Σαλωμών both MSS. in Ruth iv.: *Salmon*). Son of Nahshon, the prince of the children of Judah, and father of Boaz, the husband of Ruth. Salmon's age is distinctly marked by that of his father Nahshon, and with this agrees the statement in 1 Chr. ii. 51, 54, that he was of the sons of Caleb, and the father, or head man of Bethlehem-Ephratah, a town which seems to have been within the territory of Caleb (1 Chr. ii. 50, 51). [EPHRATAH; BETHLEHEM.] On the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, Salmon took Rahab of Jericho to be his wife, and from this union sprang the Christ. [RAHAB.] From the circumstance of Salmon having lived at the time of the conquest of Canaan, as well as from his being the first proprietor of Bethlehem, where his family continued so many centuries, perhaps till the reign of Domitian (Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 20), he may be called the founder of the house of David. Besides Bethlehem, the Netophathites, the house of Joab, the Zorites, and several other families, looked to Salmon as their head (1 Chr. ii. 54, 55).

Two circumstances connected with Salmon have caused some perplexity. One, the variation in the orthography of his name. The other, an apparent variation in his genealogy.

As regards the first, the variation in proper names (whether caused by the fluctuations of copyists, or whether they existed in practice, and were favoured by the significance of the names), is so extremely common, that such slight differences as those in the three forms of this name are scarcely worth noticing. Compare *e. g.* the different forms of the name *Shimea*, the son of Jesse, in 1 Sam. xvi. 9; 2 Sam. xiii. 3; 1 Chr. ii. 13: or of *Simon* Peter, in Luke v. 4, &c.; Acts xv. 14. See other examples in Hervey's *Geneal. of our Lord*, ch. vi. and x. Moreover, in this case, the variation from *Salma* to *Salmon* takes place in two consecutive verses, viz., Ruth iv. 20, 21, where the notion of two different persons being meant, though in some degree sanctioned by the authority of Dr. Kennicott (*Dissert.* i. p. 184, 543), is not worth refuting.[a] As regards the Salma of 1 Chr. ii. 51, 54, his connection with Bethlehem identifies him with the son of Nahshon, and the change of the final ה into א belongs doubtless to the late date of the Book of Chronicles. The name is so written also in 1 Chr. ii. 11. But the truth is that the sole reason for endeavouring to make two persons out of Salma and Salmon, is the wish to lengthen the line between Salma and David, in order to meet the false chronology of those times.

The variation in Salma's genealogy, which has induced some to think that the Salma of 1 Chr. ii. 51, 54 is a different person from the Salma of 1 Chr. ii. 11, is more apparent than real. It arises from the circumstance that Bethlehem Ephratah, which was Salmon's inheritance, was part of the territory of Caleb, the grandson of Ephratah; and this caused him to be reckoned among the sons of Caleb. But it is a complete misunderstanding of the language of such topographical genealogies to suppose that it is meant to be asserted that Salma was the literal son of Caleb. Mention is made of Salma only in Ruth iv. 20, 21; 1 Chr. ii. 11, 51, 54; Matt. i. 4, 5; Luke iii. 32. The questions of his age and identity are discussed in the *Geneal. of our Lord*, ch. iv. and ix.; Jackson, *Chron. Antiq.* i. 171; Hales, *Analysis*, iii. 44; Burrington, *Geneal.* i. 189; Dr. Mill, *Vindic. of our Lord's Geneal.* 123, &c. [A. C. H.]

SALMANA'SAR (*Salmanasar*). SHALMANESER, king of Assyria (2 Esd. xiii. 40).

SAL'MON (צַלְמוֹן: Σέλμων: *Salmon*, Judg. ix. 48). The name of a hill near Shechem, on which Abimelech and his followers cut down the boughs with which they set the tower of Shechem on fire. Its exact position is not known.

It is usually supposed that this hill is mentioned in a verse of perhaps the most difficult of all the Psalms[b] (Ps. lxviii. 14); and this is probable, though the passage is peculiarly difficult, and the precise allusion intended by the poet seems hopelessly lost. Commentators differ from each other; and Fürst, within 176 pages of his *Handwörterbuch*, differs from himself (see שָׁלַג and צַלְמוֹן). Indeed,

[a] Eusebius (*Chron. Canon.* lib. i. 22) has no misgiving as to the identity of Salma.

[b] See a work by Reuss, *Der acht und sechzigste Psalm, ein Denkmal exegetischer Noth und Kunst, zu Ehren unser ganzen Zunft*, Jena, 1851. Independently of its many obscure allusions, the 68th Psalm contains thirteen ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, including תְּשַׁלֵּג. It may be observed that this word is scarcely, as Gesenius suggests, analogous to הַלְבִּין, הָאְדִים, Hiphils of colour; for these words have a signification of colour in Kal. The really analogous word is הֶמְטִיר, "he makes it rain," which bears the same relation to מָטָר, "rain," which הִשְׁלִיג bears to שֶׁלֶג, "snow." Owing, probably, to Hebrew religious conceptions of natural phenomena, no instance occurs of הֶמְטִיר used as a neuter in the sense of "it rains;" though this would be grammatically admissible.

of six distinguished modern commentators — De Wette, Hitzig, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, and Hupfeld—no two give distinctly the same meaning; and Mr. Keble, in his admirable Version of the Psalms, gives a translation which, though poetical, as was to be expected, differs from any one of those suggested by these six scholars. This is not the place for an exhaustive examination of the passage. It may be mentioned, however, that the literal translation of the words תַּשְׁלֵג בְּצַלְמוֹן is "Thou makest it snow," or "It snows," with liberty to use the word either in the past or in the future tense. As notwithstanding ingenious attempts, this supplies no satisfactory meaning, recourse is had to a translation of doubtful validity, "Thou makest it white as snow," or "It is white as snow"—words to which various metaphorical meanings have been attributed. The allusion which, through the Lexicon of Gesenius, is most generally received, is that the words refer to the ground being snow-white with bones after a defeat of the Canaanite kings; and this may be accepted by those who will admit the scarcely permissible meaning, "white as snow," and who cannot rest satisfied without attaching some definite signification to the passage. At the same time it is to be remembered that the figure is a very harsh one; and that it is not really justified by passages quoted in illustration of it from Latin classical writers, such as, "campique ingentes ossibus albent" (Virg. *Aen.* xii. 36), and "humanis ossibus albet humus" (Ovid, *Fast.* i. 558), for in these cases the word "bones" is actually used in the text, and is not left to be supplied by the imagination. Granted, however, that an allusion is made to bones of the slain, there is a divergence of opinion as to whether Salmon was mentioned simply because it had been the battle-ground in some great defeat of the Canaanitish kings, or whether it is only introduced as an image of snowy whiteness. And of these two explanations, the first would be on the whole most probable; for Salmon cannot have been a very high mountain, as the highest mountains near Shechem are Ebal and Gerizim, and of these Ebal, the highest of the two, is only 1028 feet higher than the city (see EBAL, p. 470; and Robinson's *Gesenius*, 895 *a*). If the poet had desired to use the image of a snowy mountain, it would have been more natural to select Hermon, which is visible from the eastern brow of Gerizim, is about 10,000 feet high, and is covered with perpetual snow. Still it is not meant that this circumstance by itself would be conclusive; for there may have been particular associations in the mind of the poet, unknown to us, which led him to prefer Salmon.

In despair of understanding the allusion to Salmon, some suppose that Salmôn, i. e. *Tsalmôn*, is not a proper name in this passage, but merely signifies "darkness;" and this interpretation, supported by the Targum, though opposed to the Septuagint, has been adopted by Ewald, and in the first statement in his Lexicon is admitted by Fürst. Since *tselem* signifies "shade," this is a bare etymological possibility. But no such word as *tsalmôn* occurs elsewhere in the Hebrew language; while there are several other words for darkness, in different degrees of meaning, such as the ordinary word *choshek*, *ophel*, *aphêlah*, and *'araphel*.

Unless the passage is given up as corrupt, it seems more in accordance with reason to admit that there was some allusion present to the poet's mind, the key to which is now lost; and this ought not to surprise any scholar who reflects how many allusions there are in Greek poets—in Pindar, for example, and in Aristophanes—which would be wholly unintelligible to us now, were it not for the notes of Greek scholiasts. To these notes there is nothing exactly analogous in Hebrew literature; and in the absence of some such assistance, it is unavoidable that there should be several passages in the O. T. respecting the meaning of which we must be content to remain ignorant. [E. T.]

SAL'MON the father of Boaz (Ruth iv. 20, 21; Matt. i. 4, 5; Luke iii. 32). [SALMA.]

SALMO'NE (Σαλμώνη: *Salmone*). The East point of the island of CRETE. In the account of St. Paul's voyage to Rome this promontory is mentioned in such a way (Acts xxvii. 7) as to afford a curious illustration both of the navigation of the ancients and of the minute accuracy of St. Luke's narrative. We gather from other circumstances of the voyage that the wind was blowing from the N.W. (ἐναντίους, ver. 4; βραδυπλοοῦντες, ver. 7). [See MYRA.] We are then told that the ship, on making CNIDUS, could not, by reason of the wind, hold on her course, which was past the south point of Greece, W. by S. She did, however, just fetch Cape Salmone, which bears S.W. by S. from Cnidus. Now we may take it for granted that she could have made good a course of less than seven points from the wind [SHIP]: and, starting from this assumption, we are at once brought to the conclusion that the wind must have been between N.N.W. and W.N.W. Thus what Paley would have called an "undesigned coincidence" is elicited by a cross-examination of the narrative. This ingenious argument is due to Mr. Smith of Jordanhill (*Voy. and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, pp. 73, 74, 2nd ed.), and from him it is quoted by Conybeare and Howson (*Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, ii. 393, 2nd ed.). To these books we must refer for fuller details. We may just add that the ship had had the advantages of a weather shore, smooth water, and a favouring current, before reaching Cnidus, and that by running down to Cape Salmone the sailors obtained similar advantages under the lee of Crete, as far as FAIR HAVENS, near LASAEA. [J. S. H.]

SA'LOM (Σαλώμ: *Salom*). The Greek form 1. of Shallum, the father of Hilkiah (Bar. i. 7). [SHALLUM.] 2. (*Salomus*) of Salu the father of Zimri (1 Macc. ii. 26). [SALU.]

SALO'ME (Σαλώμη: *Salome*). 1. The wife of Zebedee, as appears from comparing Matt. xxvii. 56 with Mark xv. 40. It is further the opinion of many modern critics that she was the sister of Mary, the mother of Jesus, to whom reference is made in John xix. 25. The words admit, however, of another and hitherto generally received explanation, according to which they refer to the "Mary the wife of Cleophas" immediately afterwards mentioned. In behalf of the former view, it may be urged that it gets rid of the difficulty arising out of two sisters having the same name—that it harmonises John's narrative with those of Matthew and Mark—that this circuitous manner of describing his own mother is in character with St. John's manner of describing himself—that the absence of any connecting link between the second and third designations may be accounted for on the ground that the four are arranged in two distinct couplets—and, lastly, that the Peshito, the Persian, and the

Aethiopic versions mark the distinction between the second and third by interpolating a conjunction. On the other hand, it may be urged that the difficulty arising out of the name may be disposed of by assuming a double marriage on the part of the father—that there is no necessity to harmonise John with Matthew and Mark, for that the time and the place in which the groups are noticed differ materially—that the language addressed to John, "Behold thy mother!" favours the idea of the absence rather than of the presence of his natural mother—and that the varying traditions[a] current in the early Church as to Salome's parents, worthless as they are in themselves, yet bear a negative testimony against the idea of her being related to the mother of Jesus. Altogether we can hardly regard the point as settled, though the weight of modern criticism is decidedly in favour of the former view (see Wieseler, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1840, p. 648). The only events recorded of Salome are that she preferred a request on behalf of her two sons for seats of honour in the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xx. 20), that she attended at the crucifixion of Jesus (Mark xv. 40), and that she visited his sepulchre (Mark xvi. 1). She is mentioned by name only on the two latter occasions.

2. The daughter of Herodias by her first husband, Herod Philip (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 5, §4). She is the "daughter of Herodias" noticed in Matt. xiv. 6 as dancing before Herod Antipas, and as procuring at her mother's instigation the death of John the Baptist. She married in the first place Philip the tetrarch of Trachonitis, her paternal uncle, and secondly Aristobulus, the king of Chalcis. [W. L. B.]

SALT (מֶלַח: ἅλς: *sal*). Indispensable as salt is to ourselves, it was even more so to the Hebrews, being to them not only an appetizing condiment in the food both of man (Job vi. 6) and beast (Is. xxx. 24, see margin), and a most valuable antidote to the effects of the heat of the climate on animal food, but also entering largely into their religious services as an accompaniment to the various offerings presented on the altar (Lev. ii. 13). They possessed an inexhaustible and ready supply of it on the southern shores of the Dead Sea. Here may have been situated the Valley of Salt (2 Sam. viii. 13), in proximity to the mountain of fossil salt which Robinson (*Researches*, ii. 108) describes as five miles in length, and as the chief source of the salt in the sea itself. Here were the saltpits (Zeph. ii. 9), probably formed in the marshes at the southern end of the lake, which are completely coated with salt, deposited periodically by the rising of the waters; and here also were the successive pillars of salt which tradition has from time to time identified with Lot's wife (Wisd. x. 7; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 11. §4). [SEA, THE SALT.] Salt might also be procured from the Mediterranean Sea, and from this source the Phoenicians would naturally obtain the supply necessary for salting fish (Neh. xiii. 16) and for other purposes. The Jews appear to have distinguished between rock-salt and that which was gained by evaporation, as the Talmudists particularize one species (probably the latter) as the "salt of Sodom" (Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 718). The notion that this expression means bitumen rests on no foundation. The saltpits formed an important source of revenue to the rulers of the country (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4, §9), and Antiochus conferred a valuable boon on Jerusalem by presenting the city with 375 bushels of salt for the Temple service (*Ant.* xii. 3, §3). In addition to the uses of salt already specified, the inferior sorts were applied as a manure to the soil, or to hasten the decomposition of dung (Matt. v. 13; Luke xiv. 35). Too large an admixture, however, was held to produce sterility, as exemplified on the shores of the Dead Sea (Deut. xxix. 23; Zeph. ii. 9): hence a "salt" land was synonymous with barrenness (Job xxxix. 6, see margin; Jer. xvii. 6; comp. Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 8, §2, ἁλμυρώδης καὶ ἄγονος); and hence also arose the custom of sowing with salt the foundations of a destroyed city (Judg. ix. 45), as a token of its irretrievable ruin. It was the belief of the Jews that salt would, by exposure to the air, lose its virtue (μωρανθῇ, Matt. v. 13) and become saltless (ἄναλον, Mark ix. 50). The same fact is implied in the expressions of Pliny, *sal iners* (xxxi. 39), *sal tabescere* (xxxi. 44); and Maundrell (*Early Travels*, p. 512, Bohn) asserts that he found the surface of a salt rock in this condition. The associations connected with salt in Eastern countries are important. As one of the most essential articles of diet, it symbolized hospitality; as an antiseptic, durability, fidelity, and purity. Hence the expression, "covenant of salt" (Lev. ii. 13; Num. xviii. 19; 2 Chr. xiii. 5), as betokening an indissoluble alliance between friends; and again the expression, "salted with the salt of the palace" (Ezr. iv. 14), not necessarily meaning that they had "maintenance from the palace," as the A. V. has it, but that they were bound by sacred obligations of fidelity to the king. So in the present day, "to eat bread and salt together" is an expression for a league of mutual amity (Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 232); and, on the other hand, the Persian term for traitor is *nemekharam*, "faithless to salt" (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 790). It was probably with a view to keep this idea prominently before the minds of the Jews that the use of salt was enjoined on the Israelites in their offerings to God; for in the first instance it was specifically ordered for the meat-offering (Lev. ii. 13), which consisted mainly of flour, and therefore was not liable to corruption. The extension of its use to burnt sacrifices was a later addition (Ez. xliii. 24; Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 9, §1), in the spirit of the general injunction at the close of Lev. ii. 13. Similarly the heathens accompanied their sacrifices with salted barley-meal, the Greeks with their οὐλοχύται (Hom. *Il.* i. 449), the Romans with their *mola salsa* (Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 200) or their *salsae fruges* (Virg. *Aen.* ii. 133). It may of course be assumed that in all of these cases salt was added as a condiment; but the strictness with which the rule was adhered to—no sacrifice being offered without salt (Plin. xxxi. 41), and still more the probable, though perhaps doubtful, admixture of it in incense (Ex. xxx. 35, where the word rendered "tempered together" is by some understood as "salted")—leads to the conclusion that there was a symbolical force attached to its use. Our Lord refers to the sacrificial use of salt in Mark ix. 49, 50, though some of the other associations may also be implied. The purifying property of salt, as opposed to corruption, led to its selection as the outward sign in Elisha's miracle (2 K. ii. 20, 21), and is also developed in the N. T

[a] According to one account she was the daughter of Joseph by a former marriage (Epiphan. *Haer.* lxxviii. 8); according to another, the wife of Joseph (Niceph. *H. E.* ii. 3).

(Matt. v. 13 Col. iv. 6). The custom of rubbing infants with salt (Ez. xvi. 4) originated in sanitary considerations, but received also a symbolical meaning. [W. L. B.]

SALT, CITY OF (עִיר־הַמֶּלַח: αἱ πόλεις Σαδών; Alex. αι πολις αλων: *civitas Salis*). The fifth of the six cities of Judah which lay in the "wilderness" (Josh. xv. 62). Its proximity to Engedi, and the name itself, seem to point to its being situated close to or at any rate in the neighbourhood of the Salt-sea. Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 109) expresses his belief that it lay somewhere near the plain at the south end of that lake, which he would identify with the Valley of Salt. This, though possibly supported by the reading of the Vatican LXX., "the cities of Sodom," is at present a mere conjecture, since no trace of the name or the city has yet been discovered in that position. On the other hand, Mr. Van de Velde (*Syr. & Pal.* ii. 99, *Memoir*, 111, and Map) mentions a *Nahr Maleh* which he passed in his route from *Wady el-Rmail* to *Sebbeh*, the name of which (though the orthography is not certain) may be found to contain a trace of the Hebrew. It is one of four ravines which unite to form the *Wady el Bedun*. Another of the four, W. 'Amreh (*Syr. & P.* ii. 99; *Memoir*, 111, *Map*), recals the name of Gomorrah, to the Hebrew of which it is very similar. [G.]

SALT, VALLEY OF (גֵּיא מֶלַח, but twice with the article, גֵּי הַמֶּלַח: Γεβελέμ, Γεμελέδ, κοιλὰς, and φάραγξ, τῶν ἁλῶν; Alex. Γημαλα, Γαιμελα: *Vallis Salinarum*). A certain valley, or perhaps more accurately a "ravine," the Hebrew word *Ge* appearing to bear that signification—in which occurred two memorable victories of the Israelite arms.

1. That of David over the Edomites (2 Sam. viii. 13; 1 Chr. xviii. 12). It appears to have immediately followed his Syrian campaign, and was itself one of the incidents of the great Edomite war of extermination.[a] The battle in the Valley of Salt appears to have been conducted by Abishai (1 Chr. xviii. 12), but David and Joab were both present in person at the battle and in the pursuit and campaign which followed; and Joab was left behind for six months to consummate the doom of the conquered country (1 K. xi. 15, 16; Ps. lx. title). The number of Edomites slain in the battle is uncertain: the narratives of Samuel and Chronicles both give it at 18,000, but this figure is lowered in the title of Ps. lx. to 12,000.

2. That of Amaziah (2 K. xiv. 7; 2 Chr. xxv. 11), who is related to have slain ten thousand Edomites in this valley, and then to have proceeded, with 10,000 prisoners, to the stronghold of the nation at *has-Sela*, the Cliff, *i. e.* Petra, and, after taking it, to have massacred them by hurling them down the precipice which gave its ancient name to the city.

Neither of these notices affords any clue to the situation of the Valley of Salt, nor does the cursory mention of the name ("Gemela" and "Mela") in the *Onomasticon*. By Josephus it is not named on either occasion. Seetzen (*Reisen*, ii. 356) was probably the first to suggest that it was the broad open plain which lies at the lower end of the Dead Sea, and intervenes between the lake itself and the range of heights which crosses the valley at six or eight miles to the south. The same view is taken (more decisively) by Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 109). The plain is in fact the termination of the *Ghôr* or valley through which the Jordan flows from the Lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea. Its N.W. corner is occupied by the *Khashm Usdûm*, a mountain of rock salt, between which and the lake is an extensive salt marsh, while salt streams and brackish springs pervade, more or less, the entire western half of the plain. Without presuming to contradict this suggestion, which yet can hardly be affirmed with safety in the very imperfect condition of our knowledge o the inaccessible regions S. and S.E. of the Dead Sea, it may be well to call attention to some considerations which seem to stand in the way of the implicit reception which most writers have given it since the publication of Dr. R.'s *Researches*.

(*a*) The word *Ge* (גֵּיא), employed for the place in question, is not, to the writer's knowledge, elsewhere applied to a broad valley or sunk plain of the nature of the lower *Ghôr*. Such tracts are denoted in the Scripture by the words *Emek* or *Bika'ah*, while *Ge* appears to be reserved for clefts or ravines of a deeper and narrower character. [VALLEY.]

(*b*) *A priori*, one would expect the tract in question to be called in Scripture by the peculiar name uniformly applied to the more northern parts of the same valley—*ha-Arâbah*—in the same manner that the Arabs now call it *el-Ghôr*—*Ghôr* being their equivalent for the Hebrew *Arâbah*.

(*c*) The name "Salt," though at first sight conclusive, becomes less so on reflection. It does not follow, because the Hebrew word *melach* signifies salt, that therefore the valley *was* salt. A case exactly parallel exists at *el-Milh*, the representative of the ancient MOLADAH, some sixteen miles south of Hebron. Like *melach*, *milh* signifies salt; but there is no reason to believe that there is any salt present there, and Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 201 *note*) himself justly adduces it as "an instance of the usual tendency of popular pronunciation to reduce foreign proper names to a significant form." Just as *el-Milh* is the Arabic representative of the Hebrew Moladah, so possibly was *ge-melach* the Hebrew representative of some archaic Edomite name.

(*d*) What little can be inferred from the narrative as to the situation of the Ge-Melach is in favour of its being nearer to Petra. Assuming Selah to be Petra (the chain of evidence for which

[a] The Received Text of 2 Sam. viii. 13 omits the mention of Edomites; but from a comparison of the parallel passages in 1 Chr. and in the title of Ps. lx. there is good ground for believing that the verse originally stood thus: "And David made himself a name [when he returned from smiting the Aramites] [and when he returned he smote the Edomites] in the Valley of Salt—eighteen thousand;" the two clauses within brackets having been omitted by the Greek and Hebrew scribes respectively, owing to the very close resemblance of the words with which each clause finishes—אֲרָמִים and אֱדֹמִים. This is the conjecture of Thenius (*Exeg Handbuch*), and is adopted by Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, note to the passage). Ewald has shown (*Gesch.* iii. 201, 2) that the whole passage is very much disordered. וַיַּעַשׂ שֵׁם should probably be rendered "and set up a monument," instead of "and gat a name" (Gesen. *Thes.* 1431 b)); Michaelis (*Suppl.* No. 2501, and note to *Bibel für Ungel.*); De Wette (*Bibel*); LXX. Coisl. καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐστηλωμένην; Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr.*), erexit fornicem triumphalem. Raschi interprets it "reputation," and makes the reputation to have arisen from David's good act in burying the dead even of his enemies.

is tolerably connected), it seems difficult to believe that a large body of prisoners should have been dragged for upwards of fifty miles through the heart of a hostile and most difficult country, merely for massacre. [G.]

SA'LU (סַלּוּא: Σαλμών; Alex. Σαλώ: *Salu*). The father of Zimri the prince of the Simeonites, who was slain by Phinehas (Num. xxv. 14). Called also SALOM.

SA'LUM (Σαλούμ: *Esmennus*). 1. SHALLUM, the head of a family of gatekeepers (A. V. "porters") of the Temple (1 Esd. v. 28; comp. Ezr. ii. 42).

2. (Σαλήμος: *Solome.*) SHALLUM, the father of Hilkiah and ancestor of Ezra (1 Esd. viii. 1; comp. Ezr. vii. 2). Called also SADAMIAS and SADOM.

SALUTATION. Salutations may be classed under the two heads of conversational and epistolary. The salutation at meeting consisted in early times of various expressions of blessing, such as "God be gracious unto thee" (Gen. xliii. 29); "Blessed be thou of the Lord" (Ruth iii. 10; 1 Sam. xv. 13); "The Lord be with you," "The Lord bless thee" (Ruth ii. 4); "The blessing of the Lord be upon you; we bless you in the name of the Lord" (Ps. cxxix. 8). Hence the term "bless" received the secondary sense of "salute," and is occasionally so rendered in the A. V. (1 Sam. xiii. 10, xxv. 14; 2 K. iv. 29, x. 15), though not so frequently as it might have been (*e. g.* Gen. xxvii. 23, xlvii. 7, 10; 1 K. viii. 66). The blessing was sometimes accompanied with inquiries as to the health either of the person addressed or his relations. The Hebrew term used in these instances (*shâlôm*[a]) has no special reference to "peace," as stated in the marginal translation, but to general well-being, and strictly answers to our "welfare," as given in the text (Gen. xliii. 27; Ex. xviii. 7). It is used not only in the case of salutation (in which sense it is frequently rendered "to salute," *e. g.* Judg. xviii. 15; 1 Sam. x. 4; 2 K. x. 13); but also in other cases where it is designed to soothe or to encourage a person (Gen. xliii. 23; Judg. vi. 23, xix. 20; 1 Chr. xii. 18; Dan. x. 19; compare 1 Sam. xx. 21, where it is opposed to "hurt;" 2 Sam. xviii. 28, "all is well;" and 2 Sam. xi. 7, where it is applied to the progress of the war). The salutation at parting consisted originally of a simple blessing (Gen. xxiv. 60, xxviii. 1, xlvii. 10; Josh. xxii. 6), but in later times the term *shâlôm* was introduced here also in the form "Go in peace," or rather "Farewell" (1 Sam. i. 17, xx. 42; 2 Sam. xv. 9). This[b] was current at the time of our Saviour's ministry (Mark v. 34; Luke vii. 50; Acts xvi. 36), and is adopted by Him in His parting address to His disciples (John xiv. 27). It had even passed into a salutation on meeting, in such forms as "Peace be to this house" (Luke x. 5), "Peace be unto you" (Luke xxiv. 36; John xx. 19). The more common salutation, however, at this period was borrowed from the Greeks, their word χαίρειν being used both at meeting (Matt. xxvi. 49, xxviii. 9; Luke i. 28), and probably also at departure. In modern times the ordinary mode of address current in the East resembles the Hebrew:—*Es-selám aleykum*, "Peace be on you" (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* ii. 7), and the term "salam" has been introduced into our own language to describe the Oriental salutation.

The forms of greeting that we have noticed, were freely exchanged among persons of different ranks on the occasion of a casual meeting, and this even when they were strangers. Thus Boaz exchanged greeting with his reapers (Ruth ii. 4), the traveller on the road saluted the worker in the field (Ps. cxxix. 8), and members of the same family interchanged greetings on rising in the morning (Prov. xxvii. 14). The only restriction appears to have been in regard to religion, the Jew of old, as the Mohammedan of the present day, paying the compliment only to those whom he considered "brethren," *i. e.* members of the same religious community (Matt. v. 47; Lane, ii. 8; Niebuhr, *Descript.* p. 43). Even the Apostle St. John forbids an interchange of greeting where it implied a wish for the success of a bad cause (2 John 11). In modern times the Orientals are famed for the elaborate formality of their greetings, which occupy a very considerable time; the instances given in the Bible do not bear such a character, and therefore the prohibition addressed to persons engaged in urgent business, "Salute no man by the way" (2 K. iv. 29; Luke x. 4), may best be referred to the delay likely to ensue from subsequent conversation. Among the Persians the monarch was never approached without the salutation "Oh, king! live for ever" (Dan. ii. 4, &c.). There is no evidence that this ever became current among the Jews: the expression in 1 K. i. 31, was elicited by the previous allusion on the part of David to his own decease. In lieu of it we meet with the Greek χαῖρε, "hail!" (Matt. xxvii. 29). The act of salutation was accompanied with a variety of gestures expressive of different degrees of humiliation, and sometimes with a kiss. [ADORATION; KISS.] These acts involved the necessity of dismounting in case a person were riding or driving (Gen. xxiv. 64; 1 Sam. xxv. 23; 2 K. v. 21). The same custom still prevails in the East (Niebuhr's *Descript.* p. 39).

The epistolary salutations in the period subsequent to the O. T. were framed on the model of the Latin style: the addition of the term "peace" may, however, be regarded as a vestige of the old Hebrew form (2 Macc. i. 1). The writer placed his own name first, and then that of the person whom he saluted; it was only in special cases that this order was reversed (2 Macc. i. 1, ix. 19; 1 Esdr. vi. 7). A combination of the first and third persons in the terms of the salutation was not unfrequent (Gal. i. 1, 2; Philem. 1; 2 Pet. i. 1). The term used (either expressed or understood) in the introductory salutation was the Greek χαίρειν in an elliptical construction (1 Macc. x. 18; 2 Macc. ix. 19, 1 Esdr. viii. 9; Acts xxiii. 26); this, however, was more frequently omitted, and the only Apostolic passages in which it occurs are Acts xv. 23 and James i. 1, a coincidence which renders it probable that St. James composed the letter in the former passage. A form of prayer for spiritual mercies was also used, consisting generally of the terms "grace and peace," but in the three Pastoral Epistles and in 2 John, "grace, mercy, and peace," and in Jude "mercy, peace, and love." The concluding salutation consisted occasionally of a translation of the Latin *valete* (Acts xv. 29, xxiii. 30), but more ge-

[a] שָׁלוֹם

[b] The Greek expression is evidently borrowed from the Hebrew, the preposition εἰς not betokening the state *into* which, but answering to the Hebrew לְ in which the person departs.

nerally of the term ἀσπάζομαι, "I salute," or the cognate substantive, accompanied by a prayer for peace or grace. St. Paul, who availed himself of an amanuensis (Rom. xvi. 22), added the salutation with his own hand (1 Cor. xvi. 21; Col. iv. 18; 2 Thes. iii. 17). The omission of the introductory salutation in the Epistle to the Hebrews is very noticeable. [W. L. B.]

SAM'AEL (Σαλαμιήλ: *Salathiel*), a variation for (margin) Salamiei [SHELUMIEL] in Jud. viii. 1 (comp. Num. i. 6). The form in A. V. is given by Aldus. [B. F. W.]

SAMAI'AS (Σαμαΐας: *Semeias*). 1. SHEMAIAH the Levite in the reign of Josiah (1 Esd. i. 9; comp. 2 Chr. xxxv. 9).

2. SHEMAIAH of the sons of Adonikam (1 Esd. viii. 39; comp. Ezr. viii. 13).

3. (Σεμεΐ; Alex. Σεμεΐας: om. in Vulg.) The "great Samaias," father of Ananias and Jonathas (Tob. v. 13).

SAMA'RIA (שֹׁמְרוֹן, *i. e.* Shomerôn: Chald. שֶׁמְרִין: Σαμάρεια, Σεμηρών, Σομόραν[a]; Joseph. Σαμάρεια, but *Ant.* viii. 12, §5, Σεμαρεών: *Samaria*), a city of Palestine.

The word *Shomerôn* means, etymologically, "pertaining to a watch," or "a watch-mountain;" and we should almost be inclined to think that the peculiarity of the situation of Samaria gave occasion to its name. In the territory originally belonging to the tribe of Joseph, about six miles to the north-west of Shechem, there is a wide basin-shaped valley, encircled with high hills, almost on the edge of the great plain which borders upon the Mediterranean. In the centre of this basin, which is on a lower level than the valley of Shechem, rises a less elevated oblong hill, with steep yet accessible sides, and a long flat top. This hill was chosen by Omri, as the site of the capital of the kingdom of Israel. The first capital after the secession of the ten tribes had been Shechem itself, whither all Israel had come to make Rehoboam king. On the separation being fully accomplished, Jeroboam rebuilt that city (1 K. xii. 25), which had been razed to the ground by Abimelech (Judg. ix. 45). But he soon moved to Tirzah, a place, as Dr. Stanley observes, of great and proverbial beauty (Cant. vi. 4); which continued to be the royal residence until Zimri burnt the palace and perished in its ruins (1 K. xiv. 17; xv. 21, 33; xvi. 6-18). Omri, who prevailed in the contest for the kingdom that ensued, after "reigning six years" there, "bought the hill of Samaria (הַהַר שֹׁמְרוֹן; τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σεμηρών) of Shemer (שֶׁמֶר; Σεμήρ, Joseph. Σέμαρος) for two talents of silver, and built on the hill, and called the name of the city which he built, after the name of the owner of the hill, Samaria" (1 K. xvi. 23, 24). This statement of course dispenses with the etymology above alluded to; but the central position of the hill, as Herod sagaciously observed long afterwards, made it admirably adapted for a place of *observation*, and a fortress to awe the neighbouring country. And the singular beauty of the spot, upon which, to this hour, travellers dwell with admiration, may have struck Omri, as it afterwards struck the tasteful Idumean (*B. J.* i. 21, §2; *Ant.* xv. 8, §5).

From the date of Omri's purchase, B.C. 925, Samaria retained its dignity as the capital of the ten tribes. Ahab built a temple to Baal there (1 K. xvi. 32, 33); and from this circumstance a portion of the city, possibly fortified by a separate wall, was called "the city of the house of Baal" (2 K. x. 25). Samaria must have been a place of great strength. It was twice besieged by the Syrians, in B.C. 901 (1 K. xx. 1), and in B.C. 892 (2 K. vi. 24–vii. 20); but on both occasions the siege was ineffectual. On the latter, indeed, it was relieved miraculously, but not until the inhabitants had suffered almost incredible horrors from famine during their protracted resistance. The possessor of Samaria was considered to be *de facto* king of Israel (2 K. xv. 13, 14); and woes denounced against the nation were directed against it by name (Is. vii. 9, &c.). In B.C. 721, Samaria was taken, after a siege of three years, by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria (2 K. xviii. 9, 10), and the kingdom of the ten tribes was put an end to. [See below, No. 3.] Some years afterwards the district of which Samaria was the centre was repeopled by Esarhaddon; but we do not hear especially of the city until the days of Alexander the Great. That conqueror took the city, which seems to have somewhat recovered itself (Euseb. *Chron.* ad ann. Abr. 1684), killed a large portion of the inhabitants, and suffered the remainder to settle at Shechem. [SHECHEM: SYCHAR.] He replaced them by a colony of Syro-Macedonians, and gave the adjacent territory (Σαμαρεῖτις χώρα) to the Jews to inhabit (Joseph. *c. Ap.* ii. 4). These Syro-Macedonians occupied the city until the time of John Hyrcanus. It was then a place of considerable importance, for Josephus describes it (*Ant.* xiii. 10, §2) as a very strong city (πόλις ὀχυρωτάτη). John Hyrcanus took it after a year's siege, and did his best to demolish it entirely. He intersected the hill on which it lay with trenches: into these he conducted the natural brooks, and thus undermined its foundations. "In fact," says the Jewish historian, "he took away all evidence of the very existence of the city." This story at first sight seems rather exaggerated, and inconsistent with the hilly site of Samaria. It may have referred only to the suburbs lying at its foot. "But," says Prideaux (*Conn.* B.C. 109, note), "Benjamin of Tudela, who was in the place, tells us in his Itinerary[b] that there were upon the top of this hill many fountains of water, and from these water enough may have been derived to fill these trenches." It should also be recollected that the hill of Samaria was lower than the hills in its neighbourhood. This may account for the existence of these springs. Josephus describes the extremities to which the inhabitants were reduced during this siege, much in the same way that the author of the Book of Kings does during that of Benhadad (comp. *Ant.* xiii. 10, §2, with 2 K. vi. 25). John Hyrcanus' reasons for attacking Samaria were the injuries which its inhabitants had done to the people of Marissa, colonists and allies of the Jews. This confirms what was said above, of the cession of the Samaritan neighbourhood to the Jews by Alexander the Great.

After this disaster (which occurred in B.C. 109), the Jews inhabited what remained of the city; at least we find it in their possession in the time of Alexander Jannaeus (*Ant.* xiii. 15, §4), and until

[a] The prevailing LXX. form in the O. T. is Σαμάρεια, with the following remarkable exceptions:—1 K. xvi. 24, Σεμερών ... Σεμηρών (Mai, Σαμηρών); Ezr. iv. 10 Σουμόρων (Mai. Σωμώρων); Neh. iv. 2, Is vii. 9, Σομόρον.

[b] No such passage, however, now exists in Benjamin of Tudela. See the editions of Asher and of Bohn.

Pompey gave it back to the descendants of its original inhabitants (*τοῖς οἰκήτοσιν*). These *οἰκήτορες* may possibly have been the Syro-Macedonians, but it is more probable that they were Samaritans proper, whose ancestors had been dispossessed by the colonists of Alexander the Great. By directions of Gabinius, Samaria and other demolished cities were rebuilt (*Ant.* xiv. 5, §3). But its more effectual rebuilding was undertaken by Herod the Great, to whom it had been granted by Augustus, on the death of Antony and Cleopatra (*Ant.* xiii. 10, §3, xv. 8, §5; *B. J.* i. 20, §3). He called it *Sebaste* Σεβαστή = *Augusta*, after the name of his patron (*Ant.* xv. 7, §7). Josephus gives an elaborate description of Herod's improvements. The wall surrounding it was 20 stadia in length. In the middle of it was a close, of a stadium and a half square, containing a magnificent temple, dedicated to the Caesar. It was colonised by 6000 veterans and others, for whose support a most beautiful and rich district surrounding the city was appropriated. Herod's motives in these arrangements were probably, first, the occupation of a commanding position, and then the desire of distinguishing himself for taste by the embellishment of a spot already so adorned by nature (*Ant.* xv. 8, §5; *B. J.* i. 20, §3; 21, §2).

How long Samaria maintained its splendour after Herod's improvements we are not informed. In the N. T. the city itself does not appear to be mentioned, but rather a portion of *the district* to which, even in older times, it had extended its name. Our Version, indeed, of Acts viii. 5 says that Philip the deacon "went down to *the* city of Samaria;" but the Greek of the passage is simply *εἰς πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας*. And we may fairly argue, both from the absence of the definite article, and from the probability that, had the city Samaria been intended, the term employed would have been *Sebaste*, that some one city of the district, the name of which is not specified, was in the mind of the writer. In verse 9 of the same chapter "the people of Samaria" represents *τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρείας*; and the phrase in verse 25, "many villages of the Samaritans," shows that the operations of evangelizing were not confined to the city of Samaria itself, if they were ever carried on there. Comp. Matt. x. 5, "Into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not;" and John iv. 4, 5, where, after it has been said, "And He must needs go through Samaria," obviously the district, it is subjoined, "Then cometh He to *a* city of Samaria called Sychar." Henceforth its history is very unconnected. Septimius Severus planted a Roman colony there in the beginning of the third century (Ulpian, *Leg. I. de Censibus*, quoted by Dr. Robinson). Various specimens of coins struck on the spot have been preserved, extending from Nero to Geta, the brother of Caracalla (Vaillant, in *Numism. Imper.*, and Noris, quoted by Reland). But, though the seat of a Roman colony, it could not have been a place of much political importance. We find in the *Codex* of Theodosius, that by A.D. 409 the Holy Land had been divided into Palaestina Prima, Secunda, and Tertia. Palaestina Prima included the country of the Philistines, Samaria (the district), and the northern part of Judaea; but its capital was not Sebaste, but Caesarea. In an ecclesiastical point of view it stood rather higher. It was an episcopal see probably as early as the third century. At any rate its bishop was present amongst those of Palestine at the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325, and subscribed its acts as "Maximus (al. Marinus) Sebastenus." The names of some of his successors have been preserved—the latest of them mentioned is Pelagius, who attended the Synod at Jerusalem, A.D. 536. The title of the see occurs in the earlier Greek *Notitiae*, and in the later Latin ones (Reland, *Pal.* 214-229). Sebaste fell into the hands of the Mahommedans during the siege of Jerusalem. In the course of the Crusades a Latin bishopric was established there, the title of which was recognised by the Roman Church until the fourteenth century. At this day the city of Omri and of Herod is represented by a small village retaining few vestiges of the past except its name, *Sebústieh*, an Arabic corruption of Sebaste. Some architectural remains it has, partly of Christian construction or adaptation, as the ruined church of St. John the Baptist, partly, perhaps, traces of Idumaean magnificence. "A long avenue of broken pillars (says Dr. Stanley), apparently the main street of Herod's city, here, as at Palmyra and Damascus, adorned by a colonnade on each side, still lines the topmost terrace of the hill." But the fragmentary aspect of the whole place exhibits a present fulfilment of the prophecy of Micah (i. 6), though it may have been fulfilled more than once previously by the ravages of Shalmaneser or of John Hyrcanus. "I will make Samaria as an heap of the field, and as plantings of a vineyard: and I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will discover the foundations thereof" (Mic. i. 6; comp. Hos. xiii. 16).

St. Jerome, whose acquaintance with Palestine imparts a sort of probability to the tradition which prevailed so strongly in later days, asserts that Sebaste, which he invariably identifies with Samaria, was the place in which St. John the Baptist was imprisoned and suffered death. He also makes it the burial-place of the prophets Elisha and Obadiah (see various passages cited by Reland, pp. 980-981). Epiphanius is at great pains, in his work *Adv. Haereses* (lib. i.), in which he treats of the heresies of the Samaritans with singular minuteness, to account for the origin of their name. He interprets it as שֹׁמְרִים, *φύλακες*, or "keepers." The hill on which the city was built was, he says, designated Somer or Someron (*Σωμήρ, Σωμόρων*), from a certain Somoron the son of Somer, whom he considers to have been of the stock of the ancient Perizzites or Girgashites, themselves descendants of Canaan and Ham. But he adds, the inhabitants may have been called Samaritans from their guarding the land, or (coming down much later in their history) from their guarding the Law, as distinguished from the later writings of the Jewish Canon, which they refused to allow. [See SAMARITANS.]

For modern descriptions of the condition of Samaria and its neighbourhood, see Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, ii. 127-33; Reland's *Palaestina*, 344, 979-982; Raumer's *Palästina*, 144-148, notes; Van de Velde's *Syria and Palestine*, i. 363-388, and ii. 295, 296, *Map*, and *Memoir*; Dr. Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, 242-246; and a short article by Mr. G. Williams in the *Dict. of Geog.* Dr. Kitto, in his *Physical History of Palestine*, pp. cxvii., cxviii., has an interesting reference to and extract from Sandys, illustrative of its topography and general aspect at the commencement of the seventeenth century.

2. The Samaria named in the present text of 1 Macc. v. 66 (*τὴν Σαμάρειαν*: *Samariam*) is evidently an error. At any rate the well-known Se

Sebustiyeh, the ancient SAMARIA, from the E.N.E.

Behind the city are the mountains of Ephraim, verging on the Plain of Sharon. The Mediterranean Sea is in the furthest distance. The original sketch from which this view is taken was made by William Tipping, Esq., in 1842, and is engraved by his kind permission.

maria of the Old and New Testaments cannot be intended, for it is obvious that Judas, in passing from Hebron to the land of the Philistines (Azotus), could not make so immense a *détour*. The true correction is doubtless supplied by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 8, §6), who has Marissa (*i. e.* MARESHA), a place which lay in the road from Hebron to the Philistine Plain. One of the ancient Latin Versions exhibits the same reading; which is accepted by Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 361) and a host of commentators (see Grimm, *Kurzg. Exeg. Handb.*, on the passage). Drusius proposed Shaaraim; but this is hardly so feasible as Maresha, and has no external support.

3. SAMARIA (ἡ Σαμαρεῖτις χώρα; Joseph. χώρα Σαμαρέων; Ptol. Σαμαρίς, Σαμάρεια: *Samaria*).

. SAMARITANS (שֹׁמְרֹנִים: Σαμαρεῖται; Joseph. Σαμαρεῖς).

There are few questions in Biblical philology upon which, in recent times, scholars have come to such opposite conclusions as the extent of the territory to which the former of these words is applicable, and the origin of the people to which the latter is applied in the N. T. But a probable solution of them may be gained by careful attention to the historical statements of Holy Scripture and of Josephus, and by a consideration of the geographical features of Palestine.

In the strictest sense of the term, a SAMARITAN would be an inhabitant of the *city* of Samaria. But it is not found at all in this sense, exclusively at any rate, in the O. T. In fact, it only occurs there once, and then in a wider signification, in 2 K. xvii. 29. There it is employed to designate those whom the king of Assyria had "placed in (what are called) the *cities* of Samaria (whatever these may be) instead of the children of Israel."

Were the word Samaritan found elsewhere in the O. T., it would have designated those who belonged to the kingdom of the ten tribes, which in a large sense was called Samaria. And as the extent of that kingdom varied, which it did very much, gradually diminishing to the time of Shalmaneser, so the extent of the word Samaritan would have varied.

SAMARIA at first included all the tribes over which Jeroboam made himself king, whether east or west of the river Jordan. Hence, even before the *city* of Samaria existed, we find the "old prophet who dwelt at Bethel" describing the predictions of "the man of God who came from Judah," in reference to the altar at Bethel, as directed not merely against that altar, but "against all the houses of the high-places which are in *the cities of Samaria*" (1 K. xiii. 32), *i. e.*, of course, the cities of which Samaria was, or was to be, the head or capital. In other places in the historical books of the O. T. (with the exception of 2 K. xvii. 24, 26, 28, 29) Samaria seems to denote the *city* exclusively. But the prophets use the word, much as did the old prophet of Bethel, in a greatly extended sense. Thus the "calf of Bethel" is called by Hosea (viii. 5, 6) the "calf of Samaria;" in Amos (iii. 9) the "mountains of Samaria" are spoken of; and the "captivity of Samaria and her daughters" is a phrase found in Ezekiel (xvi. 53). Hence the word Samaritan must have denoted every one subject to the king of the northern capital.

But, whatever extent the word might have acquired, it necessarily became contracted as the limits of the kingdom of Israel became contracted. In all probability the territory of Simeon and that of Dan were very early absorbed in the kingdom of Judah. This would be one limitation. Next, in B.C. 771 and 740 respectively, "Pul, king of Assyria, and Tilgath-pilneser, king of Assyria, carried away the Reubenites and the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan" (1 Chr. v. 26). This would be a second limitation. But the latter of these kings went further: "He took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria" (2 K. xv. 29). This would be a third

limitation. Nearly a century before, B.C. 860, "the Lord had begun to cut Israel short;" for "Hazael, king of Syria, smote them in all the coasts of Israel; from Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the river Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan" (2 K. x. 32, 33). This, however, as we may conjecture from the diversity of expression, had been merely a passing inroad, and had involved no permanent subjection of the country, or deportation of its inhabitants. The invasions of Pul and of Tilgath-pilneser were utter clearances of the population. The territory thus desolated by them was probably occupied by degrees by the pushing forward of the neighbouring heathen, or by straggling families of the Israelites themselves. In reference to the northern part of Galilee we know that a heathen population prevailed. Hence the phrase "Galilee of the Nations," or "Gentiles" (Is. ix. 1; 1 Mac. v. 15). And no doubt this was the case also beyond Jordan.

But we have yet to arrive at a fourth limitation of the kingdom of Samaria, and, by consequence, of the word Samaritan. It is evident from an occurrence in Hezekiah's reign, that just before the deposition and death of Hoshea, the last king of Israel, the authority of the king of Judah, or, at least, his influence, was recognised by portions of Asher, Issachar, and Zebulun, and even of Ephraim and Manasseh (2 Chr. xxx. 1-26). Men came from all those tribes to the Passover at Jerusalem. This was about B.C. 726. In fact, to such miserable limits had the kingdom of Samaria been reduced, that when, two or three years afterwards, we are told that "Shalmaneser came up throughout the land," and after a siege of three years "took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor by the river Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (2 K. xvii. 5, 6), and when again we are told that "Israel was carried away out of their own land into Assyria" (2 K. xvii. 23), we must suppose a very small field of operations. Samaria (the city), and a few adjacent cities or villages only, represented that dominion which had once extended from Bethel to Dan northwards, and from the Mediterranean to the borders of Syria and Ammon eastwards. This is further confirmed by what we read of Josiah's progress, in B.C. 641, through "the cities of Manasseh and Ephraim and Simeon, even unto Naphtali" (2 Chr. xxxiv. 6). Such a progress would have been impracticable had the number of cities and villages occupied by the persons then called Samaritans been at all large.

This, however, brings us more closely to the second point of our discussion, the origin of those who are in 2 K. xvii. 29, and in the N. T., called Samaritans. Shalmaneser, as we have seen (2 K. xvii. 5, 6, 26), carried Israel, *i. e.* the remnant of the ten tribes which still acknowledged Hoshea's authority, into Assyria. This remnant consisted, as has been shown, of Samaria (the city) and a few adjacent cities and villages. Now, 1. Did he carry away all their inhabitants, or no? 2. Whether they were wholly or only partially desolated, who replaced the deported population? On the answer to these inquiries will depend our determination of the questions, were the Samaritans a mixed race, composed partly of Jews, partly of new settlers, or were they purely of foreign extraction?

In reference to the former of these inquiries, it may be observed that the language of Scripture admits of scarcely a doubt. "Israel was carried away" (2 K. xvii. 6, 23), and other nations were placed "in the cities of Samaria *instead* of the children of Israel" (2 K. xvii. 24). There is no mention whatever, as in the case of the somewhat parallel destruction of the kingdom of Judah, of "the poor of the land being left to be vine-dressers and husbandmen" (2 K. xxv. 12). We add, that, had any been left, it would have been impossible for the new inhabitants to have been so utterly unable to acquaint themselves with "the manner of the God of the land," as to require to be taught by some priest of the captivity sent from the king of Assyria. Besides, it was not an unusual thing with Oriental conquerors actually to exhaust a land of its inhabitants. Comp. Herod. iii. 149, "The Persians dragged (*σαγηνεύσαντες*) Samos, and delivered it up to Syloson stript of all its men;" and, again, Herod. vi. 31, for the application of the same treatment to other islands, where the process called *σαγηνεύειν* is described, and is compared to a hunting out of the population (*ἐκθηρεύειν*). Such a capture is presently contrasted with the capture of other territories to which *σαγηνεύειν* was not applied. Josephus's phrase in reference to the cities of Samaria is that Shalmaneser "transplanted all the people" (*Ant.* ix. 14, §1). A threat against Jerusalem, which was indeed only partially carried out, shows how complete and summary the desolation of the last relics of the sister kingdom must have been: "I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab: and I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish: he wipeth and turneth it upon the face thereof" (2 K. xxi. 13). This was uttered within forty years after B.C. 721, during the reign of Manasseh. It must have derived much strength from the recentness and proximity of the calamity.

We may then conclude that the cities of Samaria were not merely partially, but wholly evacuated of their inhabitants in B.C. 721, and that they remained in this desolated state until, in the words of 2 K. xvii. 24, "the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava (Ivah, 2 K. xviii. 34), and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel: and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof." Thus the new Samaritans—for such we must now call them—were Assyrians by birth or subjugation, were utterly strangers in the cities of Samaria, and were exclusively the inhabitants of those cities. An incidental question, however, arises, Who was the king of Assyria that effected this colonization? At first sight, one would suppose Shalmaneser; for the narrative is scarcely broken, and the repeopling seems to be a natural sequence of the depopulation. Such would appear to have been Josephus' view, for he says of Shalmaneser, "when he had removed the people out of their land, he brought other nations out of Cuthah, a place so called (for there is still in Persia a river of that name), into Samaria and the country of the Israelites" (*Ant.* ix. 14, §1, 3; x. 9, §7); but he must have been led to this interpretation simply by the juxtaposition of the two transactions in the Hebrew text. The Samaritans themselves, in Ezr. iv. 2, 10, attributed their colonization not to Shalmaneser, but to "Esar-haddon, king of Assur," or to "the great and noble Asnapper," either the king himself or one of his generals. It was probably on his invasion of Judah, in the reign of Manasseh, about B.C. 677, that Esarhaddon discovered the

impolicy of leaving a tract upon the very frontiers of that kingdom thus desolate, and determined to garrison it with foreigners. The fact, too, that some of these foreigners came from Babylon would seem to direct us to Esarhaddon, rather than to his grandfather, Shalmaneser. It was only recently that Babylon had come into the hands of the Assyrian king. And there is another reason why this date should be preferred. It coincides with the termination of the sixty-five years of Isaiah's prophecy, delivered B.C. 742, within which "Ephraim should be broken that it should not be a people" (Is. vii. 8). This was not effectually accomplished until the very land itself was occupied by strangers. So long as this had not taken place, there might be hope of return: after it had taken place, no hope. Josephus (*Ant.* x. 9, §7) expressly notices this difference in the cases of the ten and of the two tribes. The land of the former became the possession of foreigners, the land of the latter not so.

These strangers, whom we will now assume to have been placed in "the cities of Samaria" by Esarhaddon, were of course idolaters, and worshipped a strange medley of divinities. Each of the five nations, says Josephus, who is confirmed by the words of Scripture, had its own god. No place was found for the worship of Him who had once called the land His own, and whose it was still. God's displeasure was kindled, and they were infested by beasts of prey, which had probably increased to a great extent before their entrance upon it. "The Lord sent lions among them, which slew some of them." On their explaining their miserable condition to the king of Assyria, he despatched one of the captive priests to teach them "how they should fear the Lord." The priest came accordingly, and henceforth, in the language of the sacred historian, they "feared the Lord, and served their graven images, both their children and their children's children: as did their fathers, so do they unto this day" (2 K. xvii. 41). This last sentence was probably inserted by Ezra. It serves two purposes: 1st, to qualify the pretensions of the Samaritans of Ezra's time to be pure worshippers of God—they were no more exclusively His servants, than was the Roman emperor who desired to place a statue of Christ in the Pantheon entitled to be called a Christian; and, 2ndly, to show how entirely the Samaritans of later days differed from their ancestors in respect to idolatry. Josephus' account of the distress of the Samaritans, and of the remedy for it, is very similar, with the exception that with him they are afflicted with pestilence.

Such was the origin of the post-captivity or new Samaritans—men not of Jewish extraction, but from the further East: "the Cuthaeans had formerly belonged to the inner parts of Persia and Media, but were then called 'Samaritans,' taking the name of the country to which they were removed," says Josephus (*Ant.* x. 9, §7). And again he says (*Ant.* ix. 14, §3) they are called "in Hebrew 'Cuthaeans,' but in Greek 'Samaritans.'" Our Lord expressly terms them ἀλλογενεῖς (Luke xvii. 18); and Josephus' whole account of them shows that he believed them to have been μέτοικοι ἀλλοεθνεῖς, though, as he tells us in two places (*Ant.* ix. 14, §3, and xi. 8, §6), they sometimes gave a different account of their origin. But of this bye and bye. A gap occurs in their history until Judah has returned from captivity. They then desire to be allowed to participate in the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem. It is curious, and perhaps indicative of the treacherous character of their designs, to find them even then called, by anticipation, "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" (Ezr. iv. 1), a title which they afterwards fully justified. But, so far as professions go, they are not enemies; they are most anxious to be friends. Their religion, they assert, is the same as that of the two tribes, therefore they have a right to share in that great religious undertaking. But they do not call it a *national* undertaking. They advance no pretensions to Jewish blood. They confess their Assyrian descent, and even put it forward ostentatiously, perhaps to enhance the merit of their partial conversion to God. That it was but partial they give no hint. It may have become purer already, but we have no information that it had. Be this, however, as it may, the Jews do not listen favourably to their overtures. Ezra, no doubt, from whose pen we have a record of the transaction, saw them through and through. On this the Samaritans throw off the mask, and become open enemies, frustrate the operations of the Jews through the reigns of two Persian kings, and are only effectually silenced in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, B.C. 519.

The feud, thus unhappily begun, grew year by year more inveterate. It is probable, too, that the more the Samaritans detached themselves from idols, and became devoted exclusively to a sort of worship of Jehovah, the more they resented the contempt with which the Jews treated their offers of fraternization. Matters at length came to a climax. About B.C. 409, a certain Manasseh, a man of priestly lineage, on being expelled from Jerusalem by Nehemiah for an unlawful marriage, obtained permission from the Persian king of his day, Darius Nothus, to build a temple on Mount Gerizim, for the Samaritans, with whom he had found refuge. The only thing wanted to crystallise the opposition between the two races, viz., a rallying point for schismatical worship, being now obtained, their animosity became more intense than ever. The Samaritans are said to have done everything in their power to annoy the Jews. They would refuse hospitality to pilgrims on their road to Jerusalem, as in our Lord's case. They would even waylay them in their journey (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 6, §1); and many were compelled through fear to take the longer route by the east of Jordan. Certain Samaritans were said to have once penetrated into the Temple of Jerusalem, and to have defiled it by scattering dead men's bones on the sacred pavement (*Ant.* xviii. 2, §2). We are told too of a strange piece of mockery which must have been especially resented. It was the custom of the Jews to communicate to their brethren still in Babylon the exact day and hour of the rising of the paschal moon, by beacon-fires commencing from Mount Olivet, and flashing forward from hill to hill until they were mirrored in the Euphrates. So the Greek poet represents Agamemnon as conveying the news of Troy's capture to the anxious watchers at Mycenae. Those who "sat by the waters of Babylon" looked for the signal with much interest. It enabled them to share in the devotions of those who were in their father-land, and it proved to them that they were not forgotten. The Samaritans thought scorn of these feelings, and would not unfrequently deceive and disappoint them, by kindling a rival flame and perplexing the watchers on the mountains.[a] Their

[a] "This fact," says Dr. Trench, "is mentioned by Makrizi (see De Sacy's *Chrest. Arabe*, ii. 159), who affirms that it was this which put the Jews on making accurate

own temple on Gerizim they considered to be much superior to that at Jerusalem. There they sacrificed at passover. Towards the mountain, even after the temple on it had fallen, wherever they were, they directed their worship. To their copy of the Law they arrogated an antiquity and authority greater than attached to any copy in the possession of the Jews. The Law (*i. e.* the five books of Moses) was their sole code; for they rejected every other book in the Jewish canon. And they professed to observe it better than did the Jews themselves, employing the expression not unfrequently, "The Jews indeed do so and so; but we, observing the letter of the Law, do otherwise."

The Jews, on the other hand, were not more conciliatory in their treatment of the Samaritans. The copy of the Law possessed by that people they declared to be the legacy of an apostate (Manasseh), and cast grave suspicions upon its genuineness. Certain other Jewish renegades had from time to time taken refuge with the Samaritans. Hence, by degrees, the Samaritans claimed to partake of Jewish blood, especially if doing so happened to suit their interest (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, §6; ix. 14, §3). A remarkable instance of this is exhibited in a request which they made to Alexander the Great, about B.C. 332. They desired to be excused payment of tribute in the Sabbatical year, on the plea that as true Israelites, descendants of Ephraim and Manasseh, sons of Joseph, they refrained from cultivating their land in that year. Alexander, on cross-questioning them, discovered the hollowness of their pretensions. (They were greatly disconcerted at their failure, and their dissatisfaction probably led to the conduct which induced Alexander to besiege and destroy the city of Samaria. Shechem was indeed their metropolis, but the destruction of Samaria seems to have satisfied Alexander.) Another instance of claim to Jewish descent appears in the words of the woman of Samaria to our Lord, John iv. 12, "Art Thou greater than our father Jacob, who gave us the well?" A question which she puts without recollecting that she had just before strongly contrasted the Jews and the Samaritans. Very far were the Jews from admitting this claim to consanguinity on the part of these people. They were ever reminding them that they were after all mere Cuthaeans, mere strangers from Assyria. They accused them of worshipping the idol-gods buried long ago under the oak of Shechem (Gen. xxxv. 4). They would have no dealings with them that they could possibly avoid.[b] "Thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil," was the mode in which they expressed themselves when at a loss for a bitter reproach. Every thing that a Samaritan had touched was as swine's flesh to them. The Samaritan was publicly cursed in their synagogues—could not be adduced as a witness in the Jewish courts—could not be admitted to any sort of proselytism—and was thus, so far as the Jew could affect his position, excluded from hope of eternal life. The traditional hatred in which the Jew held him is expressed in Ecclus. l. 25, 26, "There be two manner of nations which my heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation: they that sit on the mountain of Samaria; and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem." And so long was it before such a temper could be banished from the Jewish mind, that we find even the Apostles believing that an inhospitable slight shown by a Samaritan village to Christ would be not unduly avenged by calling down fire from heaven.

"Ye know not what spirit ye are of," said the large-hearted Son of Man, and we find Him on no one occasion uttering anything to the disparagement of the Samaritans. His words, however, and the records of His ministrations confirm most thoroughly the view which has been taken above, that the Samaritans were not Jews. At the first sending forth of the Twelve (Matt. x. 5, 6) He charges them, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." So again, in His final address to them on Mount Olivet, "Ye shall be witnesses to Me in Jerusalem and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth" (Acts i. 8). So the nine unthankful lepers, Jews, were contrasted by Him with the tenth leper, the thankful stranger (ἀλλογενής), who was a Samaritan. So, in His well-known parable, a merciful Samaritan is contrasted with the unmerciful priest and Levite. And the very worship of the two races is described by Him as different in character. "Ye worship ye know not what," this is said of the Samaritans: "We know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews" (John iv. 22).

Such were the Samaritans of our Lord's day: a people distinct from the Jews, though lying in the very midst of the Jews; a people preserving their identity, though seven centuries had rolled away since they had been brought from Assyria by Esarhaddon, and though they had abandoned their polytheism for a sort of ultra Mosaicism; a people, who—though their limits had been gradually contracted, and the rallying place of their religion on Mount Gerizim had been destroyed one hundred and sixty years before by John Hyrcanus (B.C. 130), and though Samaria (the city) had been again and again destroyed, and though their territory had been the battle-field of Syria and Egypt—still preserved their nationality, still worshipped from Shechem and their other impoverished settlements towards their sacred hill; still retained their nationality, and could not coalesce with the Jews:

> ὄξος τ' ἀλειφά τ' ἐγχέας ταὐτῷ κύτει,
> διχοστατοῦντ ἂν οὐ φίλως προσεννέπους.

Not indeed that we must suppose that the whole of the country called in our Lord's time Samaria, was in the possession of the Cuthaean Samaritans, or that it had ever been so. "Samaria," says Josephus, (*B. J.* iii. 3, §4) "lies between Judæa and Galilee. It commences from a village called Ginaea (*Jenin*), on the great plain (that of Esdraelon), and extends to the toparchy of Acrabatta," in the lower part of the territory of Ephraim. These points, indicating the extreme northern and the extreme southern parallels of latitude between which Samaria was situated, enable us to fix its boundaries with tole-

calculations to determine the moment of the new moon's appearance (comp. Schoettgen's *Hor. Heb.* i. 344)."

[b] This prejudice had, of course, sometimes to give way to necessity, for the disciples had gone to Sychar to buy food, while our Lord was talking with the woman of Samaria by the well in its suburb (John iv. 8). And from Luke ix. 52, we learn that the disciples went before our Lord at His command into a certain village of the Samaritans "to make ready" for Him. Unless, indeed (though, as we see on both occasions, our Lord's influence over them was not yet complete), we are to attribute this partial abandonment of their ordinary scruples to the change which His example had already wrought in them.

rable certainty. It was bounded northward by the range of hills which commences at Mount Carmel on the west, and, after making a bend to the south-west, runs almost due east to the valley of the Jordan, forming the southern border of the plain of Esdraelon. It touched towards the south, as nearly as possible, the northern limits of Benjamin. Thus it comprehended the ancient territory of Ephraim, and of those Manassites who were west of Jordan. "Its character," Josephus continues, "is in no respect different from that of Judaea. Both abound in mountains and plains, and are suited for agriculture, and productive, wooded, and full of fruits both wild and cultivated. They are not abundantly watered; but much rain falls there. The springs are of an exceedingly sweet taste; and, on account of the quantity of good grass, the cattle there produce more milk than elsewhere. But the best proof of their richness and fertility is that both are thickly populated." The accounts of modern travellers confirm this description by the Jewish historian of the "good land" which was allotted to that powerful portion of the house of Joseph which crossed the Jordan, on the first division of the territory. The Cuthaean Samaritans, however, possessed only a few towns and villages of this large area, and these lay almost together in the centre of the district. Shechem or Sychar (as it was contemptuously designated) was their chief settlement, even before Alexander the Great destroyed Samaria, probably because it lay almost close to Mount Gerizim. Afterwards it became more prominently so, and there, on the destruction of the Temple on Gerizim, by John Hyrcanus (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9, §1), they built themselves a temple. The modern representative of Shechem is *Nâblus*, a corruption of Neapolis, or the "New Town," built by Vespasian a little to the west of the older town which was then ruined. At *Nâblus* the Samaritans have still a settlement, consisting of about 200 persons. Yet they observe the Law, and celebrate the Passover on a sacred spot on Mount Gerizim, with an exactness of minute ceremonial which the Jews themselves have long intermitted:

"Quanquam diruta, servat
Ignem Trojanum, et Vestam colit Alba minorem."

The Samaritans were very troublesome both to their Jewish neighbours and to their Roman masters, in the first century, A.D. Pilate chastised them with severity which led to his own downfall (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4, §1), and a slaughter of 10,600 of them took place under Vespasian (*B. J.* iii. 7, §32). In spite of these reverses they increased greatly in numbers towards its termination, and appear to have grown into importance under Dositheus, who was probably an apostate Jew. Epiphanius (*adv. Haereses*, lib. i.), in the fourth century, considers them to be the chief and most dangerous adversaries of Christianity, and he enumerates the several sects into which they had by that time divided themselves. They were popularly, and even by some of the Fathers, confounded with the Jews, insomuch that a legal interpretation of the Gospel was described as a tendency to Σαμαρειτισμός or Ἰουδαϊσμός. This confusion, however, did not extend to an identification of the two races. It was simply an assertion that their extreme opinions were identical. And previously to an outrage which they committed on the Christians at Neapolis in the reign of Zeno, towards the end of the fifth century, the distinction between them and the Jews was sufficiently known, and even recognised in the Theodosian Code. This was so severely punished, that they sank into an obscurity, which, though they are just noticed by travellers of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, was scarcely broken until the sixteenth century. In the latter half of that century a correspondence with them was commenced by Joseph Scaliger. (De Sacy has edited two of their letters to that eminent scholar.) Job Ludolf received a letter from them, in the latter half of the next century. These three letters are to be found in Eichhorn's *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur*, vol. xiii. They are of great archaeological interest, and enter very minutely into the observances of the Samaritan ritual. Among other points worthy of notice in them is the inconsistency displayed by the writers in valuing themselves on not being Jews, and yet claiming to be descendants of Joseph. See also De Sacy's *Correspondance des Samaritains*, &c., in *Notices et Extr. des MSS. de la Biblioth. du Roi*, &c., vol. xii. And, for more modern accounts of the people themselves, Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, ii. 280-311; iii. 129-30; Wilson's *Lands of the Bible* ii. 46-78; Van de Velde's *Syria and Palestine*, ii 296 seq.; Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 240 Rogers' *Notices of the Modern Samaritans*, p. 25; Grove's account of their Day of Atonement in *Vacation Tourists* for 1861; and Dr. Stanley's, of their Passover, in his *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, App. iii.

The view maintained in the above remarks, as to the purely Assyrian origin of the New Samaritans is that of Suicer, Reland, Hammond, Drusius in the *Critici Sacri*, Maldonatus, Hengstenberg, Hävernick Robinson, and Dean Trench. The reader is referred to the very clear but too brief discussion of the subject by the last mentioned learned writer, in his *Parables*, pp. 310, 311, and to the authorities, especially De Sacy, which are there quoted. There is no doubt in the world that it was the ancient view. We have seen what Josephus said, and Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, say the same thing. Socrates, it must be admitted, calls the Samaritans ἀπόσχισμα Ἰουδαίων, but he stands almost alone among the ancients in making this assertion. Origen and Cyril indeed both mention their claim to descent from Joseph, as evidenced in the statement of the woman at the well, but mention it only to declare it unfounded. Others, as Winer, Döllinger, and Dr. Davidson, have held a different view, which may be expressed thus in Döllinger's own words: "In the northern part of the Promised Land (as opposed to Judaea proper) there grew up a mingled race which drew its origin from the remnant of the Israelites who were left behind in the country on the removal of the Ten Tribes, and also from the heathen colonists who were transplanted into the cities of Israel. Their religion was as hybrid as their extraction: they worshipped Jehovah, but, in addition to Him, also the heathen idols of Phoenician origin which they had brought from their native land" (*Heidenthum und Judenthum*, p. 739, §7): If the words of Scripture are to be taken alone, it does not appear how this view is to be maintained. At any rate, as Drusius observes, the only mixture was that of Jewish apostate fugitives, long after Esarhaddon's colonization, not at the time of the colonization. But modern as this view is, it has for some years been the popular one, and even Dr. Stanley seems, though quite incidentally, to have admitted it (*S. & P.* 240). He does not, however,

enter upon its defence. Mr. Grove is also in favour of it. See his notice already mentioned.

The authority due to the copy of the Law possessed by the Samaritans, and the determination whether the Samaritan reading of Deut. xxvii. 4, *Gerizim*, or that of the Hebrew, *Ebal*, is to be preferred, are discussed in the next article. [See SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH; EBAL; GERIZIM; SHECHEM; SICHEM; SYCHAR.] [J. A. H.]

SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, a Recension of the commonly received Hebrew Text of the Mosaic Law, in use with the Samaritans, and written in the ancient Hebrew (*Ibri*), or so-called Samaritan character.[a] This recension is found vaguely quoted by some of the early Fathers of the Church, under the name of "Παλαιότατον Ἑβραϊκὸν τὸ παρὰ Σαμαρειταῖς," in contradistinction to the "Ἑβραϊκὸν τὸ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις;" further, as "Samaritanorum Volumina," &c. Thus Origen on Num. xiii. 1, ... "ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκ τούτων Σαμαρειτῶν Ἑβραϊκοῦ μετεβάλομεν;" and on Num. xxi. 13, . . . "ἃ ἐν μόνοις τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν εὕρομεν," &c. Jerome, Prol. to Kings: "Samaritani etiam Pentateuchum Moysis *totidem* (? 22, like the "Hebrews, Syrians and Chaldaeans") litteris habent, figuris tantum et apicibus discrepantes." Also on Gal. iii. 10, "quam ob causam"—(viz. Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὃς οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, being quoted there from Deut. xxvii. 26, where the Masoretic text has only ארור אשר לא יקים את דברי התורה הזאת—"cursed be he that confirmeth not[b] the words of this Law to do them;" while the LXX. reads πᾶς ἄνθρωπος . . πᾶσι τοῖς λόγοις)—"quam ob causam Samaritanorum Hebraea volumina relegens invem כל scriptum esse;" and he forthwith charges the Jews with having deliberately taken out the כל, because they did not wish to be bound *individually* to *all* the ordinances: forgetting at the same time that this same כל occurs in the very next chapter of the Masoretic text (Deut. xxviii. 15):—"*All* his commandments and his statutes." Eusebius of Caesarea observes that the LXX. and the Sam. Pent. agree against the Received Text in the number of years from the Deluge to Abraham. Cyril of Alexandria speaks of certain words (Gen. iv. 8), wanting in the Hebrew, but found in the Samaritan. The same remark is made by Procopius of Gaza with respect to Deut. i. 6; Num. x. 10, x. 9, &c. Other passages are noticed by Diodorus, the Greek Scholiast, &c. The Talmud, on the other hand, mentions the Sam. Pent. distinctly and contemptuously as a clumsily forged record: "*You have falsified*[c] *your Pentateuch*," said R. Eliezer b. Shimon to the Samaritan scribes, with reference to a passage in Deut. xi. 30, where the well-understood word Shechem was gratuitously inserted after "the plains of Moreh,"—"and you have not profited aught by it" (comp. *Jer. Sotah* 21 b, cf. 17; *Babli* 33 b). On another occasion they are ridiculed on account of their ignorance of one of the simplest rules of Hebrew Grammar, displayed in their Pentateuch; viz. the use of the ה locale (unknown, however, according to *Jer. Meg.* 6, 2, also to the people of Jerusalem). "*Who has caused you to blunder?*" said R. Shimon b. Eliezer to them; referring to their abolition of the Mosaic ordinance of marrying the deceased brother's wife (Deut. xxv. 5 ff.),—through a misinterpretation of the passage in question, which enjoins that the wife of the dead man shall not be "without" to a stranger, but that the brother should marry her: they, however, taking החוצה (=לחוץ) to be an epithet of אשת, "wife," translated "the *outer wife*," i. e. the *betrothed* only (*Jer. Jebam.* 3, 2, *Ber. R.*, &c.).

Down to within the last two hundred and fifty years, however, no copy of this divergent Code of Laws had reached Europe, and it began to be pronounced a fiction, and the plain words of the Church-Fathers—the better known authorities—who quoted it, were subjected to subtle interpretations. Suddenly, in 1616, Pietro della Valle, one of the first discoverers also of the Cuneiform inscriptions, acquired a complete Codex from the Samaritans in Damascus. In 1623 it was presented by Achille Harley de Sancy to the Library of the Oratory in Paris, and in 1628 there appeared a brief description of it by J. Morinus in his preface to the Roman text of the LXX. Three years later, shortly before it was published in the Paris Polyglott,—whence it was copied, with few emendations from other codices, by Walton,—Morinus, the first editor, wrote his *Exercitationes Ecclesiasticae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*, in which he pronounced the newly found Codex, with all its innumerable Variants from the Masoretic text, to be infinitely superior to the latter: in fact, the unconditional and speedy emendation of the Received Text thereby was urged most authoritatively. And now the impulse was given to one of the fiercest and most barren literary and theological controversies: of which more anon. Between 1620 and 1630 six additional copies, partly complete, partly incomplete, were acquired by Ussher: five of which he deposited in English libraries, while one was sent to De Dieu, and has disappeared mysteriously. Another Codex, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, was brought to Italy in 1621. Peiresc procured two more, one of which was placed in the Royal Library of Paris, and one in the Barberini at Rome. Thus the number of MSS. in Europe gradually grew to sixteen. During the present century another, but very fragmentary copy, was acquired by the Gotha Library. A copy of the entire (?) Pentateuch, with Targum (? Sam. Version), in parallel columns, 4to., on parchment, was brought from *Nâblus* by Mr. Grove in 1861, for the Count of Paris, in whose library it is. Single portions of the Sam. Pent., in a more or less defective state, are now of no rare occurrence in Europe.

Respecting the external condition of these MSS., it may be observed that their sizes vary from 12mo. to folio, and that no scroll, such as the Jews and the Samaritans use in their synagogues, is to be found among them. The letters, which are of a size corresponding to that of the book, exhibit none of those varieties of shape so frequent in the Masor. Text; such as majuscules, minuscules, suspended, inverted letters, &c. Their material is vellum or cotton-paper; the ink used is black in all cases save the scroll used by the Samaritans at *Nâblus*, the letters of which are in gold. There are neither vowels,

[a] כתב עברית, רעץ, ליבונאה, as distinguished from כתב אשורית, עזרא. Comp. Synh 21 b, Jer. Meg. 8, 2; Tosifta Synh. 4; Synhedr. 22 a, Meg. Jer. 1, 9, Sota Jer. 7, 2, sq.

[b] The A. V., following the LXX., and perhaps Luther, has inserted the word *all*

[c] זייפתם.

accents, nor diacritical points. The individual words are separated from each other by a dot. Greater or smaller divisions of the text are marked by two dots placed one above the other, and by an asterisk. A small line above a consonant indicates a peculiar meaning of the word, an unusual form, a passive, and the like: it is, in fact, a contrivance to bespeak attention.[d] The whole Pentateuch is divided into nine hundred and sixty-four paragraphs, or *Kazzin*, the termination of which is indicated by these figures =, .·., or <. At the end of each book the number of its divisions is stated thus:—

(250)	הזה ספר הראשון : קצין מאתים ונ	[Masoret. Cod.,	12	Sidras (Parshioth),	50	Chapters].
(200)	מאתים „ השני „ „	[„	11	„	40	„]
(130)	מאה ושלושים „ השלישי „ „	[„	10	„	27	„]
(218)	ר· ויח „ הרביעי „ „	[„	10	„	36	„]
(166)	ק· וסו „ החמישי „ „	[„	11	„	34	„]

The Sam. Pentateuch is halved in Lev. vii. 15 (viii. 8, in Hebrew Text), where the words "Middle of the Thorah"[e] are found. At the end of each MS. the year of the copying, the name of the scribe, and also that of the proprietor, are usually stated. Yet their dates are not always trustworthy when given, and very difficult to be conjectured when entirely omitted, since the Samaritan letters afford no internal evidence of the period in which they were written. To none of the MSS., however, which have as yet reached Europe, can be assigned a higher date than the 10th Christian century. The scroll used in *Nâblus* bears—so the Samaritans pretend—the following inscription:—"I, Abisha, son of Pinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the Priest,—upon them be the Grace of Jehovah! To His honour have I written this Holy Law at the entrance of the Tabernacle of Testimony on the Mount Gerizim, Beth El, in the thirteenth year of the taking possession of the Land of Canaan, and all its boundaries around it, by the Children of Israel. I praise Jehovah." (Letter of Meshalmah b. Ab Sechuah, Cod. 19,791, Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. Comp. *Epist. Sam. Sichemitarum ad Jobum Ludolphum*, Cizae, 1688; *Antiq. Eccl. Orient.* p. 123; Huntingtoni *Epist.* pp. 49. 56; Eichhorn's *Repertorium f. bibl. und morg Lit.*, tom. ix., &c.) But no European[f] has ever succeeded in finding it in this scroll, however great the pains bestowed upon the search (comp. Eichhorn, *Einleit.* ii. 132); and even if it had been found, it would not have deserved the slightest credence.

We have briefly stated above that the *Exercitationes* of Morinus, which placed the Samaritan Pentateuch far above the Received Text in point of genuineness,—partly on account of its agreeing in many places with the Septuagint, and partly on account of its superior "lucidity and harmony,"—excited and kept up for nearly two hundred years one of the most extraordinary controversies on record. Characteristically enough, however, this was set at rest once for all by the very first systematic investigation of the point at issue. It would now appear as if the unquestioning rapture with which every new literary discovery was formerly hailed, the innate animosity against the Masoretic (Jewish) Text, the general preference for the LXX., the defective state of Semitic studies,—as if, we say, all these put together were not sufficient to account for the phenomenon that men of any critical acumen could for one moment not only place the Sam. Pent. on a par with the Masoretic Text, but even raise it, unconditionally, far above it. There was indeed another cause at work, especially in the first period of the dispute: it was a controversial spirit which prompted Morinus and his followers, Cappellus and others, to prove to the Reformers what kind of value was to be attached to *their* authority: the received form of the Bible, upon which and which alone they professed to take their stand;—it was now evident that nothing short of the Divine Spirit, under the influence and inspiration of which the Scriptures were interpreted and expounded by the Roman Church, could be relied upon. On the other hand, most of the "*Antinorinians*"—De Muys, Hottinger, St. Morinus, Buxtorf, Fuller, Leusden, Pfeiffer, &c.—instead of patiently and critically examining the subject and refuting their adversaries by arguments which were within their reach, as they are within ours, directed their attacks against the persons of the Morinians, and thus their misguided zeal left the question of the superiority of the New Document over the Old where they found it. Of higher value were, it is true, the labours of Simon, Le Clerc, Walton, &c., at a later period, who proceeded eclectically, rejecting many readings, and adopting others which seemed preferable to those of the Old Text. Houbigant, however, with unexampled ignorance and obstinacy, returned to Morinus' first notion—already generally abandoned—of the unquestionable and thorough superiority. He, again, was followed more or less closely by Kennicott, Al. a St. Aquilino, Lobstein, Geddes, and others. The discussion was taken up once more on the other side, chiefly by Ravius, who succeeded in finally disposing of this point of the superiority (*Exercitt. Phil. in Houbig. Prol.* Lugd. Bat. 1755). It was from his day forward allowed, almost on all hands, that the Masoretic Text was the genuine one, but that in doubtful cases, when the Samaritan had an "unquestionably clearer" reading, this was to be adopted, since a certain amount of value, however limited, did attach to it. Michaelis, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Jahn, and the majority of modern critics, adhered to this opinion. Here the matter rested until 1815, when Gesenius (*De Pent. Sam. Origine, Indole,*

[d] דָּבָר and דֶּבֶר, עַד and עֵד, הִנֵּה and הֵנָּה, יִקְרָא and יִקְרֵא, יֹאכַל and יֹאכֶל, אֶל and אֵל, שׁ and שׂ, the suffixes at the end of a word, the ה without a dagesh, &c., are thus pointed out to the reader.

[e] פלגא דארהותא.

[f] It would appear, however (see Archdeacon Tattam's notice in the *Parthenon*, No. 4, May 24 1862) that Mr. Levysohn, a person lately attached to the Russian staff in Jerusalem, *has* found the inscription in question "going through the middle of the body of the Text of the Decalogue, and extending through three columns." Considering that the Samaritans themselves told Huntington, "that this inscription had been in their scroll once, but must have been erased by some wicked hand" this startling piece of information must be received with extreme caution:—no less so than the other more or less vague statements with respect to the labours and pretended discoveries of Mr. Levysohn. See note, p. 1113.

et Auctoritate) abolished the remnant of the authority of the Sam. Pent. So masterly, lucid, and clear are his arguments and his proofs, that there has been and will be no further question as to the absence of all value in this Recension, and in its pretended emendations. In fact, a glance at the systematic arrangement of the variants, of which he first of all bethought himself, is quite sufficient to convince the reader at once that they are for the most part mere blunders, arising from an imperfect knowledge of the first elements of grammar and exegesis. That others owe their existence to a studied design of conforming certain passages to the Samaritan mode of thought, speech, and faith—more especially to show that the Mount Gerizim, upon which their temple stood, was *the* spot chosen and indicated by God to Moses as the one upon which He desired to be worshipped.[g] Finally, that others are due to a tendency towards removing, as well as linguistic shortcomings would allow, all that seemed obscure or in any way doubtful, and towards filling up all apparent imperfections:—either by repetitions or by means of newly-invented and badly-fitting words and phrases. It must, however, be premised that, except two alterations (Ex. xiii. 7, where the Sam. reads "*Six* days shalt thou eat unleavened bread," instead of the received "*Seven* days," and the change of the word תהיה, "There shall not *be*," into תחיה, "*live*," Deut. xxiii. 18), the Mosaic laws and ordinances themselves are nowhere tampered with.

We will now proceed to lay specimens of these once so highly prized variants before the reader, in order that he may judge for himself. We shall follow in this the commonly received arrangement of Gesenius, who divides all these readings into eight classes; to which, as we shall afterwards show, Frankel has suggested the addition of two or three others, while Kirchheim (in his Hebrew work כרמי שומרון) enumerates thirteen,[h] which we will name hereafter.

1. The *first* class, then, consists of readings by which emendations of a grammatical nature have been attempted.

(*a.*) The quiescent letters, or so-called *matres lectionis*, are supplied.[i]

(*b.*) The more poetical forms of the pronouns, probably less known to the Sam., are altered into the more common ones.[k]

(*c.*) The same propensity for completing apparently incomplete forms is noticeable in the flexion of the verbs. The apocopated or short future is altered into the regular future.[m]

(*d.*) On the other hand the paragogical letters ן and ם at the end of nouns, are almost universally struck out by the Sam. corrector;[n] and, in the ignorance of the existence of nouns of a common gender, he has given them genders according to his fancy.[o]

(*e.*) The infin. absol. is, in the quaintest manner possible, reduced to the form of the finite verb.[p]

For obsolete or rare forms, the modern and more common ones have been substituted in a great number of places.[q]

2. The *second* class of variants consists of glosses and interpretations received into the text: glosses, moreover, in which the Sam. not unfrequently coincides with the LXX., and which are in many cases evidently derived by both from some ancient Targum.[r]

3. The *third* class exhibits conjectural emen-

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[g] For יבחר, "He *will* elect" (the spot), the Sam. always puts בחר, "He *has* elected" (viz. Gerizim). See below.

[h] יב' שערים must be a misprint.

[i] Thus יָם is found in the Samar. for יַם of the Masoretic T.; ות for ־ת; יו for יָו; אליהם for אֲלֵהֶם; מאורות for מְאֹרֹת, &c.: sometimes a ן is put even where the Heb. T. has, in accordance with the grammatical rules, only a short vowel or a sheva:—חופניו is found for חָפְנָיו; אוניות for אֳנִיּוֹת.

[k] נחנו, הֵם, הָאֵל, become אנחנו, המה, האלה.

[m] וַתִּגַּד becomes ותניד; ויתם is emendated into וימות; יֵרָא (verb ל"ה) into יראה; the final ן—of the 3rd pers. fem. plur. fut. into נָה.

[n] שוכני is shortened into שוכן, חיתו into חית.

[o] Masculine are made the words לחם (Gen. xlix. 20) שער (Deut. xv. 7, &c.), מחנה (Gen. xxxii. 9); feminine the words ארץ (Gen. xiii. 6), דרך (Deut. xxviii. 25), נפש (Gen. xlvi. 25, &c.); wherever the word נער occurs in the sense of "girl," a ה is added at the end (Gen. xxiv. 14, &c.).

[p] וישובו הלוך ושוב, "the waters returned *continually*," is transformed into וישובו הלכו ושבו, "they returned, they went and they returned" (Gen. viii. 3). Where the infin. is used as an adverb, *e. g.* הרחק (Gen. xxi. 16), "far off," it is altered into הרחיקה, "she went far away," which renders the passage almost unintelligible.

[q] עירם for עורם (Gen. iii. 10, 11); ולד for ילד (xi. 30); צפורים for the collective צפור (xv. 10); אמהות, "female servants," for אמות (xx. 18); וירא מנוחה for ברי֫חי כי טובה for the adverbial טוב (xlix. 15); בריחים (Ex. xxvi. 26, making it depend from עצי); מִן, in the unusual sense of "from it" (comp. 1 K. xvii. 13), is altered into מִמֶּנָּה (Lev. ii. 2); חיה is wrongly put for חי (3rd p. s. m. of חיי = חֵי); עֵר, the obsolete form, is replaced by the more recent עִיר (Num. xxi. 15) the unusual fem. termination ־ִי (comp. אביטל, אביגיל, is elongated into ־ית; שהו is the emendation for שָׁוּ (Deut. xxii. 1); הרי for הָרֵי (Deut. xxxiii. 15), etc.

[r] איש ואשה, "man and woman," used by Gen. vii. 2 of animals, is changed into זכר ונקבה, "male and female;" שנאיו (Gen. xxiv. 60), "his haters," becomes אויביו, "his enemies;" for מֹה (indefin.) is substituted ירא; מאומה, "he will see, choose," is amplified by a לו, "for himself;" הַגֶּבֶר הַגֶּבֶר is transformed into הגר ויקר אלהי אל בלעם אשר יגור (Lev. xvii. 10); וַיִּקַּר אֱלֹהִי אֶל בִּלְעָם (Num. xxiii. 4), "And God met Bileam," becomes with the Sam. וימצא מלאך אל' את ב', "and *an Angel of the Lord found* Bileam;" על האשה (Gen. xx. 3), "for the woman," is amplified into על אודת האשה, "for the sake of the woman:" for ולנכדי, from נכד (obsol., comp. נגד), is put לנגדי, "those that are before me," in contradistinction to "those who will come after me;" וַתְּעַר, "and she emptied" (her pitcher into the trough, Gen. xxiv. 20), has made room for ותוריד, "and she took down;" נועדתי שמה, "I will meet there" (A. V., Ex. xxix. 43), is made נדרשתי שם, "I shall be [searched] found there;" Num. xxxi. 15, before the words החייתם כל נקבה, "Have you spared the life of every female?" a לָמָּה, "Why," is inserted (LXX.); for כי שם יהוה אקרא (Deut. xxxii. 3) "If I call the name of Jehovah,' the Sam. has בשם "In the name," etc.

dations—sometimes far from happy—of real or imaginary difficulties in the Masoretic text.[a]

4. The *fourth* class exhibits readings in which apparent deficiencies have been corrected or supplied from parallel passages in the common text. Gen. xviii. 29, 30, for "I shall not do it," [t] "I shall not destroy"[u] is substituted from Gen. xviii. 28, 31, 32. Gen xxxvii. 4, אחיו, "his brethren," is replaced by בניו, "his sons," from the former verse. One of the most curious specimens of the endeavours of the Samaritan Codex to render the readings as smooth and consistent as possible, is its uniform spelling of proper nouns like יתרו, Jethro, occasionally spelt יתר in the Hebrew text, Moses' father-in-law—a man who, according to the Midrash (*Sifri*), had no less than *seven* names; יהושע (Jehoshua), into which form it corrects the shorter הושע (Hoshea) when it occurs in the Masoretic Codex. More frequent still are the additions of single words and short phrases inserted from parallel passages, where the Hebrew text appeared too concise:[x]—unnecessary, often excessively absurd interpolations.

5. The *fifth* class is an extension of the one immediately preceding, and comprises larger phrases, additions, and repetitions from parallel passages. Whenever anything is mentioned as having been done or said previously by Moses, or where a command of God is related as being executed, the whole speech bearing upon it is repeated again at full length. These tedious and always superfluous repetitions are most frequent in Exodus, both in the record of the plagues and in the many interpolations from Deuteronomy.

6. To the *sixth* class belong those "emendations"

[a] The elliptic use of ילד, frequent both in Hebrew and Arabic, being evidently unknown to the emendator, he alters the הלבן מאה שנה יִוָּלֵד (Gen. xvii. 17), "shall a *child* be born unto him that is a hundred years old?" into אוליד, "shall I beget?" Gen. xxiv. 62, בא מבוא, "he came from going" (A. V. "from the way") to the well of Lahai-roi, the Sam. alters into בא במדבר, "in or through the desert" (LXX., διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου). In Gen. xxx. 34, הֵן לוּ יהי כדבריך, "Behold, may it be according to thy word," the לוּ (Arab. لَوْ) is transformed into לא, "and if not—let it be like thy word." Gen. xli. 32, ועל הִשָּׁנוֹת החלום, "And for that the dream was doubled," becomes ועלה שנית ה', "The dream rose a second time," which is both un-Hebrew, and diametrically opposed to the sense and construction of the passage. Better is the emendation Gen. xlix. 10, מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו "from between his feet," into "from among his banners," מבין דגליו. Ex. xv. 18, all but five of the Sam. Codd. read לעולם ועוד, "for ever *and longer*," instead of וָעֶד, the common form, "evermore." Ex. xxxiv. 7, וְנַקֵּה לֹא יְנַקֶּה, "that will by no means clear *the sin*," becomes וְנִקָּה לוֹ יִנָּקֶה, "and the innocent *to him* shall be innocent," against both the parallel passages and the obvious sense. The somewhat difficult ולא יִסְפּוּ, "and they did not cease" (A. V., Num. xi. 25), reappears as a still more obscure conjectural יֵאָסְפוּ, which we would venture to translate "they were not gathered in," in the sense of "killed:" instead of either the אכנשן, "congregated," of the Sam. Vers., or Castell's "continuerunt," or Houbigant's and Dathe's "convenerant." Num. xxi. 28, the עָר, "Ar" (Moab) is emendated into עַד, "as far as," a perfectly meaningless

of passages and words of the Hebrew text which contain something objectionable in the eyes of the Samaritans, on account either of historical improbability or apparent want of dignity in the terms applied to the Creator. Thus in the Sam. Pent. no one in the antediluvian times, begets his first son after he has lived 150 years: but one hundred years are, where necessary, subtracted before, and added after the birth of the first son. Thus Jared, according to the Hebrew Text, begot at 162 years, lived afterwards 800 years, and "all his years were 962 years;" according to the Sam. he begot when only 62 years old, lived afterwards 785 years, "and all his years were 847." After the Deluge the opposite method is followed. A hundred or fifty years are added before and subtracted after the begetting: *E. g.* Arphaxad, who in the Common Text is 35 years old when he begets Shelah, and lived afterwards 403 years: in all 438—is by the Sam. made 135 years old when he begets Shelah, and lives only 303 years afterwards = 438. (The LXX. has, according to its own peculiar psychological and chronological notions, altered the Text in the opposite manner. [See SEPTUAGINT.]) An exceedingly important and often discussed emendation of this class is the passage in Ex. xii. 40, which in our text reads, "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was four hundred and thirty years." The Samaritan (supported by LXX. Cod. Al.) has "The sojourning of the children of Israel, [*and their fathers who dwelt in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt—ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν γῇ Χαναάν*] was four hundred and thirty years:" an interpolation of very late date indeed.

reading; only that the עָר, "city," as we saw above, was a word unknown to the Sam. The somewhat uncommon words (Num. xi. 32), וישטחו להם שטוח, "and they (the people) spread them all abroad," are transposed into וישחטו להם שחוטה, "and they slaughtered for themselves a slaughter." Deut. xxviii. 37, the word לְשָׁמָּה, "an astonishment" (A. V.), very rarely used in this sense (Jer. xix. 8, xxv. 9), becomes לְשֵׁם, "to a name," *i. e.*, a bad name. Deut. xxxiii. 6, ויהי מְתָיו מספר, "May his *men* be a multitude," the Sam., with its characteristic aversion to, or rather ignorance of, the use of poetical diction, reads ויהי מְאָתו מספר, "May there be *from him* a multitude," thereby trying perhaps to encounter also the apparent difficulty of the word מספר, standing for "a great number." Anything more absurd than the מאתו in this place could hardly be imagined. A few verses further on, the uncommon use of מִן יְקוּמוּן (Deut. xxxiii. 11), as "lest," "not," caused the no less unfortunate alteration מי יקימנו, so that the latter part of the passage, "smite through the loins of them that rise against him, and of them that hate him, *that they rise not again*," becomes "*who will raise them?*"—barren alike of meaning and of poetry. For the unusual and poetical דָּבְאָךְ (Deut. xxxiii. 25; A. V. "thy strength"), "ביך" is suggested; a word about the significance of which the commentators are at a greater loss even than about that of the original.

[t] לא אעשה. [u] להאיר על הארץ.

[x] Thus in Gen. i. 14, the words להאיר על הארץ, "to give light upon the earth," are inserted from ver. 17; Gen. xi. 8, the word וּמִגְדָּל, "and a tower," is added from ver. 4; Gen. xxiv. 22, על אפה, "on her face" (nose), is added from ver 47, so that the former verse reads "And the man took (ויקח for ויושם) a golden ring upon her face."

Again, in Gen. ii. 2, "And God [had] finished (ויכל, ? pluperf.) on the seventh day," השביעי is altered into הששי, "the *sixth*," lest God's rest on the Sabbath-day might seem incomplete (LXX.). In Gen. xxix. 3, 8, "We cannot, until all the flocks be gathered together, and till they roll the stone from the mouth of the well," עדרים, "flocks," is replaced by רועים, "shepherds," since the flocks *could* not roll the stone from the well: the corrector not being apparently aware that in common parlance in Hebrew, as in other languages, "they" occasionally refers to certain not particularly specified persons. Well may Gesenius ask what this corrector would have made of Is. xxxvii. [not xxxvi.] 36: "And when *they* arose in the morning, behold *they* were all dead corpses." The surpassing reverence of the Samaritan is shown in passages like Ex. xxiv. 10, "and they beheld God,"[y] which is transmuted into "and they held by, clung to, God"[z]—a reading certainly less in harmony with the following—"and they ate and drank."

7. The *seventh* class comprises what we might briefly call Samaritanisms, *i. e.* certain Hebrew forms, translated into the idiomatic Samaritan; and here the Sam. Codices vary considerably among themselves,—as far as the very imperfect collation of them has hitherto shown—some having retained the Hebrew in many places where the others have adopted the new equivalents.[a]

8. The *eighth* and last class contains alterations made in favour or on behalf of Samaritan theology, hermeneutics, and domestic worship. Thus the word *Elohim*, four times construed with the plural verb in the Hebrew Pentateuch, is in the Samaritan Pent. joined to the singular verb (Gen. xx. 13, xxxi. 53, xxxv. 7; Ex. xxii. 9); and further, both anthropomorphisms as well as anthropopathisms are carefully expunged—a practice very common in later times.[b] The last and perhaps most momentous of all intentional alterations is the constant change of all the יבחר, "God will choose a spot," into בחר, "He has chosen," viz. Gerizim, and the well-known substitution of Gerizim for Ebal in Deut. xxvii. 4 (A. V. 5):—"It shall be when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones which I command you this day on Mount Ebal (Sam. *Gerizim*), and there shalt thou build an altar unto the Lord thy God," &c. This passage gains a certain interest from Whiston and Kennicott having charged the *Jews* with corrupting it from Gerizim into Ebal. This supposition, however, was met by Rutherford, Parry, Tychsen, Lobstein, Verschuir, and others, and we need only add that it is completely given up by modern Biblical scholars, although it cannot be denied that there is some *primâ facie* ground for a doubt upon the subject. To this class also belong more especially interpolations of really existing passages, dragged out of their context for a special purpose. In Exodus as well as in Deuteronomy the Sam. has, immediately after the Ten Commandments, the following insertions from Deut. xxvii. 2-7 and xi. 30: "And it shall be on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan . . . ye shall set up these stones . . . on Mount *Gerizim* . . . and there shalt thou build an altar . . . '*That mountain*' on the other side Jordan by the way where the sun goeth down . . . in the champaign over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh, '*over against Shechem*:'"—this last superfluous addition, which is also found in Deut. xi. 30 of the Sam. Pent., being ridiculed in the Talmud, as we have seen above.

From the immense number of these worse than worthless variants Gesenius has singled out four, which he thinks preferable on the whole to those of the Masoretic Text. We will confine ourselves to mentioning them, and refer the reader to the recent commentaries upon them: he will find that

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[y] ויחזו את אלהים. [z] ויאחזו.

[a] The gutturals and *Ahevi*-letters are frequently changed:—הררט becomes אררט (Gen. viii. 4); באי is altered into בעי (xxii. 18); שבה into שבע (xxvii. 19); זהלי stands for זחלי (Deut. xxxii. 24); the ה is changed into ח in words like נהג, נבהים, which become נחג, נבחים; ח is altered into ע—חמר becomes עמר. The י is frequently doubled (? as a mater lectionis): היטיב is substituted for היטב; איירא for אירא; פיי for פי. Many words are joined together:—מרדרור stands for מר דרור (Ex. xxx. 23); כהן אן for כהנאן (Gen. xli. 45); הר גריזים is always הרגריזים. The pronouns אַתְּ and אַתֶּן, 2nd p. fem. sing. and plur., are changed into אתין, אתי (the obsolete Heb. forms) respectively; the suff. ךָ into אך; ךְ into יך; the termination of the 2nd p. s. fem. praet., תְּ, becomes תִי, like the first p.; the verbal form Aphel is used for the Hiphil; אזכרתי for הזכרתי; the medial letter of the verb ע"ע is sometimes retained as א or י, instead of being dropped as in the Heb. Again, verbs of the form ל"ה have the י frequently at the end of the infin. fut. and part., instead of the ה. Nouns of the *schema* קָטֶל, אֶבֶל, &c.) are often spelt קָטֵיל, into which the form קָטוֹל is likewise occasionally transformed. Of distinctly Samaritan words may be mentioned: חַד (Gen. xxxiv. 31)=חֵיךְ, אֵיךְ (Chald.), "like;" חתים, for Heb. חותם, "seal;" כפרחת, "as though it budded," becomes כאפרחת=Targ. כד אפרחת; חכם, "wise," reads חכום; עד, "spoil," יפוֹת; עדי, "days," יוֹמת.

[b] איש מלחמה, "man of war," an expression used of God (Ex. xv. 3), becomes גבור מ', "hero of war,' the former apparently of irreverent import to the Samaritan ear; for יעשן אף ה' (Deut. xxix. 19, A. V. 20), lit. "And the wrath (nose) of the Lord shall smoke,' יחר אף ה', "the wrath of the Lord will be kindled," is substituted; צור מחוללך (Deut. xxxii. 18), "the rock (God) which begat thee," is changed into צור מהללך, "the rock which glorifies thee;" Gen. xix. 12, האנשים, "the men," used of the angels, has been replaced by המלאכים, "the angels." Extreme reverence for the patriarchs changed ארור, "Cursed be their (Simeon and Levi's) anger," into אדיר, "brilliant is their anger" (Gen. xlix. 7). A flagrant falsification is the alteration, in an opposite sense, which they ventured in the passage ידיד ה' ישכן לבטח, "The beloved of God [Benjamin, the founder of the Judaeo-Davidian empire, hateful to the Samaritans] shall dwell securely," transformed by them into the almost senseless יך יך ה', ישכן לבטח, "*The hand, the hand* of God will rest [if Hiph.: יַשְׁכֵּן, 'will cause to rest'] securely" (Deut. xxxiii. 12). Reverence for the Law and the Sacred Records gives rise to more emendations:—במבשיו (Deut. xxv. 12, A. V. 11), "by his secrets," becomes בבשרו, "by his flesh;" ישנלנה, "coibit cum ea" (Deut. xxviii. 12), ישכב עמה, "concumbet cum ea;" לכלב תשליכון השלן, "to the dog shall ye throw it" (Ex. xxii, 30), תשל, "ye shall indeed throw it [away]."

they too have since been, all but unanimously, rejected.[c] (1.) After the words, "And Cain spoke (ויאמר) to his brother Abel" (Gen. iv. 8), the Sam. adds, "let us go into the field,"[d] in ignorance of the absol. use of אמר, "to say, speak" (comp. Ex. xix. 25; 2 Chr. ii. 10, xxxii. 34), and the absol. ויגד (Gen. ix. 21). (2.) For אחר (Gen. xxii. 13) the Sam. reads אחד, *i. e.* instead of "behind him a ram," "*one* ram." (3.) For חמור גרם (Gen. xlix. 14), "an ass of bone" *i. e.* a strong ass, the Sam. has חמור גרים (Targ. גְּרַם, Syr.). And (4.) for וירק (Gen. xiv. 14), "he led forth his trained servants," the Sam. reads וירם, "he numbered."

We must briefly state, in concluding this portion of the subject, that we did not choose this classification of Gesenius because it appeared to us to be either systematic (Gesenius says himself: "Ceterum facile perspicitur complures in his esse lectiones quarum singulas alius ad aliud genus referre forsitan malit . . . in una vel altera lectione ad aliam classem referenda haud difficiles erimus . . .") or exhaustive, or even because the illustrations themselves are unassailable in point of the reason he assigns for them; but because, deficient as it is, it has at once and for ever silenced the utterly unfounded though time-hallowed claims of the Samaritan Pentateuch. It was only necessary, as we said before, to collect a great number of variations (or to take them from Walton), to compare them with the old text and with each other, to place them in some kind of order before the reader and let them tell their own tale. That this was not done during the two hundred years of the contest by a single one of the combatants is certainly rather strange:—albeit not the only instance of the kind.

Important additions to this list have, as we hinted before, been made by Frankel, such as the Samaritans' preference of the imperat. for the 3rd pers.;[e] ignorance of the use of the abl. absol.;[f] Galileanisms,—to which also belongs the permutation of the letters *Aheví*[g] (comp. *Erub.* 53, חמר, עמר, אמר), in the Samaritan Cod.; the occasional softening down of the פ into ב,[h] of כ into ג, צ into ץ, &c., and chiefly the presence of words and phrases in the Sam. which are *not* interpolated from parallel passages, but are entirely wanting in our text.[i] Frankel derives from these passages chiefly the conclusion that the Sam. Pent. was, partly at least, emendated from the LXX., Onkelos, and other very late sources. (See below.)

We now subjoin, for the sake of completeness, the beforementioned thirteen classes of Kirchheim, in the original, to which we have added the translation:—

1. תוספות ושנויים למעלת הר גריזים. [Additions and alterations in the Samaritan Pentateuch in favour of Mount Gerizim.]

2. תוספות למלאות. [Additions for the purpose of completion.]

3. באור. [Commentary, glosses.]

4. חלוף הפעלים והבנינים. [Change of verbs and moods.]

5. חלוף השמות. [Change of nouns.]

6. השואה. [Emendation of seeming irregularities by assimilating forms, &c.]

7. תמורת האותיות. [Permutation of letters.]

8. בנויים. [Pronouns.]

9. מין. [Gender.]

10. אותיות הנוספות. [Letters added.]

11. אותיות היחס. [Addition of prepositions, conjunctions, articles, &c.]

12. קבוץ ופרוד. [Junction of separated, and separation of joined words.]

13. ימות עולם. [Chronological alterations.]

It may, perhaps, not be quite superfluous to observe, before we proceed any further, that, since up to this moment no critical edition of the Sam. Pent., or even an examination of the Codices since Kennicott—who can only be said to have begun the work—has been thought of, the treatment of the whole subject remains a most precarious task, and beset with unexampled difficulties at every step; and also that, under these circumstances, a more or less scientific arrangement of isolated or common Samaritan mistakes and falsifications appears to us to be a subject of very small consequence indeed.

It is, however, this same rudimentary state of investigation—after two centuries and a half of fierce discussion—which has left the other and much more important question of the *Age and Origin* of the Sam. Pent. as unsettled to-day as it was when it first came under the notice of European scholars. For our own part we cannot but think that as long as—(1) the history of the Samaritans remains involved in the obscurities of which a former article will have given an account; (2) we are restricted to a small number of comparatively recent Codices; (3) neither these Codices themselves have, as has just been observed, been thoroughly collated and recollated, nor (4) more than a feeble beginning has been made with anything like a collation between the various readings of the Sam. Pent. and the LXX. (Walton omitted the greatest number, "cum nullam sensus varietatem constituant");—so long must we have a variety of the most divergent opinions, all based on "probabilities," which are designated on the other side as "false reasonings" and "individual crotchets," and which, moreover, not unfrequently start from flagrantly false premisses.

We shall, under these circumstances, confine ourselves to a simple enumeration of the leading opinions, and the chief reasons and arguments alleged for and against them:—

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[c] Keil, in the latest edition of his *Introd.* p. 590, note 7, says, "Even the few variants, which Gesenius tries to prove genuine, fall to the ground on closer examination."

[d] נלכה השדה.

[e] *E. g.* יקרב for הקרב (Ex. xii. 48); יבא ועשה for ועשה (Ex. xxxv. 10).

[f] *E. g.* זכרן for זכור (Ex. xiii. 13); רגמי for רגום (Num. xv. 35).

[g] *E. g.* וחרף for והרף (Gen. viii 22); שיץ for חוץ (Gen. xxxvi. 28); השאף for השחף (Lev. xi. 16), &c.

[h] ויחפש for ויחבש (Gen. xxxi. 35); נשבת for נשפת (Ex. xv. 10).

[i] Gen. xxiii. 2, after בקרית הארבע the words אל ממא עמק are added; xxvii. 27, after השדה the word ממא is found (LXX.); xliii. 28, the phrase ברוך האיש ההוא לאלהים is inserted after the Ethnach; xlvii. 21, העביר לעבדים, and Ex. xxxii. 32, אם תשא חטא תם שא is read. An exceedingly difficult and un-Hebrew passage is found in Ex. xxiii. 19, reading כי עשה זאת כזבח שכח ועברה הוא לאלהי יעקב

(1) The Samaritan Pentateuch came into the hands of the Samaritans as an inheritance from the ten tribes whom they succeeded—so the popular notion runs. Of this opinion are J. Morinus, Walton, Cappellus, Kennicott, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Bauer, Jahn, Bertholdt, Steudel, Mazade, Stuart, Davidson, and others. Their reasons for it may be thus briefly summed up:—

(*a.*) It seems improbable that the Samaritans should have accepted their code at the hands of the Jews after the Exile, as supposed by some critics, since there existed an intense hatred between the two nationalities.

(*b.*) The Samaritan Canon has only the Pentateuch in common with the Hebrew Canon: had that book been received at a period when the Hagiographa and the Prophets were in the Jews' hands, it would be surprising if they had not also received those.

(*c.*) The Sam. letters, avowedly the more ancient, are found in the Sam. Cod.: therefore it was written before the alteration of the character into the square Hebrew—which dates from the end of the Exile—took place.

[We cannot omit briefly to draw attention here to a most keen-eyed suggestion of S. D. Luzzatto, contained in a letter to R. Kirchheim (*Carme Shomron*, p. 106, &c.), by the adoption of which many readings in the Heb. Codex, now almost unintelligible, appear perfectly clear. He assumes that the copyist who at some time or other after Ezra transcribed the Bible into the modern square Hebrew character, from the ancient copies written in so-called Samaritan, occasionally mistook Samaritan letters of similar form.[k] And since our Sam. Pent. has those difficult readings in common with the Mas. Text, that other moot point, whether it was copied from a Hebrew or Samaritan Codex, would thus appear to be solved. Its constant changes of ר and ד, י and ו, ה and ח—letters which are similar in Hebrew, but *not* in Samaritan—have been long used as a powerful argument for the Samaritans having received the Pent. at a very late period indeed.]

Since the above opinion—that the Pent. came into the hands of the Samaritans from the Ten Tribes—is the most popular one, we will now adduce some of the chief reasons brought against it, and the reader will see by the somewhat feeble nature of the arguments on either side, that the last word has not yet been spoken in the matter.

(*a.*) There existed no *religious* animosity whatsoever between Judah and Israel when they separated. The ten tribes could not therefore have bequeathed such an animosity to those who succeeded them, and who, we may add, probably cared as little originally for the disputes between Judah and Israel, as colonists from far-off countries, belonging to utterly different races, are likely to care for the quarrels of the aborigines who formerly inhabited the country. On the contrary, the contest between the slowly judaized Samaritans and the Jews, only dates from the moment when the latter refused to recognise the claims of the former, of belonging to the people of God, and rejected their aid in building the Temple: why then, it is said, should they not first have received the one book which would bring them into still closer conformity with the returned exiles, at their hands? That the Jews should yet have refused to receive them as equals is no more surprising than that the Samaritans from that time forward took their stand upon this very Law—altered according to their circumstances; and proved from it that they and they alone were the Jews *κατ' ἐξοχήν*.

(*b.*) Their not possessing any other book of the Hebrew Canon is not to be accounted for by the circumstance that there was no other book in existence at the time of the schism, because many psalms of David, writings of Solomon, &c., must have been circulating among the people. But the jealousy with which the Samaritans regarded Jerusalem, and the intense hatred which they naturally conceived against the post-Mosaic writers of national Jewish history, would sufficiently account for their rejecting the other books, in all of which, save Joshua, Judges, and Job, either Jerusalem, as the centre of worship, or David and his House, are extolled. If, however, Loewe has really found with them, as he reports in the *Allgem. Zeitung d. Judenth.* April 18th, 1839, our Book of Kings and Solomon's Song of Songs,—which they certainly would not have received subsequently,—all these arguments are perfectly gratuitous.

(*c.*) The present Hebrew character was *not* introduced by Ezra after the return from the Exile, but came into use at a much later period. The Samaritans might therefore have received the Pentateuch at the hands of the returned exiles, who, according to the Talmud, *afterwards* changed their writing, and in the Pentateuch only, so as to distinguish it from the Samaritan. "Originally," says Mar Sutra (*Sanhedr.* xxi. b), "the Pentateuch was given to Israel in *Ibri* writing and the Holy (Hebrew) language: it was again given to them in the days of Ezra in the *Ashurith* writing and *Aramaic* language. Israel then selected the Ashurith writing and the Holy language, and left to the Hediotes (Ἰδιῶται) the Ibri writing and the Aramaic language. Who are the Hediotes? The Cuthim (Samaritans). What is Ibri writing? The Libonaah (Samaritan)." It is well known also that the Maccabean coins bear Samaritan inscriptions: so that "Hediotes" would point to the common use of the Samaritan character for ordinary purposes, down to a very late period.

(2.) The second leading opinion on the age and origin of the Sam. Pent. is that it was introduced by Manasseh (comp. Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 8, §2, 4) at the time of the foundation of the Samaritan Sanctuary on Mount Gerizim (Ant. van Dale, R. Simon, Prideaux, Fulda, Hasse, De Wette, Gesenius, Hupfeld, Hengstenberg, Keil, &c.). In support of this opinion are alleged, the idolatry of the Samaritans before they received a Jewish priest through Esarhaddon

[k] *E. g.*, Is. xl. 15, בעים instead of בעצם (adopted by Gesenius in *Thes.* p. 1017 *a*, without a mention of its source, which he, however, distinctly avowed to Rosenmüller—comp. ב"ש, p. 107, note א); Jer. iii. 8, ואראא instead of וותרא; 1 Sam. xxiv. 11, ותחם for ואחם; Ezr. vi. 4, הדה for הדא; Ez. xxii. 20. והנחתי for והפחתי; Judg. xv. 20, עשרים—Samson's reign during the time of the Philistines being given as *twenty* years instead of *forty* (comp. *Jer. Sot.* 1), accounted for by the כ (numerical letter for forty) in the original being mistaken for כ (twenty). Again, 2 Chr. xxii. 2, *forty* is put instead of *twenty* (comp. 2 K. viii. 26); 2 K. xxii. 4, ויתם for וייתך; Ez. iii. 12, ברוך for ברום, &c.:—all these letters—מ and ם, נ and ן, כ and ב, ר and ד—resembling each other very closely.

2 K. xvii. 24-33), and the immense number of readings common to the LXX. and this Code, against the Masoretic Text.

(3.) Other, but very isolated notions, are those of Morin, Le Clerc, Poncet, &c., that the Israelitish priest sent by the king of Assyria to instruct the new inhabitants in the religion of the country brought the Pentateuch with him. Further, that the Samaritan Pentateuch was the production of an impostor, Dositheus (דוסתאי in Talmud), who lived during the time of the Apostles, and who falsified the sacred records in order to prove that he was the Messiah (Ussher). Against which there is only this to be observed, that there is not the slightest alteration of such a nature to be found. Finally, that it is a very late and faulty recension, with additions and corruptions of the Masoretic Text (6th Century after Christ), into which glosses from the LXX. had been received (Frankel). Many other suggestions have been made, but we cannot here dwell upon them: suffice it to have mentioned those to which a certain popularity and authority attaches.

Another question has been raised:—Have all the variants which we find in our copies been introduced at once, or are they the work of many generations? From the number of vague opinions on that point, we have only room here to adduce that of Azariah de Rossi, who traces many of the glosses (Class 2) both in the Sam. and in the LXX. to an ancient Targum in the hands of the people at the time of Ezra, and refers to the Talmudical passage of *Nedar.* 37: "And he read in the Book of the Law of God—this is *Mikra*, the Pentateuch; מפורש, explanatory, this is *Targum.*" [VERSIONS (TARGUM).] Considering that no Masorah fixed the letters and signs of the Samar. Codex, and that, as we have noticed, the principal object was to make it read as smoothly as possible, it is not easily seen why each succeeding century should not have added its own emendations. But, here too, investigation still wanders about in the mazes of speculation.

The chief opinions with respect to the agreement of the numerous and as yet uninvestigated—even uncounted—readings of the LXX. (of which likewise no critical edition exists as yet), and the Sam. Pent. are:—

1. That the LXX. have translated from the Sam. (De Dieu, Selden, Hottinger, Hassencamp, Eichhorn, &c.).

2. That mutual interpolations have taken place (Grotius, Ussher, Ravius, &c.).

3. That both Versions were formed from Hebrew Codices, which differed among themselves as well as from the one which afterwards obtained public authority in Palestine; that however very many wilful corruptions and interpolations have crept in in later times (Gesenius).

4. That the Samar. has, in the main, been altered from the LXX. (Frankel).

It must, on the other hand, be stated also, that the Sam. and LXX. quite as often disagree with each other, and follow each the Masor. Text. Also, that the quotations in the N. T. from the LXX., where they coincide with the Sam. against the Hebr. Text, are so small in number and of so unimportant a nature that they cannot be adduced as any argument whatsoever.

The following is a list of the MSS. of the Sam. Pent. now in European Libraries [Kennicott]:—

No. 1. Oxford (Ussher) Bodl., fol., No. 3127. Perfect, except the 20 first and 9 last verses.

No. 2. Oxford (Ussher) Bodl., 4to., No. 3128, with an Arabic version in Sam. characters. Imperfect. Wanting the whole of Leviticus and many portions of the other books.

No. 3. Oxford (Ussher) Bodl., 4to., No. 3129. Wanting many portions in each book.

No. 4. Oxford (Ussher, Laud) Bodl., 4to., No. 624. Defective in parts of Deut.

No. 5. Oxford (Marsh) Bodl., 12mo., No. 15. Wanting some verses in the beginning; 21 chapters obliterated.

No. 6. Oxford (Pocock) Bodl., 24mo., No. 5328. Parts of leaves lost; otherwise perfect.

No. 7. London (Ussher) Br. Mus. Claud. B. 8. Vellum. Complete. 254 leaves.

No. 8. Paris (Peiresc) Imp. Libr., Sam. No. 1. Recent MS. containing the Hebr. and Sam. Texts, with an Arab. Vers. in the Sam. character. Wanting the first 34 ch., and very defective in many places.

No. 9. Paris (Peiresc) Imp. Libr., Sam. No. 2. Ancient MS., wanting first 17 chapters of Gen.; and all Deut. from the 7th ch. Houbigant, however, quotes from Gen. x. 11 of this Codex, a rather puzzling circumstance.

No. 10. Paris (Harl. de Sancy) Oratory, No. 1. The famous MS. of P. della Valle.

No. 11. Paris (Dom. Nolin) Oratory, No. 2. Made-up copy.

No. 12. Paris (Libr. St. Genèv.). Of little value.

No. 13. Rome (Peir. and Barber.) Vatican No. 106. Hebr. and Sam. texts, with Arab. Vers. in Sam. character. Very defective and recent. Dated the 7th century (?).

No. 14. Rome (Card. Cobellutius), Vatican. Also supposed to be of the 7th century, but very doubtful.

No. 15. Milan (Ambrosian Libr.). Said to be very ancient; not collated.

No. 16. Leyden (Golius MS.), fol., No. 1. Said to be complete.

No. 17. Gotha (Ducal Libr.). A fragment only.

No. 18. London, Count of Paris' Library. With Version.

Printed editions are contained in the Paris and Walton Polyglots; and a separate reprint from the latter was made by Blayney, Oxford, 1790. A Facsimile of the 20th ch. of Exodus, from one of the *Nâblus* MSS., has been edited, with portions of the corresponding Masoretic text, and a Russian Translation and Introduction, by Levysohn, Jerusalem, 1860.[m]

II. VERSIONS.

1. *Samaritan.*—The origin, author, and age of the Samaritan Version of the Five Books of Moses, has hitherto—so Eichhorn quaintly observes—"always been a golden apple to the investigators, and will very probably remain so, until people leave off venturing decisive judgments upon historical subjects which

[m] The original intention of the Russian Government to publish the whole Codex in the same manner seems to have been given up for the present. We can only hope that, if the work is ever taken up again, it will fall into more competent hands. Mr Levysohn's Introduction, brief as it is, shows him to be utterly wanting both in scholarship and in critical acumen, and to be, moreover, entirely unacquainted with the fact that his new discoveries have been disposed of some hundred and fifty years since.

no one has recorded in antiquity." And, indeed, modern investigators, keen as they have been, have done little towards the elucidation of the subject. According to the Samaritans themselves (De Sacy *Mem.* 3; Paulus; Winer), their high-priest Nathaniel, who died about 20 B.C., is its author. Gesenius puts its date a few years after Christ. Juynboll thinks that it had long been in use in the second post-Christian century. Frankel places it in the post-Mohammedan time. Other investigators date it from the time of Esarhaddon's priest (Schwarz), or either shortly before or after the foundation of the temple on Mount Gerizim. It seems certain, however, that it was composed before the destruction of the second temple; and being intended, like the Targums, for the use of the people exclusively, it was written in the popular Samaritan idiom, a mixture of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac.

In this version the original has been followed, with a very few exceptions, in a slavish and sometimes perfectly childish manner, the sense evidently being of minor consideration. As a very striking instance of this may be adduced the translation of Deut. iii. 9: "The Zidonians call Hermon שרין (Shirion), and the Amorites call it שניר (Shenir)." The translator deriving שרין from שר "prince, master," renders it רבן "masters;" and finding the letters reversed in the appellation of the Amorrites as שניר, reverses also the *sense* in his version, and translates it by "slaves" משעבדון! In other cases, where no Samaritan equivalent could be found for a Hebrew word, the translator, instead of paraphrasing it, simply transposes its letters, so as to make it *look* Samaritan. Occasionally he is misled by the orthography of the original: אם כן אפוא, "If so, where . . .?" he renders: אם כן ארגזה, "If so, I shall be wrath:" mistaking אפוא for אף "anger." On the whole it may be considered a very valuable aid towards the study of the Samar. Text, on account of its very close verbal adherence. A few cases, however, may be brought forward, where the Version has departed from the Text, either under the influence of popular religious notions, or for the sake of explanation. "We pray"—so they write to Scaliger—"every day in the morning and in the evening, as it is said, the one lamb shalt thou prepare in the morning and the second in the evening; we bow to the ground and worship God." Accordingly, we find the translator rendering the passage, "And Isaac went to 'walk' (לשוח) in the field," by—"and Isaac went to pray (למצלאה) in the field." "And Abraham rose in the morning (בבוקר)," is rendered בצלי, "in the prayer," &c. Anthropomorphisms are avoided. "The image (תמונת) of God" is rendered נעימת, "the glory." פי יהוה, "the mouth of Jehovah," is transformed into מימר יהוה, "the word of Jehovah." For אלהים, "God," מלאכיה, "Angel" is frequently found, &c. A great difficulty is offered by the proper names which this version often substitutes, they being, in many cases, less intelligible than the original ones.[a] The similarity it has with Onkelos occasionally amounts to complete identity, for instance—

Onkelos in *Polyglott.*	Num. vi. 1, 2.	Sam. Vers. in *Barberini Triglott.*
ומלל יהוה עם מושה למימר: מלל עם בני ישראל ותימר להון גבר או אתתא ארי יפריש למדר נדר נזירא למזר קדם יהוה: מחמר חדת ועתיק יזר חמ	ומלל יהוה עם מושה למימר: מלל עם בני ישראל ותימר להון גבר או אתה כד יפרש למדר נדר נזיר למתנזרה ליהוה: מן חמר ורחט יזיר חמי	ומלל יהוה עם מושה למימר: מלל עם בני ישראל ותימר להון גבר או אתה כד יפרש למדר נדר נזיר למתנזרה ליהוה: מן חמר ורחט יזיר חמי
דחמר חדת וחל דחמר עתיק לא ישתי וכל מהרוח	דחמר וחמי דרחט לא ישתא וכל מור שורת ענבין	דחמר וחמי דרחט לא ישתא וכל מור שורת ענבין
ענבין לא ישתי וענבין רטיבין ויבישין לא ייכול.	לא ישתה וענבין רטיבין ויבישין לא ייכל.	לא ישתה וענבין רטיבין ויבישין לא ייכל.

But no safe conclusion as to the respective relation of the two versions can be drawn from this.

This Version has likewise, in passing through the hands of copyists and commentators, suffered many interpolations and corruptions. The first copy of it was brought to Europe by De la Valle, together with the Sam. Text, in 1616. Joh. Nedrinus first published it together with a faulty Latin translation in the Paris Polyglott, whence it was, with a few emendations, reprinted in Walton, with some notes by Castellus. Single portions of it appeared in Halle, ed. by Cellarius, 1705, and by Uhlemann, Leipz., 1837. Compare Gesenius, *De Pent. Sam. Origine*, &c., and Winer's monograph, *De Versionis Pent. Sam. Indole*, &c., Leipzig, 1817.

2. Τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν. The hatred between the

[a] A list of the more remarkable of these, in the case of geographical names, is subjoined:—

Gen. viii. 4,	for Ararat, Sarendib,	סרנדיב.
x. 10,	„ Shinar, Tsofah,	צופה (? Zobah).
11,	„ Asshur, Astun,	עסטון.
—	„ Rehoboth, Satcan,	סטכן (? Sittacene).
—	„ Calah, Laksah,	לקסה.
12,	„ Resen, Asfah,	עספה.
30,	„ Mesha, Mesbal,	מסבל.
xi. 9,	„ Babel, Lilak,	לילק.
xiii. 3,	„ Ai, Cefrah,	כפרה (? Cephirah, Josh. ix. 17).
xiv. 5,	„ Ashteroth Karnaim, Afinith Karniah,	עפינית קרניה.
—	„ Ham, Lishah,	לישה.
— 6,	„ El Paran, Pelishah, &c.,	פרום פלישה לפלון.
Gen. xiv. 14,	for Dan, Banias,	בניאס.
— 15,	„ Hobah, Fogah,	פוגה.
— 17,	„ Shaveh, Mifneh,	מפנה.
xv. 8,	„ Euphrates, Shalmah,	שלמאה.
— 20,	„ Rephaim, Chasah,	חסאה.
xx. 1,	„ Gerar, Askelun,	עסקלון.
xxvi. 2,	„ Mitsraim, Nefik,	נפיק (? Exodus).
xxxvi. 8, 9, &c.	„ Seir, Gablah,	גבלה (Jebal).
37,	„ Rehoboth, Fathi,	פתי.
Num. xxi. 33,	„ Bashan, Bathnin,	בתנין (Batanaea)
xxxiv. 10,	„ Shepham, 'Abamiah,	עבמיה (Apamaea).
11,	„ Shepham, 'Afamiah,	עפמיה.
Deut. ii. 9,	„ Ar (ער), Arshah,	ארשה.
iii. 4,	„ Argob, Rigobaah,	ריגובאה (Paγaβa).
— 17,	„ Chinnereth, Genesar,	גנסר.
iv. 48,	„ Sion, Tûr Telga.	טור תלגא (Jebel et Telj).

Samaritans and the Jews is supposed to have caused the former to prepare a Greek translation of their Pent. in opposition to the LXX. of the Jews. In this way at least the existence of certain fragments of a Greek Version of the Sam. Pent., preserved in some MSS. of the LXX., together with portions of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, &c., is accounted for. These fragments are supposed to be alluded to by the Greek Fathers under the name Σαμαρειτικόν. It is doubtful however whether it ever existed (as Gesenius, Winer, Juynboll, suppose) in the shape of a complete translation, or only designated (as Castellus, Voss, Herbst hold) a certain number of scholia translated from the Sam. Version. Other critics again (Hävernick, Hengstenberg, &c.) see in it only a corrected edition of certain passages of the LXX.

3. In 1070 an *Arabic* Version of the Sam. Pent. was made by Abu Said in Egypt, on the basis of the Arabic translation of Saadjah haggaon. Like the original Samaritan it avoids Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms, replacing the latter by Euphemisms, besides occasionally making some slight alterations, more especially in proper nouns. It is extant in several MS. copies in European libraries, and is now in course of being edited by Kuenen, Leyden, 1850-54, &c. It appears to have been drawn up from the Sam. Text, not from the Sam. Version; the Hebrew words occasionally remaining unaltered in the translation.[o] Often also it renders the original differently from the Samar. Version.[p] Principally noticeable is its excessive dread of assigning to God anything like human attributes, physical or mental. For יהוה אלהים, "God," we find (as in Saadiah sometimes) ملاك الله, "the Angel of God;" for "the eyes of God" we have (Deut. ix. 12) ملاحظه الله, "the Beholding of God." For "Bread of God:" لازم, "the necessary," &c. Again, it occasionally adds honourable epithets where the Scripture seems to have omitted them, &c. Its language is far from elegant or even correct; and its use must likewise be confined to the critical study of the Sam. Text.

4. To this Arabic version Abu Barachat, a Syrian, wrote in 1208 a somewhat paraphrastic commentary, which has by degrees come to be looked upon as a new Version—the *Syriac*, in contradistinction to the *Arabic*, and which is often confounded with it in the MSS. On both Recensions see Eichhorn, Gesenius, Juynboll, &c.

III. Samaritan Literature.

It may perhaps not be superfluous to add here a concise account of the Samaritan literature in general, since to a certain degree it bears upon our subject.

1. *Chronicon Samaritanum.*—Of the Pentateuch and its Versions we have spoken. We have also mentioned that the Samaritans have no other book of our Received Canon. "There is no Prophet but Moses" is one of their chief dogmas, and fierce are the invectives in which they indulge against men like Samuel, "a Magician and an Infidel," כפר[q] (*Chron. Sam.*): Eli; Solomon, "Shiloh" (Gen. xlix. 10), "*i. e.* the man who shall *spoil* the Law and whom many nations will follow because of their own licentiousness" (De Sacy, *Mem.* 4); Ezra "cursed for ever" (*Lett. to Huntington*, &c.). Joshua alone, partly on account of his being an Ephraimite, partly because Shechem was selected by him as the scene of his solemn valedictory address, seems to have found favour in their eyes; but the *Book of Joshua*, which they perhaps possessed in its original form, gradually came to form only the groundwork of a fictitious national Samaritan history, overgrown with the most fantastic and anachronistic legends. This is the so-called "Samaritan Joshua," or *Chronicon Samaritanum* (سفر يهشع بن نون), sent to Scaliger by the Samaritans of Cairo in 1584. It was edited by Juynboll (Leyden, 1848), and his acute investigations have shown that it was redacted into its present form about A.D. 1300, out of four special documents, three of which were Arabic, and one Hebrew (*i. e.* Samaritan). The Leyden MS. in 2 pts., which Gesenius, *De Sam. Theol.* p. 8. n. 18, thinks unique, is dated A.H. 764–919 (A.D. 1362–1513);—the Cod. in the Brit. Museum, lately acquired, dates A.H. 908 (A.D. 1502). The chronicle embraces the time from Joshua to about A.D. 350, and was originally written in, or subsequently translated into, Arabic. After eight chapters of introductory matter begins the early history of "Israel" under "*King* Joshua," who, among other deeds of arms, wages war, with 300,000 mounted men—"half Israel"—against two kings of Persia. The last of his five "royal" successors is Shimshon (Samson), the handsomest and most powerful of them all. These reigned for the space of 250 years, and were followed by five high-priests, the last of whom was Usi (? = Uzzi, Ezr. vii. 4). With the history of Eli, "the seducer," which then follows, and Samuel "a sorcerer," the account by a sudden transition runs off to Nebuchadnezzar (ch. 45), Alexander (ch. 46), and Hadrian (47), and closes suddenly at the time of Julian the Apostate.

We shall only adduce here a single specimen out of the 45th ch. of the Book, which treats of the subject of the Pentateuch:—

Nebuchadnezzar was king of Persia (Mossul), and conquered the whole world, also the kings of Syria. In the thirteenth year of their subjugation they rebelled, together with the kings of Jerusalem (Kodsh). Whereupon the Samaritans, to escape from the vengeance of their pursuer, fled, and Persian colonists took their place. A curse, however, rested upon the land, and the new immigrants died from eating of its fruits (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14, §3). The chiefs of Israel (*i. e.* Samaritans), being asked the reason of this by the king, explained it by the abolition of the worship of God. The king upon this permitted them to return and to erect a temple, in which work he promised to aid them, and he gave them a letter to all their dispersed brethren. The whole Dispersion now assembled, and the Jews said, "We will now go up into the Holy City (Jerusalem"), the Arab. renders עיבל; Gen. xli. 43, אברך (Sam. Ver. ברון = κήρυξ), the Arab. translates الاب اب رك = الشفوق.

[o] *E. g.* Ex. xliii. 12, כל פטר רחם (Sam. Ver. כל בעל אשה פתוחי רחם) remains كل فاطر : xxi. 3, (Sam. Ver. מכהן אתה) is given بعل امراء.

[p] Thus עירה, Gen. xlix. 11 (Sam. Ver. קרתה, "kids

[q] A word, it may be observed by the way, taken by the Mohammedans from the Rabbinical (בעיקר) בופר.

salem) and live there in unity." But the sons of Harûn (Aaron) and of Joseph (*i. e.* the priests and the Samaritans) insisted upon going to the "Mount of Blessing," Gerizim. The dispute was referred to the king, and while the Samaritans proved their case from the books of Moses, the Jews grounded their preference for Jerusalem on the post-Mosaic books. The superior force of the Samaritan argument was fully recognised by the king. But as each side—by the mouth of their spokesmen, Sanballat and Zerubabel respectively,—charged the other with basing its claims on a forged document, the sacred books of each party were subjected to the ordeal of fire. The Jewish Record was immediately consumed, while the Samaritan leaped three times from the flames into the king's lap: the third time, however, a portion of the scroll, upon which the king had spat, was found to have been consumed. Thirty-six Jews were immediately beheaded, and the Samaritans, to the number of 300,000, wept, and all Israel worshipped henceforth upon Mount Gerizim —"and so we will ask our help from the grace of God, who has in His mercy granted all these things, and in Him we will confide."

2. From this work chiefly has been compiled another Chronicle written in the 14th century (1355), by Abu'l Fatah.[r] This comprises the history of the Jews and Samaritans from Adam to A.H. 756 and 798 (A.D. 1355 and 1397) respectively (the forty-two years must have been added by a later historiographer). It is of equally low historical value; its only remarkable feature being its adoption of certain Talmudical legends, which it took at second hand from Josippon ben Gorion. According to this chronicle, the deluge did not cover Gerizim, in the same manner as the Midrash (*Ber. Rab.*) exempts the whole of Palestine from it. A specimen, likewise on the subject of the Pentateuch, may not be out of place:—

In the year of the world 4150, and in the 10th year of Philadelphus, this king wished to learn the difference between the Law of the Samaritans, and that of the Jews. He therefore bade both send him some of their elders. The Samaritans delegated Ahron, Sumla, and Hudmaka, the Jews Eleazar only. The king assigned houses to them, and gave them each an adept of the Greek language, in order that he might assist them in their translation. The Samaritans rendered only their Pentateuch into the language of the land, while Eleazar produced a translation of the whole Canon. The king, perceiving variations in the respective Pentateuchs, asked the Samaritans the reason of it. Whereupon they replied that these differences chiefly turned upon two points. (1.) God *had* chosen the Mount of Gerizim: and if the Jews were right, why was there no mention of it in their Thora? (2.) The Samaritans read, Deut. xxxii. 35, ליום נקם, "to the *day* of vengeance and reward," the Jews לי נקם, "*Mine* is vengeance and reward"—which left it uncertain whether that reward was to be given here or in the world to come. The king then asked what was their opinion about the Jewish prophets and their writings, and they replied, "Either they must have said and contained what stood in the Pentateuch, and then their saying it again was superfluous; or more; or less:[s] either of which was again distinctly prohibited in the Thora; or finally they must have *changed* the Laws, and these were unchangeable." A Greek who stood near, observed that Laws must be adapted to different times, and altered accordingly; whereupon the Samaritans proved that this was only the case with human, not with Divine Laws: moreover, the seventy Elders had left them the explicit command not to accept a word beside the Thora. The king now fully approved of their translation, and gave them rich presents. But to the Jews he strictly enjoined, not even to approach Mount Gerizim. There can be no doubt that there is a certain historical fact, however contorted, at the bottom of this (comp. the Talmudical and other accounts of the LXX.), but we cannot now further pursue the subject. A lengthened extract from this chronicle—the original text with a German translation—is given by Schnurrer in Paulus' *Neus Repertorium*, 1790, 117-159.

3. Another "historical" work is the كتاب الاسطير on the history and genealogy of the patriarchs, from Adam to Moses, attributed to Moses himself; perhaps the same which Petermann saw at *Nâblus*, and which consisted of sixteen vellum leaves (supposed, however, to contain the history of the world down to the end). An anonymous recent commentary on it, A.H. 1200, A.D. 1784, is in the Brit. Mus. (No. 1140, Add.).

4. Of other Samaritan works, chiefly in Arabic—their Samaritan and Hebrew literature having mostly been destroyed by the Emperor Commodus—may be briefly mentioned Commentaries upon the whole or parts of their Pentateuch, by Zadaka b. Manga b. Zadaka;[t] further, by Maddib Eddin Jussuf b. Abi Said b. Khalef; by Ghazal Ibn Abu-l-Surur Al-Safawi Al-Ghazzi[u] (A.H. 1167-8, A.D. 1753-4, Brit. Mus.), &c. Theological works chiefly in Arabic, mixed with Samaritanisms, by Abul Hassan of Tyre, *On the religious Manners and Customs of the Samaritans and the World to come*; by Mowaffek Eddin Zadaka el Israili, *A Compendium of Religion, on the Nature of the Divine Being, on Man, on the Worship of God*; by Amin Eddin Abu'l Baracat, *On the Ten Commandments*; by Abu'l Hassan Jbn El Markum Gouajem ben Abulfaraj' ibn Chatár, *On Penance*; by Muhaddib Eddin Jussuf Ibn Salamah Ibn Jussuf Al Askari, *An Exposition of the Mosaic Laws*, &c., &c. Some grammatical works may be further mentioned, by Abu Ishak Ibrahim, *On the Hebrew Language*; by Abu Said, *On reading the Hebrew Text* (قوانين المقرا). This grammar begins in the following characteristic manner:—

"Thus said the Sheikh, rich in good works and knowledge, the model, the abstemious, the well-guided Abu Said, to whom God be merciful and compassionate.

"Praise be unto God for His help, and I ask for His guidance towards a clear exposition. I have

[r] ابو الفتح ابن ابو الحسن السامرى الدنفى الموسوى (Bodl.; Imp. Library, Paris) Two copies in Berlin Library (Petermann, Rosen) recently acquired.

[s] Compare the well known *dictum* of Omar on the Alexandrian Library (Gibbon, ch. 51).

[t] شرح السفر الاول (13th century, Bodl.).

[u] Under the title, كاشف الغياهب عن اسرار المواهب.

resolved to lay down a few rules for the proper manner of reading the Holy Writ, on account of the difference which I found, with respect to it, among our co-religionists—whom may God make numerous and inspire to obedience unto Him!—and in such a manner that I shall bring proofs for my assertions, from which the wise could in no way differ. But God knows best!

"Rule 1:—With all their discrepancies about dogmas or religious views, yet all the confessors of the Hebrew religion agree in this, that the ת of the first pers. (sing. perf.) is always pronounced with Kasra, and that a י follows it, provided it has no suffix. It is the same, when the suffix of the plural ם. is added to it, according to the unanimous testimony of the MSS., &c."

The treatise concludes, at the end of the 12th Canon or Rule:—

"Often also the perfect is used in the form of the imperative. Thus it is reported of a man of the best reputation, that he had used the form of the imperative in the passage (Ex. iii. 13), ואמרו לי מה שמו—'And they shall say to me, What is his name?' He who reported this to me, is a man of very high standing, against whose truthfulness nothing can be brought forward. But God knows best!

"There are now a few more words to be treated, of which, however, we will treat *vivâ voce*. And blessed be His name for evermore."

5. Their Liturgical literature is more extensive, and not without a certain poetical value. It consists chiefly of hymns (Defter, Durrân) and prayers for Sabbath and Feast-days, and of occasional prayers at nuptials, circumcisions, burials, and the like. We subjoin a few specimens from MSS. in the British Museum, transcribed into Hebrew characters.

The following is part of a Litany for the dead:—

אדני · יהוה · אלהים · ברחמיך · ובך · ובישמך · ובכבודך · ובאדונינן · אברהם · ויצחק · ויעקב · ואדונינן · משה · וכו"

Lord Jehovah, Elohim, for Thy mercy, and for Thine Own sake, and for Thy name, and for Thy glory, and for the sake of our Lords Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and our Lords Moses and Aaron, and Eleazar, and Ithamar, and Pinehas, and Joshua, and Caleb, and the Holy Angels, and the seventy Elders, and the holy mountain of Gerizim, Beth El. If Thou acceptest [תשים] this prayer [מקרא =reading], may there go forth from before Thy holy countenance a gift sent to protect the spirit of Thy servant, פלוני בן פלוני [N. the son of N.], of the sons of [——], daughter [——] from the sons of [——]. O Lord Jehovah, in Thy mercy have compassion on him (או) [or] have compassion on her), and rest his (her) soul in the garden of Eden; and forgive him (או) [or] her), and all the congregation of Israel who flock to Mount Gerizim Beth El. Amen. Through Moses the trusty. Amen, Amen, Amen.

The next is part of a hymn (see Kirchheim's *Carme Shomron*, emendations on Gesenius, *Carm. Sam.* iii.):—

1.

לית אלה אלא אחד	There is no God but one,
אלהים קעימה	The everlasting God,
דקעים עד לעלם	Who liveth for ever;
אלה על כל חילק	God above all powers,
ומתי כן לעלם	And who thus remaineth for ever

2.

בחילך רבה נתרחץ	In Thy great power shall we trust,
דאת הו מרן	For Thou art our Lord;
באלהותך דאנדית	In Thy Godhead; for Thou hast conducted
עלמה מן רישה	The world from beginning

3.

גבורתך כסיה	Thy power was hidden
וטהרך ורחמיך	And Thy glory and mercy.
נלין גליאתה וכסאתה	Revealed are both the things that are revealed, and those that are unrevealed
בשלטן אלהותך וכו"	Before the reign of Thy Godhead, &c. &c.

IV. We shall only briefly touch here, in conclusion, upon the strangely contradictory rabbinical laws framed for the regulation of the intercourse between the two rival nationalities of Jews and Samaritans in religious and ritual matters; discrepancies due partly to the ever-shifting phases of their mutual relations, partly to the modifications brought about in the Samaritan creed, and partly to the now less now greater acquiescence of the Jews in the religious state of the Samaritans. Thus we find the older Talmudical authorities disputing whether the Cuthim (Samaritans) are to be considered as "Real Converts" גירי אמת, or only converts through fear—"Lion Converts" גירי אריות—in allusion to the ncident related in 2 K. xvii. 25 (*Baba K.* 38; *Kidush.* 75, &c.). One Rabbi holds כותי כגוי, "A Samaritan is to be considered as a heathen;" while R. Simon b. Gamaliel—the same whose opinion on the Sam. Pent. we had occasion to quote before—pronounces that they are "to be treated in every respect like Israelites" (*Dem. Jer.* ix. 2; *Ketub.* 11, &c.). It would appear that notwithstanding their rejection of all but the Pentateuch, they had adopted many traditional religious practices from the Jews—principally such as were derived direct from the Books of Moses. It was acknowledged that they kept these ordinances with even greater rigour than those from whom they adopted them. The utmost confidence was therefore placed in them for their ritually slaughtering animals, even fowls (*Chul.* 4*a*); their wells are pronounced to be conformed to all the conditions prescribed by the Mishnah (*Joseph. Mikw.* 6; comp. *Mikw.* 8, 1). See, however *Abodah Zarah* (*Jer.* v. 4). Their unleavened bread for the Passover is commended (*Git.* 10; *Chul.* 4); their cheese (*Mass. Cuth.* 2); and even their whole food is allowed to the Jews (*Ab. Zar.* Jer. v. 4). Compare John iv. 8, where the disciples are reported to have gone into the city of Samaria to buy food. Their testimony was valued in that most stringent matter of the letter of divorce (*Mas. Cuth.* ii.). They were admitted to the office of circumcising Jewish boys (*Mas. Cuth.* i.)—against R. Jehudah, who asserts that they circumcise "in the name of Mount Gerizim" (*Abodah Zarah*, 43). The criminal law makes no difference whatever between them and the Jews (*Mas. Cuth.* 2; *Makk.* 8); and a Samaritan who strictly adheres to his own special creed is honoured with the title of a Cuthi-Chaber (*Gittin*, 10*b*; *Middah*, 33*b*). By degrees, however, inhibitions began to be laid upon the use of their wine, vinegar, bread (*Mas. Cuth.* 2 *Toseph.* 77, 5), &c. This intermediate stage of

uncertain and inconsistent treatment, which must have lasted for nearly two centuries, is best characterized by the small rabbinical treatise quoted above—*Massecheth Cuthim* (2nd cent. A.D.)—first edited by Kirchheim (שבע מס' קטנות ירושלמי Francf. 1851,—the beginning of which reads:—"The ways (treatment) of the Cuthim (Samaritans), *sometimes* like Goyim (heathens) *sometimes* like Israel." No less striking is its conclusion:

"And why are the Cuthim not permitted to come into the midst of the Jews? Because they have mixed with the priests of the heights" (idolaters). R. Ismael says: "They were *at first* pious converts (גירי צדק =real Israelites), and why is the intercourse with them prohibited? Because of their illegally begotten children,[y] and because they do not fulfil the duties of יבם (marrying the deceased brother's wife)"; a law which they understand, as we saw above, to apply to the betrothed only.

"At what period are they to be received (into the Community)?" "When they abjure the Mount Gerizim, recognise Jerusalem (viz., its superior claims), and believe in the Resurrection."[z]

We hear of their exclusion by R. Meïr (*Chul.* 6), in the third generation of the Tanaim, and later again under R. Abbuha, the Amora, at the time of Diocletian; this time the exclusion was unconditional and final (*Jer. Abodah Zarah*, 5, &c.). Partaking of their bread was considered a transgression, to be punished like eating the flesh of swine (*Zeb.* 8, 6). The intensity of their mutual hatred, at a later period, is best shown by dicta like that in *Meg.* 28, 6. "May it never happen to me that I behold a Cuthi." "Whoever receives a Samaritan hospitably in his house, deserves that his children go into exile" (*Synh.* 104, 1). In Matt. x. 5 Samaritans and Gentiles are already mentioned together; and in Luke xvii. 18 the Samaritan is called "a stranger" (ἀλλογενής). The reason for this exclusion is variously given. They are said by some to have used and sold the wine of heathens for sacrificial purposes (*Jer.* ib.); by others they were charged with worshipping the dove sacred to Venus; an imputation over the correctness of which hangs, up to this moment, a certain mysterious doubt. It has, at all events, never been brought home to them, that they really worshipped this image, although it was certainly seen with them, even by recent travellers.

Authorities.—1. Original texts. Pentateuch in the Polyglotts of Paris, and Walton; also (in Hebr. letters) by Blayney, 8vo. Ox. 1790. Sam. Version in the Polyglotts of Walton and Paris. Arab. Vers. of Abu Said, *Libri Gen. Ex. et Lev.* by Kuenen, 8vo. Lugd. 1851-4; also Van Vloten, *Specimen*, &c., 4to. Lugd. 1803. *Literae ad Scaliger*, &c. (by De Sacy) and *Epistola ad Ludolph.* (Bruns), in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, xiii. Also, with Letters to De Sacy himself, in *Notices et Extraits des MSS.* Par. 1831. *Chronicon Samaritanum*, by Juynboll, 4to. Leyden 1848. Specimen of Samar. Commentary on Gen. xlix. by Schnurrer, in Eichhorn's *Repert.* xvi. *Carm. Samar.* Gesenius, 4to. Lips. 1824.

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3. Versions. Winer, *De Vers. Pent. Sam.* De Sacy, *Mém. sur la Vers. Arabe des Livres de Moïse*, in *Mém. de Littérature*, xlix. Par. 1808; also *L'Etat actuel des Samaritains*, Par. 1812; *De Versione Samaritano-Arabica*, &c., in Eichhorn's *Allg. Bibliothek*, x. 1-176. [E. D.]

SAM'ATUS (Σαματός: *Semedius*). One of the sons of Ozora in the list of 1 Esd. ix. 34. The whole verse is very corrupt.

SAMEI'US (Σαμαῖος). SHEMAIAH of the sons of Harim (1 Esd. ix. 21; comp. Ezr. x. 21).

SAM'GAR-NE'BO (סַמְגַּרְנְבוֹ: *Samegarnebu*). One of the princes or generals of the king of Babylon who commanded the victorious army of the Chaldaeans at the capture of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxix. 3). The text of the LXX. is corrupt. The two names "Samgar-nebo, Sarsechim," are there written Σαμαγὼθ καὶ Ναβουσάχαρ. The *Nebo* is the Chaldaean Mercury; about the Samgar, opinions are divided. Von Bohlen suggested that from the Sanscrit *sangara*, "war," might be formed *sângara*, "warrior," and that this was the original of Samgar.

SA'MI (Τωβίς; Alex. Σαβεί: *Tobi*). SHOBAI (1 Esd. v. 28; comp. Ezr. ii. 42).

SA'MIS (Σομεῖς: om. in Vulg.). SHIMEI 13 (1 Esd. ix. 34; comp. Ezr. x. 38).

SAM'LAH (שַׂמְלָה: Σαμαδά; Alex. Σαλαμά: *Semla*), Gen. xxxvi. 36, 37; 1 Chr. i. 47, 48. One of the kings of Edom, successor to HADAD or HADAR. Samlah, whose name signifies "a garment," was of MASREKAH; that being probably the chief city during his reign. This mention of a separate city as belonging to each (almost without exception) of the "kings" of Edom, suggests that the Edomite kingdom consisted of a confederacy of tribes, and that the chief city of the reigning tribe was the metropolis of the whole. [E. S. P.]

SAM'MUS (Σαμμούς: *Samus*). SHEMA (1 Esd. ix. 43; comp. Neh. viii. 4).

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[y] The briefest rendering of ממזרים which we can give—a full explanation of the term would exceed our limits.

[z] On this subject the Pent. contains nothing explicit. They at first rejected that dogma, but adopted it at a later period, perhaps since Dositheus; comp. the sayings of Jehudda-hadassi and Massudi, that one of the two Samaritan sects believes in the Resurrection; Epiphanius Leontius Gregory the Great, testify unanimously to their former unbelief in this article of their *present* faith

[a] פַּח, Lightfoot "bucella" (?)

SA'MOS (Σάμος). A very illustrious Greek island off that part of Asia Minor where IONIA touches CARIA. For its history, from the time when it was a powerful member of the Ionic confederacy to its recent struggles against Turkey during the war of independence, and since, we must refer to the *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geog.*[a] Samos is a very lofty and commanding island; the word, in fact, denotes a height, especially by the sea-shore: hence, also, the name of SAMOTHRACIA, or "the Thracian Samos." The Ionian Samos comes before our notice in the detailed account of St. Paul's return from his third missionary journey (Acts xx. 15). He had been at Chios, and was about to proceed to Miletus, having passed by Ephesus without touching there. The topographical notices given incidentally by St. Luke are most exact. The night was spent at the anchorage of TROGYLLIUM, in the narrow strait between Samos and the extremity of the mainland-ridge of Mycale. This spot is famous both for the great battle of the old Greeks against the Persians in B.C. 479, and also for a gallant action of the modern Greeks against the Turks in 1824. Here, however, it is more natural (especially as we know, from 1 Macc. xv. 23, that Jews resided here) to allude to the meeting of Herod the Great with Marcus Agrippa in Samos, whence resulted many privileges to the Jews (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2, §2, 4). At this time and when St. Paul was there it was politically a "free city" in the province of ASIA. Various travellers (Tournefort, Pococke, Dallaway, Ross) have described this island. We may refer particularly to a very recent work on the subject, *Description de l'île de Patmos et de l'île de Samos* (Paris, 1856), by V. Guérin, who spent two months in the island. [J. S. H.]

SAMOTHRA'CIA (Σαμοθράκη: *Samothracia*). The mention of this island in the account of St. Paul's first voyage to Europe (Acts xvi. 11) is for two reasons worthy of careful notice. In the first place, being a very lofty and conspicuous island, it is an excellent landmark for sailors, and must have been full in view, if the weather was clear, throughout that voyage from Troas to Neapolis. From the shore at Troas Samothrace is seen towering over Imbros (Hom. *Il.* xiii. 12, 13; Kinglake's *Eöthen*, p. 64), and it is similarly a marked object in the view from the hills between Neapolis and Philippi (Clarke's *Travels*, ch. xiii.). These allusions tend to give vividness to one of the most important voyages that ever took place. Secondly, this voyage was made with a fair wind. Not only are we told that it occupied only parts of two days, whereas on a subsequent return-voyage (Acts xx. 6) the time spent at sea was five: but the technical word here used (εὐθυδρομήσαμεν) implies that they ran before the wind. Now the position of Samothrace is exactly such as to correspond with these notices, and thus incidentally to confirm the accuracy of a most artless narrative. St. Paul and his companions anchored for the night off Samothrace. The ancient city, and therefore probably the usual anchorage, was on the N. side, which would be sufficiently sheltered from a S.E. wind. It may be added, as a further practical consideration not to be overlooked, that such a wind would be favourable for overcoming the opposing current, which sets southerly after leaving the Dardanelles, and easterly between Samothrace and the mainland. Fuller details are given in *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, 2nd ed. i. 335-338. The chief classical associations of this island are mythological and connected with the mysterious divinities called Cabeiri. Perseus took refuge here after his defeat by the Romans at Pydna. In St. Paul's time Samothrace had, according to Pliny, the privileges of a small free state, though it was doubtless considered a dependency of the province of Macedonia. [J. S. H.]

SAMP'SAMES (Σαμψάμης, Σαμψάκης: *Lampsacus, Samsames*), a name which occurs in the list of those to whom the Romans are said to have sent letters in favour of the Jews (1 Macc. xv. 23). The name is probably not that of a sovereign (as it appears to be taken in A. V.), but of a place, which Grimm identifies with *Samsun* on the coast of the Black Sea, between Sinope and Trebizond. [B. F. W.]

SAM'SON (שִׁמְשׁוֹן, *i.e.* Shimshon: Σαμψών: "little sun," or "sunlike;" but according to Joseph. *Ant.* v. 8, §4 "strong:" if the root *shemesh* has the signification of "awe" which Gesenius ascribes to it, the name Samson would seem naturally to allude to the "awe" and "astonishment" with which the father and mother looked upon the angel who announced Samson's birth—see Judg. xiii. 6, 18-20, and Joseph. *l. c.*), son of Manoah, a man of the town of Zorah, in the tribe of Dan, on the border of Judah (Josh. xv. 33, xix. 41). The miraculous circumstances of his birth are recorded in Judg. xiii.; and the three following chapters are devoted to the history of his life and exploits. Samson takes his place in Scripture, (1) as a judge—an office which he filled for twenty years (Judg. xv. 20, xvi. 31); (2) as a Nazarite (Judg. xiii. 5, xvi. 17); and, (3) as one endowed with supernatural power by the Spirit of the Lord (Judg. xiii. 25, xiv. 6, 19, xv. 14).

(1.) As a judge his authority seems to have been limited to the district bordering upon the country of the Philistines, and his action as a deliverer does not seem to have extended beyond desultory attacks upon the dominant Philistines, by which their hold upon Israel was weakened, and the way prepared for the future emancipation of the Israelites from their yoke. It is evident from Judg. xiii. 1, 5, xv. 9-11, 20, and the whole history, that the Israelites, or at least Judah and Dan, which are the only tribes mentioned, were subject to the Philistines through the whole of Samson's judgeship; so that, of course, Samson's twenty years of office would be included in the forty years of the Philistine dominion. From the angel's speech to Samson's mother (Judg. xiii. 5), it appears further that the Israelites were already subject to the Philistines at his birth; and as Samson cannot have begun to be judge before he was twenty years of age, it follows that his judgeship must about have coincided with the last twenty years of Philistine dominion. But when we turn to the First Book of Samuel, and especially to vii. 1-14, we find that the Philistine dominion ceased under the judgeship of Samuel. Hence it is obvious to conclude that the early part of Samuel's judgeship coincided with the latter part of Samson's; and that the capture of the ark by the Philistines in the time of Eli occurred during Samson's lifetime. There are besides several points in the respective narratives of the times of Samson and Samuel which indicate great proximity. First, there

[a] A curious illustration of the renown of the Samian earthenware is furnished by the Vulgate rendering of Is. xlv. 9: "Testa de Samiis terrae."

is the general prominence of the Philistines in their relation to Israel. Secondly, there is the remarkable coincidence of both Samson and Samuel being Nazarites (Judg. xiii. 5, xvi. 17, compared with 1 Sam. i. 11). It looks as if the great exploits of the young Danite Nazarite had suggested to Hannah the consecration of her son in like manner, or, at all events, as if for some reason the Nazarite vow was at that time prevalent. No other mention of Nazarites occurs in the Scripture history till Amos ii. 11, 12; and even there the allusion seems to be to Samuel and Samson. Thirdly, there is a similar notice of the house of Dagon in Judg. xvi. 23, and 1 Sam. v. 2. Fourthly, the lords of the Philistines are mentioned in a similar way in Judg. xvi. 8, 18, 27, and in 1 Sam. vii. 7. All of which, taken together, indicates a close proximity between the times of Samson and Samuel. There does not seem, however, to be any means of fixing the time of Samson's judgeship more precisely. The effect of his prowess must have been more of a preparatory kind, by arousing the cowed spirit of his people, and shaking the insolent security of the Philistines, than in the way of decisive victory or deliverance. There is no allusion whatever to other parts of Israel during Samson's judgeship, except the single fact of the men of the border tribe of Judah, 3000 in number, fetching him from the rock Etam to deliver him up to the Philistines (Judg. xv. 9-13). The whole narrative is entirely local, and, like the following story concerning Micah (Judg. xvii. xviii.), seems to be taken from the annals of the tribe of Dan.

(2.) As a Nazarite, Samson exhibits the law in Num. vi. in full practice. [NAZARITE.] The eminence of such Nazarites as Samson and Samuel would tend to give that dignity to the profession which is alluded to in Lam. iv. 7, 8.

(3.) Samson is one of those who are distinctly spoken of in Scripture as endowed with supernatural power by the Spirit of the Lord. "The Spirit of the Lord began to move him at times in Mahaneh-Dan." "The Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him, and the cords that were upon his arms became as flax burnt with fire." "The Spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he went down to Ashkelon, and slew thirty men of them." But, on the other hand, after his locks were cut, and his strength was gone from him, it is said "He wist not that the Lord was departed from him" (Judg. xiii. 25, xiv. 6, 19, xv. 14, xvi. 20). The phrase, "the Spirit of the Lord came upon him," is common to him with Othniel and Gideon (Judg. iii. 10, vi. 34); but the connexion of supernatural power with the integrity of the Nazaritic vow, and the particular gift of great strength of body, as seen in tearing in pieces a lion, breaking his bonds asunder, carrying the gates of the city upon his back, and throwing down the pillars which supported the house of Dagon, are quite peculiar to Samson. Indeed, his whole character and history have no exact parallel in Scripture. It is easy, however, to see how forcibly the Israelites would be taught, by such an example, that their national strength lay in their complete separation from idolatry, and consecration to the true God; and that He could give them power to subdue their mightiest enemies, if only they were true to His service (comp. 1 Sam. ii. 10).

It is an interesting question whether any of the legends which have attached themselves to the name of Hercules may have been derived from Phoenician traditions of the strength of Samson. The combination of great strength with submission to the power of women; the slaying of the Nemeaean lion; the coming by his death at the hands of his wife; and especially the story told by Herodotus of the captivity of Hercules in Egypt,[a] are certainly remarkable coincidences. Phoenician traders might easily have carried stories concerning the Hebrew hero to the different countries where they traded, especially Greece and Italy; and such stories would have been moulded according to the taste or imagination of those who heard them. The following description of Hercules given by C. O. Müller (*Dorians*, b. ii. c. 12) might almost have been written for Samson:—"The highest degree of human suffering and courage is attributed to Hercules: his character is as noble as could be conceived in those rude and early times; but he is by no means represented as free from the blemishes of human nature; on the contrary, he is frequently subject to wild, ungovernable passions, when the noble indignation and anger of the suffering hero

[a] "Hercules once went to Egypt, and there the inhabitants took him, and, putting a chaplet on his head, led him out in solemn procession, intending to offer him in sacrifice to Jupiter. For a while he submitted quietly; but when they led him up to the altar, and began the ceremonies, he put forth his strength and slew them all" (Rawlins. *Herod.* book ii. 45).

The passage from Lycophron, with the scholion, quoted by Bochart (*Hieroz.* pars ii. lib. v. cap. xli.), where Hercules is said to have been three nights in the belly of the sea-monster, and to have come out *with the loss of all his hair*, is also curious, and seems to be a compound of the stories of Samson and Jonah. To this may be added the connexion between *Samson*, considered as derived from *Shemesh*, "the Sun," and the designation of Moui, the Egyptian Hercules, as "Son of the Sun," worshipped also under the name *Sem*, which Sir G. Wilkinson compares with Samson. The Tyrian Hercules (whose temple at Tyre is described by Herodot. ii. 44), he also tells us, "was originally the Sun, and the same as Baal" (Rawl. *Herod.* ii. 44, note 7). The connexion between the Phoenician Baal (called Baal Shemen, Baal Shemesh, and Baal Hamman), and Hercules is well known. Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v. בעל) tells us that, in certain Phoenician inscriptions, which are accompanied by a Greek translation, *Baal* is rendered *Herakles*, and that "the Tyrian Hercules" is the constant Greek designation of the Baal of Tyre. He also gives many Carthaginian inscriptions to Baal Hamman, which he renders Baal Solaris; and also a sculpture in which Baal Hamman's head is surrounded with rays, and which has an image of the sun on the upper part of the monument (*Mon. Phoen.* i. 171; ii. tab. 21). Another evidence of the identity of the Phoenician Baal and Hercules may be found in *Bauli*, near Baiae, a place sacred to Hercules ("locus Herculis," Serv.), but evidently so called from Baal. Thirlwall (*Hist. of Greece*) ascribes to the numerous temples built by the Phoenicians in honour of Baal in their different settlements the Greek fables of the labours and journeys of Hercules. Bochart thinks the custom described by Ovid (*Fast.* liv.) of tying a lighted torch between two foxes in the circus, in memory of the damage once done to the harvest by a fox with burning hay and straw tied to it, was derived from the Phoenicians, and is clearly to be traced to the history of Samson (*Hieroz.* pars i. lib. iii. cap. xiii.). From all which arises a considerable probability that the Greek and Latin conception of Hercules in regard to his strength was derived from Phoenician stories and reminiscences of the great Hebrew hero Samson. Some learned men connect the name *Hercules* with *Samson* etymologically. (See Sir G. Wilkinson's note in Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 43; Patrick, *On Judg.* xvi 30; Cornel. a Lapide, &c.) But none of these etymologies are very convincing.

degenerate into frenzy. Every crime, however, is atoned for by some new suffering; but nothing breaks his invincible courage, until, purified from earthly corruption, he ascends Mount Olympus." And again: "Hercules was a jovial guest, and not backward in enjoying himself. . . . It was Hercules, above all other heroes, whom mythology placed in ludicrous situations, and sometimes made the butt of the buffoonery of others. The Cercopes are represented as alternately amusing and annoying the hero. In works of art they are often represented as satyrs who rob the hero of his quiver, bow, and club. Hercules, annoyed at their insults, binds two of them to a pole, and marches off with his prize. . . . It also seems that mirth and buffoonery were often combined with the festivals of Hercules: thus at Athens there was a society of sixty men, who on the festival of the Diomean Hercules attacked and amused themselves and others with sallies of wit." Whatever is thought, however, of such coincidences, it is certain that the history of Samson is an historical, and not an allegorical narrative. It has also a distinctly supernatural element which cannot be explained away. The history, as we now have it, must have been written several centuries after Samson's death (Judg. xv. 19, 20, xviii. 1, 30, xix. 1), though probably taken from the annals of the tribe of Dan. Josephus has given it pretty fully, but with alterations and embellishments of his own, after his manner. For example, he does not make Samson eat any of the honey which he took out of the hive, doubtless as unclean, and unfit for a Nazarite, but makes him give it to his wife. The only mention of Samson in the N. T. is that in Heb. xi. 32, where he is coupled with Gideon, Barak, and Jephthah, and spoken of as one of those who "through faith waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens." See, besides the places quoted in the course of this article, a full article in Winer, *Realwb.*; Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 516, &c.; Bertheau, *On Judges*; Bayle's *Dict.* [A. C. H.]

SAM'UEL (שְׁמוּאֵל, *i. e.* Shemûel: Σαμουήλ: Arabic, *Samwil*, or *Aschmouyl*, see D'Herbelot, under this last name). Different derivations have been given. (1) שֵׁם אֵל, "name of God:" so apparently Origen (Eus. *H. E.* vi. 25), Θεοκλητός. (2) שׁוּם אֵל, "placed by God." (3) שְׁאוּל אֵל, "asked of God" (1 Sam. i. 20). Josephus ingeniously makes it correspond to the well-known Greek name *Theaetetus*. (4) שְׁמוּעַ אֵל, "heard of God." This, which may have the same meaning as the previous derivation, is the most obvious. The last Judge, the first of the regular succession of Prophets, and the founder of the monarchy. So important a position did he hold in Jewish history as to have given his name to the sacred book, now divided into two, which covers the whole period of the first establishment of the kingdom, corresponding to the manner in which the name of Moses has been assigned to the sacred book, now divided into five, which covers the period of the foundation of the Jewish Church itself. In fact no character of equal magnitude had arisen since the death of the great Lawgiver.

He was the son of Elkanah, an Ephrathite or Ephraimite, and Hannah or Anna. His father is one of the few private citizens in whose household we find polygamy. It may possibly have arisen from the irregularity of the period.

The descent of Elkanah is involved in great obscurity. In 1 Sam. i. 1 he is described as an Ephraimite. In 1 Chr. vi. 22, 23 he is made a descendant of Korah the Levite. Hengstenberg (on Ps. lxxviii. 1) and Ewald (ii. 433) explain this by supposing that the Levites were occasionally incorporated into the tribes amongst whom they dwelt. The question, however, is of no practical importance, because, even if Samuel were a Levite, he certainly was not a Priest by descent.

His birthplace is one of the vexed questions of sacred geography, as his descent is of sacred genealogy. [See RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.] All that appears with certainty from the accounts is that it was in the hills of Ephraim, and (as may be inferred from its name) a double height, used for the purpose of beacons or outlookers (1 Sam. i. 1). At the foot of the hill was a well (1 Sam. xix. 22). On the brow of its two summits was the city. It never lost its hold on Samuel, who in later life made it his fixed abode.

The combined family must have been large. Peninnah had several children, and Hannah had, besides Samuel, three sons and two daughters. But of these nothing is known, unless the names of the sons are those enumerated in 1 Chr. vi. 26, 27.

It is on the mother of Samuel that our chief attention is fixed in the account of his birth. She is described as a woman of a high religious mission. Almost a Nazarite by practice (1 Sam. i. 15), and a prophetess in her gifts (1 Sam. ii. 1), she sought from God the gift of the child for which she longed with a passionate devotion of silent prayer, of which there is no other example in the O. T., and when the son was granted, the name which he bore, and thus first introduced into the world, expressed her sense of the urgency of her entreaty—*Samuel*, "the Asked or Heard of God."

Living in the great age of vows, she had before his birth dedicated him to the office of a Nazarite. As soon as he was weaned, she herself with her husband brought him to the Tabernacle at Shiloh, where she had received the first intimation of his birth, and there solemnly consecrated him. The form of consecration was similar to that with which the irregular priesthood of Jeroboam was set apart in later times (2 Chr. xiii. 9)—a bullock of three years old (LXX.), loaves (LXX.), an ephah of flour, and a skin of wine (1 Sam. i. 24). First took place the usual sacrifices (LXX.) by Elkanah himself—then, after the introduction of the child, the special sacrifice of the bullock. Then his mother made him over to Eli (i. 25, 28), and (according to the Hebrew text, but not the LXX.) the child himself performed an act of worship.

The hymn which followed on this consecration is the first of the kind in the sacred volume. It is possible that, like many of the Psalms, it may have been enlarged in later times to suit great occasions of victory and the like. But verse 5 specially applies to this event, and verses 7, 8 may well express the sense entertained by the prophetess of the coming revolution in the fortunes of her son and of her country.

From this time the child is shut up in the tabernacle. The priests furnished him with a sacred garment, an ephod, made, like their own, of white linen, though of inferior quality, and his mother every year, apparently at the only time of their meeting, gave him a little mantle reaching down to his feet, such as was worn only by high personages, or women, over the other dress, and such as he retained, as his badge, till the latest times of his

life. [MANTLE, vol. ii. p. 231 *b*.] He seems to have slept within the Holiest Place (LXX., 1 Sam. iii. 3), and his special duty was to put out, as it would seem, the sacred candlestick, and to open the doors at sunrise.

In this way his childhood was passed. It was whilst thus sleeping in the tabernacle that he received his first prophetic call. The stillness of the night—the sudden voice—the childlike misconception—the venerable Eli—the contrast between the terrible doom and the gentle creature who has to announce it—give to this portion of the narrative a universal interest. It is this side of Samuel's career that has been so well caught in the well-known picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

From this moment the prophetic character of Samuel was established. His words were treasured up, and Shiloh became the resort of those who came to hear him (iii. 19-21).

In the overthrow of the sanctuary, which followed shortly on this vision, we hear not what became of Samuel.[a] He next appears, probably twenty years afterwards, suddenly amongst the people, warning them against their idolatrous practices. He convened an assembly at Mizpeh—probably the place of that name in the tribe of Benjamin—and there with a symbolical rite, expressive partly of deep humiliation, partly of the libations of a treaty, they poured water on the ground, they fasted, and they entreated Samuel to raise the piercing cry, for which he was known, in supplication to God for them. It was at the moment that he was offering up a sacrifice, and sustaining this loud cry (compare the situation of Pausanias before the battle of Plataea, Herod. ix. 61), that the Philistine host suddenly burst upon them. A violent thunderstorm, and (according to Josephus, *Ant.* vi. 2, §2) an earthquake, came to the timely assistance of Israel. The Philistines fled, and, exactly at the spot where twenty years before they had obtained their great victory, they were totally routed. A stone was set up, which long remained as a memorial of Samuel's triumph, and gave to the place its name of Eben-ezer, "the Stone of Help," which has thence passed into Christian phraseology, and become a common name of Nonconformist chapels (1 Sam. vii. 12). The old Canaanites, whom the Philistines had dispossessed in the outskirts of the Judaean hills, seem to have helped in the battle, and a large portion of territory was recovered (1 Sam. vi. 14). This was Samuel's first and, as far as we know, his only military achievement. But, as in the case of the earlier chiefs who bore that name, it was apparently this which raised him to the office of "Judge" (comp. 1 Sam. xii. 11, where he is thus reckoned with Jerubbaal, Bedan, and Jephthah; and Ecclus. xlvi. 15-18). He visited, in discharge of his duties as ruler, the three chief sanctuaries (*ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις τούτοις*) on the west of the Jordan—Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii. 16). His own residence was still his native city, Ramah or Ramathaim, which he further consecrated by an altar (vii. 17). Here he married, and two sons grew up to repeat under his eyes the same perversion of high office that he had himself witnessed in his childhood in the case of the two sons of Eli. One was Abiah, he other Joel, sometimes called simply "the second" (*vashni*, 1 Chr. vi. 28). In his old age, according to the quasi-hereditary principle, already adopted by previous Judges, he shared his power with them, and they exercised their functions at the southern frontier in Beersheba (1 Sam. viii. 1-4).

2. Down to this point in Samuel's life there is but little to distinguish his career from that of his predecessors. Like many characters in later days, had he died in youth his fame would hardly have been greater than that of Gideon or Samson. He was a Judge; a Nazarite, a warrior, and (to a certain point) a prophet.

But his peculiar position in the sacred narrative turns on the events which follow. He is the inaugurator of the transition from what is commonly called the theocracy to the monarchy. The misdemeanour of his own sons, in receiving bribes, and in extorting exorbitant interest on loans (1 Sam. viii. 3, 4), precipitated the catastrophe which had been long preparing. The people demanded a king. Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 3, §3) describes the shock to Samuel's mind, "because of his inborn sense of justice, because of his hatred of kings, as so far inferior to the aristocratic form of government, which conferred a godlike character on those who lived under it." For the whole night he lay fasting and sleepless, in the perplexity of doubt and difficulty. In the vision of that night, as recorded by the sacred historian, is given the dark side of the new institution, on which Samuel dwells on the following day (1 Sam. viii. 9-18).

This presents his reluctance to receive the new order of things. The whole narrative of the reception and consecration of Saul gives his acquiescence in it. [SAUL.]

The final conflict of feeling and surrender of his office is given in the last assembly over which he presided, and in his subsequent relations with Saul. The assembly was held at Gilgal, immediately after the victory over the Ammonites. The monarchy was a second time solemnly inaugurated, and (according to the LXX.) "Samuel" (in the Hebrew text "Saul") "and all the men of Israel rejoiced greatly." Then takes place his farewell address. By this time the long flowing locks on which no razor had ever passed were white with age (xii. 2). He appeals to their knowledge of his integrity. Whatever might be the lawless habits of the chiefs of those times—Hophni, Phinehas, or his own sons—he had kept aloof from all. No ox or ass had he taken from their stalls—no bribe to obtain his judgment (LXX., *ἐξίλασμα*)—not even a sandal (*ὑπόδημα*, LXX., and Ecclus. xlvi. 19). It is this appeal, and the response of the people, that has made Grotius call him the Jewish Aristides. He then sums up the new situation in which they have placed themselves; and, although "the wickedness of asking a king" is still strongly insisted on, and the unusual portent[b] of a thunderstorm in May or June, in answer to Samuel's prayer, is urged as a sign of Divine displeasure (xii. 16-19), the general tone of the condemnation is much softened from that which was pronounced on the first intimation of the change. The first king is repeatedly acknowledged as "the Messiah" or anointed of the Lord

[a] According to the Mussulman tradition, Samuel's birth is granted in answer to the prayers of the nation on the overthrow of the sanctuary and loss of the ark (D'Herbelot, *Aschmouyl*). This, though false in the letter, is true to the spirit of Samuel's life.

[b] According to the Mussulman traditions, his anger was occasioned by the people rejecting Saul as not being of the tribe of Judah. The sign that Saul was to be king was the liquefaction of the sacred oil in his presence and the recovery of the tabernacle (D'Herbelot, *Aschmouyl*)

(xii. 3, 5), the future prosperity of the nation is declared to depend on their use or misuse of the new constitution, and Samuel retires with expressions of goodwill and hope:—"I will teach you the good and the right way . . . only fear the Lord . . ." (1 Sam. xii. 23, 24).

It is the most signal example afforded in the O. T. of a great character reconciling himself to a changed order of things, and of the Divine sanction resting on his acquiescence. For this reason it is that Athanasius is by Basil called the Samuel of the Church (Basil, *Ep.* 82).

3. His subsequent relations with Saul are of the same mixed kind. The two institutions which they respectively represented ran on side by side. Samuel was still Judge. He judged Israel "*all the days of his life*" (vii. 15), and from time to time came across the king's path. But these interventions are chiefly in another capacity, which this is the place to unfold.

Samuel is called emphatically "the Prophet" (Acts iii. 24, xiii. 20). To a certain extent this was in consequence of the gift which he shared in common with others of his time. He was especially known in his own age as "Samuel the Seer" (1 Chr. ix. 22, xxvi. 28, xxix. 29). "I am the seer," was his answer to those who asked "Where is the seer?" "Where is the seer's house?" (1 Sam. ix. 11, 18, 19). "Seer," the ancient name, was not yet superseded by "Prophet" (1 Sam. ix.). By this name, Samuel *Videns* and Samuel ὁ βλέπων, he is called in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Of the three modes by which Divine communications were then made, "by dreams, Urim and Thummim, and prophets," the first was that by which the Divine will was made known to Samuel (1 Sam. iii. 1, 2; Jos. *Ant.* v. 10, §4). "The Lord uncovered his ear" to whisper into it in the stillness of the night the messages that were to be delivered. It is the first distinct intimation of the idea of "*Revelation*" to a human being (see Gesenius, *in voc.* גָּלָה). He was consulted far and near on the small affairs of life; loaves of "bread," or "the fourth part of a shekel of silver," were paid for the answers (1 Sam. ix. 7, 8).

From this faculty, combined with his office of ruler, an awful reverence grew up round him. No sacrificial feast was thought complete without his blessing (ib. ix. 13). When he appeared suddenly elsewhere for the same purpose, the villagers "trembled" at his approach (1 Sam. xvi. 4, 5). A peculiar virtue was believed to reside in his intercession. He was conspicuous in later times amongst those that "*call* upon the name of the Lord" (Ps. xcix. 6; 1 Sam. xii. 18), and was placed with Moses as "standing" for prayer, in a special sense, "before the Lord" (Jer. xv. 1). It was the last consolation he left in his parting address that he would "pray to the Lord" for the people (1 Sam. xii. 19, 23). There was something peculiar in the long sustained cry or shout of supplication, which seemed to draw down as by force the Divine answer (1 Sam. vii. 8, 9). All night long, in agitated moments, "he *cried* unto the Lord" (1 Sam. xv. 11).

But there are two other points which more especially placed him at the head of the prophetic order as it afterwards appeared. The first is brought out in his relation with Saul, the second in his relation with David.

(*a*). He represents the independence of the moral law, of the Divine Will, as distinct from regal or sacerdotal enactments, which is so remarkable a characteristic of all the later prophets. As we have seen, he was, if a Levite, yet certainly not a Priest; and all the attempts to identify his opposition to Saul with a hierarchical interest are founded on a complete misconception of the facts of the case. From the time of the overthrow of Shiloh, he never appears in the remotest connexion with the priestly order. Amongst all the places included in his personal or administrative visits, neither Shiloh, nor Nob, nor Gibeon, the seats of the sacerdotal caste, are ever mentioned. When he counsels Saul, it is not as the priest but as the prophet; when he sacrifices or blesses the sacrifice, it is not as the priest, but either as an individual Israelite of eminence, or as a ruler, like Saul himself. Saul's sin in both cases where he came into collision with Samuel, was not of intruding into sacerdotal functions, but of disobedience to the prophetic voice. The first was that of not waiting for Samuel's arrival, according to the sign given by Samuel at his original meeting at Ramah (1 Sam. x. 8, xiii. 8); the second was that of not carrying out the stern prophetic injunction for the destruction of the Amalekites. When, on that occasion, the aged Prophet called the captive [c] prince before him, and with his own hands hacked him limb from limb,[d] in retribution for the desolation he had brought into the homes of Israel, and thus offered up his mangled remains almost as a human sacrifice ("before the Lord in Gilgal"), we see the representative of the older part of the Jewish history. But it is the true prophetic utterance such as breathes through the psalmists and prophets when he says to Saul in words which, from their poetical form, must have become fixed in the national memory, "To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams."

The parting was not one of rivals, but of dear though divided friends. The King throws himself on the Prophet with all his force; not without a vehement effort (Jos. *Ant.* vi. 7, §5) the prophet tears himself away. The long mantle by which he was always known is rent in the struggle; and, like Ahijah after him, Samuel was in this the omen of the coming rent in the monarchy. They parted, each to his house, to meet no more. But a long shadow of grief fell over the prophet. "Samuel mourned for Saul." "It grieved Samuel for Saul." "How long wilt thou mourn for Saul?" (1 Sam. xv. 11, 35, xvi. 1.)

(*b*). He is the first of the regular succession of prophets. "All the prophets from Samuel and those that follow after" (Acts iii. 24). "Ex quo sanctus Samuel propheta coepit, et deinceps donec populus Israel in Babyloniam captivus veheretur, ... totum est tempus prophetarum" (Aug. *Civ. Dei*, xvii. 1). Moses, Miriam, and Deborah, perhaps Ehud, had been prophets. But it was only from Samuel that the continuous succession was unbroken. This may have been merely from the coincidence of his appearance with the beginning of the new order of things, of which the prophetical office was the chief expression. Some predisposing causes there may have been in his own

[c] Agag is described by Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 7, §2) as a chief of magnificent appearance; and hence rescued from destruction. This is perhaps an inference from the word מְעֻדָּנוֹת, which the Vulgate translates *pinguissimus*.

[d] 1 Sam. xv. The LXX. softens this into ἔσφαξε; but the Vulg. translation, *in frusta concidit*, "cut up into small pieces," seems to be the true meaning.

family and birthplace. His mother, as we have seen, though not expressly so called, was in fact a prophetess; the word *Zophim*, as the affix of Ramathaim, has been explained, not unreasonably, to mean "seers;" and Elkanah, his father, is by the Chaldee paraphrast on 1 Sam. i. 1, said to be "a disciple of the prophets." But the connexion of the continuity of the office with Samuel appears to be still more direct. It is in his lifetime, long after he had been "established as a prophet" (1 Sam. iii. 20), that we hear of the companies of disciples, called in the O. T. "the sons of the prophets," by modern writers "the schools of the prophets." All the peculiarities of their education are implied or expressed—the sacred dance, the sacred music, the solemn procession (1 Sam. x. 5, 10; 1 Chr. xxv. 1, 6). At the head of this congregation, or "church as it were within a church" (LXX. *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, 1 Sam. x. 5, 10), Samuel is expressly described as "standing appointed over them" (1 Sam. xix. 20). Their chief residence at this time (though afterwards, as the institution spread, it struck root in other places) was at Samuel's own abode, Ramah, where they lived in habitations (*Naioth*, 1 Sam. xix. 19, &c.) apparently of a rustic kind, like the leafy huts which Elisha's disciples afterwards occupied by the Jordan (*Naioth* = "habitations," but more specifically used for "pastures").

In those schools, and learning to cultivate the prophetic gifts, were some, whom we know for certain, others whom we may almost certainly conjecture, to have been so trained or influenced. One was Saul. Twice at least he is described as having been in the company of Samuel's disciples, and as having caught from them the prophetic fervour, to such a degree as to have "prophesied among them" (1 Sam. x. 10, 11), and on one occasion to have thrown off his clothes, and to have passed the night in a state of prophetic trance (1 Sam. xix. 24): and even in his palace, the prophesying mingled with his madness on ordinary occasions (1 Sam. xviii. 9). Another was DAVID. The first acquaintance of Samuel with David, was when he privately anointed him at the house of Jesse [see DAVID]. But the connexion thus begun with the shepherd boy must have been continued afterwards. David, at first, fled to "Naioth in Ramah," as to his second home (1 Sam. xix. 19), and the gifts of music, of song, and of prophecy, here developed on so large a scale, were exactly such as we find in the notices of those who looked up to Samuel as their father. It is, further, hardly possible to escape the conclusion that David there first met his fast friends and companions in after life, prophets like himself—GAD and NATHAN.

It is needless to enlarge on the importance with which these incidents invest the appearance of Samuel. He there becomes the spiritual father of the Psalmist king. He is also the Founder of the first regular institutions of religious instruction, and communities for the purposes of education. The schools of Greece were not yet in existence. From these Jewish institutions were developed, by a natural order, the universities of Christendom. And it may be further added, that with this view the whole life of Samuel is in accordance. He is the prophet—the only prophet till the time of Isaiah—of whom we know that he was so from his earliest years. It is this continuity of his own life and character, that makes him so fit an instrument for conducting his nation through so great a change.

The death of Samuel is described as taking place in the year of the close of David's wanderings. It is said with peculiar emphasis, as if to mark the loss, that "*all* the Israelites"—all, with a universality never specified before—"were gathered together" from all parts of this hitherto divided country, and "lamented him," and "buried him," not in any consecrated place, nor outside the walls of his city, but within his own house, thus in a manner consecrated by being turned into his tomb (1 Sam. xxv. 1). His relics were translated "from Judaea" (the place is not specified) A.D. 406, to Constantinople, and received there with much pomp by the Emperor Arcadius. They were landed at the pier of Chalcedon, and thence conveyed to a church, near the palace of Hebdomon (see *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. 20).

The situation of Ramathaim, as has been observed, is uncertain. But the place long pointed out as his tomb is the height, most conspicuous of all in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, immediately above the town of Gibeon, known to the Crusaders as "Montjoye," as the spot from whence they first saw Jerusalem, now called *Neby Samvil*, "the Prophet Samuel." The tradition can be traced back as far as the 7th century, when it is spoken of as the monastery of S. Samuel (Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 142), and if once we discard the connexion of Ramathaim with the nameless city where Samuel met Saul, (as is set forth at length in the articles RAMAH; RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM) there is no reason why the tradition should be rejected. A cave is still shown underneath the floor of the mosque. "He built the tomb in his lifetime," is the account of the Mussulman guardian of the mosque, "but was not buried here till after the expulsion of the Greeks." It is the only spot in Palestine which claims any direct connexion with the first great prophet who was born within its limits; and its commanding situation well agrees with the importance assigned to him in the sacred history.

His descendants were here till the time of David. Heman, his grandson, was one of the chief singers in the Levitical choir (1 Chr. vi. 33, xv. 17, xxv. 5).

The apparition of Samuel at Endor (1 Sam. xxviii. 14; Ecclus. xlvi. 20) belongs to the history of SAUL.

It has been supposed that Samuel wrote a Life of David (of course of his earlier years), which was still accessible to one of the authors of the Book of Chronicles (1 Chr. xxix. 29); but this appears doubtful. [See p. 1126, *b*.] Various other books of the O. T. have been ascribed to him by the Jewish tradition: the Judges, Ruth, the two Books of Samuel, the latter, it is alleged, being written in the spirit of prophecy. He is regarded by the Samaritans as a magician and an infidel (Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* p. 52).

The Persian traditions fix his life in the time of Kai-i-Kobad, 2nd king of Persia, with whom he is said to have conversed (D'Herbelot *Kai Kobad*). [A. P. S.]

SAMUEL, BOOKS OF (שְׁמוּאֵל): Βασιλειῶν Πρώτη, Δευτέρα: *Liber Regum Primus, Secundus*). Two historical books of the Old Testament, which are not separated from each other in the Hebrew MSS., and which, from a critical point of view, must be regarded as one book. The present division was first made in the Septuagint translation, and was adopted in the Vulgate from the Septuagint. But Origen, as quoted by Eusebius (*Histor. Eccles.* vi. 25), expressly states that they formed only one book among the Hebrews. Jerome (*Praefatio in Libros Samuel et Malachim*) implies the same state

ment; and in the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, fol. 14, c. 2), wherein the authorship is attributed to Samuel, they are designated by the name of his book, in the singular number (שמואל כתב ספרו). After the invention of printing they were published as one book in the first edition of the whole Bible printed at Soncino in 1488 A.D., and likewise in the Complutensian Polyglot printed at Alcala, 1502-1517 A.D.; and it was not till the year 1518 that the division of the Septuagint was adopted in Hebrew, in the edition of the Bible printed by the Bombergs at Venice. The book was called by the Hebrews "Samuel," probably because the birth and life of Samuel were the subjects treated of in the beginning of the work—just as a treatise on festivals in the Mishna bears the name of *Beitsah*, an egg, because a question connected with the eating of an egg is the first subject discussed in it. [PHARISEES, p. 890.] It has been suggested indeed by Abarbanel, as quoted by Carpzov (p. 211), that the book was called by Samuel's name because all things that occur in each book may, in a certain sense, be referred to Samuel, including the acts of Saul and David, inasmuch as each of them was anointed by him, and was, as it were, the work of his hands. This, however, seems to be a refinement of explanation for a fact which is to be accounted for in a less artificial manner. And, generally, it is to be observed that the logical titles of books adopted in modern times must not be looked for in Eastern works, nor indeed in early works of modern Europe. Thus David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan was called "The Bow," for some reason connected with the occurrence of that word in his poem (2 Sam. i. 18-22); and Snorro Storleson's Chronicle of the Kings of Norway obtained the name of "Heimskringla," the World's Circle, because Heimskringla was the first prominent word of the MS. that caught the eye (Laing's *Heimskringla*, i. 1).

Authorship and Date of the Book.—The most interesting points in regard to every important historical work are the name, intelligence, and character of the historian, and his means of obtaining correct information. If these points should not be known, next in order of interest is the precise period of time when the work was composed. On all these points, however, in reference to the Book of Samuel, more questions can be asked than can be answered, and the results of a dispassionate inquiry are mainly negative.

1st, as to the authorship. In common with all the historical books of the Old Testament, except the beginning of Nehemiah, the Book of Samuel contains no mention in the text of the name of its author. The earliest Greek historical work extant, written by one who has frequently been called the Father of History, commences with the words, "This is a pubucation of the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus;" and the motives which induced Herodotus to write the work are then set forth. Thucydides, the writer of the Greek historical work next in order of time, who likewise specifies his reasons for writing it, commences by stating, "Thucydides the Athenian wrote the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians," and frequently uses the formula that such or such a year ended—the second, or third, or fourth, as the case might be—"of this war of which Thucydides wrote the history" (ii. 70, 103; iii. 25, 88, 116). Again, when he speaks in one passage of events in which it is necessary that he should mention his own name, he refers to himself as "Thucydides son of Olorus, who composed this work" (iv. 104). Now, with the one exception of this kind already mentioned, no similar information is contained in any historical book of the Old Testament, although there are passages not only in Nehemiah, but likewise in Ezra, written in the first person. Still, without any statement of the authorship embodied in the text, it is possible that historical books might come down to us with a title containing the name of the author. This is the case, for example, with Livy's *Roman History*, and Caesar's *Commentaries of the Gallic War*. In the latter case, indeed, although Caesar mentions a long series of his own actions without intimating that he was the author of the work, and thus there is an antecedent improbability that he wrote it, yet the traditional title of the work outweighs this improbability, confirmed as the title is by an unbroken chain of testimony, commencing with contemporaries (Cicero, *Brut.* 75; Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* viii. 1; Suetonius, *Jul. Caes.* 56; Quinctilian, x. 1; Tacitus, *Germ.* 28). Here, again, there is nothing precisely similar in Hebrew history. The five books of the Pentateuch have in Hebrew no title except the first Hebrew words of each part; and the titles Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, which are derived from the Septuagint, convey no information as to their author. In like manner, the Book of Judges, the Books of the Kings and the Chronicles, are not referred to any particular historian; and although six works bear respectively the names of Joshua, Ruth, Samuel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, there is nothing in the works themselves to preclude the idea that in each case the subject only of the work may be indicated, and not its authorship; as is shown conclusively by the titles Ruth and Esther, which no one has yet construed into the assertion that those celebrated women wrote the works concerning themselves. And it is indisputable that the title "Samuel" does not imply that the prophet was the author of the Book of Samuel as a whole; for the death of Samuel is recorded in the beginning of the 25th chapter; so that, under any circumstances, a different author would be required for the remaining chapters, constituting considerably more than one-half of the entire work. Again, in reference to the Book of Samuel, the absence of the historian's name from both the text and the title is not supplied by any statement of any other writer, made within a reasonable period from the time when the book may be supposed to have been written. No mention of the author's name is made in the Book of Kings, nor, as will be hereafter shown, in the Chronicles, nor in any other of the sacred writings. In like manner, it is not mentioned either in the Apocrypha or in Josephus. The silence of Josephus is particularly significant. He published his *Antiquities* about 1100 years after the death of David, and in them he makes constant use of the Book of Samuel for one portion of his history. Indeed it is his exclusive authority for his account of Samuel and Saul, and his main authority, in conjunction with the Chronicles, for the history of David. Yet he nowhere attempts to name the author of the Book of Samuel, or of any part of it. There is a similar silence in the Mishna, where, however, the inference from such silence is far less cogent. And it is not until we come to the Babylonian Gemara, which is supposed to have been completed in its present form somewhere about 500 A.D., that any Jewish state

ment respecting the authorship can be pointed out, and then it is for the first time asserted (*Baba Bathra*, fol. 14, c. 2), in a passage already referred to, that "Samuel wrote his book," *i. e.* as the words imply, the book which bears his name. But this statement cannot be proved to have been made earlier than 1550 years after the death of Samuel—a longer period than has elapsed since the death of the Emperor Constantine; and unsupported as the statement is by reference to any authority of any kind, it would be unworthy of credit, even if it were not opposed to the internal evidence of the book itself. At the revival of learning, an opinion was propounded by Abarbanel, a learned Jew, † A.D. 1508, that the Book of Samuel was written by the prophet Jeremiah[a] (Lat. by Aug. Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1686), and this opinion was adopted by Hugo Grotius (*Pref. ad Librum priorem Samuelis*), with a general statement that there was no discrepancy in the language, and with only one special reference. Notwithstanding the eminence, however, of these writers, this opinion must be rejected as highly improbable. Under any circumstances it could not be regarded as more than a mere guess; and it is, in reality, a guess uncountenanced by peculiar similarity of language, or of style, between the history of Samuel and the writings of Jeremiah. In our own time the most prevalent idea in the Anglican Church seems to have been that the first twenty-four chapters of the Book of Samuel were written by the prophet himself, and the rest of the chapters by the prophets Nathan and Gad. This is the view favoured by Mr. Horne (*Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, ed. 1846, p. 45), in a work which has had very extensive circulation, and which amongst many readers has been the only work of the kind consulted in England. If, however, the authority adduced by him is examined, it is found to be ultimately the opinion "of the Talmudists, which was adopted by the most learned Fathers of the Christian Church, who unquestionably had better means of ascertaining this point than we have." Now the absence of any evidence for this opinion in the Talmud has been already indicated, and it is difficult to understand how the opinion could have been stamped with real value through its adoption by learned Jews called Talmudists, or by learned Christians called Fathers of the Christian Church, who lived subsequently to the publication of the Talmud. For there is not the slightest reason for supposing that in the year 500 A.D. either Jews or Christians had access to trustworthy documents on this subject which have not been transmitted to modern times, and without such documents it cannot be shown that they had any better means of ascertaining this point than we have. Two circumstances have probably contributed to the adoption of this opinion at the present day:—1st, the growth of stricter ideas as to the importance of knowing who was the author of any historical work which advances claims to be trustworthy; and 2ndly, the mistranslation of an ambiguous passage in the First Book of Chronicles (xxix. 29), respecting the authorities for the life of David. The first point requires no comment. On the second point it is to be observed that the following appears to be the correct translation of the passage in question:—"Now the history of David first and last, behold it is written in the history of Samuel the seer, and in the history of Nathan the prophet, and in the history of Gad the seer"—in which the Hebrew word *dibrei*, here translated "history," has the same meaning given to it each of the four times that it is used. This agrees with the translation in the Septuagint, which is particularly worthy of attention in reference to the Chronicles, as the Chronicles are the very last work in the Hebrew Bible; and whether this arose from their having been the last admitted into the Canon, or the last composed, it is scarcely probable that any translation in the Septuagint, with one great exception, was made so soon after the composition of the original. The rendering of the Septuagint is by the word λόγοι, in the sense, so well known in Herodotus, of "history" (i. 184, ii. 161, vi. 137), and in the like sense in the Apocrypha, wherein it is used to describe the history of Tobit, βίβλος λόγων Τωβίτ. The word "history" (*Geschichte*) is likewise the word four times used in the translation of this passage of the Chronicles in Luther's Bible, and in the modern version of the German Jews made under the superintendence of the learned Dr. Zunz (Berlin, 1858). In the English Version, however, the word *dibrei* is translated in the first instance "acts" as applied to David, and then "book" as applied to Samuel, Nathan, and Gad; and thus, through the ambiguity of the word "book," the possibility is suggested that each of these three prophets wrote a book respecting his own life and times. This double rendering of the same word in one passage seems wholly inadmissible; as is also, though in a less degree, the translation of *dibrei* as "book," for which there is a distinct Hebrew word—*sêpher*. And it may be deemed morally certain that this passage of the Chronicles is no authority for the supposition that, when it was written, any work was in existence of which either Gad, Nathan, or Samuel was the author.[b]

2. Although the authorship of the Book of Samuel cannot be ascertained, there are some indications as to the date of the work. And yet even on this point no precision is attainable, and we must be satisfied with a conjecture as to the range, not of years or decades, but of centuries, within which the history was probably composed. Evidence on this head is either external or internal. The earliest undeniable external evidence of the existence of the book would seem to be the Greek translation of it in the Septuagint. The exact date, however, of the translation itself is uncertain, though it must have been made at some time between the translation of the Pentateuch in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who died B.C. 247, and the century before the birth of Christ. The next best external testimony is that of a passage in the Second Book of Maccabees (ii. 13), in which it is said of Nehemiah, that "he,

[a] Professor Hitzig, in like manner, attributes some of the Psalms to Jeremiah. In support of this view, he points out, 1st, several *special* instances of striking similarity of language between those Psalms and the writings of Jeremiah, and, 2ndly, agreement between historical facts in the life of Jeremiah and the situation in which the writer of those Psalms depicts himself as having been placed (Hitzig, *Die Psalmen*, pp. 48-85). Whether the conclusion is correct or incorrect, this is a legitimate mode of reasoning, and there is a sound basis for a critical superstructure. See Psalms xxxi., xxxv., xl.

[b] In the Swedish Bible the word *dibrei* in each of the four instances is translated "acts" (*Gerningar*), being precisely the same word which is used to designate the Acts of the Apostles in the New Testament. This translation is self-consistent and admissible. But the German translations, supported as they are by the Septuagint, seem preferable.

founding a library, gathered together the acts of the kings, and the prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts." Now, although this passage cannot be relied on for proving that Nehemiah himself did in fact ever found such a library,[c] yet it is good evidence to prove that the Acts of the Kings, τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων, were in existence when the passage was written; and it cannot reasonably be doubted that this phrase was intended to include the Book of Samuel, which is equivalent to the two first Books of Kings in the Septuagint. Hence there is external evidence that the Book of Samuel was written before the Second Book of Maccabees. And lastly, the passage in the Chronicles already quoted (1 Chr. xxix. 29) seems likewise to prove externally that the Book of Samuel was written before the Chronicles. This is not absolutely certain, but it seems to be the most natural inference from the words that the history of David, first and last, is contained in the history of Samuel, the history of Nathan, and the history of Gad. For as a work has come down to us, entitled Samuel, which contains an account of the life of David till within a short period before his death, it appears most reasonable to conclude (although this point is open to dispute) that the writer of the Chronicles referred to this work by the title History of Samuel. In this case, admitting the date assigned, on internal grounds, to the Chronicles by a modern Jewish writer of undoubted learning and critical powers, there would be external evidence for the existence of the Book of Samuel earlier than 247 B.C., though not earlier than 312 B.C., the era of the Seleucidae (Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 32). Supposing that the Chronicles were written earlier, this evidence would go, in precise proportion, farther back, but there would be still a total absence of earlier external evidence on the subject than is contained in the Chronicles. If, however, instead of looking solely to the external evidence, the internal evidence respecting the Book of Samuel is examined, there are indications of its having been written some centuries earlier. On this head the following points are worthy of notice:—

1. The Book of Samuel seems to have been written at a time when the Pentateuch, whether it was or was not in existence in its present form, was at any rate not acted on as the rule of religious observances. According to the Mosaic Law as finally established, sacrifices to Jehovah were not lawful anywhere but before the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, whether this was a permanent temple, as at Jerusalem, or otherwise (Deut. xii. 13, 14; Lev. xvii. 3, 4; but see Ex. xx. 24). But in the Book of Samuel, the offering of sacrifices, or the erection of altars, which implies sacrifices, is mentioned at several places, such as Mizpeh, Ramah, Bethel, the threshing-place of Araunah the Jebusite, and elsewhere, not only without any disapprobation, apology, or explanation, but in a way which produces the impression that such sacrifices were pleasing to Jehovah (1 Sam. vii. 9, 10, 17, ix. 13, x. 3, xiv. 35; 2 Sam. xxiv. 18-25). This circumstance points to the date of the Book of Samuel as earlier than the reformation of Jósiah, when Hilkiah the high-priest told Shaphan the scribe that he had found the Book of the Law in the house of Jehovah, when the Passover was kept as was enjoined in that book, in a way that no Passover had been holden since the days of the Judges, and when the worship upon high-places was abolished by the king's orders (2 K. xxii. 8, xxiii. 8, 13, 15, 19, 21, 22). The probability that a sacred historian, writing after that reformation, would have expressed disapprobation of, or would have accounted for, any seeming departure from the laws of the Pentateuch by David, Saul, or Samuel, is not in itself conclusive, but joined to other considerations it is entitled to peculiar weight. The natural mode of dealing with such a religious scandal, when it shocks the ideas of a later generation, is followed by the author of the Book of Kings, who undoubtedly lived later than the reformation of Josiah, or than the beginning, at least, of the captivity of Judah (2 K. xxv. 21, 27). This writer mentions the toleration of worship on high-places with disapprobation, not only in connexion with bad kings, such as Manasseh and Ahaz, but likewise as a drawback in the excellence of other kings, such as Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoash, Amaziah, Azariah, and Jotham, who are praised for having done what was right in the sight of Jehovah (1 K. xv. 14, xxii. 43; 2 K. xii. 3, xiv. 4, xv. 4, 35, xvi. 4, xxi. 3); and something of the same kind might have been expected in the writer of the Book of Samuel, if he had lived at a time when the worship on high-places had been abolished.

2. It is in accordance with this early date of the Book of Samuel that allusions in it even to the existence of Moses are so few. After the return from the Captivity, and more especially after the changes introduced by Ezra, Moses became the great central figure in the thoughts and language of devout Jews which he could not fail to be when all the laws of the Pentateuch were observed, and they were all referred to him as the divine prophet who communicated them directly from Jehovah. This transcendent importance of Moses must already have commenced at the finding of the Book of the Law at the reformation of Josiah. Now it is remarkable that the Book of Samuel is the historical work of the Old Testament in which the name of Moses occurs most rarely. In Joshua it occurs 56 times; in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah 31 times; in the Book of Kings ten times; in Judges three times; but in Samuel only twice (Zunz, *Vorträge*, 35). And it is worthy of note that in each case Moses is merely mentioned with Aaron as having brought the Israelites out of the land of Egypt, but nothing whatever is said of the *Law* of Moses (1 Sam. xii. 6, 8). It may be thought that no inference can be drawn from this omission of the name of Moses, because, inasmuch as the Law of Moses, as a whole, was evidently not acted on in the time of Samuel, David, and Solomon, there was no occasion for a writer, however late he lived, to introduce the name of Moses at all in connexion with their life and actions. But it is very rare

[c] Professors Ewald and Bleek have accepted the statement that Nehemiah founded such a library, and they make inferences from the account of the library as to the time when certain books of the Old Testament were admitted into the Canon. There are, however, the following reasons for rejecting the statement:—1st. It occurs in a letter generally deemed spurious. 2ndly. In the same letter a fabulous story is recorded not only of Jeremiah (ii. 1-7), but likewise of Nehemiah himself. 3rdly An erroneous historical statement is likewise made in the same letter, that Nehemiah built the Temple of Jerusalem (i. 18). No witness in a court of justice, whose credit had been shaken to a similar extent, would, unless corroborated by other evidence be relied on as an authority for any important fact.

indeed for later writers to refrain in this way from importing the ideas of their own time into the account of earlier transactions. Thus, very early in the Book of Kings there is an allusion to what is "written in the Law of Moses" (1 K. ii. 3). Thus the author of the Book of Chronicles makes, for the reign of David, a calculation of money in *darics*, a Persian coin, not likely to have been in common use among the Jews until the Persian domination had been fully established. Thus, more than once, Josephus, in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, attributes expressions to personages in the Old Testament which are to be accounted for by what was familiar to his own mind, although they are not justified by his authorities. For example, evidently copying the history of a transaction from the Book of Samuel, he represents the prophet Samuel as exhorting the people to bear in mind "the code of laws which Moses had given them" (*τῆς Μωϋσέως νομοθεσίας*, *Ant.* vi. 5, §3), though there is no mention of Moses, or of his legislation, in the corresponding passage of Samuel (1 Sam. xii. 20-25). Again, in giving an account of the punishments with which the Israelites were threatened for disobedience of the Law by Moses in the Book of Deuteronomy, Josephus attributes to Moses the threat that their temple should be burned (*Ant.* iv. 8, §46). But no passage can be pointed out in the whole Pentateuch in which such a threat occurs; and in fact, according to the received chronology (1 K. vi. 1), or according to any chronology, the first temple at Jerusalem was not built till some centuries after the death of Moses. Yet this allusion to the burning of an unbuilt temple ought not to be regarded as an intentional misrepresentation. It is rather an instance of the tendency in an historian who describes past events to give unconsciously indications of his living himself at a later epoch. Similar remarks apply to a passage of Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 4, §4), in which, giving an account of David's project to build a temple at Jerusalem, he says that David wished to prepare a temple for God, "as Moses commanded," though no such command or injunction is to be found in the Pentateuch. To a religious Jew, when the laws of the Pentateuch were observed, Moses could not fail to be the predominant idea in his mind; but Moses would not necessarily be of equal importance to a Hebrew historian who lived before the reformation of Josiah.

3. It tallies with an early date for the composition of the Book of Samuel that it is one of the best specimens of Hebrew prose in the golden age of Hebrew literature. In prose it holds the same place which Joel and the undisputed prophecies of Isaiah hold in poetical or prophetical language. It is free from the peculiarities of the Book of Judges, which it is proposed to account for by supposing that they belonged to the popular dialect of Northern Palestine; and likewise from the slight peculiarities of the Pentateuch, which it is proposed to regard as archaisms[d] (Gesenius, *Hebrew Grammar*, §2, 5). It is a striking contrast to the language of the Book of Chronicles, which undoubtedly belongs to the silver age of Hebrew prose, and it does not contain as many alleged Chaldaisms as the few in the Book of Kings. Indeed the number of Chaldaisms in the Book of Samuel which the most rigid scrutiny has suggested do not amount to more than about six instances, some of them doubtful ones, in 90 pages of our modern Hebrew Bible. And, considering the general purity of the language, it is not only possible, but probable, that the trifling residuum of Chaldaisms may be owing to the inadvertence of Chaldee copyists, when Hebrew had ceased to be a living language. At the same time this argument from language must not be pushed so far as to imply that, standing alone, it would be conclusive; for some writings, the date of which is about the time of the Captivity, are in pure Hebrew such as the prophecies of Habakkuk, the Psalms cxx., cxxxvii., cxxxix., pointed out by Gesenius, and by far the largest portion of the latter part of the prophecies attributed to "Isaiah" (xl.–lxvi.). And we have not sufficient knowledge of the condition of the Jews at the time of the Captivity, or for a few centuries after, to entitle any one to assert that there were no individuals among them who wrote the purest Hebrew. Still the balance of probability inclines to the contrary direction, and, as a subsidiary argument, the purity of language of the Book of Samuel is entitled to some weight.

Assuming, then, that the work was composed at a period not later than the reformation of Josiah—say, B.C. 622—the question arises as to the very earliest point of time at which it could have existed in its present form? And the answer seems to be, that the earliest period was subsequent to the secession of the Ten Tribes. This results from the passage in 1 Sam. xxvii. 6, wherein it is said of David, "Then Achish gave him Ziklag that day: wherefore Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah to this day:" for neither Saul, David, nor Solomon is in a single instance called king of Judah simply. It is true that David is said, in one narrative respecting him, to have reigned in Hebron seven years and six months over Judah (2 Sam. v. 5) before he reigned in Jerusalem thirty-three years over all Israel and Judah; but he is, notwithstanding, never designated by the title King of Judah. Before the secession, the designation of the kings was that they were kings of Israel (1 Sam. xiii. 1, xv. 1, xvi. 1; 2 Sam. v. 17, viii. 15; 1 K. ii. 11, iv. 1, vi. 1, xi. 42). It may safely, therefore, be assumed that the Book of Samuel could not have existed in its present form at an earlier period than the reign of Rehoboam, who ascended the throne B.C. 975. If we go beyond this, and endeavour to assert the precise time between 975 B.C. and 622 B.C., when it was composed, all certain indications fail us. The expression "unto this day," used several times in the book (1 Sam. v. 5, vi. 18, xxx. 25; 2 Sam. iv. 3, vi. 8), in addition to the use of it in the passage already quoted, is too indefinite to prove anything, except that the writer who employed it lived subsequently to the events he described. It is inadequate to prove whether he lived three centuries, or only half a century, after those events. The same remark applies to the phrase, "Therefore it became a proverb, 'Is Saul among the Prophets?'" (1 Sam. x. 12), and to the verse, "Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, thus he spake, Come, and let us go to the seer: for he that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer" (1 Sam. ix. 9). In both cases it is not certain that the writer lived more than eighty years after the incidents to which he alludes. In like manner, the various traditions respecting the manner in which Saul first became acquainted with David

[d] As compared with Samuel, the peculiarities of the Pentateuch are not *quite* as striking as the differences in language between Lucretius and Virgil: the parallel which has been suggested by Gesenius. Virgil seems to have been about 14 years of age when Lucretius's great poem was published

(1 Sam. xvi. 14-23, xvii. 55-58)—respecting the manner of Saul's death (1 Sam. xxxi. 2-6, 8-13; 2 Sam. i. 2-12)—do not necessarily show that a very long time (say even a century) elapsed between the actual events and the record of the traditions. In an age anterior to the existence of newspapers or the invention of printing, and when probably few could read, thirty or forty years, or even less, have been sufficient for the growth of different traditions respecting the same historical fact. Lastly, internal evidence of language lends no assistance for discrimination in the period of 353 years within which the book may have been written; for the undisputed Hebrew writings belonging to that period are comparatively few, and not one of them is a history, which would present the best points of comparison. They embrace scarcely more than the writings of Joel, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, and a certain portion of the writings under the title "Isaiah." The whole of these writings together can scarcely be estimated as occupying more than sixty pages of our Hebrew Bibles, and whatever may be their peculiarities of language or style, they do not afford materials for a safe inference as to which of their authors was likely to have been contemporary with the author of the Book of Samuel. All that can be asserted as undeniable is, that the book, as a whole, can scarcely have been composed later than the reformation of Josiah, and that it could not have existed in its present form earlier than the reign of Rehoboam.

It is to be added that no great weight, in opposition to this conclusion, is due to the fact that the death of David, although in one passage evidently implied (2 Sam. v. 5), is not directly recorded in the Book of Samuel. From this fact Hävernick (*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, part ii., p. 145) deems it a certain inference that the author lived not long after the death of David. But this is a very slight foundation for such an inference, since we know nothing of the author's name, or of the circumstances under which he wrote, or of his precise ideas respecting what is required of an historian. We cannot, therefore, assert, from the knowledge of the character of his mind, that his deeming it logically requisite to make a formal statement of David's death would have depended on his living a short time or a long time after that event. Besides, it is very possible that he did formally record it, and that the mention of it was subsequently omitted on account of the more minute details by which the account of David's death is preceded in the First Book of Kings. There would have been nothing wrong in such an omission, nor indeed, in any addition to the Book of Samuel; for, as those who finally inserted it in the Canon did not transmit it to posterity with the name of any particular author, their honesty was involved, not in the mere circumstance of their omitting or adding anything, but solely in the fact of their adding nothing which they believed to be false, and of omitting nothing of importance which they believed to be true.

In this absolute ignorance of the author's name, and vague knowledge of the date of the work, there has been a controversy whether the Book of Samuel is or is not a compilation from pre-existing documents; and if this is decided in the affirmative, to what extent the work is a compilation. It is not intended to enter fully here into this controversy, respecting which the reader is referred to Dr. Davidson's *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, London, Longman, 1856, in which this subject is dispassionately and fairly treated. One observation, however, of some practical importance, is to be borne in mind. It does not admit of much reasonable doubt that in the Book of Samuel there are two different accounts (already alluded to) respecting Saul's first acquaintance with David, and the circumstances of Saul's death—and that yet the editor or author of the Book did not let his mind work upon these two different accounts so far as to make him interpose his own opinion as to which of the conflicting accounts was correct, or even to point out to the reader that the two accounts were apparently contradictory. Hence, in a certain sense, and to a certain extent, the author must be regarded as a compiler, and not an original historian. And in reference to the two accounts of Saul's death, this is not the less true, even if the second account be deemed reconcileable with the first by the supposition that the Amalekite had fabricated the story of his having killed Saul (2 Sam. i. 6-10). Although possibly true, this is an unlikely supposition, because, as the Amalekite's object in a lie would have been to curry favour with David, it would have been natural for him to have forged some story which would have redounded more to his own credit than the clumsy and improbable statement that he, a mere casual spectator, had killed Saul at Saul's own request. But whether the Amalekite said what was true or what was false, an historian, as distinguished from a compiler, could scarcely have failed to convey his own opinion on the point, affecting, as on one alternative it did materially, the truth of the narrative which he had just before recorded respecting the circumstances under which Saul's death occurred. And if compilation is admitted in regard to the two events just mentioned, or to one of them, there is no antecedent improbability that the same may have been the case in other instances; such, for example, as the two explanations of the proverb, "Is Saul also among the Prophets?" (1 Sam. x. 9-12, xix. 22-24), or the two accounts of David's having forborne to take Saul's life, at the very time when he was a fugitive from Saul, and his own life was in danger from Saul's enmity (1 Sam. xxiv. 3-15, xxvi. 7-12). The same remark applies to what seem to be summaries or endings of narratives by different writers, such as 1 Sam. vii. 15-17, 1 Sam. xiv. 47-52, compared with chapter xv.; 2 Sam. viii. 15-18. In these cases, if each passage were absolutely isolated, and occurred in a work which contained no other instance of compilation, the inference to be drawn might be uncertain. But when even one instance of compilation has been clearly established in a work, all other seeming instances must be viewed in its light, and it would be unreasonable to contest each of them singly, on principles which imply that compilation is as unlikely as it would be in a work of modern history. It is to be added, that as the author and the precise date of the Book of Samuel are unknown, its historical value is not impaired by its being deemed to a certain extent a compilation. Indeed, from one point of view, its value is in this way somewhat enhanced; as the probability is increased of its containing documents of an early date, some of which may have been written by persons contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the events described.

Sources of the Book of Samuel.—Assuming that the book is a compilation, it is a subject of rational inquiry to ascertain the materials from which it was composed. But our information on this head is scanty. The only work actually quoted in this

book is the Book of Jasher; *i. e.* the Book of the Upright. Notwithstanding the great learning which has been brought to bear on this title by numerous commentators [vol. i. p. 932], the meaning of the title must be regarded as absolutely unknown, and the character of the book itself as uncertain. The best conjecture hitherto offered as an induction from facts is, that it was a Book of Poems; but the facts are too few to establish this as a positive general conclusion. It is only quoted twice in the whole Bible, once as a work containing David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 18), and secondly, as an authority for the statement that the sun and moon stood still at the command of Joshua (Josh. x. 13). There can be no doubt that the Lamentation of David is a poem; and it is most probable that the other passage referred to as written in the Book of Jasher includes four lines of Hebrew poetry,[e] though the poetical diction and rhythm of the original are somewhat impaired in a translation. But the only sound deduction from these facts is, that the Book of Jasher contained some poems. What else it may have contained we cannot say, even negatively. Without reference, however, to the Book of Jasher, the Book of Samuel contains several poetical compositions, on each of which a few observations may be offered; commencing with the poetry of David.

(1.) David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, called "The Bow." This extremely beautiful composition, which seems to have been preserved through David's having caused it to be taught to the children of Judah (2 Sam. i. 18), is universally admitted to be the genuine production of David. In this respect, it has an advantage over the Psalms; as, owing to the unfortunate inaccuracy of some of the inscriptions, no one of the Psalms attributed to David has wholly escaped challenge. One point in the Lamentation especially merits attention, that, contrary to what a later poet would have ventured to represent, David, in the generosity and tenderness of his nature, sounds the praises of Saul.

(2.) David's Lamentation on the death of Abner (2 Sam. iii. 33, 34). There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of this short poetical ejaculation.

(3.) 2 Sam. xxii. A Song of David, which is introduced with the inscription that David spoke the words of the song to Jehovah, in the day that Jehovah had delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies and out of the hand of Saul. This song, with a few unimportant verbal differences, is merely the xviiith Psalm, which bears substantially the same inscription. For poetical beauty, the song is well worthy to be the production of David. The following difficulties, however, are connected with it.

(*a.*) The date of the composition is assigned to the day when David had been delivered not only out of the hand of all his enemies, but likewise "out of the hand of Saul." Now David reigned forty years after Saul's death (2 Sam. v. 4, 5), and it was as king that he achieved the successive conquests to which allusion is made in the Psalm. Moreover, the Psalm is evidently introduced as composed at a late period of his life; and it immediately precedes the twenty-third chapter, which commences with the passage, "Now these be the last words of David." It sounds strange, therefore, that the name of Saul should be introduced, whose hostility, so far distant in time, had been condoned, as it were, by David in his noble Lamentation.

(*b.*) In the closing verse (2 Sam. xxii. 51), Jehovah is spoken of as showing "mercy to His anointed, unto David and his seed for evermore." These words would be more naturally written *of* David than *by* David. They may, however, be a later addition; as it may be observed that at the present day, notwithstanding the safeguard of printing, the poetical writings of living authors, are occasionally altered, and it must be added disfigured, in printed hymn-books. Still, as far as they go, the words tend to raise a doubt whether the Psalm was written by David, as it cannot be *proved* that they are an addition.

(*c.*) In some passages of the Psalm, the strongest assertions are made of the poet's uprightness and purity. He says of himself, "According to the cleanness of my hands hath He recompensed me. For I have kept the ways of Jehovah, and have not wickedly departed from my God. For all His judgments were before me: and as for His statutes, I did not depart from them. I was also upright before Him, and have kept myself from mine iniquity" (xxii. 21-24). Now it is a subject of reasonable surprise that, at any period after the painful incidents of his life in the matter of Uriah, David should have used this language concerning himself. Admitting fully that, in consequence of his sincere and bitter contrition, "the princely heart of innocence" may have been freely bestowed upon him, it is difficult to understand how this should have influenced him so far in his assertions respecting his own uprightness in past times, as to make him forget that he had once been betrayed by his passions into adultery and murder. These assertions, if made by David himself, would form a striking contrast to the tender humility and self-mistrust in connexion with the same subject by a great living genius of spotless character. (See 'Christian Year,' *6th Sunday after Trinity—ad finem.*)

(4.) A song, called "last words of David," 2 Sam. xxiii. 2-7. According to the Inscription, it was composed by "David the son of Jesse, the man who was raised up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet psalmist of Israel." It is suggested by Bleek, and is in itself very probable, that both the Psalm and the Inscription were taken from some collection of Songs or Psalms. There is not sufficient reason to deny that this song is correctly ascribed to David.

(5.) One other song remains, which is perhaps the most perplexing in the Book of Samuel. This is the Song of Hannah, a wife of Elkanah (1 Sam. ii. 1-10). One difficulty arises from an allusion in verse 10 to the existence of a king under Jehovah, many years before the kingly power was established among the Israelites. Another equally great difficulty arises from the internal character of the song. It purports to be written by one of two wives as a song of thanksgiving for having borne a child, after a long period of barrenness, which had caused her to be looked down upon by the other wife of her husband. But, deducting a general allusion, in verse 5, to the barren having borne seven, there is

[e] Any Hebrew scholar who will write out the original four lines commencing with "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon!" may satisfy himself that they belong to a poem. The last line, "Until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies," which in the A. V. is somewhat heavy, is almost unmistakeably a line of poetry in the original. In a narrative respecting the Israelites in prose they would not have been described as הָעָם (*gôi*), without even an article. Moreover, there is no other instance in which the simple accusative of the person on whom vengeance is taken is used after נָקַם (*nakam*). In simple prose מִן (*min*) intervenes, and, like the article, it may have been here omitted for conciseness

nothing in the song peculiarly applicable to the supposed circumstances, and by far the greater portion of it seems to be a song of triumph for deliverance from powerful enemies in battle (vers. 1, 4, 10). Indeed, Thenius does not hesitate to conjecture that it was written by David after he had slain Goliath, and the Philistines had been defeated in a great battle (*Exegetisches Handbuch*, p. 8). There is no historical warrant for this supposition; but the song is certainly more appropriate to the victory of David over Goliath, than to Hannah's having given birth to a child under the circumstances detailed in the first chapter of Samuel. It would, however, be equally appropriate to some other great battles of the Israelites.

In advancing a single step beyond the songs of the Book of Samuel, we enter into the region of conjecture as to the materials which were at the command of the author; and in points which arise for consideration, we must be satisfied with a suspense of judgment, or a slight balance of probabilities. For example, it being plain that in some instances there are two accounts of the same transaction, it is desirable to form an opinion whether these were founded on distinct written documents, or on distinct oral traditions. This point is open to dispute; but the theory of written documents seems preferable; as in the alternative of mere oral traditions it would have been supereminently unnatural even for a compiler to record them without stating in his own person that there were different traditions respecting the same event. Again, the truthful simplicity and extraordinary vividness of some portions of the Book of Samuel naturally suggest the idea that they were founded on contemporary documents or a peculiarly trustworthy tradition. This applies specially to the account of the combat between David and Goliath, which has been the delight of successive generations, which charms equally in different ways the old and the young, the learned and the illiterate, and which tempts us to deem it certain that the account must have proceeded from an eye-witness. On the other hand, it is to be remembered that vividness of description often depends more on the discerning faculties of the narrator than on mere bodily presence. "It is the mind that sees," so that 200 years after the meeting of the Long Parliament a powerful imaginative writer shall portray Cromwell more vividly than Ludlow, a contemporary who knew him and conversed with him. Moreover, Livy has described events of early Roman History which educated men regard in their details as imaginary; and Defoe, Swift, and the authors of *The Arabian Nights* have described events which all men admit to be imaginary, with such seemingly authentic details, with such a charm of reality, movement, and spirit, that it is sometimes only by a strong effort of reason that we escape from the illusion that the narratives are true. In the absence, therefore, of any external evidence on this point, it is safer to suspend our judgment as to whether any portion of the Book of Samuel is founded on the writing of a contemporary, or on a tradition entitled to any peculiar credit. Perhaps the two conjectures respecting the composition of the Book of Samuel which are most entitled to consideration are—1st. That the list which it contains of officers or public functionaries under David is the result of contemporary registration; and 2ndly. That the Book of Samuel was the compilation of some one connected with the schools of the prophets, or penetrated by their spirit. On the first point, the reader is referred to such passages as 2 Sam. viii. 16-18, and xx. 23-26, in regard to which one fact may be mentioned. It has already been stated [KING, p. 42] that under the Kings there existed an officer called Recorder, Remembrancer, or Chronicler; in Hebrew, *mazkir*. Now it can scarcely be a mere accidental coincidence that such an officer is mentioned for the first time in David's reign, and that it is precisely for David's reign that a list of public functionaries is for the first time transmitted to us. On the second point, it cannot but be observed what prominence is given to prophets in the history, as compared with priests and Levites. This prominence is so decided, that it undoubtedly contributed towards the formation of the uncritical opinion that the Book of Samuel was the production of the prophets Samuel, Nathan, and Gad. This opinion is unsupported by external evidence, and is contrary to internal evidence; but it is by no means improbable that some writers among the sons of the prophets recorded the actions of those prophets. This would be peculiarly probable in reference to Nathan's rebuke of David after the murder of Uriah. Nathan here presents the image of a prophet in its noblest and most attractive form. Boldness, tenderness, inventiveness, and tact, were combined in such admirable proportions, that a prophet's functions, if always discharged in a similar manner with equal discretion, would have been acknowledged by all to be purely beneficent. In his interposition there is a kind of ideal moral beauty. In the schools of the prophets he doubtless held the place which St. Ambrose afterwards held in the minds of priests for the exclusion of the Emperor Theodosius from the church at Milan after the massacre at Thessalonica. It may be added, that the following circumstances are in accordance with the supposition that the compiler of the Book of Samuel was connected with the schools of the prophets. The designation of Jehovah as the "Lord of Hosts," or God of Hosts, does not occur in the Pentateuch, or in Joshua, or in Judges; but it occurs in the Book of Samuel thirteen times. In the Book of Kings it occurs only seven times; and in the Book of Chronicles, as far as this is an original or independent work, it cannot be said to occur at all, for although it is found in three passages, all of these are evidently copied from the Book of Samuel. (See 1 Chr. xi. 9—in the original precisely the same words as in 2 Sam. v. 10; and see 1 Chr. xvii. 7, 24, copied from 2 Sam. vii. 8, 26.) Now this phrase, though occurring so rarely elsewhere in prose, that it occurs nearly twice as often in the Book of Samuel as in all the other historical writings of the Old Testament put together, is a very favourite phrase in some of the great prophetical writings. In Isaiah it occurs sixty-two times (six times only in the chapters xl.–lxvi.), and in Jeremiah sixty-five times at least. Again, the predominance of the idea of the prophetical office in Samuel is shown by the very subordinate place assigned in it to the Levites. The difference between the Chronicles and the Book of Samuel in this respect is even more striking than their difference in the use of the expression "Lord of Hosts;"[1] though in a reverse proportion. In the whole Book of Samuel the Levites are mentioned only twice

[1] It is worthy of note that the prophet Ezekiel never uses the expression "Lord of Hosts." On the other hand, there is no mention of the Levites in the undisputed writings of Isaiah.

(1 Sam. vi. 15; 2 Sam. xv. 24), while in Chronicles they are mentioned above thirty times in the First Book alone, which contains the history of David's reign.

In conclusion, it may be observed that it is very instructive to direct the attention to the passages in Samuel and the Chronicles which treat of the same events, and, generally, to the manner in which the life of David is treated in the two histories. A comparison of the two works tends to throw light on the state of the Hebrew mind at the time when the Book of Samuel was written, compared with the ideas prevalent among the Jews some hundred years later, at the time of the compilation of the Chronicles. Some passages correspond almost precisely word for word; others agree, with slight but significant alterations. In some cases there are striking omissions; in others there are no less remarkable additions. Without attempting to exhaust the subject, some of the differences between the two histories will be now briefly pointed out; though at the same time it is to be borne in mind that, in drawing inferences from them, it would be useful to review likewise all the differences between the Chronicles and the Book of Kings.

1. In 1 Sam. xxxi. 12, it is stated that the men of Jabesh Gilead took the body of Saul and the bodies of his sons from the wall of Beth-shan, and came to Jabesh and burnt them there. The compiler of the Chronicles omits mention of the burning of their bodies, and, as it would seem, designedly; for he says that the valiant men of Jabesh Gilead buried the *bones* of Saul and his sons under the oak in Jabesh; whereas if there had been no burning, the natural expression would have been to have spoken of burying their *bodies*, instead of their bones. Perhaps the chronicler objected so strongly to the burning of bodies that he purposely refrained from recording such a fact respecting the bodies of Saul and his sons, even under the peculiar circumstances connected with that incident.[g]

2. In the Chronicles it is assigned as one of the causes of Saul's defeat that he had asked counsel of one that had a familiar spirit, and "had not enquired of Jehovah" (1 Chr. x. 13, 14); whereas in Samuel it is expressly stated (1 Sam. xxviii. 6) that Saul *had* inquired of Jehovah before he consulted the witch of Endor, but that Jehovah had not answered him either by dreams, or by Urim, or by prophets.

3. The Chronicles make no mention of the civil war between David and Ishbosheth the son of Saul, nor of Abner's changing sides, nor his assassination by Joab, nor of the assassination of Ishbosheth by Rechab and Baanah (2 Sam. ii. 8-32, iii., iv.).

4. David's adultery with Bathsheba, the exposure of Uriah to certain death by David's orders, the solemn rebuke of Nathan, and the penitence of David, are all passed over in absolute silence in the Chronicles (2 Sam. xi., xii. 1-25).

5. In the account given in Samuel (2 Sam. vi. 2-11) of David's removing the Ark from Kirjath-jearim, no special mention is made of the priests or Levites. David's companions are said, generally, to have been "all the people that were with him," and "all the house of Israel" are said to have played before Jehovah on the occasion with all manner of musical instruments. In the corresponding passage of the Chronicles (1 Chr. xiii. 1-14) David is represented as having publicly proposed to send an invitation to the priests and Levites in their cities and "suburbs," and this is said to have been assented to by all the congregation. Again, in the preparations which are made for the reception of the Ark of the Covenant at Jerusalem, nothing is said of the Levites in Samuel; whereas in the Chronicles David is introduced as saying that none ought to carry the Ark of God but the Levites; the special numbers of the Levites and of the children of Aaron are there given; and names of Levites are specified as having been appointed singers and players on musical instruments in connexion with the Ark (1 Chr. xv., xvi. 1-6).

6. The incident of David's dancing in public with all his might before Jehovah, when the Ark was brought into Jerusalem, the censorious remarks of his wife Michal on David's conduct, David's answer, and Michal's punishment, are fully set forth in Samuel (2 Sam. vi. 14-23); but the whole subject is noticed in one verse only in Chronicles (1 Chr. xv. 29). On the other hand, no mention is made in Samuel of David's having composed a Psalm on this great event; whereas in Chronicles a Psalm is set forth which David is represented as having delivered into the hand of Asaph and his brethren on that day (1 Chr. xvi. 7-36). Of this Psalm the first fifteen verses are almost precisely the same as in Ps. cv. 1-15. The next eleven verses are the same as in Ps. xcvi. 1-11; and the next three concluding verses are in Ps. cvi. 1, 47, 48. The last verse but one of this Psalm (1 Chr. xvi. 35) appears to have been written at the time of the Captivity.

7. It is stated in Samuel that David in his conquest of Moab put to death two-thirds either of the inhabitants or of the Moabitish army (2 Sam. viii 2). This fact is omitted in Chronicles (1 Chr. xviii. 2), though the words used therein in mentioning the conquest are so nearly identical with the beginning and the end of the passage in Samuel, that in the A. V. there is no difference in the translation of the two texts, "And he smote Moab; and the Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts."

8. In 2 Sam. xxi. 19, it is stated that "there was a battle in Gob with the Philistines, where Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim, a Bethlehemite (in the original *Beit hal-lachmi*), slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam." In the parallel passage in the Chronicles (1 Chr. xx. 5) it is stated that "Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lachmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite." Thus Lachmi, which in the former case is merely part of an adjective describing Elhanan's place of nativity, seems in the Chronicles to be the substantive name of the man whom Elhanan slew, and is so translated in the LXX. [ELHANAN, i. 520; LAHMI, ii. 55.]

9. In Samuel (2 Sam. xxiv. 1) it is stated that, the anger of Jehovah having been kindled against Israel, *He* moved David against them to give orders

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[g] Tacitus records it as a distinguishing custom of the Jews, "corpora condere quam cremare, ex more Aegyptio" (*Hist.* v. 5). And it is certain that, in later times, they buried dead bodies, and did not burn them; though, notwithstanding the instance in Gen. l. 2, they did not, strictly speaking, embalm them, like the Egyptians. And though it may be suspected, it cannot be proved, that they ever burned their dead in early times. The passage in Am. vi. 10 is ambiguous. It may merely refer to the burning of bodies, as a sanitary precaution in a plague; but it is not undoubted that burning is alluded to. See Fürst, *s. v.* סָרַף. The burning *for* Asa (2 Chr xvi. 14) is different from the burning of his body. Compare Jer. xxxiv. 5; 2 Chr. xxi. 19, 20; Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 3, §4 *De Bell. Jud.* i. 33, §9.

for taking a census of the population. In the Chronicles (1 Chr. xxi. 1) it is mentioned that David was provoked to take a census of the population *by Satan*. This last is the first and the only instance in which the name of Satan is introduced into any historical book of the Old Testament. In the Pentateuch Jehovah Himself is represented as hardening Pharaoh's heart (Ex. vii. 13), as in this passage of Samuel He is said to have incited David to give orders for a census.

10. In the incidents connected with the three days' pestilence upon Israel on account of the census, some facts of a very remarkable character are narrated in the Chronicles, which are not mentioned in the earlier history. Thus in Chronicles it is stated of the Angel of Jehovah, that he stood between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched over Jerusalem; that afterwards Jehovah commanded the angel, and that the angel put up again his sword into its sheath[a] (1 Chr. xxi. 15-27). It is further stated (ver. 20) that Ornan and his four sons hid themselves when they saw the angel; and that when David (ver. 26) had built an altar to Jehovah, and offered burnt-offerings to Him, Jehovah answered him from heaven by fire upon the altar of burnt-offering. Regarding all these circumstances there is absolute silence in the corresponding chapter of Samuel.

11. The Chronicles make no mention of the horrible fact mentioned in the Book of Samuel (2 Sam. xxi. 3-9) that David permitted the Gibeonites to sacrifice seven sons of Saul to Jehovah, as an atonement for the injuries which the Gibeonites had formerly received from Saul. This barbarous act of superstition, which is not said to have been commanded by Jehovah (ver. 1) is one of the most painful incidents in the life of David, and can scarcely be explained otherwise than by the supposition either that David seized this opportunity to rid himself of seven possible rival claimants to the throne, or that he was, for a while at least, infected by the baneful example of the Phoenicians, who endeavoured to avert the supposed wrath of their gods by human sacrifices [PHOENICIA]. It was, perhaps, wholly foreign to the ideas of the Jews at the time when the Book of Chronicles was compiled.

It only remains to add, that in the numerous instances wherein there is a close verbal agreement between passages in Samuel and in the Chronicles, the sound conclusion seems to be that the Chronicles were copied from Samuel, and not that both were copied from a common original. In a matter of this kind, we must proceed upon recognised principles of criticism. If a writer of the 3rd or 4th century narrated events of Roman history almost precisely in the words of Livy, no critic would hesitate to say that all such narratives were copied from Livy. It would be regarded as a very improbable hypothesis that they were copied from documents to which Livy and the later historian had equal access, especially when no proof whatever was adduced that any such original documents were in existence at the time of the later historian. The same principle applies to the relation in which the Chronicles stand to the Book of Samuel. There is not a particle of proof that the original documents, or any one of them, on which the Book of Samuel was founded were in existence at the time when the Chronicles were compiled; and in the absence of such proof, it must be taken for granted that, where there is a close verbal correspondence between the two works, the compiler of the Chronicles copied passages, more or less closely, from the Book of Samuel. At the same time it would be unreasonable to deny, and it would be impossible to disprove, that the compiler, in addition to the Book of Samuel, made use of other historical documents which are no longer in existence.

Literature.—The following list of Commentaries is given by De Wette:—Serrarii, Seb. Schmidii, Jo. Clerici, Maur. *Commentt.*; Jo. Drusii, *Annotatt. in Locos diffic. Jos., Jud., et Sam.*; Victorini, Strigelii, *Comm. in Libr. Sam., Reg., et Paralipp.*, Lips. 1591, fol.; Casp. Sanctii, *Comm. in IV. Lib. Reg. et Paralipp.*, 1624, fol.; Hensler, *Erläuterungen des I. B. Sam. u. d. Salom. Denksprüche*, Hamburg, 1795. The best modern Commentary seems to be that of Thenius, *Exegetisches Handbuch*, Leipzig, 1842. In this work there is an excellent Introduction, and an interesting detailed comparison of the Hebrew text in the Bible with the Translation of the Septuagint. There are no Commentaries on Samuel in Rosenmüller's great work, or in the Compendium of his *Scholia*.

The date of the composition of the Book of Samuel and its authorship is discussed in all the ordinary Introductions to the Old Testament—such as those of Horne, Hävernick, Keil, De Wette, which have been frequently cited in this work. To these may be added the following works, which have appeared since the first volume of this Dictionary was printed: Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin, 1860, pp. 355-368; Stähelin's *Specielle Einleitung in die Kanonischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, Elberfeld, 1862, pp. 83-105; Davidson's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, London and Edinburgh, 1862, pp. 491-536. [E. T.]

SANABAS'SAR (Σαμανάσσαρος; Alex. Σαναβάσσαρος: *Salmanasarus*). SHESHBAZZAR (1 Esd. ii. 12, 15; comp. Ezr. i. 8, 11).

SANABAS'SARUS (Σαβανάσσαρος; Alex. Σαναβάσσαρος: *Salmanasurus*). SHESHBAZZAR (1 Esd. vi. 18, 20; comp. Ezr. v. 14, 16).

SAN'ASIB (Σανασίβ; Alex. Ἀνασείβ: *Elisib*). The sons of Jeddu, the son of Jesus, are reckoned "among the sons of Sanasib," as priests who returned with Zorobabel (1 Esd. v. 24).

SANBAL'LAT (סַנְבַלַּט: Σαναβαλλάτ: *Sanaballat*). Of uncertain etymology; according to Gesenius after von Bohlen, meaning in Sanscrit "giving strength to the army," but according to Fürst "a chestnut tree." A Moabite of Horonaim, as appears by his designation "Sanballat the Horonite" (Neh. ii. 10, 19, xiii. 28). All that we know of him from Scripture is that he had apparently some civil or military command in Samaria, in the service of Artaxerxes (Neh. iv. 2), and that, from the moment of Nehemiah's arrival in Judaea, he set himself to oppose every measure for the welfare of Jerusalem, and was a constant adversary to the Tirshatha. His companions in this hostility were Tobiah the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian (Neh. ii. 19, iv. 7). For the details of their opposition the reader is referred to the articles NEHEMIAH and

[a] The statue of the archangel Michael on the top of the mausoleum of Hadrian at Rome is in accordance with the same idea. In a procession to St. Peter's, during a pestilence, Gregory the Great saw the archangel in a vision as he is supposed to be represented in the statue. It is owing to this that the fortress subsequently had the name of the Castle of St. Angelo. See Murray's *Handbook for Rome*, p. 67, 6th edit. 1862

NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF, and to Neh. vi., where the enmity between Sanballat and the Jews is brought out in the strongest colours. The only other incident in his life is his alliance with the high-priest's family by the marriage of his daughter with one of the grandsons of Eliashib, which, from the similar connexion formed by Tobiah the Ammonite (Neh. xiii. 4), appears to have been part of a settled policy concerted between Eliashib and the Samaritan faction. The expulsion from the priesthood of the guilty son of Joiada by Nehemiah must have still further widened the breach between him and Sanballat, and between the two parties in the Jewish state. Here, however, the Scriptural narrative ends — owing, probably, to Nehemiah's return to Persia—and with it likewise our knowledge of Sanballat.

But on turning to the pages of Josephus a wholly new set of actions, in a totally different time, is brought before us in connexion with Sanballat, while his name is entirely omitted in the account there given of the government of Nehemiah, which is placed in the reign of Xerxes. Josephus, after interposing the whole reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus between the death of Nehemiah and the transactions in which Sanballat took part, and utterly ignoring the very existence of Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Ochus, &c., jumps at once to the reign of "Darius the last king," and tells us (*Ant.* xi. 7, §2) that Sanballat was his officer in Samaria, that he was a Cuthean, *i. e.* a Samaritan, by birth, and that he gave his daughter Nicaso in marriage to Manasseh, the brother of the high-priest Jaddua, and consequently the fourth in descent from Eliashib, who was high-priest in the time of Nehemiah. He then relates that on the threat of his brother Jaddua and the other Jews to expel him from the priesthood unless he divorced his wife, Manasseh stated the case to Sanballat, who thereupon promised to use his influence with king Darius, not only to give him Sanballat's government, but to sanction the building of a rival temple on Mount Gerizim of which Manasseh should be the high-priest. Manasseh on this agreed to retain his wife and join Sanballat's faction, which was further strengthened by the accession of all those priests and Levites (and they were many) who had taken strange wives. But just at this time happened the invasion of Alexander the Great; and Sanballat, with 7000 men, joined him, and renounced his allegiance to Darius (*Ant.* xi. 8, §4). Being favourably received by the conqueror, he took the opportunity of speaking to him in behalf of Manasseh. He represented to him how much it was for his interest to divide the strength of the Jewish nation, and how many there were who wished for a temple in Samaria; and so obtained Alexander's permission to build the temple on Mount Gerizim, and make Manasseh the hereditary high-priest. Shortly after this, Sanballat died; but the temple on Mount Gerizim remained, and the Shechemites, as they were called, continued also as a permanent schism, which was continually fed by all the lawless and disaffected Jews. Such is Josephus's account. If there is any truth in it, of course the Sanballat of whom he speaks is a different person from the Sanballat of Nehemiah, who flourished fully one hundred years earlier; but when we put together Josephus's silence concerning a Sanballat in Nehemiah's time, and the many coincidences in the lives of the Sanballat of Nehemiah and that of Josephus, together with the inconsistencies in Josephus's narrative (pointed out by Prideaux, *Connect.* i. 466, 288, 290), and its disagreement with what Eusebius tells of the relations of Alexander with Samaria[a] (*Chron. Can.* lib. post. p. 346), and remember how apt Josephus is to follow any narrative, no matter how anachronistic and inconsistent with Scripture, we shall have no difficulty in concluding that his account of Sanballat is not historical. It is doubtless taken from some apocryphal romance, now lost, in which the writer, living under the empire of the Greeks, and at a time when the enmity of the Jews and Samaritans was at its height,[b] chose the downfall of the Persian empire for the epoch, and Sanballat for the ideal instrument, of the consolidation of the Samaritan Church and the erection of the temple on Gerizim. To borrow events from some Scripture narrative and introduce some Scriptural personage, without any regard to chronology or other propriety, was the regular method of such apocryphal books. See 1 Esdras, apocryphal Esther, apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel, and the articles on them, and the story inserted by the LXX. after 2 K. xii. 24, &c., with the observations on it at p. 91 of this volume. To receive as historical Josephus's narrative of the building of the Samaritan temple by Sanballat, circumstantial as it is in its account of Manasseh's relationship to Jaddua, and Sanballat's intercourse with both Darius Codomanus and Alexander the Great, and yet to transplant it, as Prideaux does, to the time of Darius Nothus (B.C. 409), seems scarcely compatible with sound criticism. For a further discussion of this subject, see the article NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF, p. 491; Prideaux, *Connect.* i. 395-6; *Geneal. of our Lord*, p. 323, &c.; Mill's *Vindic. of our Lord's Geneal.* p. 165; Hales's *Analys.* ii. 534. [A. C. H.]

SANDAL (נַעַל: *ὑπόδημα, σανδάλιον*). The sandal appears to have been the article ordinarily used by the Hebrews for protecting the feet. It consisted simply of a sole attached to the foot by thongs. The Hebrew term *na'al*[c] implies such an article, its proper sense being that of *confining* or shutting in the foot with thongs: we have also express notice of the thong[d] (שְׂרוֹךְ; *ἱμάς*; A. V.

[a] He says that Alexander appointed Andromachus governor of Judea and the neighbouring districts; that the Samaritans murdered him; and that Alexander on his return took Samaria in revenge, and settled a colony of Macedonians in it, and the inhabitants of Samaria retired to Sichem.

[b] Such a time, *e. g.*, as when the Book of Ecclesiasticus was written, in which we read (ch. l. 25, 26), "There be two manner of nations which mine heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation: they that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem."

[c] In the A. V. this term is invariably rendered "shoes." There is, however, little reason to think that the Jews really wore shoes, and the expressions which Carpzov (*Apparat.* pp. 781, 782) quotes to prove that they did—(viz. "put the blood of war in his shoes," 1 K. ii. 5; "make men go over in shoes," Is. xi. 15), are equally adapted to the sandal—the first signifying that the blood was sprinkled *on the thong* of the sandal, the second that men should cross the river *on foot* instead of in boats. The shoes found in Egypt probably belonged to Greeks (Wilkinson, ii. 333).

[d] The terms applied to the removal of the shoe (חָלַץ,

"shoe-latchet") in several passages (Gen. xiv. 23; Is. v. 27; Mark i. 7). The Greek term ὑπόδημα properly applies to the sandal exclusively, as it means what is bound *under* the foot; but no stress can be laid on the use of the term by the Alexandrine writers, as it was applied to any covering of the foot, even to the military *caliga* of the Romans (Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 1, §8). A similar observation applies to σανδάλιον, which is used in a general, and not in its strictly classical sense, and was adopted in a Hebraized form by the Talmudists. We have no description of the sandal in the Bible itself, but the deficiency can be supplied from collateral sources. Thus we learn from the Talmudists that the materials employed in the construction of the sole were either leather, felt, cloth, or wood (Mishn. *Jebam.* 12, §1, 2), and that it was occasionally shod with iron (*Sabb.* 6, §2). In Egypt various fibrous substances, such as palm leaves and papyrus stalks, were used in addition to eather (Herod. ii. 37; Wilkinson, ii. 332, 333), while in Assyria, wood or leather was employed (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 323, 324). In Egypt the sandals were usually turned up at the toe like our skates, though other forms, rounded and pointed, are also exhibited. In Assyria the heel and the side of the foot were encased, and sometimes the sandal consisted of little else than this. This does not appear to have been

Assyrian Sandals. (From Layard, ii. 234.)

the case in Palestine, for a heel-strap was essential to a proper sandal (*Jebam.* 12, §1). Great attention was paid by the ladies to their sandals; they were made of the skin of an animal, named *tachash* (Ez. xvi. 10), whether a hyena or a seal (A. V. "badger"), is doubtful: the skins of a fish (a species of Halicore) are used for this purpose in the peninsula of Sinai (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 116). The thongs were handsomely embroidered (Cant. vii. 1; Jud. x. 4, xvi. 9), as were those of the Greek ladies (*Dict. of Ant.* s. v. "Sandalium"). Sandals were worn by all classes of society in Palestine, even by the very poor (Am. viii. 6), and both the sandal and the thong or shoe-latchet were so cheap and common, that they passed into a proverb for the most insignificant thing (Gen. xiv. 23; Ecclus. xlvi. 19). They were not, however, worn at all periods; they were dispensed with in-doors, and were only put on by persons about to undertake some business away from their homes; such as a military expedition (Is. v. 27; Eph. vi. 15), or a journey (Ex. xii. 11; Josh. ix. 5, 13; Acts xii. 8): on such occasions persons carried an extra pair, a practice which our Lord objected to as far as the Apostles were concerned (Matt. x. 10; compare Mark vi. 9, and the expression in Luke x. 4, "do not carry," which harmonizes the passages). An extra pair might in certain cases be needed, as the soles were liable to be soon worn out (Josh. ix. 5), or the thongs to be broken (Is. v. 27). During meal-times the feet were undoubtedly uncovered, as implied in Luke vii. 38; John xiii. 5, 6, and in the exception specially made in reference to the Paschal feast (Ex. xii. 11): the same custom must have prevailed wherever reclining at meals was practised (comp. Plato, *Sympos.* p. 213). It was a mark of reverence to cast off the shoes in approaching a place or person of eminent sanctity:[e] hence the command to Moses at the bush (Ex. iii. 5) and to Joshua in the presence of the angel (Josh. v. 15). In deference to these injunctions the priests are said to have conducted their ministrations in the Temple barefoot (Theodoret, *ad Ex.* iii. *quaest.* 7), and the Talmudists even forbade any person to pass through the Temple with shoes on (Mishn. *Berach.* 9, §5). This reverential act was not peculiar to the Jews: in ancient times we have instances of it in the worship of Cybele at Rome (Prudent. *Peris.* 154), in the worship of Isis as represented in a picture at Herculaneum (*Ant. d'Ercol.* ii. 320), and in the practice of the Egyptian priests, according to Sil. Ital. iii. 28. In modern times we may compare the similar practice of the Mohammedans of Palestine before entering a mosk (Robinson's *Researches*, ii. 36), and particularly before entering the Kaaba at Mecca (Burckhardt's *Arabia*, i. 270), of the Yezidis of Mesopotamia before entering the tomb of their patron saint (Layard's *Nin.* i. 282), and of the Samaritans as they tread the summit of Mount Gerizim (Robinson, ii. 278). The practice of the modern Egyptians, who take off their shoes before stepping on to the carpeted *leewán*, appears to be dictated by a feeling of reverence rather than cleanliness, that spot being devoted to prayer (Lane, i. 35). It was also an indication of violent emotion, or of mourning, if a person appeared barefoot in public (2 Sam. xv. 30; Is. xx. 2; Ez. xxiv. 17, 23). This again was held in common with other nations, as instanced at the funeral of Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 100), and on the occasion of the solemn processions which derived their name of *Nudipedalia* from this feature (Tertull. *Apol.* 40). To carry or to unloose a person's sandal was a menial office betokening great inferiority on the part of the person performing it; it was hence selected by John the Baptist to express his relation to the Messiah (Matt. iii. 11; Mark i. 7; John i. 27; Acts xiii. 25). The expression in Ps. lx. 8, cviii. 9, "over Edom will I cast out my shoe," evidently signifies the subjection of that country, but the exact point of the comparison is obscure; for it may refer either to the custom of handing the sandal to a slave, or to that of claiming possession of a property by planting the foot on it, or of acquiring it by the symbolical action of casting the shoe, or again, Edom may be regarded in the still more subordinate position of a shelf on which the sandals were rested while their owner bathed his feet. The use of the shoe in the transfer of property is noticed in Ruth iv. 7, 8, and a similar significancy was attached to the act in connexion with the repudiation of a Levirate marriage (Deut. xxv. 9). Shoe-

Gen. xiv. 10; Is xx. 2; and שְׁלָלָה, Ruth iv. 7) imply that the thongs were either so numerous or so broad as almost to cover the top of the foot.

[e] It is worthy of observation that the term used for "putting off" the shoes on these occasions is peculiar (נָשַׁל), and conveys the notion of violence and haste.

making, or rather strap-making (*i. e.* making the straps for the sandals), was a recognised trade among the Jews (Mishn. *Pesach.* 4, §6). [W. L. B.]

SAN'HEDRIM (accurately Sanhedrin, סַנְהֶדְרִין, formed from *συνέδριον*: the attempts of the Rabbins to find a Hebrew etymology are idle; Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* s. v.), called also in the Talmud *the great Sanhedrin*, the supreme council of the Jewish people in the time of Christ and earlier. In the Mishna it is also styled בֵּית דִּין, *Beth Din*, "house of judgment."

1. The *origin* of this assembly is traced in the Mishna (*Sanhedr.* i. 6) to the seventy elders whom Moses was directed (Num. xi. 16, 17) to associate with him in the government of the Israelites. This body continued to exist, according to the Rabbinical accounts, down to the close of the Jewish commonwealth. Among Christian writers Schickhard, Isaac Casaubon, Salmasius, Selden, and Grotius have held the same view. Since the time of Vorstius, who took the ground (*De Synhedriis*, §25-40) that the alleged identity between the assembly of seventy elders mentioned in Num. xi. 16, 17, and the Sanhedrim which existed in the later period of the Jewish commonwealth, was simply a conjecture of the Rabbins, and that there are no traces of such a tribunal in Deut. xvii. 8, 10, nor in the age of Joshua and the judges, nor during the reign of the kings, it has been generally admitted that the tribunal established by Moses was probably temporary, and did not continue to exist after the Israelites had entered Palestine (Winer, *Realwörterb.* art. "Synedrium").

In the lack of definite historical information as to the establishment of the Sanhedrim, it can only be said in general that the Greek etymology of the name seems to point to a period subsequent to the Macedonian supremacy in Palestine. Livy expressly states (xiv. 32), "pronuntiatum quod ad statum Macedoniae pertinebat, senatores, quos *synedros* vocant, legendos esse, quorum consilio respublica administraretur." The fact that Herod, when procurator of Galilee, was summoned before the Sanhedrim (B.C. 47) on the ground that in putting men to death he had usurped the authority of the body (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9, §4) shows that it then possessed much power and was not of very recent origin. If the *γερουσία τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, in 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, xi. 27, designates the Sanhedrim—as it probably does—this is the earliest historical trace of its existence. On these grounds the opinion of Vorstius, Witsius, Winer, Keil, and others, may be regarded as probable, that the Sanhedrim described in the Talmud arose after the return of the Jews from Babylon, and in the time of the Seleucidae or of the Hasmonean princes.

In the silence of Philo, Josephus, and the Mishna respecting the constitution of the Sanhedrim, we are obliged to depend upon the few incidental notices in the New Testament. From these we gather that it consisted of *ἀρχιερεῖς*, chief priests, or the heads of the twenty-four classes into which the priests were divided (including, probably, those who had been high-priests), *πρεσβύτερο.*, elders, men of age and experience, and *γραμματεῖς*, *scribes*, lawyers, or those learned in the Jewish law (Matt. xxvi. 57, 59; Mark xv. 1; Luke xxii. 66; Acts v. 21).

2. The *number of members* is usually given as seventy-one, but this is a point on which there is not a perfect agreement among the learned. The nearly unanimous opinion of the Jews is given in the Mishna (*Sanhedr.* i. 6): "the great Sanhedrim consisted of seventy-one judges. How is this proved? From Num. xi. 16, where it is said, 'gather unto me seventy men of the elders of Israel.' To these add Moses, and we have seventy-one. Nevertheless R. Judah says there were seventy." The same difference made by the addition or exclusion of Moses, appears in the works of Christian writers, which accounts for the variation in the books between seventy and seventy-one. Baronius, however (*Ad Ann.* 31, §107), and many other Roman Catholic writers, together with not a few Protestants, as Drusius, Grotius, Prideaux, Jahn, Bretschneider, etc., hold that the true number was seventy-two, on the ground that Eldad and Medad, on whom it is expressly said the Spirit rested (Num. xi. 26), remained in the camp, and should be added to the seventy (see Hartmann, *Verbindung des A. T.* p. 182; Selden, *De Synedr.* lib. ii. cap. 4). Between these three numbers, that given by the prevalent Jewish tradition is certainly to be preferred; but if, as we have seen, there is really no evidence for the identity of the seventy elders summoned by Moses, and the Sanhedrim existing after the Babylonish captivity, the argument from Num. xi. 16 in respect to the number of members of which the latter body consisted, has no force, and we are left, as Keil maintains (*Archäologie*, ii. §259), without any certain information on the point.

The president of this body was styled נָשִׂיא, *Nasi*, and, according to Maimonides and Lightfoot, was chosen on account of his eminence in worth and wisdom. Often, if not generally, this pre-eminence was accorded to the high-priest. That the high-priest presided at the condemnation of Jesus (Matt. xxvi. 62) is plain from the narrative. The vice-president, called in the Talmud אָב בֵּית דִּין, "father of the house of judgment," sat at the right hand of the president. Some writers speak of a second vice-president, styled חָכָם, "wise," but this is not sufficiently confirmed (see Selden, *De Synedr.* p. 156, *seq.*). The Babylonian Gemara states that there were two scribes, one of whom registered the votes for acquittal, the other those for condemnation. In Matt. xxvi. 58; Mark xiv. 54, &c., the lictors or attendants of the Sanhedrim are referred to under the name *ὑπηρέται*. While in session the Sanhedrim sat in the form of a half circle (*Gem. Hieros.* Const. vii. *ad Sanhedr.* i.), with all which agrees the statement of Maimonides (quoted by Vorstius): "him who excels all others in wisdom they appoint head over them and head of the assembly. And he it is whom the wise everywhere call NASI, and he is in the place of our master Moses. Likewise him who is the oldest among the seventy, they place on the right hand, and him they call 'father of the house of judgment.' The rest of the seventy sit before these two, according to their dignity, in the form of a semicircle, so that the president and vice-president may have them all in sight."

3. The *place* in which the sessions of the Sanhedrim were ordinarily held was, according to the Talmud, a hall called גָּזִית, *Gazzith* (*Sanhedr.* x.), supposed by Lightfoot (*Works*, i. 2005) to have been situated in the south-east corner of one of the courts near the Temple building. In special exi-

gencies, however, it seems to have met in the residence of the high-priest (Matt. xxvi. 3). Forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, and consequently while the Saviour was teaching in Palestine, the sessions of the Sanhedrim were removed from the hall Gazzith to a somewhat greater distance from the temple building, although still on Mt. Moriah (*Abod. Zara* i. Gem. Babyl. *ad Sanhedr.* v.). After several other changes, its seat was finally established at Tiberias (Lightfoot, *Works*, ii. 365).

As a judicial body the Sanhedrim constituted a supreme court, to which belonged in the first instance the trial of a tribe fallen into idolatry, false prophets, and the high-priest (Mishna, *Sanhedr.* i.); also the other priests (*Middoth*, v.). As an administrative council it determined other important matters. Jesus was arraigned before this body as a false prophet (John xi. 47), and Peter, John, Stephen, and Paul as teachers of error and deceivers of the people. From Acts ix. 2 it appears that the Sanhedrim exercised a degree of authority beyond the limits of Palestine. According to the Jerusalem Gemara (quoted by Selden, lib. ii. c. 15, 11), the power of inflicting capital punishment was taken away from this tribunal forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem. With this agrees the answer of the Jews to Pilate (John xix. 31), "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." Beyond the arrest, trial, and condemnation of one convicted of violating the ecclesiastical law, the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim at the time could not be extended; the confirmation and execution of the sentence in capital cases belonged to the Roman procurator. The stoning of Stephen (Acts vii. 56, &c.) is only an apparent exception, for it was either a tumultuous procedure, or, if done by order of the Sanhedrim, was an illegal assumption of power, as Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 9, §1) expressly declares the execution of the Apostle James during the absence of the procurator to have been (Winer, *Realwb.* art. "Synedrium").

The Talmud also mentions a *lesser Sanhedrim* of twenty-three members in every city in Palestine in which were not less than 120 householders; but respecting these judicial bodies Josephus is entirely silent.

The leading work on the subject is Selden, *De Synedriis et Praefecturis Juridicis veterum Ebraeorum*, Lond. 1650, Amst. 1679, 4to. It exhibits immense learning, but introduces much irrelevant matter, and is written in a heavy and unattractive style. The monographs of Vorstius and Witsius, contained in Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, vol. xxv. are able and judicious. The same volume of Ugolini contains also the Jerusalem and Babylonian Gemaras, along with the Mishna on the Sanhedrim, with which may be compared *Duo Tituli Talmudici Sanhedrin et Maccoth*, ed. Jo. Coch, Amst. 1629, 4to., and Maimonides, *De Sanhedriis et Poenis*, ed. Houting. Amst. 1695, 4to. Hartmann, *Die Verbindung des Alten Testaments mit dem Neuen*, Hamb. 1831, 8vo., is worthy of consultation, and for a compressed exhibition of the subject, Winer, *Realwb.* and Keil, *Archaeologie.* [G. D. E.]

SANSAN'NAH (סַנְסַנָּה: Σεθεννάκ; Alex. Σανσαννα: *Sensenna*). One of the towns in the south district of Judah, named in Josh. xv. 31 only. The towns of this district are not distributed into small groups, like those of the highlands or the Shefelah; and as only very few of them have been yet identified, we have nothing to guide us to the position of Sansannah. It can hardly have had any connexion with KIRJATH-SANNAH (Kirjath-Sepher, or Debir), which was probably near Hebron, many miles to the north of the most northern position possible for Sansannah. It does not appear to be mentioned by any explorer, ancient or modern. Gesenius (*Thes.* 962) explains the name to mean "palm branch;" but this is contradicted by Fürst (*Hwb.* ii. 88), who derives it from a root which signifies "writing." The two propositions are probably equally wide of the mark. The conjecture of Schwarz that it was at *Simsim*, on the valley of the same name, is less feasible than usual.

The termination of the name is singular (comp. MADMANNAH).

By comparing the list of Josh. xv. 26-32 with those in xix. 2-7 and 1 Chr. iv. 28-33, it will be seen that Beth-marcaboth and Hazar-susim, or -susah, occupy in the two last the place of Madmannah and Sansannah respectively in the first. In like manner Shilhim is exchanged for Sharuhen and Shaaraim. It is difficult to believe that these changes can have arisen from the mistakes of copyists solely, but equally difficult to assign any other satisfactory reason. Prof. Stanley has suggested that Beth-marcaboth and Hazar-susim are tokens of the trade in chariots and horses which arose in Solomon's time; but, if so, how comes it that the new names bear so close a resemblance in form to the old ones? [G.]

SAPH (סַף: Σέφ; Alex. Σεφέ: *Saph*). One of the sons of the giant ('Ραφά, *Arapha*) slain by Sibbechai the Hushathite in the battle against the Philistines at Gob or Gaza (2 Sam. xxi. 18). In 1 Chr. xx. 4 he is called SIPPAI. The title of Ps. cxliii. in the Peshito Syriac is, "Of David: when he slew Asaph (Saph) the brother of Gûlyad (Goliath), and thanksgiving for that he had conquered."

SA'PHAT (Σαφάτ: om. in Vulg.). SHEPHATIAH 2 (1 Esd. v. 9; comp. Ezr. ii. 4).

SAPHATI'AS (Σαφατίας: *Saphatias*). SHEPHATIAH 2 (1 Esd. viii. 34; comp. Ezr. viii. 8).

SA'PHETH (Σαφύθ; Alex. Σαφυθί: *Saphuzi*). SHEPHATIAH (1 Esd. v. 33; comp. Ezr. ii. 57).

SA'PHIR (שָׁפִיר, *i. e.* Shaphir: καλῶς: *pulchra*, but in Jerome's *Comment. Saphir*). One of the villages addressed by the Prophet Micah (i. 11), but not elsewhere mentioned. By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* "Saphir") it is described as "in the mountain district between Eleutheropolis and Ascalon." In this direction a village called *es-Sawâfir* still exists (or rather three of that name, two with affixes), possibly the representative of the ancient Saphir (Rob. *B. R.* ii. 34 *note*; Van de Velde, *Syr. & Pal.* 159). *Es-Sawâfir* lies seven or eight miles to the N.E. of Ascalon, and about 12 W. of *Beit-Jibrin*, to the right of the coast-road from Gaza. Tobler prefers a village called Saber, close to *Sawâfir*, containing a copious and apparently very ancient well (3tte *Wanderung*, 47). In one important respect, however, the position of neither of these agrees with the notice of the *Onomasticon*, since it is not near the mountains, but on the open plain of the Shefelah. But as Beit-Jibrin, the ancient Eleutheropolis, stands on the western slopes of the mountains of Judah, it is difficult to under-

stand how any place could be westward of it (*i. e.* between it and Ascalon), and yet be itself in the mountain district, unless that expression may refer to places which, though situated in the plain, were for some reason considered as belonging to the towns of the mountains. We have already seen reason to suspect that the reverse was the case with some others. [KEILAH; NEZIB, &c.]

Schwarz, though aware of the existence of *Sawafir* (p. 116), suggests as a more feasible identification the village of *Safiriyeh*, a couple of miles N.W. of Lydda (136). The drawback to this is, that the places mentioned by Micah appear, as far as we can trace them, to be mostly near *Beit-Jibrin*, and in addition, that *Safiriyeh* is in clear contradiction to the notice of Eusebius and Jerome. [G.]

SAPPHI'RA (Σαπφείρη = either "sapphire," from *σάπφειρος*, or "beautiful," from the Syriac שִׁפְירָא). The wife of Ananias, and the participator both in his guilt and in his punishment (Acts v. 1-10). The interval of three hours that elapsed between the two deaths, Sapphira's ignorance of what had happened to her husband, and the predictive language of St. Peter towards her, are decisive evidences as to the supernatural character of the whole transaction. The history of Sapphira's death thus supplements that of Ananias's, which might otherwise have been attributed to natural causes. [W. L. B.]

SAPPHIRE (סַפִּיר, *sappir*: *σάπφειρος*: *sapphirus*). A precious stone, apparently of a bright blue colour, see Ex. xxiv. 10, where the God of Israel is represented as being seen in vision by Moses and the Elders with "a paved work of a *sappir* stone, and as it were the body of heaven in its clearness" (comp. Ez. i. 26). The *sappir* was the second stone in the second row of the high-priest's breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 18); it was extremely precious (Job xxviii. 16); it was one of the precious stones that ornamented the king of Tyre (Ez. xxviii. 13). Notwithstanding the identity of name between our sapphire and the *σάπφειρος*, and *sapphirus* of the Greeks and Romans, it is generally agreed that the *sapphirus* of the ancients was not our gem of that name, viz., the azure or indigo-blue, crystalline variety of Corundum, but our *Lapis-lazuli* (*Ultra-marine*); this point may be regarded as established, for Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvii. 9) thus speaks of the *Sapphirus*, "It is refulgent with spots of gold, of an azure colour sometimes, but not often purple; the best kind comes from Media; it is never transparent, and is not well suited for engraving upon when intersected with hard crystalline particles." This description answers exactly to the character of the Lapis-lazuli; the "crystalline particles" of Pliny are crystals of iron pyrites, which often occur with this mineral. It is, however, not so certain that the *Sappir* of the Hebrew Bible is identical with the Lapis-lazuli; for the Scriptural requirements demand transparency, great value and good material for the engraver's art, all of which combined characters the Lapis-lazuli does not possess in any great degree. Mr. King (*Antique Gems*, p. 44) says that intagli and cameï of Roman times are frequent in the material, but rarely any works of much merit. Again, the *Sappir* was certainly pellucid, "sane apud Judæos," says Braun (*De Vest. Sac.* p. 680, ed. 1680), "saphiros pellucidas notas fuisse manifestissimum est, adeo etiam ut *pellucidum* illorum phi-

losophis dicatur סַפִּיר, *Saphir*." Beckmann (*Hist. of Invent.* i. 472) is of opinion that the *Sappir* of the Hebrews is the same as the Lapis-lazuli; Rosenmüller and Braun argue in favour of its being our sapphire or precious Corundum. We are inclined to adopt this latter opinion, but are unable to come to any satisfactory conclusion. [W. H.]

SA'RA (Σάρρα: *Sara*). 1. SARAH, the wife of Abraham (Heb. xi. 11; 1 Pet. iii. 6).

2. The daughter of Raguel, in the apocryphal history of Tobit. As the story goes, she had been married to seven husbands, who were all slain on the wedding night by Asmodeus the evil spirit, who loved her (Tob. iii. 7). The breaking of the spell and the chasing away of the evil spirit by the "fishy fume," when Sara was married to Tobias, are told in chap. viii.

SARABI'AS (Σαραβίας: *Sarebias*). SHEREBIAH (1 Esd. ix. 48; comp. Neh. viii. 7).

SA'RAH (שָׂרָה, "princess:" Σάρρα: *Sara*: originally שָׂרַי: Σάρα: *Sarai*). 1. The wife of Abraham, and mother of Isaac.

Of her birth and parentage we have no certain account in Scripture. Her name is first introduced in Gen. xi. 29, as follows: "Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife was Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah and the father of Iscah." In Gen. xx. 12, Abraham speaks of her as "his sister, the daughter of the same father, but not the daughter of the same mother." The common Jewish tradition, taken for granted by Josephus (*Ant.* i. c. 6, §6) and by St. Jerome (*Quæst. Hebr. ad Genesin*, vol. iii. p. 323, ed. Ben. 1735), is that Sarai is the same as Iscah, the daughter of Haran, and the sister of Lot, who is called Abraham's "brother" in Gen. xiv. 14, 16. Judging from the fact that Rebekah, the granddaughter of Nahor, was the wife of Isaac the son of Abraham, there is reason to conjecture that Abraham was the youngest brother, so that his wife might not improbably be younger than the wife of Nahor. It is certainly strange, if the tradition be true, that no direct mention of it is found in Gen. xi. 29. But it is not improbable in itself; it supplies the account of the descent of the mother of the chosen race, the omission of which in such a passage is most unlikely; and there is no other to set against it.

The change of her name from "Sarai" to "Sarah" was made at the same time that Abram's name was changed to Abraham, on the establishment of the covenant of circumcision between him and God. That the name "Sarah" signifies "princess" is universally acknowledged. But the meaning of "Sarai" is still a subject of controversy. The older interpreters (as, for example, St. Jerome in *Quæst. Hebr.*, and those who follow him) suppose it to mean "my princess;" and explain the change from Sarai to Sarah, as signifying that she was no longer the queen of one family, but the royal ancestress of "all families of the earth." They also suppose that the addition of the letter ה, as taken from the sacred Tetragrammaton Jehovah, to the names of Abram and Sarai, mystically signified their being received into covenant with the Lord. Among modern Hebraists there is great diversity of interpretation. One opinion, keeping to the same general derivation as that referred to above, explains

"Sarai" as "noble," "nobility," &c., an explanation which, even more than the other, labours under the objection of giving little force to the change. Another opinion supposes Sarai to be a contracted form of שָׂרִיָּה (*Sĕrâyâh*), and to signify "Jehovah is ruler." But this gives no force whatever to the change, and besides introduces the same name *Jah* into a proper name too early in the history. A third (following Ewald) derives it from שָׂרַר, a root which is found in Gen. xxxii. 28, Hos. xii. 4, in the sense of "to fight," and explains it as "contentious" (*streitsüchtig*). This last seems to be etymologically the most probable, and differs from the others in giving great force and dignity to the change of name. (See Ges. *Thes.* vol. iii. p. 1338b.)

Her history is, of course, that of Abraham. She came with him from Ur to Haran, from Haran to Canaan, and accompanied him in all the wanderings of his life. Her only independent action is the demand that Hagar and Ishmael should be cast out, far from all rivalry with her and Isaac; a demand, symbolically applied in Gal. iv. 22-31, to the displacement of the Old Covenant by the New. The times, in which she plays the most important part in the history, are the times when Abraham was sojourning, first in Egypt, then in Gerar, and where Sarah shared his deceit, towards Pharaoh and towards Abimelech. On the first occasion, about the middle of her life, her personal beauty is dwelt upon as its cause (Gen. xii. 11-15); on the second, just before the birth of Isaac, at a time when she was old (thirty-seven years before her death), but when her vigour had been miraculously restored, the same cause is alluded to, as supposed by Abraham, but not actually stated (xx. 9-11). In both cases, especially the last, the truthfulness of the history is seen in the unfavourable contrast, in which the conduct both of Abraham and Sarah stands to that of Pharaoh and Abimelech. She died at Hebron at the age of 127 years, 28 years before her husband, and was buried by him in the cave of Machpelah. Her burial place, purchased of Ephron the Hittite, was the only possession of Abraham in the land of promise; it has remained, hallowed in the eyes of Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans alike, to the present day; and in it the "shrine of Sarah" is pointed out opposite to that of Abraham, with those of Isaac and Rebekah on the one side, and those of Jacob and Leah on the other (See *Stanley's Lect. on Jewish Church*, app. ii. pp. 484-509).

Her character, like that of Abraham, is no ideal type of excellence, but one thoroughly natural, inferior to that of her husband, and truly feminine, both in its excellences and its defects. She is the mother, even more than the wife. Her natural motherly affection is seen in her touching desire for children, even from her bondmaid, and in her unforgiving jealousy of that bondmaid, when she became a mother; in her rejoicing over her son Isaac, and in the jealousy which resented the slightest insult to him, and forbade Ishmael to share his sonship. It makes her cruel to others as well as tender to her own,[a] and is remarkably contrasted with the sacrifice of natural feeling on the part of Abraham to God's command in the last case (Gen. xxi. 12). To the same character belong her ironical laughter at the promise of a child, long desired, but now beyond all hope; her trembling denial of that laughter, and her change of it to the laughter of thankful joy, which she commemorated in the name of Isaac. It is a character deeply and truly affectionate, but impulsive, jealous, and imperious in its affection. It is referred to in the N. T. as a type of conjugal obedience in 1 Pet. iii. 6, and as one of the types of faith in Heb. xi. 11. [A. B.]

2. (שָׂרַח: Σάρα: *Sara*). SERAH the daughter of Asher (Num. xxvi. 46).

SARA'I (שָׂרָי: Σάρα: *Sarai*). The original name of Sarah, the wife of Abraham. It is always used in the history from Gen. xi. 29 to xvii. 15, when it was changed to Sarah at the same time that her husband's name from Abram became Abraham, and the birth of Isaac was more distinctly foretold. The meaning of the name appears to be, as Ewald has suggested, "contentious." [SARAH.]

SARAI'AS (Σαραίας: om. in Vulg.). 1. SERAIAH the high-priest (1 Esd. v. 5).

2. (Ἀζαραίας; Alex. Σαραίας: *Azarias, Azareus.*) SERAIAH the father of Ezra (1 Esd. viii. 1; 2 Esd. i. 1).

SAR'AMEL (Σαραμέν; Alex. Σαραμελ; other MSS. Ἀσαραμέλ: *Asaramel*). The name of the place in which the assembly of the Jews was held at which the high-priesthood was conferred upon Simon Maccabaeus (1 Mac. xiv. 28). The fact that the name is found only in this passage has led to the conjecture that it is an imperfect version of a word in the original Hebrew or Syriac, from which the present Greek text of the Maccabees is a translation. Some (as Castellio) have treated it as a corruption of Jerusalem: but this is inadmissible, since it is inconceivable that so well-known a name should be corrupted. The other conjectures are enumerated by Grimm in the *Kurzgef. exegetisches Handb.* on the passage. A few only need be named here, but none seem perfectly satisfactory. All appear to adopt the reading *Asaramel*. 1. *Hahatsar Millo*, "the court of Millo," Millo being not improbably the citadel of Jerusalem [vol. ii. 367 *a*]. This is the conjecture of Grotius, and has at least the merit of ingenuity.[b] 2. *Hahatsar Am El*, "the court of the people of God, that is, the great court of the Temple." This is due to Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 387), who compares with it the well-known *Sarbeth Sabanai El*, given by Eusebius as the title of the Maccabaean history. [See MACCABEES, vol. ii. 173 *a*.] 3. *Hasshaar Am El*, "the gate of the people of God" adopted by Winer (*Realwb.*). 4. *Hassar Am El*, "prince of the people of God," as if not the name of a place, but the title of Simon, the "in" having been inserted by puzzled copyists. This is adopted by Grimm himself. It has in its favour the fact that without it Simon is here styled high-priest only, and his second title, "captain and governor of the Jews and priests" (ver. 47), is then omitted in the solemn official record—the very place where it ought to be found. It also seems to be countenanced by the Peshito-Syriac version, which certainly omits the title of "high-priest," but inserts *Rubba de Israel*,

[a] Note the significant remark on Isaac's marriage (Gen. xxiv. 67), "Isaac was comforted after his mother's death." There is a Jewish tradition, based apparently on the mention of Sarah's death almost immediately after the sacrifice of Isaac, that the shock of it killed her, and that Abraham found her dead on his return from Moriah.

[b] Junius and Tremellius render it by *in atrio mansionis*.

"leader of Israel." None of these explanations, however, can be regarded as entirely satisfactory. [G.]

SA'RAPH (שָׂרָף: Σαράφ: *Incendens*). Mentioned in 1 Chr. iv. 22 among the descendants of Shelah the son of Judah. Burrington (*Geneal.* i. 179) makes Saraph a descendant of Jokim, whom he regards as the third son of Shelah. In the Targum of R. Joseph, Joash and Saraph are identified with Mahlon and Chilion, "who married (בְּעֵלָא) in Moab."

SARCHE'DONUS (Σαχερδονός, Σαχερδάν: *Archedonassar, Achenossar, Sarcedonassar*), a collateral form of the name Esar-haddon [ESAR-HADDON], occurring Tob. i. 21. The form in A. V. for *Sacherdonus* appears to be an oversight. [B. F. W.]

SARDE'US (Ζεραλίας; Alex. Ζαρδαῖος: *Thedias*). AZIZA (1 Esd. ix. 28; comp. Ezr. x. 27).

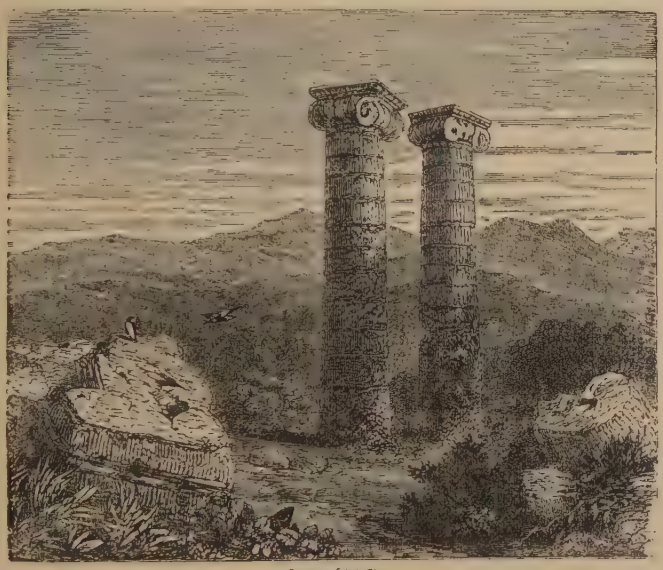
SARDINE, SARDIUS (אֹדֶם, *ôdem*: σάρδιον: *sardius*) is, according to the LXX. and Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* v. 5, §7) the correct rendering of the Heb. term, which occurs in Ex. xxviii. 17; xxxix. 10, as the name of the stone which occupied the first place in the first row of the high-priest's breastplate; it should, however, be noticed that Josephus is not strictly consistent with himself, for in the *Antiq.* iii. 7, §5, he says that the *sardonyx* was the first stone in the breastplate; still as this latter named mineral is merely another variety of agate, to which also the sard or sardius belongs, there is no very great discrepancy in the statements of the Jewish historian. The *ôdem* is mentioned by Ezek. (xxviii. 13) as one of the ornaments of the king of Tyre. In Rev. iv. 3, St. John declares that he whom he saw sitting on the heavenly throne "was to look upon like a jasper and a *sardine* stone." The sixth foundation of the wall of the heavenly Jerusalem was a *sardius* (Rev. xxi. 20). There can scarcely be a doubt that either the sard or the sardonyx is the stone denoted by *ôdem*. The authority of Josephus in all that relates to the high-priest's breastplate is of the greatest value, for as Braun (*De Vest. Sac. Heb.* p. 635) has remarked, Josephus was not only a Jew but a priest, who might have seen the breastplate with the whole sacerdotal vestments a hundred times, since in his time the Temple was standing; the Vulgate agrees with his nomenclature; in Jerome's time the breastplate was still to be inspected in the Temple of Concord; hence it will readily be acknowledged that this agreement of the two is of great weight.

The sard, which is a superior variety of agate, has long been a favourite stone for the engraver's art; "on this stone," says Mr. King (*Antique Gems*, p. 5), "all the finest works of the most celebrated artists are to be found; and this not without good cause, such is its toughness, facility of working, beauty of colour, and the high polish of which it is susceptible, and which Pliny states that it retains longer than any other gem." Sards differ in colour; there is a bright red variety which, in Pliny's time, was the most esteemed, and, perhaps, the Heb. *ôdem*, from a root which means "to be red," points to this kind; there is also a paler or honey-coloured variety; but in all sards there is always a shade of yellow mingling with the red (see King's *Ant. Gems*, p. 6). The sardius, according to Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvii. 7), derived its name from Sardis in Lydia, where it was first found; Babylonian specimens, however, were the most esteemed. The Hebrews, in the time of Moses, could easily have obtained their sard stones from Arabia, in which country they were at the time the breastplate was made; other precious stones not acquirable during their wanderings, may have been brought with them from the land of their bondage when "they spoiled the Egyptians." [W. H.]

SAR'DIS (Σάρδεις). A city situated about two miles to the south of the river Hermus, just below the range of Tmolus (*Bos Dagh*), on a spur of which its acropolis was built. It was the ancient residence of the kings of Lydia. After its conquest by Cyrus, the Persians always kept a garrison in the citadel, on account of its natural strength, which induced Alexander the Great, when it was surrendered to him in the sequel of the battle of the Granicus, similarly to occupy it. Sardis was in very early times, both from the extremely fertile character of the neighbouring region, and from its convenient position, a commercial mart of importance. Chestnuts were first produced in the neighbourhood, which procured them the name of *βάλανοι Σαρδιανοί*. The art of dyeing wool is said by Pliny to have been invented there; and at any rate, Sardis was the entrepôt of the dyed woollen manufactures, of which Phrygia with its vast flocks (*πολυπροβατωτάτη*, Herod. v. 49) furnished the raw material. Hence we hear of the *φοινικίδες Σαρδιαναί*, and Sappho speaks of the *ποικίλοις μάσθλης Λύδιον καλὸν ἔργον*, which was perhaps something like the modern Turkish carpets. Some of the woollen manufactures, of a peculiarly fine texture, were called *ψιλοτάπιδες*. The hall, through which the king of Persia passed from his state apartments to the gate where he mounted on his horse, was laid with these, and no foot but that of the monarch was allowed to tread on them. In the description given of the habits of a young Cyprian exquisite of great wealth, he is represented as reposing upon a bed of which the feet were silver, and upon which these *ψιλοτάπιδες Σαρδιαναί* were laid as a mattrass. Sardis too was the place where the metal *electrum* was procured (Soph. *Antig.* 1037); and it was thither that the Spartans sent in the 6th century B.C. to purchase gold for the purpose of gilding the face of the Apollo at Amyclae. This was probably furnished by the auriferous sand of the Pactolus, a brook which came from Tmolus, and ran through the *agora* of Sardis by the side of the great temple of Cybebe. But though its gold-washings may have been celebrated in early times, the greatness of Sardis in its best days was much more due to its general commercial importance and its convenience as an entrepôt. This seems to follow from the statement, that not only silver and gold coins were there first minted, but there also the class of *κάπηλοι* (stationary traders as contradistinguished from the *ἔμποροι*, or travelling merchants) first arose. It was also, at any rate between the fall of the Lydian and that of the Persian dynasty, a slave-mart.

Sardis recovered the privilege of municipal government (and, as was alleged several centuries afterwards, the right of a sanctuary) upon its surrender to Alexander the Great, but its fortunes for the next three hundred years are very obscure. It changed hands more than once in the contests between the dynasties which arose after the death of Alexander. In the year 214 B.C., it was taken and sacked by the army of Antiochus the Great, who besieged his cousin Achaeus in it for two years before succeeding, as he at last did through treachery, in

obtaining possession of the person of the latter. After the ruin of Antiochus's fortunes, it passed, with the rest of Asia on that side of Taurus, under the dominion of the kings of Pergamus, whose interests led them to divert the course of traffic between Asia and Europe away from Sardis. Its productive soil must always have continued a source of wealth; but its importance as a central mart appears to have diminished from the time of the invasion of Asia by Alexander. Of the few inscriptions which have been discovered, all, or nearly all, belong to the time of the Roman empire. Yet there still exist considerable remains of the earlier days. The massive temple of Cybebe still bears witness in its fragmentary remains to the wealth and architectural skill of the people that raised it. Mr. Cockerell, who visited it in 1812, found two columns standing with their architrave, the stone of which stretched in a single block from the centre of one to that of the other. This stone, although it was not the largest of the architrave, he calculates must have weighed 25 tons. The diameters of the columns supporting it are 6 feet 4½ inches at about 35 feet below the capital. The present soil (apparently formed by the crumbling away of the hill which backs the temple on its eastern side) is more than 25 feet above the pavement. Such proportions are not inferior to those of the columns in the Heraeum at Samos, which divides, in the estimation of Herodotus, with the Artemisium at Ephesus, the palm of pre-eminence among all the works of Greek art. And as regards the details, "the capitals appeared," to Mr. Cockerell, "to surpass any specimen of the Ionic he had seen in perfection of design and execution." On the north side of the acropolis, overlooking the valley of the Hermus, is a theatre near 400 feet in diameter, attached to a stadium of about 1000. This probably was erected after the restoration of Sardis by Alexander. In the attack of Sardis by Antiochus, described by Polybius (vii. 15-18), it constituted one of the chief points on which, after entering the city, the assaulting force



Ruins of Sardis.

was directed. The temple belongs to the era of the Lydian dynasty, and is nearly contemporaneous with the temple of Zeus Panhellenius in Aegina, and that of Herè in Samos. To the same date may be assigned the "Valley of Sweets" (γλυκὺς ἀγκών), a pleasure ground, the fame of which Polycrates endeavoured to rival by the so-called *Laura* at Samos.

The modern name of the ruins at Sardis is *Sert-Kalessi*. Travellers describe the appearance of the locality on approaching it from the N.W. as that of complete solitude. The Pactolus is a mere thread of water, all but evanescent in summer time. The *Wadis-tchai* (Hermus), in the neighbourhood of the town, is between 50 and 60 yards wide, and nearly 3 feet deep, but its waters are turbid and disagreeable, and are not only avoided as unfit for drinking, but have the local reputation of generating the fever which is the scourge of the neighbouring plains.

In the time of the emperor Tiberius, Sardis was desolated by an earthquake, together with eleven, or as Eusebius says twelve, other important cities of Asia. The whole face of the country is said to have been changed by this convulsion. In the case of Sardis the calamity was increased by a pestilential fever which followed; and so much compassion was in consequence excited for the city at Rome, that its tribute was remitted for five years, and it received a benefaction from the privy purse of the emperor. This was in the year 17 A.D. Nine years afterwards the Sardians are found among the competitors for the honour of erecting, as representatives of the Asiatic cities, a temple to their benefactor. [SMYRNA.] On this occasion they plead, not only their ancient services to Rome in the time of the Macedonian war, but their well-watered country, their climate, and the richness of the neighbouring soil: there is no allusion, however, to the important manufactures and the commerce of the early times. In the time of Pliny it was included in the same

conventus juridicus with Philadelphia, with the Caduni, a Macedonian colony in the neighbourhood, with some settlements of the old Maeonian population, and a few other towns of less note. These Maeonians still continued to call Sardis by its ancient name Hydè, which it bore in the time of Omphale.

The only passage in which Sardis is mentioned in the Bible, is Rev. iii. 1-6. There is nothing in it which appears to have any special reference to the peculiar circumstances of the city, or to anything else than the moral and spiritual condition of the Christian community existing there. This latter was probably, in its secular relations, pretty nearly identical with that at Philadelphia.

(Athenaeus ii. p. 48, vi. p. 231, xii. p. 514, 540; Arrian, i. 17; Pliny, *N. H.* v. 29, xv. 23; Stephanus Byz. v. Σάρδη; Pausanias, iii. 9, 5; Diodorus Sic. xx. 107; Scholiast, Aristoph. *Pac.* 1174; Boeckh, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Nos. 3451-3472; Herodotus, i. 69, 94, iii. 48, viii. 105; Strabo, xiii. §5; Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 47, iii. 63, iv. 55; Cockerell, in Leake's *Asia Minor*, p. 343; Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, i. pp. 26-28; Tchihatcheff, *Asie Mineure*, pp. 232-242.) [J. W. B.]

SAR'DITES, THE (הַסַּרְדִי: ὁ Σαρεδί: *Sareditae*). The descendants of Sered the son of Zebulon (Num. xxvi. 26).

SARDONYX (σαρδόνυξ: *sardonyx*) is mentioned in the N. T. once only, viz., in Rev. xxi. 20, as the stone which garnished the fifth foundation of the wall of the heavenly Jerusalem. "By sardonyx," says Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvii. 6), who describes several varieties, "was formerly understood, as its name implies, a sard with a white ground beneath it, like the flesh under the finger-nail." The sardonyx consists of "a white opaque layer, superimposed upon a red transparent stratum of the true red sard" (*Antique Gems*, p. 9); it is, like the sard, merely a variety of agate, and is frequently employed by engravers for the purposes of a signet-ring. [W. H.]

SARE'A (*Sarea*). One of the five scribes "ready to write swiftly" whom Esdras was commanded to take (2 Esd. xiv. 24).

SAREP'TA (Σάρεπτα: *Sarepta*: Syriac, *Tsarpath*). The Greek form of the name which in the Hebrew text of the O. T. appears as ZAREPHATH. The place is designated by the same formula on its single occurrence in the N. T. (Luke iv. 26) that it is when first mentioned in the LXX. version of 1 K. xvii. 9, "Sarepta of Sidonia." [G.]

SAR'GON (סַרְגֹן: Ἀρνᾶ: *Sargon*) was one of the greatest of the Assyrian kings. His name is read in the native inscriptions as Sargina, while a town which he built and called after himself (now Khorsabad) was known as *Sarghún* to the Arabian geographers. He is mentioned by name only once in Scripture (Is. xx. 1), and then not in an historical book, which formerly led historians and critics to suspect that he was not really a king distinct from those mentioned in Kings and Chronicles, but rather one of those kings under another name. Vitringa, Offerhaus, Eichhorn, and Hupfeld identified him with Shalmaneser; Grotius, Lowth, and Keil with Sennacherib; Perizonius, Kalinsky, and Michaëlis with Esarhaddon. All these conjectures are now shown to be wrong by the Assyrian inscriptions, which prove Sargon to have been distinct and different from the several monarchs named, and fix his place in the list—where it had been already assigned by Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ewald, and Winer—between Shalmaneser and Sennacherib. He was certainly Sennacherib's father, and there is no reason to doubt that he was his immediate predecessor. He ascended the throne of Assyria, as we gather from his annals, in the same year that Merodach-Baladan ascended the throne of Babylon, which, according to Ptolemy's Canon, was B.C. 721. He seems to have been an usurper, and not of royal birth, for in his inscriptions he carefully avoids all mention of his father. It has been conjectured that he took advantage of Shalmaneser's absence at the protracted siege of Samaria (2 K. xvii. 5) to effect a revolution at the seat of government, by which that king was deposed, and he himself substituted in his room. [SHALMANESER.] It is remarkable that Sargon claims the conquest of Samaria, which the narrative in Kings *appears* to assign to his predecessor. He places the event in his first year, before any of his other expeditions. Perhaps, therefore, he is the "king of Assyria" intended in 2 K. xvii. 6 and xviii. 11, who is not said to be Shalmaneser, though we might naturally suppose so from no other name being mentioned.[a] Or perhaps he claimed the conquest as his own, though Shalmaneser really accomplished it, because the capture of the city occurred after he had been acknowledged king in the Assyrian capital. At any rate, to him belongs the settlement of the Samaritans (27,280 families, according to his own statement) in Halah, and on the Habor (*Khabour*), the river of Gozan, and (at a later period probably) in the cities of the Medes.

Sargon was undoubtedly a great and successful warrior. In his annals, which cover a space of fifteen years (from B.C. 721 to B.C. 706), he gives an account of his warlike expeditions against Babylonia and Susiana on the south, Media on the east, Armenia and Cappadocia towards the north, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt towards the west and the south-west. In Babylonia he deposed Merodach-Baladan, and established a viceroy; in Media he built a number of cities, which he peopled with captives from other quarters; in Armenia and the neighbouring countries he gained many victories; while in the far west he reduced Philistia, penetrated deep into the Arabian peninsula, and forced Egypt to submit to his arms and consent to the payment of a tribute. In this last direction he seems to have waged three wars—one in his second year (B.C. 720), for the possession of Gaza; another in his sixth year (B.C. 715), when Egypt itself was the object of attack; and a third in his ninth (B.C. 712), when the special subject of contention was Ashdod, which Sargon took by one of his generals. This is the event which causes the mention of Sargon's name in Scripture. Isaiah was instructed at the time of this expedition to "put off his shoe, and go naked and barefoot," for a sign that "the king of Assyria should lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot, to the shame of Egypt" (Is. xx. 2-4). We may gather from this, either that Ethiopians and Egyptians formed part of the garri-

[a] There is a peculiarity of phraseology in 2 K. xviii. 3, 10, which perhaps indicates a knowledge on the part of the writer that Shalmaneser was not the actual captor. "In the fourth year of Hezekiah," he says, "Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against Samaria and besieged it and at the end of three years, THEY took it."

son of Ashdod and were captured with the city, or that the attack on the Philistine town was accompanied by an invasion of Egypt itself, which was disastrous to the Egyptians. The year of the attack, being B.C. 712, would fall into the reign of the first Ethiopian king, Sabaco I., who probably conquered Egypt in B.C. 714. (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 386, note 7, 2nd ed.), and it is in agreement with this Sargon speaks of Egypt as being at this time subject to Meroë. Besides these expeditions of Sargon, his monuments mention that he took Tyre, and received tribute from the Greeks of Cyprus, against whom there is some reason to think that he conducted an attack in person.[b]

It is not as a warrior only that Sargon deserves special mention among the Assyrian kings. He was also the builder of useful works and of one of the most magnificent of the Assyrian palaces. He relates that he thoroughly repaired the walls of Nineveh, which he seems to have elevated from a provincial city of some importance to the first position in the empire; and adds further, that in its neighbourhood he constructed the palace and town which he made his principal residence. This was the city now known as "the French Nineveh," or "Khorsabad," from which the valuable series of Assyrian monuments at present in the Louvre is derived almost entirely. Traces of Sargon's buildings have been found also at Nimrûd and Koyunjik; and his time is marked by a considerable advance in the useful and ornamental arts, which seem to have profited by the connexion which he established between Assyria and Egypt. He probably reigned nineteen years, from B.C. 721 to B.C. 702, when he left the throne to his son, the celebrated Sennacherib. [G. R.]

SA'RID (שָׂרִיד: Ἐσεδεκγωλᾶε, Σεδδούκ; Alex. Σαρθιδ, Σαριδ: *Sarid*). A chief landmark of the territory of Zebulun, apparently the pivot of the western and southern boundaries (Josh. xix. 10, 12). All that can be gathered of its position is that it lay to the west of Chisloth-Tabor. It was unknown to Eusebius and Jerome, and no trace of it seems to have been found by any traveller since their day (*Onom.* "Sarith").

The ancient Syriac version, in each case, reads Asdod. This may be only from the interchange, so frequent in this version, of R and D. At any rate, the Ashdod of the Philistines cannot be intended. [G.]

SA'RON (τὸν Σαρῶνα; in some MSS. ασσαρωνα, *i. e.* הַשָּׁרוֹן: *Sarona*). The district in which Lydda stood (Acts ix. 35 only); the SHARON of the O. T. The absence of the article from Lydda, and its presence before Saron, is noticeable, and shows that the name denotes a district—as in "The Shefelah," and in our own "The Weald," "The Downs." [G.]

SARO'THIE (Σαρωθί; Alex. Σαρωθιέ: *Caroneth*). "The sons of Sarothie" are among the sons of the servants of Solomon who returned with Zorobabel, according to the list in 1 Esd. v. 34. There is nothing corresponding to it in the Hebrew.

SAR'SECHIM (שַׂרְסְכִים: *Sarsachim*). One of the generals of Nebuchadnezzar's army at the taking of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxix. 3). He appears to have held the office of chief eunuch, for Rab-saris is probably a title and not a proper name. In Jer. xxxix. 13 Nebushasban is called Rab-saris, "chief eunuch," and the question arises whether Nebushasban and Sarsechim may not be names of the same person. In the LXX., verses 3 and 13 are mixed up together, and so hopelessly corrupt that it is impossible to infer anything from their reading of Νεβουσάχαρ for Sarsechim. In Gesenius' *Thesaurus* it is conjectured that Sarsechim and Rab-saris may be identical, and both titles of the same office.

SA'RUCH (Σαρούχ: *Sarug*). SERUG the son of Reu (Luke iii. 35).

SA'TAN. The word itself, the Hebrew שָׂטָן, is simply an "adversary," and is so used in 1 Sam. xxix. 4; 2 Sam. xix. 22; 1 K. v. 4 (LXX. ἐπίβουλος); in 1 K. xi. 25 (LXX. ἀντικείμενος); in Num. xxii. 22, 32, and Ps. cix. 6 (LXX. διάβολος and cognate words); in 1 K. xi. 14, 23 (LXX. σατάν). This original sense is still found in our Lord's application of the name to St. Peter in Matt. xvi. 23. It is used as a proper name or title only four times in the O. T., viz. (with the article) in Job i. 6, 12, ii. 1, Zech. iii. 1, and (without the article) in 1 Chr. xxi. 1. In each case the LXX. has διάβολος, and the Vulgate *Satan*. In the N. T. the word is σατανᾶς, followed by the Vulgate *Satanas*, except in 2 Cor. xii. 7, where σατᾶν is used. It is found in twenty-five places (exclusive of parallel passages), and the corresponding word ὁ διάβολος in about the same number. The title ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου is used three times; ὁ πονηρός is used certainly six times, probably more frequently, and ὁ πειράζων twice.

It is with the scriptural revelation on the subject that we are here concerned, and it is clear, from this simple enumeration of passages, that it is to be sought in the New, rather than in the Old Testament.

It divides itself naturally into the consideration of his existence, his nature, and his power and action.

(A.) HIS EXISTENCE.—It would be a waste of time to prove, that, in various degrees of clearness, the personal existence of a Spirit of Evil is revealed again and again in Scripture. Every quality, every action, which can indicate personality, is attributed to him in language which cannot be explained away. It is not difficult to see why it should be thus revealed. It is obvious, that the fact of his existence is of spiritual importance, and it is also clear, from the nature of the case, that it could not be discovered, although it might be suspected, by human reason. It is in the power of that reason to test any supposed manifestations of supernatural power, and any asserted principles of Divine action, which fall within its sphere of experience ("the earthly things" of John iii. 12); it may by such examination satisfy itself of the truth and divinity of a Person or a book; but, having done this, it must then accept and understand, without being able to test or to explain, the disclosures of this Divine authority upon subjects beyond this world (the "heavenly things," of which it is said that none can see or disclose them, save the "Son of Man who is in Heaven").

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[b] The statue of Sargon, now in the Berlin Museum, was found at Idalium in Cyprus. It is not very likely that the king's statue would have been set up unless he had made the expedition in person.

[c] This barbarous word is obtained by joining to Sarid the first word of the following verse, יִעְלָה

It is true, that human thought can assert an *à priori* probability or improbability in such statements made, based on the perception of a greater or less degree of accordance in principle between the things seen and the things unseen, between the effects, which are visible, and the causes, which are revealed from the regions of mystery. But even this power of weighing probability is applicable rather to the fact and tendency, than to the method, of supernatural action. This is true even of natural action beyond the sphere of human observation. In the discussion of the Plurality of Worlds, for example, it may be asserted without doubt, that in all the orbs of the universe the Divine power, wisdom, and goodness must be exercised; but the inference that the method of their exercise is found there, as here, in the creation of sentient and rational beings, is one at best of but moderate probability. Still more is this the case in the spiritual world. Whatever supernatural orders of beings may exist, we can conclude that in their case, as in ours, the Divine government must be carried on by the union of individual freedom of action with the overruling power of God, and must tend finally to that good which is His central attribute. But beyond this we can assert nothing to be certain, and can scarcely even say of any part of the method of this government, whether it is antecedently probable or improbable.

Thus, on our present subject, man can ascertain by observation the existence of evil, that is, of facts and thoughts contrary to the standard which conscience asserts to be the true one, bringing with them suffering and misery as their inevitable results. If he attempts to trace them to their causes, he finds them to arise, for each individual, partly from the power of certain internal impulses which act upon the will, partly from the influence of external circumstances. These circumstances themselves arise, either from the laws of nature and society, or by the deliberate action of other men. He can conclude with certainty, that both series of causes must exist by the permission of God, and must finally be overruled to His will. But whether there exists any superhuman but subordinate cause of the circumstances, and whether there be any similar influence acting in the origination of the impulses which move the will, this is a question which he cannot answer with certainty. Analogy from the observation of the only ultimate cause which he can discover in the visible world, viz. the free action of a personal will, may lead him, and generally has led him, to conjecture in the affirmative, but still the inquiry remains unanswered by authority.

The tendency of the mind in its inquiry is generally towards one or other of two extremes. The first is to consider evil as a negative imperfection, arising, in some unknown and inexplicable way, from the nature of matter, or from some disturbing influences which limit the action of goodness on earth; in fact, to ignore as much of evil as possible, and to decline to refer the residuum to any positive cause at all. The other is the old Persian or Manichaean hypothesis, which traces the existence of evil to a rival Creator, not subordinate to the Creator of Good, though perhaps inferior to Him in power, and destined to be overcome by Him at last. Between these two extremes the mind varied, through many gradations of thought and countless forms of superstition. Each hypothesis had its arguments of probability against the other. The first laboured under the difficulty of being insufficient as an account of the anomalous facts, and indeterminate in its account of the disturbing causes; the second sinned against that belief in the Unity of God and the natural supremacy of goodness, which is supported by the deepest instincts of the heart. But both were laid in a sphere beyond human cognizance; neither could be proved or disproved with certainty.

The Revelation of Scripture, speaking with authority, meets the truth, and removes the error, inherent in both these hypotheses. It asserts in the strongest terms the perfect supremacy of God, so that under His permission alone, and for His inscrutable purposes, evil is allowed to exist (see for example Prov. xvi. 4; Is. xlv. 7; Am. iii. 6; comp. Rom. ix. 22, 23). It regards this evil as an anomaly and corruption, to be taken away by a new manifestation of Divine Love in the Incarnation and Atonement. The conquest of it began virtually in God's ordinance after the Fall itself, was effected actually on the Cross, and shall be perfected in its results at the Judgment Day. Still Scripture recognises the existence of evil in the world, not only as felt in outward circumstances ("the world"), and as inborn in the soul of man ("the flesh"), but also as proceeding from the influence of an Evil Spirit, exercising that mysterious power of free will, which God's rational creatures possess, to rebel against Him, and to draw others into the same rebellion ("the devil").

In accordance with the "economy" and progressiveness of God's revelation, the existence of Satan is but gradually revealed. In the first entrance of evil into the world, the temptation is referred only to the serpent. It is true that the whole narrative, and especially the spiritual nature of the temptation ("to be as gods"), which was united to the sensual motive, would force on any thoughtful reader[a] the conclusion that something more than a mere animal agency was at work; but the time was not then come to reveal, what afterwards was revealed, that "he who sinneth is of the devil" (1 John iii. 8), that "the old serpent" of Genesis was "called the devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole world" (Rev. xii. 9, xx. 23).

Throughout the whole period of the patriarchal and Jewish dispensation, this vague and imperfect revelation of the Source of Evil alone was given. The Source of all Good is set forth in all His supreme and unapproachable Majesty, evil is known negatively as the falling away from Him; and the "vanity" of idols, rather than any positive evil influence, is represented as the opposite to His reality and goodness. The Law gives the "knowledge of sin" in the soul, without referring to any external influence of evil to foster it; it denounces idolatry, without even hinting, what the N. T. declares plainly, that such evil implied a "power of Satan."[b]

The Book of Job stands, in any case, alone (whether we refer it to an early or a later period) on the basis of "natural religion," apart from the

[a] See Wisd. ii. 24, *φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον.*

[b] For this reason, if for no other, it seems impossible to accept the interpretation of "Azazel," given by Spencer, Hengstenberg, and others, in Lev. xvi. 8, as a reference to the Spirit of Evil. Such a reference would not only stand alone, but would be entirely inconsistent with the whole tenor of the Mosaic revelation. See DAY OF ATONEMENT

gradual and orderly evolutions of the Mosaic revelation. In it, for the first time, we find a distinct mention of "Satan," "the adversary" of Job. But it is important to remark the emphatic stress laid on his subordinate position, on the absence of all but delegated power, of all terror, and all grandeur in his character. He comes among the "sons of God" to present himself before the Lord; his malice and envy are permitted to have scope, in accusation or in action, only for God's own purposes; and it is especially remarkable that no power of spiritual influence, but only a power over outward circumstances, is attributed to him. All this is widely different from the clear and terrible revelations of the N. T.

The Captivity brought the Israelites face to face with the great dualism of the Persian mythology, the conflict of Ormuzd with Ahriman, the coordinate Spirit of Evil. In the books written after the Captivity we have again the name of "Satan" twice mentioned; but it is confessed by all that the Satan of Scripture bears no resemblance to the Persian Ahriman. His subordination and inferiority are as strongly marked as ever. In 1 Chr. xxi. 1, where the name occurs without the article ("an adversary," not "*the* adversary"), the comparison with 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 shows distinctly that, in the temptation of David, Satan's malice was overruled to work out the "anger of the Lord" against Israel. In Zech. iii. 1, 2, "Satan" is ὁ ἀντίδικος (as in 1 Pet. v. 8), the accuser of Joshua before the throne of God, rebuked and put to silence by Him (comp. Ps. cix. 6). In the case, as of the good angels, so also of the Evil One, the presence of fable and idolatry gave cause to the manifestation of the truth. [ANGELS, p. 70 *a*.] It would have been impossible to guard the Israelites more distinctly from the fascination of the great dualistic theory of their conquerors.

It is perhaps not difficult to conjecture, that the reason of this reserve as to the disclosure of the existence and nature of Satan is to be found in the inveterate tendency of the Israelites to idolatry, an idolatry based as usual, in great degree, on the supposed power of their false gods to inflict evil. The existence of evil spirits is suggested to them in the stern prohibition and punishment of witchcraft (Ex. xxii. 18; Deut. xviii. 10), and in the narrative of the possession of men by an "evil" or "lying spirit from the Lord" (1 Sam. xvi. 14; 1 K. xxii. 22); the tendency to seek their aid is shown by the rebukes of the prophets (Is. viii. 19, &c.). But this tendency would have been increased tenfold by the revelation of the existence of the great enemy, concentrating round himself all the powers of evil and enmity against God. Therefore, it would seem, the revelation of the "strong man armed" was withheld until "the stronger than he" should be made manifest.

For in the New Test. this reserve suddenly vanishes. In the interval between the Old and New Test. the Jewish mind had pondered on the scanty revelations already given of evil spiritual influence. But the Apocryphal Books (as, for example, Tobit and Judith), while dwelling on "demons" (δαιμόνια), have no notice of Satan. The same may be observed of Josephus. The only instance to the contrary is the reference already made to Wisd. ii. 24. It is to be noticed also that the Targums often introduce the name of Satan into the descriptions of sin and temptation found in the O. T.; as for example in Ex. xxxii. 19, in connexion with the worship of the golden calf (comp. the tradition as to the body of Moses, Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6; Jude 9, MICHAEL). But, while a mass of fable and superstition grew up on the general subject of evil spiritual influence, still the existence and nature of Satan remained in the background, felt, but not understood.

The N. T. first brings it plainly forward. From the beginning of the Gospel, when he appears as the personal tempter of our Lord, through all the Gospels, Epistles, and Apocalypse, it is asserted or implied, again and again, as a familiar and important truth. To refer this to mere "accommodation" of the language of the Lord and His Apostles to the ordinary Jewish belief, is to contradict facts, and evade the meaning of words. The subject is not one on which error could be tolerated as unimportant; but one important, practical, and even awful. The language used respecting it is either truth or falsehood; and unless we impute error or deceit to the writers of the N. T., we must receive the doctrine of the existence of Satan as a certain doctrine of Revelation. Without dwelling on other passages, the plain, solemn, and unmetaphorical words of John viii. 44, must be sufficient: "Ye are of your father the devil. . . . He was a murderer from the beginning, and abides (ἕστηκεν) not in the truth. . . . When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar and the father of it." On this subject, see DEMONIACS, vol. i. p. 425 *b*.

(B.) HIS NATURE.—Of the nature and original state of Satan, little is revealed in Scripture. Most of the common notions on the subject are drawn from mere tradition, popularized in England by Milton, but without even a vestige of Scriptural authority. He is spoken of as a "spirit" in Eph. ii. 2, as the prince or ruler of the "demons" (δαιμόνια) in Matt. xii. 24-26, and as having "angels" subject to him in Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xii. 7, 9. The whole description of his power implies spiritual nature and spiritual influence We conclude therefore that he was of angelic nature [ANGELS], a rational and spiritual creature, superhuman in power, wisdom, and energy; and not only so, but an archangel, one of the "princes" of heaven. We cannot, of course, conceive that anything essentially and originally evil was created by God. We find by experience, that the will of a free and rational creature can, by His permission, oppose His will; that the very conception of freedom implies capacity of temptation; and that every sin, unless arrested by God's fresh gift of grace, strengthens the hold of evil on the spirit, till it may fall into the hopeless state of reprobation. We can only conjecture, therefore, that Satan is a fallen angel, who once had a time of probation, but whose condemnation is now irrevocably fixed.

But of the time, cause, and manner of his fall, Scripture tells us scarcely anything. It limits its disclosures, as always, to that which we need to know. The passage on which all the fabric of tradition and poetry has been raised is Rev. xii. 7, 9, which speaks of "Michael and his angels" as "fighting against the dragon and his angels," till the "great dragon, called the devil and Satan" was "cast out into the earth, and his angels cast out with him." Whatever be the meaning of this passage, it is certain that it cannot refer to the original fall of Satan. The only other passage which refers to the fall of the angels is 2 Pet. ii. 4, "God spared not the angels, when they had sinned, but having

cast them into hell, delivered them to chains of darkness (σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν), reserved unto judgment," with the parallel passage in Jude 6. "Angels, who kept not their first estate (τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχήν), but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the Great Day." Here again the passage is mysterious;[c] but it seems hardly possible to consider Satan as one of these; for they are in chains and guarded (τετηρημένους) till the Great Day; he is permitted still to go about as the Tempter and the Adversary, until his appointed time be come.

Setting these passages aside, we have still to consider the declaration of our Lord in Luke x. 18, "I beheld (ἐθεώρουν) Satan, as lightning, fall from heaven." This may refer to the fact of his original fall (although the use of the imperfect tense, and the force of the context, rather refer it figuratively to the triumph of the disciples over the evil spirits); but, in any case, it tells nothing of its cause or method. There is also the passage already quoted (John viii. 44), in which our Lord declares of him, that "he was a murderer from the beginning," that "he stands not (ἕστηκε) in the truth, because there is no truth in him," "that he is a liar and the father of it." But here it seems likely the words ἀπ' ἀρχῆς refer to the beginning of his action upon man; perhaps the allusion is to his temptation of Cain to be the first murderer, an allusion explicitly made in a similar passage in 1 John iii. 9-12. The word ἕστηκε (wrongly rendered "abode" in A. V.), and the rest of the verse, refer to present time. The passage therefore throws little or no light on the cause and method of his fall.

Perhaps the only one, which has any value, is 1 Tim. iii. 6, "lest being lifted up by pride he fall into the condemnation" (κρίμα) "of the devil." It is concluded from this, that pride was the cause of the devil's condemnation. The inference is a probable one; it is strengthened by the only analogy within our reach, that of the fall of man, in which the spiritual temptation of pride, the desire "to be as gods," was the subtlest and most deadly temptation. Still it is but an inference; it cannot be regarded as a matter of certain Revelation.

But, while these points are passed by almost in silence (a silence which rebukes the irreverent exercise of imagination on the subject), Scripture describes to us distinctly the moral nature of the Evil One. This is no matter of barren speculation to those, who by yielding to evil may become the "children of Satan," instead of "children of God." The ideal of goodness is made up of the three great moral attributes of God, Love, Truth, and Purity or Holiness; combined with that spirit, which is the natural temper of a finite and dependent creature, the spirit of Faith. We find, accordingly, that the opposites to these qualities are dwelt upon as the characteristics of the devil. In John viii. 44, compared with 1 John iii. 10-15, we have hatred and falsehood; in the constant mention of the "unclean" spirits, of which he is the chief, we find impurity; from 1 Tim. iii. 6, and the narrative of the Temptation, we trace the spirit of pride. These are especially the "sins of the devil;" in them we trace the essence of moral evil, and the features of the reprobate mind. Add to this a spirit of restless activity, a power of craft, and an intense desire to spread corruption, and with it eternal death, and we have the portraiture of the Spirit of Evil as Scripture has drawn it plainly before our eyes.

(C.) HIS POWER AND ACTION.—Both these points, being intimately connected with our own life and salvation, are treated with a distinctness and fulness remarkably contrasted with the obscurity of the previous subject.

The power of Satan over the soul is represented as exercised, either directly, or by his instruments. His direct influence over the soul is simply that of a powerful and evil nature on those, in whom lurks the germ of the same evil, differing from the influence exercised by a wicked man, in degree rather than in kind; but it has the power of acting by suggestion of thoughts, without the medium of actions or words—a power which is only in very slight degree exercised by men upon each other. This influence is spoken of in Scripture in the strongest terms, as a real external influence, correlative to, but not to be confounded with, the existence of evil within. In the parable of the sower (Matt. xiii. 19), it is represented as a negative influence, taking away the action of the Word of God for good; in that of the wheat and the tares (Matt. xiii. 39), as a positive influence for evil, introducing wickedness into the world. St. Paul does not hesitate to represent it as a power, permitted to dispute the world with the power of God; for he declares to Agrippa that his mission was "to turn men from darkness to light, and from the power (ἐξουσίας) of Satan unto God," and represents the excommunication, which cuts men off from the grace of Christ in His Church, as a "deliverance of them unto Satan" (1 Cor. v. 5; 1 Tim. i. 20). The same truth is conveyed, though in a bolder and more startling form, in the Epistles to the Churches of the Apocalypse, where the body of the unbelieving Jews is called a "synagogue of Satan" (Rev. ii. 9, iii. 9), where the secrets of false doctrine are called "the depths of Satan" (ii. 24), and the "throne" and "habitation" of Satan are said to be set up in opposition to the Church of Christ. Another and even more remarkable expression of the same idea is found in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the death of Christ is spoken of as intended to baffle (καταργεῖν) "him, that hath the power (τὸ κράτος) of death, that is, the devil;" for death is evidently regarded as the "wages of sin," and the power of death as inseparable from the power of corruption. Nor is this truth only expressed directly and formally; it meets us again and again in passages simply practical, taken for granted, as already familiar (see Rom. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. ii. 11; 1 Thess. ii. 18; 2 Thess. ii. 9; 1 Tim. v. 15). The Bible does not shrink from putting the fact of Satanic influence over the soul before us, in plain and terrible certainty.

Yet at the same time, it is to be observed, that its language is very far from countenancing, even for a moment, the horrors of the Manichaean theory. The influence of Satan is always spoken of as temporary and limited, subordinated to the Divine counsel, and broken by the Incarnate Son of God. It is brought out visibly, in the form of possession, in the earthly life of our Lord, only in order that it may give the opportunity of His triumph. As for Himself, so for His redeemed ones, it is true, that "God shall bruise Satan under their feet

[c] It is referred by some to Gen. vi. 2, where many MSS. of the LXX. have ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ for "sons of God;" especially because 2 Pet. iii. 5, relating to the Flood seems closely connected with that passage.

shortly" (Rom. xvi. 20; comp. Gen. iii. 15). Nor is this all, for the history of the Book of Job shows plainly, what is elsewhere constantly implied, that Satanic influence is permitted, in order to be overruled to good, to teach humility, and therefore faith. The mystery of the existence of evil is left unexplained; but its present subordination and future extinction are familiar truths. So accordingly, on the other hand, his power is spoken of, as capable of being resisted by the will of man, when aided by the grace of God. "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you," is the constant language of Scripture (Jam. iv. 7). It is indeed a power, to which "place" or opportunity "is given," only by the consent of man's will (Eph. iv. 27). It is probably to be traced most distinctly in the power of evil habit, a power real, but not irresistible, created by previous sin, and by every successive act of sin riveted more closely upon the soul. It is a power which cannot act directly and openly, but needs craft and dissimulation, in order to get advantage over man by entangling the will. The "wiles" (Eph. vi. 11), the "devices" (2 Cor. ii. 11), the "snare" (1 Tim. iii. 7, vi. 9; 2 Tim. ii. 26) "of the devil," are expressions which indicate the indirect and unnatural character of the power of evil. It is therefore urged as a reason for "soberness and vigilance" (1 Pet. v. 8), for the careful use of the "whole armour of God" (Eph. vi. 10-17); but it is never allowed to obscure the supremacy of God's grace, or to disturb the inner peace of the Christian. "He that is born of God, keepeth himself, and the wicked one toucheth him not" (1 John v. 18).

Besides his own direct influence, the Scripture discloses to us the fact that Satan is the leader of a host of evil spirits or angels who share his evil work, and for whom the "everlasting fire is prepared" (Matt. xxv. 41). Of their origin and fall we know no more than of his, for they cannot be the same as the fallen and imprisoned angels of 2 Pet. ii. 4, and Jude 6; but one passage (Matt. xii. 24-26) identifies them distinctly with the *δαιμόνια* (A. V. "devils"[d]) who had power to possess the souls of men. The Jews there speak of a Beelzebub (Βεελζεβούλ), "a prince of the demons," whom they identify with, or symbolise by, the idol of Ekron, the "god of flies" [see BEELZEBUB], and by whose power they accuse our Lord of casting out demons. His answer is, "How can Satan cast out Satan?" The inference is clear that Satan is Beelzebub, and therefore the demons are "the angels of the devil;" and this inference is strengthened by Acts x. 38, in which St. Peter describes the possessed as *καταδυναστευομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Διαβόλου*, and by Luke x. 18, in which the mastery over the demons is connected by our Lord with the "fall of Satan from heaven," and their power included by Him in the "power of the enemy" (*τοῦ ἐχθροῦ*; comp. Matt. xiii. 39). For their nature, see DEMONS. They are mostly spoken of in Scripture in reference to possession; but in Eph. vi. 12 they are described in various lights, as "principalities" (*ἀρχαί*), "powers" (*ἐξουσίαι*), "rulers of the darkness of this world," and "spiritual powers of wickedness in heavenly places" (or "things") (*τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*); and in all as "wrestling" against the soul of man. The same reference is made less explicitly in Rom. viii. 38, and Col. ii. 15. In Rev. xii. 7-9 they are spoken of as fighting with "the dragon, the old serpent called the devil and Satan," against "Michael and his angels," and as cast out of heaven with their chief. Taking all these passages together, we find them sharing the enmity to God and man implied in the name and nature of Satan; but their power and action are but little dwelt upon in comparison with his. That there is against us a power of spiritual wickedness is a truth which we need to know, and a mystery which only Revelation can disclose; but whether it is exercised by few or by many is a matter of comparative indifference.

But the Evil One is not only the "prince of the demons," but also he is called the "prince of this world" (*ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*) in John xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11, and even the "god of this world" (*ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*) in 2 Cor. iv. 4; the two expressions being united in the words *τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*, used in Eph. vi. 12.[e] This power he claimed for himself, *as a delegated authority*, in the temptation of our Lord (Luke iv. 6); and the temptation would have been unreal, had he spoken altogether falsely. It implies another kind of indirect influence exercised through earthly instruments. There are some indications in Scripture of the exercise of this power through inanimate instruments, of an influence over the powers of nature, and what men call the "chances" of life. Such a power is distinctly asserted in the case of Job, and probably implied in the case of the woman with a spirit of infirmity (in Luke xiii. 16), and of St. Paul's "thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. xii. 7). It is only consistent with the attribution of such action to the angels of God (as in Ex. xii. 23; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 2 K. xix. 35; Acts xii. 23); and, in our ignorance of the method of connexion of the second causes of nature with the Supreme Will of God, we cannot even say whether it has in it any antecedent improbability; but it is little dwelt upon in Scripture, in comparison with the other exercise of this power through the hands of wicked men, who become "children of the devil," and accordingly "do the lusts of their father." (See John viii. 44; Acts xiii. 10; 1 John iii. 8-10; and comp. John vi. 70.) In this sense the Scripture regards all sins as the "works of the devil," and traces to him, through his ministers, all spiritual evil and error (2 Cor. xi. 14, 15), and all the persecution and hindrances which oppose the Gospel (Rev. ii. 10; 1 Thess. ii. 18). Most of all is this indirect action of Satan manifested in those who deliberately mislead and tempt men, and who at last, independent of any interest of their own, come to take an unnatural pleasure in the sight of evil-doing in others (Rom. i. 32).

The method of his action is best discerned by an examination of the title, by which he is designated in Scripture. He is called emphatically *ὁ διάβολος*, "the devil." The derivation of the word in itself implies only the endeavour to break the bonds be-

[d] It is unfortunate that the A. V. should use the word 'devil." not only for its proper equivalent *διάβολος*, but also for *δαιμόνιον*.

[e] The word *κόσμος*, properly referring to the system of the universe, and so used in John i. 10, is generally applied in Scripture to human society as alienated from God, with a reference to the "pomp and vanity" which makes it an idol (see, *e. g.*, 1 John ii. 15); *αἰών* refers to its transitory character, and is evidently used above to qualify the startling application of the word *θεός*, a "god of an age" being of course no true God at all. It is used with *κόσμος* in Eph. ii. 2.

tween others, and "set them at variance:" (see, *e. g.*, Plat. *Symp.* p. 222 *c*: διαβάλλειν ἐμὲ καὶ Ἀγάθωνα); but common usage adds to this general sense the special idea of "setting at variance *by slander*." In the N. T. the word διάβολοι is used three times as an epithet (1 Tim. iii. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 3; Tit. ii. 3); and in each case with something like the special meaning. In the application of the title to Satan, both the general and special senses should be kept in view. His general object is to break the bonds of communion between God and man, and the bonds of truth and love which bind men to each other, to "set" each soul "at variance" both with men and God, and so reduce it to that state of self-will and selfishness which is the seed-plot of sin. One special means, by which he seeks to do this, is slander of God to man, and of man to God.

The slander of God to man is seen best in the words of Gen. iii. 4, 5: "Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know, that in the day that ye eat thereof, your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." These words contain the germ of the false notions, which keep men from God, or reduce their service to Him to a hard and compulsory slavery, and which the heathen so often adopted in all their hideousness, when they represented their gods as either careless of human weal and woe, or "envious" of human excellence and happiness. They attribute selfishness and jealousy to the Giver of all good. This is enough (even without the imputation of falsehood which is added) to pervert man's natural love of freedom, till it rebels against that, which is made to appear as a hard and arbitrary tyranny, and seeks to set up, as it thinks, a freer and nobler standard of its own. Such is the slander of God to man, by which Satan and his agents still strive against His reuniting grace.

The slander of man to God is illustrated by the Book of Job (Job i. 9-11, ii. 4, 5). In reference to it, Satan is called the "adversary" (ἀντίδικος) of man in 1 Pet. v. 8, and represented in that character in Zech. iii. 1, 2; and more plainly still designated in Rev. xii. 10, as "the accuser of our brethren, who accused them before our God day and night." It is difficult for us to understand what can be the need of accusation, or the power of slander, under the all-searching eye of God. The mention of it is clearly an "accommodation" of God's judgment to the analogy of our human experience: but we understand by it a practical and awful truth, that every sin of life, and even the admixture of lower and evil motives which taints the best actions of man, will rise up against us at the judgment, to claim the soul as their own, and fix for ever that separation from God, to which, through them, we have yielded ourselves. In that accusation Satan shall in some way bear a leading part, pleading against man, with that worst of slander which is based on perverted or isolated facts; and shall be overcome, not by any counter-claim of human merit, but "by the blood of the Lamb" received in true and stedfast faith.

But these points, important as they are, are of less moment than the disclosure of the method of Satanic action upon the heart itself. It may be summed up in two words—Temptation and Possession.

The subject of temptation is illustrated, not only by abstract statements, but also by the record of the temptations of Adam and of our Lord. It is expressly laid down (as in Jam. i. 2-4) that "temptation," properly so called, *i. e.* "trial" (πειρασμός), is essential to man, and is accordingly ordained for him and sent to him by God (as in Gen. xxii. 1). Man's nature is progressive; his faculties, which exist at first only in capacity (δυνάμει), must be brought out to exist in actual efficiency (ἐνεργείᾳ) by free exercise.[f] His appetites and passions tend to their objects, simply and unreservedly, without respect to the rightness or wrongness of their obtaining them; they need to be checked by the reason and conscience, and this need constitutes a trial, in which, if the conscience prevail, the spirit receives strength and growth; if it be overcome, the lower nature tends to predominate, and the man has fallen away. Besides this, the will itself delights in independence of action. Such independence of physical compulsion is its high privilege; but there is over it the Moral Power of God's Law, which, by the very fact of its truth and goodness, acknowledged as they are by the reason and the conscience, should regulate the human will. The need of giving up the individual will, freely and by conviction, so as to be in harmony with the will of God, is a still severer trial, with the reward of still greater spiritual progress, if we sustain it, with the punishment of a subtler and more dangerous fall, if we succumb. In its struggle the spirit of man can only gain and sustain its authority by that constant grace of God, given through communion of the Holy Spirit, which is the breath of spiritual life.

It is this tentability of man, even in his original nature, which is represented in Scripture as giving scope to the evil action of Satan. He is called the "tempter" (as in Matt. iv. 3; 1 Thess. iii. 5). He has power (as the record of Gen. iii. shows clearly), first, to present to the appetites or passions their objects in vivid and captivating forms, so as to induce man to seek these objects against the Law of God "written in the heart;" and next, to act upon the false desire of the will for independence, the desire "to be as gods, knowing" (that is, practically, judging and determining) "good and evil." It is a power which can be resisted, because it is under the control and overruling power of God, as is emphatically laid down in 1 Cor. x. 13; Jam. iv. 7, &c.; but it can be so resisted only by yielding to the grace of God, and by a struggle (sometimes an "agony") in reliance on its strength.

It is exercised both negatively and positively. Its negative exercise is referred to in the parable of the sower, as taking away the word, the "engrafted word" (James i. 21) of grace, *i. e.* as interposing itself, by consent of man, between him and the channels of God's grace. Its positive exercise is set forth in the parable of the wheat and the tares, represented as sowing actual seed of evil in the individual heart or the world generally; and it is to be noticed, that the consideration of the true nature of the tares (ζιζάνια) leads to the conclusion, which is declared plainly in 2 Cor. xi. 14, viz. that evil is introduced into the heart mostly as the counterfeit of good.

This exercise of the Tempter's power is possible, even against a sinless nature. We see this in the

[f] See the connexion between faith and love by which it is made perfect (ἐνεργουμένη) in Gal. v. 6, and between faith and the works by which it is perfected (τελειοῦται) in Jam. ii. 22.

Temptation of our Lord. The temptations presented to Him appeal, first to the natural desire and need of food, next to the desire of power, to be used for good, which is inherent in the noblest minds; and lastly, to the desire of testing and realizing God's special protection, which is the inevitable tendency of human weakness, under a real but imperfect faith. The objects contemplated involved in no case positive sinfulness; the temptation was to seek them by presumptuous or by unholy means; the answer to them (given by the Lord as the Son of Man, and therefore as one like ourselves in all the weakness and finiteness of our nature) lay in simple Faith, resting upon God, and on His Word, keeping to His way, and refusing to contemplate the issues of action, which belong to Him alone. Such faith is a renunciation of all self-confidence, and a simple dependence on the will and on the grace of God.

But in the temptation of a fallen nature Satan has a greater power. Every sin committed makes a man the "servant of sin" for the future (John viii. 34; Rom. vi. 16); it therefore creates in the spirit of man a positive tendency to evil, which sympathizes with, and aids, the temptation of the Evil One. This is a fact recognized by experience; the doctrine of Scripture, inscrutably mysterious, but unmistakeably declared, is that, since the Fall, this evil tendency is born in man in capacity, prior to all actual sins, and capable of being brought out into active existence by such actual sins committed. It is this which St. Paul calls "a law," *i. e.* (according to his universal use of the word) an external power "of sin" over man, bringing the inner man (the νοῦς) into captivity (Rom. vii. 14-24). Its power is broken by the Atonement and the gift of the Spirit, but yet not completely cast out; it still "lusts against the spirit" so that men "cannot do the things, which they would" (Gal. v. 17). It is to this spiritual power of evil, the tendency to falsehood, cruelty, pride, and unbelief, independently of any benefits to be derived from them, that Satan is said to appeal in tempting us. If his temptations be yielded to without repentance, it becomes the reprobate (ἀδόκιμος) mind, which delights in evil for its own sake (Rom. i. 28, 32) and makes men emphatically "children of the devil" (John viii. 44; Acts xiii. 10; 1 John iii. 8, 10), and "accursed" (Matt. xxv. 41), fit for "the fire prepared for the devil and his angels." If they be resisted, as by God's grace they may be resisted, then the evil power (the "flesh" or the "old man") is gradually "crucified" or "mortified," until the soul is prepared for that heaven, where no evil can enter.

This twofold power of temptation is frequently referred to in Scripture, as exercised, chiefly by the suggestion of evil thoughts, but occasionally by the delegated power of Satan over outward circumstances. To this latter power is to be traced (as has been said) the trial of Job by temporal loss and bodily suffering (Job i., ii.), the remarkable expression, used by our Lord, as to the woman with a "spirit of infirmity" (Luke xiii. 16), the "thorn in the flesh," which St. Paul calls the "messenger of Satan" to buffet him (2 Cor. xii. 7). Its language is plain, incapable of being explained as metaphor, or poetical personification of an abstract principle. Its general statements are illustrated by examples of temptation. (See, besides those already mentioned, Luke xxii. 5; John xxiii. 27 (Judas); Luke xxii. 31 (Peter); Acts v. 3 (Ananias and Sapphira); 1 Cor. vii. 5; 2 Cor. ii. 11; 1 Thess. iii. 5.) The subject itself is the most startling form of the mystery of evil; it is one, on which, from our ignorance of the connexion of the First Cause with Second Causes in Nature, and of the process of origination of human thought, experience can hardly be held to be competent, either to confirm, or to oppose, the testimony of Scripture.

On the subject of Possession see DEMONIACS. It is sufficient here to remark, that although widely different in form, yet it is of the same intrinsic character as the other power of Satan, including both that external and internal influence to which reference has been made above. It is disclosed to us only in connexion with the revelation of that redemption from sin, which destroys it,—a revelation begun in the first promise in Eden, and manifested, in itself at the Atonement, in its effects at the Great Day. Its end is seen in the Apocalypse, where Satan is first "bound for a thousand years," then set free for a time for the last conflict, and finally "cast into the lake of fire and brimstone . . . for ever and ever" (xx. 2, 7–10). [A. B.]

SATHRABU'ZANES (Σαθραβουζάνης: *Satrabuzanes*). SHETHARBOZNAI (1 Esd. vi. 3, 7, 27; comp. Ezr. v. 3, 6, vi. 6, 13).

SATYRS (שְׂעִירִים, *sĕîrîm*: δαιμόνια: *pilosi*), the rendering in the A. V. of the above-named plural noun, which, having the meaning of "hairy" or "rough," is frequently applied to "he-goats" (comp. the Latin *hircus*, from *hirtus*, *hirsutus*); the *Sĕîrîm*, however, of Is. xiii. 21, and xxxiv. 14, where the prophet predicts the desolation of Babylon, have, probably, no allusion to any species of goat whether wild or tame. According to the old versions, and nearly all the commentators, our own translation is correct, and Satyrs, that is, demons of woods and desert places, half men and half goats, are intended. Comp. Jerome (*Comment. ad Is.* xiii.), "Seirim vel incubones vel satyros vel sylvestres quosdam homines quos nonnulli fatuos ficarios vocant, aut daemonum genera intelligunt." This explanation receives confirmation from a passage in Lev. xvii. 7; "they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto *Sĕîrîm*," and from a similar one in 2 Chr. xi. 15. The Israelites, it is probable, had become acquainted with a form of goat-worship from the Egyptians (see Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 825; Jablonski *Pant. Aegypt.* i. 273, et sqq.). The opinion held by Michaelis (*Supp.* p. 2342) and Lichtenstein (*Commentat. de Simiarum, &c.*, §4,

Cynocephalus (Egyptian Monuments).

p. 50, sqq.), that the *Sĕirîm* probably denote some species of ape, has been sanctioned by Hamilton Smith in Kitto's *Cyc.* art. *Ape.* From a few passages in Pliny (*N. H.* v. 8; vii. 2; viii. 54) it is clear that by Satyrs are sometimes to be understood some kind of ape or monkey; Col. H. Smith has figured the *Macacus Arabicus* as being the probable satyr of Babylon. That some species of *Cynocephalus* (dog-faced baboon) was an animal that entered into the theology of the ancient Egyptians, is evident from the monuments and from what Horapollo (i. 14–16) has told us. The other explanation, however, has the sanction of Gesenius, Bochart, Rosenmüller, Parkhurst, Maurer, Fürst, and others. As to the "dancing" satyrs, comp. Virg. *Ecl.* v. 73,

"Saltantes satyros imitabitur Alphesiboeus."

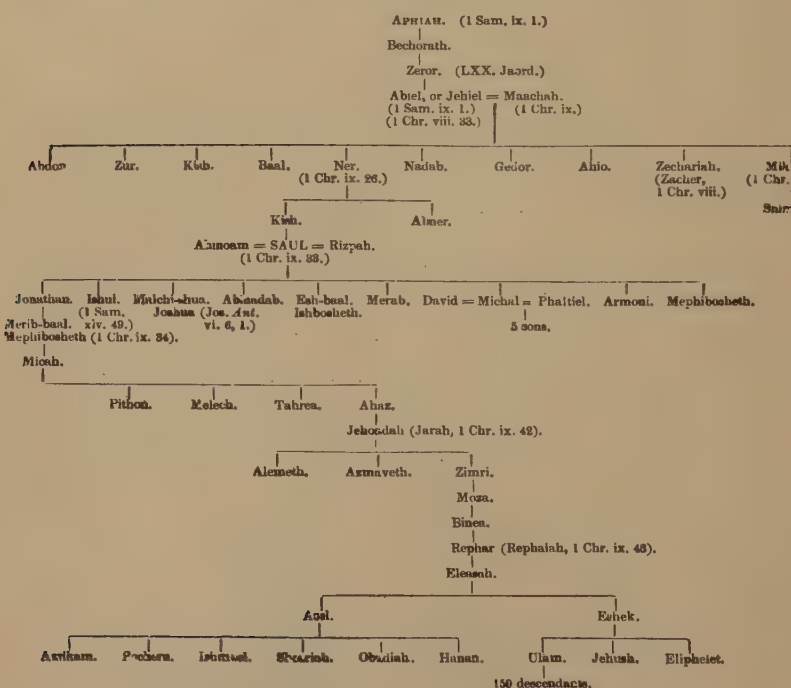
[W. H.]

SAUL (שָׁאוּל, *i. e.* Shaûl: Σαούλ; Joseph. Σάουλος: *Saûl*), more accurately SHAUL, in which form it is given on several occasions in the Authorized Version. The name of various persons in the Sacred History.

1. Saul of Rehoboth by the River was one of the early kings of Edom, and successor of Samlah (Gen. xxxvi. 37, 38). In 1 Chr. i. 48 he is called SHAUL. [G.]

2. The first king of Israel. The name here first appears in the history of Israel, though found before in the Edomite prince already mentioned; and in a son of Simeon (Gen. xlvi. 10; A. V. Shaul). It also occurs among the Kohathites in the genealogy of Samuel (1 Chr. vi. 24), and in Saul, like the king, of the tribe of Benjamin, better known as the Apostle Paul (see below p. 1154). Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 18, §4) mentions a Saul, father of one Simon who distinguished himself at Scythopolis in the early part of the Jewish war.

In the following genealogy may be observed—1. The repetition in two generations of the names of Kish and Ner, of Nadab and Abi-nadab, and of Mephibosheth. 2. The occurrence of the name of Baal in three successive generations: possibly in four, as there were two Mephibosheths. 3. The constant shiftings of the names of God, as incorporated in the proper names: (*a*) *Ab*-iel = *Je*-hiel. (*b*) *Malchi*-shua = *Je*-shua. (*c*) Esh-*baal* = Ish-*bosheth*. (*d*) Mephi- (or Meri-) *baal* = Mephi-*bosheth*. 4. The long continuance of the family down to the times of Ezra. 5. Is it possible that Zimri (1 Chr. ix. 42) can be the usurper of 1 K. xvi.—if so, the last attempt of the house of Saul to regain its ascendancy? The time would agree.



There is a contradiction between the pedigree in 1 Sam. ix. 1, xiv. 51, which represents Saul and Abner as the grandsons of Abiel, and 1 Chr. viii. 33, ix. 39, which represents them as his great-grandsons. If we adopt the more elaborate pedigree in the Chronicles, we must suppose either that a link has been dropped between Abiel and Kish, in 1 Sam. ix. 1, or that the elder Kish, the son of Abiel (1 Chr. ix. 36), has been confounded with the younger Kish, the son of Ner (1 Chr. ix. 39). The pedigree in 1 Chr. viii. is not free from confusion, as it omits amongst the sons of Abiel, Ner, who in 1 Chr. ix. 36 is the fifth son, and who in both is made the father of Kish.

His character is in part illustrated by the fierce, wayward, fitful nature of the tribe [BENJAMIN], and in part accounted for by the struggle between the old and new systems in which he found him-

self involved. To this we must add a taint of madness, which broke out in violent frenzy at times, leaving him with long lucid intervals. His affections were strong, as appears in his love both for David and his son Jonathan, but they were unequal to the wild accesses of religious zeal or insanity which ultimately led to his ruin. He was, like the earlier Judges, of whom in one sense he may be counted as the successor, remarkable for his strength and activity (2 Sam. i. 23), and he was, like the Homeric heroes, of gigantic stature, taller by head and shoulders than the rest of the people, and of that kind of beauty denoted by the Hebrew word "good" (1 Sam. ix. 2), and which caused him to be compared to the gazelle, "the gazelle of Israel."[a] It was probably these external qualities which led to the epithet which is frequently attached to his name, "chosen"—"whom the Lord did choose"—"*See* ye (*i. e.* Look at) him whom the Lord hath chosen!" (1 Sam. ix. 17, x. 24; 2 Sam. xxi. 6).

The birthplace of Saul is not expressly mentioned; but as Zelah was the place of Kish's sepulchre (2 Sam. xxi.), it was probably his native village. There is no warrant for saying that it was Gibeah,[b] though, from its subsequent connexion with him, it is called often "Gibeah of Saul" [GIBEAH]. His father, Kish, was a powerful and wealthy chief, though the family to which he belonged was of little importance (ix. 1, 21). A portion of his property consisted of a drove of asses. In search of these asses, gone astray on the mountains, he sent his son Saul, accompanied by a servant,[c] who acted also as a guide and guardian of the young man (ix. 3-10). After a three days' journey (ix. 20), which it has hitherto proved impossible to track, through Ephraim and Benjamin [SHALISHA; SHALIM; ZUPH], they arrived at the foot of a hill surrounded by a town, when Saul proposed to return home, but was deterred by the advice of the servant, who suggested that before doing so they should consult "a man of God," "a seer," as to the fate of the asses—securing his oracle by a present (*backshish*) of a quarter of a silver shekel. They were instructed by the maidens at the well outside the city to catch the seer as he came out of the city to ascend to a sacred eminence, where a sacrificial feast was waiting for his benediction (1 Sam. ix. 11-13). At the gate they met the seer for the first time—it was Samuel. A divine intimation had indicated to him the approach and the future destiny of the youthful Benjamite. Surprised at his language, but still obeying his call, they ascended to the high place, and in the inn or caravanserai at the top (τὸ κατάλυμα, LXX., ix. 27) found thirty or (LXX., and Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 4, §1) seventy guests assembled, amongst whom they took the chief place. In anticipation of some distinguished stranger, Samuel had bade the cook reserve a boiled shoulder, from which Saul, as the chief guest, was bidden to tear off the first morsel (LXX., ix. 22-24). They then descended to the city, and a bed was prepared for Saul on the housetop. At daybreak Samuel roused him. They descended again to the skirts of the town, and there (the servant having left them) Samuel poured over Saul's head the consecrated oil, and with a kiss of salutation announced to him that he was to be the ruler and (LXX.) deliverer of the nation (ix. 25–x. 1). From that moment, as he turned on Samuel the huge shoulder which towered above all the rest (x. 9, LXX.), a new life dawned upon him. He returned by a route which, like that of his search, it is impossible to make out distinctly; and at every step homeward it was confirmed by the incidents which, according to Samuel's prediction awaited him (x. 9, 10). At Rachel's sepulchre he met two men,[d] who announced to him the recovery of the asses—his lower cares were to cease. At the oak[e] of Tabor [PLAIN; TABOR, PLAIN OF] he met three men carrying gifts of kids and bread, and a skin of wine, as an offering to Bethel. Two of the loaves were offered to him as if to indicate his new dignity. At "the hill of [f] God" (whatever may be meant thereby, possibly his own city, GIBEAH), he met a band of prophets descending with musical instruments, and he caught the inspiration from them, as a sign of his new life.[g]

This is what may be called the private, inner view of his call. The outer call, which is related independently of the other, was as follows. An assembly was convened by Samuel at Mizpeh, and lots (so often practised at that time) were cast to find the tribe and the family which was to produce the king. Saul was named—and, by a Divine intimation, found hid in the circle of baggage which surrounded the encampment (x. 17-24). His stature at once conciliated the public feeling, and for the first time the shout was raised, afterwards so often repeated in modern times, "Long live the king" (x. 23-24), and he returned to his native Gibeah, accompanied by the fighting part[h] of the people, of whom he was now to be the especial head. The murmurs of the worthless part of the community who refused to salute him with the accustomed presents were soon dispelled[i] by an occasion arising to justify the selection of Saul. He was (having apparently returned to his private life) on his way home, driving his herd of oxen, when he heard one of those wild lamentations in the city of Gibeah, such as mark in Eastern towns the arrival of a great calamity. It was the tidings of the threat issued by Nahash king of Ammon against Jabesh Gilead (see AMMON). The inhabitants of Jabesh were connected with Benjamin, by the old adventure recorded in Judg. xxi. It was as if this one spark was needed to awaken the dormant spirit of the king. "The Spirit of the Lord came upon him," as on the ancient Judges. The shy, re-

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[a] 2 Sam. i. 19, the word translated "beauty," but the same term (צְבִי) in 2 Sam. ii. 18 and elsewhere is translated "roe." The LXX. have confounded it with a very similar word, and render it Στήλωσον, "set up a pillar."

[b] When Abiel, or Jehiel (1 Chr. viii. 29, ix. 35), is called the father of "Gibeon," it probably means founder of *Gibeah*.

[c] The word is נַעַר, "servant," not עֶבֶד, "slave."

[d] At Zelzah, or (LXX.) "leaping for joy."

[e] Mistranslated in A. V. "plain."

[f] in x. 5, *Gibeath ha-Elohim*; in x. 10, *haig Gibeah* only.

Joseph. (*Ant.* vi. 4, §2) gives the name Gabatha, by which he elsewhere designates Gibeah, Saul's city.

[g] See for this Ewald (iii. 28-30).

[h] חַיִל, "the strength," the host, x. 26; comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 2. The word "band" is usually employed in the A. V. for גְּדוּד, a very different term, with a strict meaning of its own. [TROOP.]

[i] The words which close 1 Sam. x. 27 are in the Hebrew text "he was as though he were deaf" in Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 5, §1, and the LXX. (followed by Ewald), "and it came to pass after a month that."

firing nature which we have observed, vanished never to return. He had recourse to the expedient of the earlier days, and summoned the people by the bones of two of the oxen from the herd which he was driving: three (or six, LXX.) hundred thousand followed from Israel, and (perhaps not in due proportion) thirty (or seventy, LXX.) thousand from Judah: and Jabesh was rescued. The effect was instantaneous on the people—the punishment of the murmurers was demanded—but refused by Saul, and the monarchy was inaugurated anew at Gilgal (xi. 1-15). It should be, however, observed that, according to 1 Sam. xii. 12, the affair of Nahash *preceded* and occasioned the election of Saul. He becomes king of Israel. But he still so far resembles the earlier Judges. as to be virtually king only of his own tribe, Benjamin, or of the immediate neighbourhood. Almost all his exploits are confined to this circle of territory or associations.

Samuel, who had up to this time been still named as ruler with Saul (xi. 7, 12, 14), now withdrew, and Saul became the acknowledged chief.[k] In the 2nd year[l] of his reign, he began to organise an attempt to shake off the Philistine yoke which pressed on his country; not least on his own tribe, where a Philistine officer had long been stationed even in his own field (x. 5, xiii. 3). An army of 3000 was formed, which he soon afterwards gathered together round him; and Jonathan, apparently with his sanction, rose against the officer[m] and slew him (xiii. 2-4). This roused the whole force of the Philistine nation against him. The spirit of Israel was completely broken. Many concealed themselves in the caverns; many crossed the Jordan; all were disarmed, except Saul and his son, with their immediate retainers. In this crisis, Saul, now on the very confines of his kingdom at Gilgal, found himself in the position long before described by Samuel; longing to exercise his royal right of sacrifice, yet deterred by his sense of obedience to the Prophet.[n] At last on the 7th day, he could wait no longer, but just after the sacrifice was completed Samuel arrived, and pronounced the first curse, on his impetuous zeal (xiii. 5-14). Meanwhile the adventurous exploit of Jonathan at Michmash brought on the crisis which ultimately drove the Philistines back to their own territory [JONATHAN]. It was signalised by two remarkable incidents in the life of Saul. One was the first appearance of his madness in the rash vow which all but cost the life of his son (1 Sam. xiv. 24, 44). The other was the erection of his first altar, built either to celebrate the victory, or to expiate the savage feast of the famished people (xiv. 35).

The expulsion of the Philistines (although not entirely completed, xiv. 52) at once placed Saul in a position higher than that of any previous ruler of Israel. Probably from this time was formed the organisation of royal state, which contained in germ some of the future institutions of the monarchy. The host of 3000 has been already mentioned (1 Sam. xiii., xxiv. 2, xxvi. 2; comp. 1 Chr. xii. 29). Of this Abner became captain (1 Sam. xiv. 50). A body guard was also formed of runners and messengers (see 1 Sam. xvi. 15, 17, xxii. 14, 17, xxvi. 22).[o] Of this David was afterwards made the chief. These two were the principal officers of the court, and sate with Jonathan at the king's table (1 Sam. xx. 25). Another officer is incidentally mentioned—the keeper of the royal mules — the *comes stabuli*, the "constable" of the king—such as appears in the later monarchy (1 Chr. xxvii. 30). He is the first instance of a foreigner employed about the court—being an Edomite or (LXX.) Syrian, of the name of Doeg (1 Sam. xxi. 7, xxii. 9). According to Jewish tradition (Jer. *Qu. Heb.* ad loc.) he was the servant who accompanied Saul in his pursuit of his father's asses—who counselled him to send for David (ix., xvi.), and whose son ultimately killed him (2 Sam. i. 10). The high-priest of the house of Ithamar (Ahimelech or Ahijah) was in attendance upon him with the ephod, when he desired it (xiv. 3), and felt himself bound to assist his secret commissioners (xxi. 1-9, xxii. 14).

The king himself was distinguished by a state, not before marked in the rulers. He had a tall spear, of the same kind as that described in the hand of Goliath. [ARMS.] This never left him—in repose (1 Sam. xviii. 10, xix. 9); at his meals (xx. 33); at rest (xxvi. 11), in battle (2 Sam. i. 6). In battle he wore a diadem on his head and a bracelet on his arm (2 Sam. i. 10). He sate at meals on a seat of his own facing his son (1 Sam. xx. 25; LXX.). He was received on his return from battle by the songs of the Israelite[p] women (1 Sam. xviii. 6), amongst whom he was on such occasions specially known as bringing back from the enemy scarlet robes, and golden ornaments for their apparel (2 Sam. i. 24).

The warlike character of his reign naturally still predominated, and he was now able (not merely, like his temporary predecessors, to act on the defensive, but) to attack the neighbouring tribes of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Zobah, and finally Amalek (xiv. 47). The war with Amalek is twice related, first briefly (xiv. 48), and then at length (xv. 1-9). Its chief connexion with Saul's history lies in the disobedience to the prophetical command of Samuel; shown in the sparing of the king, and the retention of the spoil.

The extermination of Amalek and the subsequent execution of Agag belong to the general question of the moral code of the O. T. There is no reason to suppose that Saul spared the king for any other reason than that for which he retained the spoil—namely, to make a more splendid show at the sacrificial thanksgiving (xv. 21). Such was the Jewish tradition preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 7, §2), who expressly says that Agag was spared for his stature and beauty, and such is the general impression left by the description of the celebration of the victory. Saul rides to the southern Carmel in a chariot (LXX.), never mentioned elsewhere, and sets up a monument there (Heb. "a hand,"

[k] Also 2 Sam. x. 15, LXX., for "Lord."

[l] The expression, xiii. 1, "Saul was one year old" (the son of a year), in his reigning, may be either, (1) he reigned one year; or (2), the word 30 may have dropped out thence to xiii. 5, and it may have been "he was 31 when he began to reign."

[m] The word may be rendered either "garrison" or "officer;" its meaning is uncertain.

[n] The command of Samuel (x. 8) had apparently a perpetual obligation (xiii. 13). It had been given two years before, and in the interval they had both been at Gilgal (xi. 15). N.B.—The words "had appointed" (xiii. 2) are inserted in A. V.

[o] They were Benjamites (1 Sam. xxii. 7; Jos. *Ant.* vii. 14), young, tall, and handsome (*Ibid.* vi. 6, §6).

[p] Jos. (*Ant.* vi. 10, §1) makes the *women* sing the praises of Saul, the *maidens*, of David.

2 Sam. xviii. 18), which in the Jewish traditions (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* ad loc.) was a triumphal arch of olives, myrtles, and palms. And in allusion to his crowning triumph, Samuel applies to God the phrase, "The Victory (Vulg. *triumphator*) of Israel will neither lie nor repent" (xv. 29; and comp. 1 Chr. xxix. 11). This second act of disobedience called down the second curse, and the first distinct intimation of the transference of the kingdom to a rival. The struggle between Samuel and Saul in their final parting is indicated by the rent of Samuel's robe of state, as he tears himself away from Saul's grasp (for the gesture, see Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 7, §5), and by the long mourning of Samuel for the separation—"Samuel mourned for Saul." "How long wilt thou mourn for Saul?" (xiv. 35, xvi. 1).

The rest of Saul's life is one long tragedy. The frenzy, which had given indications of itself before, now at times took almost entire possession of him. It is described in mixed phrases as "an evil spirit of God" (much as we might speak of "religious madness"), which, when it came upon him, almost choked or strangled him from its violence (xvi. 14, LXX.; Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 8, §2).

In this crisis David was recommended to him by one of the young men of his guard (in the Jewish tradition groundlessly supposed to be DOEG. Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* ad loc.). From this time forward their lives are blended together. [DAVID.] In Saul's better moments he never lost the strong affection which he had contracted for David. "He loved him greatly" (xvi. 21). "Saul would let him go no more home to his father's house" (xviii. 2). "Wherefore cometh not the son of Jesse to meat?" (xx. 27). "Is this thy voice, my son David. . . . Return, my son David; blessed be thou, my son David" (xxiv. 16, xxvi. 17, 25). Occasionally too his prophetical gift returned, blended with his madness. He "prophesied" or "raved" in the midst of his house—"he prophesied and lay down naked all day and all night" at Ramah (xix. 24). But his acts of fierce, wild zeal increased. The massacre of the priests, with all their families[a] (xxii.)—the massacre, perhaps at the same time, of the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xxi. 1), and the violent extirpation of the necromancers (1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 9), are all of the same kind. At last the monarchy itself, which he had raised up, broke down under the weakness of its head. The Philistines re-entered the country, and with their chariots and horses occupied the plain of Esdraelon. Their camp was pitched on the southern slope of the range now called Little Hermon, by Shunem. On the opposite side, on Mount Gilboa, was the Israelite army, clinging as usual to the heights which were their safety. It was near the spring of Gideon's encampment, hence called the spring of Harod or "trembling"—and now the name assumed an evil omen, and the heart of the king as he pitched his camp there "trembled exceedingly" (1 Sam. xxviii. 5). In the loss of all the usual means of consulting the Divine Will, he determined, with that wayward mixture of superstition and religion which marked his whole career, to apply[b] to one of the necromancers who had escaped his persecution. She was a woman living at Endor, on the other side of Little Hermon; she is called a woman of "Ob," *i. e.* of the skin or bladder, and this the LXX. has rendered by ἐγγαστρίμυθος or ventriloquist, and the Vulgate by Pythoness. According to the Hebrew tradition mentioned by Jerome, she was the mother of Abner, and hence her escape from the general massacre of the necromancers (See Leo Allatius *De Engastrimutho*, cap. 6 in *Critici Sacri* ii.). Volumes have been written on the question, whether in the scene that follows we are to understand an imposture or a real apparition of Samuel. Eustathius and most of the Fathers take the former view (representing it, however, as a figment of the Devil); Origen, the latter view. Augustine wavers. (See Leo Allatius, *ut supra*, p. 1062-1114). The LXX. of 1 Sam. xxvii. 7 (by the above translation) and the A. V. (by its omission of "himself" in xxviii. 14, and insertion of "when" in xxviii. 12) lean to the former. Josephus (who pronounces a glowing eulogy on the woman, *Ant.* vi. 14, §2, 3), and the LXX. of 1 Chr. x. 13, to the latter. At this distance of time it is impossible to determine the relative amount of fraud or of reality, though the obvious meaning of the narrative itself tends to the hypothesis of some kind of apparition. She recognises the disguised king first by the appearance of Samuel, seemingly from his threatening aspect or tone as towards his enemy.[c] Saul apparently saw nothing, but listened to her description of a god-like figure of an aged man, wrapped round with the royal or sacred robe.[d]

On hearing the denunciation, which the apparition conveyed, Saul fell the whole length of his gigantic stature (see xxviii. 20, margin) on the ground, and remained motionless till the woman and his servants forced him to eat.

The next day the battle came on, and according to Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 14, §7), perhaps according to the spirit of the sacred narrative, his courage and self-devotion returned. The Israelites were driven up the side of Gilboa. The three sons of Saul were slain (1 Sam. xxxi. 2). Saul himself with his armour-bearer was pursued by the archers and the charioteers of the enemy (1 Sam. xxxi. 3; 2 Sam. i. 6). He was wounded in the stomach (LXX., 1 Sam. xxxi. 3). His shield was cast away (2 Sam. i. 21). According to one account, he fell upon his own sword (1 Sam. xxxi. 4). According to another account (which may be reconciled with the former by supposing that it describes a later incident), an Amalekite[e] came up at the moment of his death-wound (whether from himself or the enemy), and found him "fallen," but leaning on his spear (2 Sam. i. 6, 10). The dizziness of death was gathered over him (LXX., 2 Sam. i. 9), but he was still alive; and he was at his own request, put out of his pain by the Amalekite, who took off his royal diadem and bracelet, and carried the news to David (2 Sam. i. 7-10). Not till then, according to Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 14, §7), did the faithful armour-bearer fall on his sword and die with him (1 Sam. xxxi. 5). The body on being found by the Philistines was stripped, and decapitated. The armour was sent into the Philis-

[a] This is placed by Josephus as the climax of his guilt, brought on by the intoxication of power (*Ant.* vi. 12, §7).

[b] His companions were Abner and Amasa (*Seder Olam*, Meyer, 492).

[c] When was last heard of Samuel he was mourning for, not hating, Saul. Had the massacre of the priests and the persecution of David (xix. 18) alienated him?

[d] ἱερατικὴν διπλοΐδα (Jos. *Ant.* vi. 14, §2).

[e] According to the Jewish tradition (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* ad loc.), he was the son of Doeg.

the cities, as if in retribution for the spoliation of Goliath, and finally deposited in the temple of Astarte, apparently in the neighbouring Canaanitish city of Bethshan; and over the walls of the same city was hung the naked headless corpse, with those of his three sons (ver. 9, 10). The head was deposited (probably at Ashdod) in the temple of Dagon (1 Chr. x. 10). The corpse was removed from Bethshan by the gratitude of the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead, who came over the Jordan by night, carried off the bodies, burnt them, and buried them under the tamarisk at Jabesh (1 Sam. xxxi. 13). Thence, after the lapse of several years, his ashes and those of Jonathan were removed by David to their ancestral sepulchre at Zelah in Benjamin (2 Sam. xxi. 14). [MEPHIBOSHETH, p. 325*a*.] [A. P. S.]

3. The Jewish name of ST. PAUL. This was the most distinguished name in the genealogies of the tribe of Benjamin, to which the Apostle felt some pride in belonging (Rom. xi. 1; Phil. iii. 5). He himself leads us to associate his name with that of the Jewish king, by the marked way in which he mentions Saul in his address at the Pisidian Antioch: "God gave unto them Saul the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin" (Acts xiii. 21). These indications are in harmony with the intensely Jewish spirit of which the life of the Apostle exhibits so many signs. [PAUL.] The early ecclesiastical writers did not fail to notice the prominence thus given by St. Paul to his tribe. Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* v. 1) applies to him the dying words of Jacob on Benjamin. And Jerome, in his *Epitaphium Paulae* (§8), alluding to the preservation of the six hundred men of Benjamin after the affair of Gibeah (Judg. xx. 49), speaks of them as "trecentos (sic) viros *propter Apostolum reservatos.*" Compare the article on BENJAMIN [vol. i. 190 *b*].

Nothing certain is known about the change of the Apostle's name from Saul to Paul (Acts xiii. 9), to which reference has been already made. [PAUL, p. 736 *b*.] Two chief conjectures[x] prevail concerning the change. (1.) That of Jerome and Augustine, that the name was derived from SERGIUS PAULUS, the first of his Gentile converts. (2.) That which appears due to Lightfoot, that Paulus was the Apostle's Roman name as a citizen of Tarsus, naturally adopted into common use by his biographer when his labours among the heathen commenced. The former of these is adopted by Olshausen and Meyer. It is also the view of Ewald (*Gesch.* vi. 419, 20), who seems to consider it self-evident, and looks on the absence of any explanation of the change as a proof that it was so understood by all the readers of the Acts. However this may be, after Saul has taken his place definitively as the Apostle to the Gentile world, his Jewish name is entirely dropped. Two divisions of his life are well marked by the use of the two names. [J. Ll. D.]

SAV'ARAN (ὁ Σαυαράν: *filius Saura, Avarum*?), an erroneous form of the title *Avaran*, borne by Eleazar the son of Mattathias, which is found in the common texts in 1 Macc. vi. 43, [ELEAZER 8, vol. i. p. 518.] [B. F. W.]

SAVI'AS (om. in Vat.; Alex. Σαουία: om. in Vulg.). UZZI the ancestor of Ezra (1 Esd. viii. 2; comp. Ezr. vii. 4).

[x] There are many other theories, one of which may be mentioned; that of Nicephorus (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 37), who treats Paulus as a contraction of Pusillus, and supposes it to have been a nickname given to the Apostle on account of his insignificant stature!

SAVIOUR. The following article, together with the one on the SON OF GOD, forms the complement to the life of our Lord JESUS CHRIST. [See vol. i. p. 1039.] An explanation is first given of the *word* "Saviour," and then of His *work* of salvation, as unfolded and taught in the New Testament. [See also MESSIAH.]

I. THE WORD SAVIOUR.—The term "Saviour," as applied to our Lord Jesus Christ, represents the Greek *sôter* (σωτήρ), which in turn represents certain derivatives from the Hebrew root *yâsh'a* (יָשַׁע), particularly the participle of the Hiphil form *môshi'a* (מוֹשִׁיעַ), which is usually rendered "Saviour" in the A. V. (*e. g.* Is. xlvi. 15, xlix. 26). In considering the true import of "Saviour," it is essential for us to examine the original terms answering to it, including in our view the use of *sôter* in the LXX., whence it was more immediately derived by the writers of the New Testament, and further noticing the cognate terms "to save" and "salvation," which express respectively the action and the results of the Saviour's office. 1. The first point to be observed is that the term *sôter* is of more frequent occurrence in the LXX. than the term "Saviour" in the A. V. of the Old Testament. It represents not only the word *môshi'a* above-mentioned, but also very frequently the nouns *yesh'a* (יֵשַׁע) and *yĕshû'âh* (יְשׁוּעָה), which, though properly expressive of the abstract notion "salvation," are yet sometimes used in a concrete sense for "Saviour." We may cite as an example Is. lxii. 11, "Behold, thy salvation cometh, *his* reward is with him," where evidently "salvation" = *Saviour*. So again in passages where these terms are connected immediately with the person of the Godhead, as in Ps. lxviii. 20, "the God our Saviour" (A. V. "God of our salvation"). Not only in such cases as these, but in many others where the sense does not require it, the LXX. has *sôter* where the A. V. has "salvation;" and thus the word "Saviour" was more familiar to the ear of the reader of the Old Testament in our Lord's age than it is to us. 2. The same observation holds good with regard to the verb σώζειν, and the substantive σωτηρία, as used in the LXX. An examination of the passages in which they occur shows that they stand as equivalents for words conveying the notions of well-being, succour, peace, and the like. We have further to notice σωτηρία in the sense of recovery of the *bodily* health (2 Macc. iii. 32), together with the etymological connexion supposed to exist between the terms σωτήρ and σῶμα, to which St. Paul evidently alludes in Eph. v. 23; Phil. iii. 20, 21. 3. If we turn to the Hebrew terms, we cannot fail to be struck with their comprehensiveness. Our verb "to save" implies, in its ordinary sense, the rescue of a person from actual or impending danger. This is undoubtedly included in the Hebrew root *yâsh'a*, and may be said to be its ordinary sense, as testified by the frequent accompaniment of the preposition מִן, (מִן; compare the σώσει ἀπό which the angel gives in explanation of the name Jesus, Matt. i. 21). But *yâsh'a*, beyond this, expresses *assistance* and *protection* of every kind—assistance in aggressive measures, protection against attack; and, in a secondary sense, the results of such assistance—

victory, safety, prosperity, and happiness. We may cite as an instance of the *aggressive* sense Deut. xx. 4, "to fight for you against your enemies, to save you;" of *protection* against attack Is. xxvi. 1, "salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks;" of *victory* 2 Sam. viii. 6, "The Lord preserved David," *i. e.* gave him victory; of *prosperity* and *happiness*, Is. lx. 18, "Thou shalt call thy walls Salvation;" Is. lxi. 10, "He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation." No better instance of this last sense can be adduced than the exclamation "Hosanna," meaning, "Save, I beseech thee," which was uttered as a prayer for God's blessing on any joyous occasion (Ps. cxviii. 25), as at our Lord's entry into Jerusalem, when the etymological connexion of the terms Hosanna and Jesus could not have been lost on the ear of the Hebrew (Matt. xxi. 9, 15). It thus appears that the Hebrew and Greek terms had their positive as well as their negative side, in other words that they expressed the presence of blessing as well as the absence of danger, actual security as well as the removal of insecurity.[a] 4. The historical personages to whom the terms are applied further illustrate this view. The judges are styled "saviours," as having rescued their country from a state of bondage (Judg. iii. 9, 15, A. V. "deliverer;" Neh. ix. 27); a "saviour" was subsequently raised up in the person of Jeroboam II. to deliver Israel from the Syrians (2 K. xiii. 5); and in the same sense Josephus styles the deliverance from Egypt a "salvation" (*Ant.* iii. 1, §1). Joshua on the other hand verified the promise contained in his name by his conquests over the Canaanites: the Lord was his helper in an aggressive sense. Similarly the office of the "saviours" promised in Obad. 21 was to execute vengeance on Edom. The names Isaiah, Jeshua, Ishi, Hosea, Hoshea, and lastly, Jesus, are all expressive of the general idea of *assistance* from the Lord. The Greek *sôter* was in a similar manner applied in the double sense of a deliverer from foreign foes as in the case of Ptolemy Soter, and a general protector, as in the numerous instances where it was appended as the title of heathen deities. 5. There are numerous indications in the O. T. that the idea of a spiritual salvation, to be effected by God alone, was by no means foreign to the mind of the pious Hebrew. In the Psalms there are numerous petitions to God to save from the effects of sin (*e. g.* xxxix. 8, lxxix. 9). Isaiah in particular appropriates the term "saviour" to Jehovah (xliii. 11), and connects it with the notions of justice and righteousness (xlv. 21, lx. 16, 17): he adduces it as the special manner in which Jehovah reveals Himself to man (xlv. 15): he hints at the means to be adopted for effecting salvation in passages where he connects the term "saviour" with "redeemer" (*goël*), as in xli. 14, xlix. 26, lx. 16, and again with "ransom," as in xliii. 3. Similar notices are scattered over the prophetical books (*e. g.* Zech. ix. 9; Hos. i. 7), and though in many instances these notices admitted of a reference to proximate events of a temporal nature, they evidently looked to higher things, and thus fostered in the mind of the Hebrew the idea of a "Saviour" who should far surpass in his achievements the "saviours" that had as yet appeared. The mere sound of the word would conjure up before his imagination visions of deliverance, security, peace, and prosperity.

II. THE WORK OF THE SAVIOUR. — 1. The three first Evangelists, as we know, agree in showing that Jesus unfolded His message to the disciples by degrees. He wrought the miracles that were to be the credentials of the Messiah; He laid down the great principles of the Gospel morality, until He had established in the minds of the Twelve the conviction that He was the Christ of God. Then as the clouds of doom grew darker, and the malice of the Jews became more intense, He turned a new page in His teaching. Drawing from His disciples the confession of their faith in Him as Christ, He then passed abruptly, so to speak, to the truth that remained to be learned in the last few months of His ministry, that His work included suffering as well as teaching (Matt. xvi. 20, 21). He was instant in pressing this unpalatable doctrine home to His disciples, from this time to the end. Four occasions when He prophesied His bitter death are on record, and they are probably only examples out of many more (Matt. xvi. 21). We grant that in none of these places does the word "sacrifice" occur; and that the mode of speaking is somewhat obscure, as addressed to minds unprepared, even then, to bear the full weight of a doctrine so repugnant to their hopes. But that He must (δεῖ) go and meet death; that the powers of sin and of this world are let loose against Him for a time, so that He shall be betrayed to the Jews, rejected, delivered by them to the Gentiles, and by them be mocked and scourged, crucified, and slain; and that all this shall be done to achieve a foreseen work, and accomplish all things written of Him by the prophets—these we do certainly find. They invest the death of Jesus with a peculiar significance; they set the mind inquiring what the meaning can be of this hard necessity that is laid on Him. For the answer we look to other places; but at least there is here no contradiction to the doctrine of sacrifice, though the Lord does not yet say, "I bear the wrath of God against your sins in your stead; I become a curse for you." Of the two sides of this mysterious doctrine,—that Jesus dies for us willingly, and that he dies to bear a doom laid on Him as of necessity, because some one must bear it,—it is the latter side that is made prominent. In all the passages it pleases Jesus to speak, not of His desire to die, but of the burden laid on Him, and the power given to others against Him.

2. Had the doctrine been explained no further, there would have been much to wait for. But the series of announcements in these passages leads up to one more definite and complete. It cannot be denied that the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper speak most distinctly of a sacrifice. "Drink ye all of this, for this is My blood of the new covenant," or, to follow St. Luke, "the new covenant in My blood." We are carried back by these words to the first covenant, to the altar with twelve pillars, and the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings of oxen, and the blood of the victims

[a] The Latin language possessed in the classical period no proper equivalent for the Greek σωτήρ. This appears from the introduction of the Greek word itself in a Latinized form, and from Cicero's remark (*in Verr. Act.* 2, ii. 63) that there was no one word which expressed the notion *qui salutem dedit*. Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 71) uses *conservator*, and Pliny (xxii. 5) *servator*. The term *salvator* appears appended as a title of Jupiter in an inscription of the age of Trajan (Gruter, p. 19, No. 5). This was adopted by Christian writers as the most adequate equivalent for σωτήρ, though objections were evidently raised against it (Augustin, *Serm.* 299, §6). Another term, *salutificator*, was occasionally used by Tertullian (*De Resurr. Carn.* 47 · *De carn. Chr.* 14).

sprinkled on the altar and on the people, and the words of Moses as he sprinkled it: "Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words" (Ex. xxiv.). No interpreter has ever failed to draw from these passages the true meaning: "When My sacrifice is accomplished, My blood shall be the sanction of the new covenant." The word "sacrifice" is wanting; but sacrifice and nothing else is described. And the words are no mere figure used for illustration, and laid aside when they have served that turn, "Do this in remembrance of Me." They are the words in which the Church is to interpret the act of Jesus to the end of time. They are reproduced exactly by St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 25). Then, as now, Christians met together, and by a solemn act declared that they counted the blood of Jesus as a sacrifice wherein a new covenant was sealed; and of the blood of that sacrifice they partook by faith, professing themselves thereby willing to enter the covenant and be sprinkled with the blood.

3. So far we have examined the three "synoptic" Gospels. They follow a historical order. In the early chapters of all three the doctrine of our Lord's sacrifice is not found, because He will first answer the question about Himself, "Who is this?" before he shows them "What is His work?" But at length the announcement is made, enforced, repeated; until, when the feet of the betrayer are ready for their wicked errand, a command is given which secures that the death of Jesus shall be described for ever as a sacrifice and nothing else, sealing a new covenant, and carrying good to many. Lest the doctrine of Atonement should seem to be an afterthought, as indeed De Wette has tried to represent it, St. John preserves the conversation with Nicodemus, which took place early in the ministry; and there, under the figure of the brazen serpent lifted up, the atoning virtue of the Lord's death is fully set forth. "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life" (John iii. 14, 15). As in this intercessory act, the image of the deadly, hateful, and accursed (Gen. iii. 14, 15) reptile became by God's decree the means of health to all who looked on it earnestly, so does Jesus in the form of sinful man, of a deceiver of the people (Matt. xxvii. 63), of Antichrist (Matt. xii. 24; John xviii. 33), of one accursed (Gal. iii. 13), become the means of our salvation; so that whoever fastens the earnest gaze of faith on him shall not perish, but have eternal life. There is even a significance in the word "lifted up;" the Lord used probably the word דקר, which in older Hebrew meant to lift up in the widest sense, but began in the Aramaic to have the restricted meaning of lifting up for punishment.[b] With Christ the lifting up was a seeming disgrace, a true triumph and elevation. But the context in which these verses occur is as important as the verses themselves. Nicodemus comes as an inquirer; he is told that a man must be born again, and then he is directed to the death of Jesus as the means of that regeneration. The earnest gaze of the wounded soul is to be the condition of its cure; and that gaze is to be turned, not to Jesus on the mountain, or in the Temple, but on the Cross. This, then, is no passing allusion, but it is the substance of the Christian teaching addressed to an earnest seeker after truth.

Another passage claims a reverent attention—"If any man eat of this bread he shall live for ever, and the bread that I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world" (John vi. 51). He is the bread; and He will give the bread.[c] If His presence on earth were the expected food, it was given already; but would He speak of "drinking His blood" (ver. 53), which can only refer to the dead? It is on the Cross that He will afford this food to His disciples. We grant that this whole passage has occasioned as much disputing among Christian commentators as it did among the Jews who heard it; and for the same reason,—for the hardness of the saying. But there stands the saying; and no candid person can refuse to see a reference in it to the death of Him that speaks.

In that discourse, which has well been called the Prayer of Consecration offered by our High Priest, there is another passage which cannot be alleged as evidence to one who thinks that any word applied by Jesus to His disciples and Himself must bear in both cases precisely the same sense, but which is really pertinent to this inquiry:—"Sanctify them through Thy truth: Thy word is truth. As Thou hast sent Me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify Myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth" (John xvii. 17-19). The word ἁγιάζειν, "sanctify," "consecrate," is used in the Septuagint for the offering of sacrifice (Levit. xxii. 2), and for the dedication of a man to the Divine service (Num. iii. 15). Here the present tense, "I consecrate," used in a discourse in which our Lord says He is "no more in the world," is conclusive against the interpretation "I dedicate My *life* to thee;" for life is over. No self-dedication, except that by death, can now be spoken of as present. "I dedicate Myself to Thee, in My death, that these may be a people consecrated to Thee;" such is the great thought in this sublime passage, which suits well with His other declaration, that the blood of His sacrifice sprinkles them for a new covenant with God. To the great majority of expositors from Chrysostom and Cyril, the doctrine of reconciliation through the death of Jesus is asserted in these verses.

The Redeemer has already described Himself as the Good Shepherd who lays down His life for the sheep (John x. 11, 17, 18), taking care to distinguish His death from that of one who dies against his will in striving to compass some other aim: "Therefore doth my Father love Me, because I lay down My life that I might take it again. No man taketh it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again."

Other passages that relate to His death will occur to the memory of any Bible reader. The corn of wheat that dies in the ground to bear much fruit (John x. 24), is explained by His own words elsewhere, where He says that He came "to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many" (Matt. xx. 28).

4. Thus, then, speaks Jesus of Himself. What

[b] So Tholuck, and Knapp (*Opuscula*, p. 217). The treatise of Knapp on this discourse is valuable throughout.

[c] Some, omitting ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω, would read, "And my flesh is the bread that I will give for the life of the world." So Tertullian seems to have read "Panis quem ego dedero pro salute mundi caro mea est." The sense is the same with the omission; but the received reading may be successfully defended.

by His witnesses of Him? "Behold the Lamb of God," says the Baptist, "which taketh away the sin of the world" (John i. 29). Commentators differ about the allusion implied in that name. But take any one of their opinions, and a sacrifice is implied. Is it the Paschal lamb that is referred to?—Is it the lamb of the daily sacrifice? Either way the death of the victim is brought before us. But the allusion in all probability is to the well-known prophecy of Isaiah (liii.), to the Lamb brought to the slaughter, who bore our griefs and carried our sorrows.[d]

5. The Apostles after the Resurrection preach no moral system, but a belief in and love of Christ, the crucified and risen Lord, through whom, if they repent, men shall obtain salvation. This was Peter's preaching on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii.); and he appealed boldly to the Prophets on the ground of an expectation of a suffering Messiah (Acts iii. 18). Philip traced out for the Eunuch, in that picture of suffering holiness in the well-known chapter of Isaiah, the lineaments of Jesus of Nazareth (Acts viii.; Isai. liii.). The first sermon to a Gentile household proclaimed Christ slain and risen, and added "that through His name whosoever believeth in Him shall receive remission of sins" (Acts x.). Paul at Antioch preaches "a Saviour Jesus" (Acts xiii. 23); "through this Man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins, and by Him all that believe are justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the Law of Moses" (Acts xiii. 38, 39). At Thessalonica all that we learn of this Apostle's preaching is "that Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ" (Acts xvii. 3). Before Agrippa he declared that he had preached always "that Christ should suffer, and that He should be the first that should rise from the dead" (Acts xxvi. 23); and it was this declaration that convinces his royal hearer that he was a crazed fanatic. The account of the first founding of the Church in the Acts of the Apostles is concise and fragmentary; and sometimes we have hardly any means of judging what place the sufferings of Jesus held in the teaching of the Apostles; but when we read that they "preached Jesus," or the like, it is only fair to infer from other passages that the Cross of Christ was never concealed, whether Jews, or Greeks, or barbarians were the listeners. And this very pertinacity shows how much weight they attached to the facts of the life of our Lord. They did not merely repeat in each new place the pure morality of Jesus as He uttered it in the Sermon on the Mount: of such lessons we have no record. They took in their hands, as the strongest weapon, the fact that a certain Jew crucified afar off in Jerusalem was the Son of God, who had died to save men from their sins; and they offered to all alike an interest, through faith, in the resurrection from the dead of this outcast of His own people. No wonder that Jews and Greeks, judging in their worldly way, thought this strain of preaching came of folly or madness, and turned from what they thought unmeaning jargon.

6. We are able to complete from the Epistles our account of the teaching of the Apostles on the doctrine of Atonement. "The Man Christ Jesus" is the Mediator between God and man, for in Him the human nature, in its sinless purity, is lifted up to the Divine, so that He, exempt from guilt, can plead for the guilty (1 Tim ii. 5; 1 John ii. 1, 2; Heb. vii. 25). Thus He is the second Adam that shall redeem the sin of the first; the interests of men are bound up in Him, since He has power to take them all into Himself (Eph. v. 29, 30; Rom. xii. 5; 1 Cor. xv. 22; Rom. v. 12, 17). This salvation was provided by the Father, to "reconcile us to Himself" (2 Cor. v. 18), to whom the name of "Saviour" thus belongs (Luke i. 47); and our redemption is a signal proof of the love of God to us (1 John iv. 10). Not less is it a proof of the love of Jesus, since He freely lays down His life for us—offers it as a precious gift, capable of purchasing all the lost (1 Tim. ii. 6; Tit. ii. 14; Eph. i. 7. Comp. Matt. xx. 28). But there is another side of the truth more painful to our natural reason. How came this exhibition of Divine *love* to be needed? Because wrath had already gone out against man. The clouds of God's anger gathered thick over the whole human race; they discharged themselves on Jesus only. God has made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin (2 Cor. v. 21); He is made "a curse" (a thing accursed) for us, that the curse that hangs over us may be removed (Gal. iii. 13): He bore our sins in His own body on the tree (1 Pet. ii. 24). There are those who would see on the page of the Bible only the sunshine of the Divine love; but the muttering thunders of Divine wrath against sin are heard there also; and He who alone was no child of wrath, meets the shock of the thunderstorm, becomes a curse for us, and a vessel of wrath; and the rays of love break out of that thunder-gloom, and shine on the bowed head of Him who hangs on the Cross, dead for our sins.

We have spoken, and advisedly, as if the New Testament were, as to this doctrine, one book in harmony with itself. That there are in the New Testament different types of the one true doctrine, may be admitted without peril to the doctrine. The principal types are four in number.

7. In the Epistle of James there is a remarkable absence of all explanations of the doctrine of the Atonement; but this admission does not amount to so much as may at first appear. True, the key-note of the Epistle is that the Gospel is the Law made perfect, and that it is a practical moral system, in which man finds himself free to keep the Divine law. But with him Christ is no mere Lawgiver appointed to impart the Jewish system. He knows that Elias is a man like himself, but of the Person of Christ he speaks in a different spirit. He calls himself "a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ," who is "the Lord of Glory." He speaks of the Word of Truth, of which Jesus has been the utterer. He knows that faith in the Lord of Glory is inconsistent with time-serving and "respect of persons" (James i. 1, ii. 1, i. 18). "There is one Lawgiver," he says, "who is able to save and to destroy" (James iv. 12); and this refers no doubt to Jesus, whose second coming he holds up as a motive to obedience (James v. 7-9). These and

[d] See this passage discussed fully in the notes of Meyer, Lange (*Bibelwerke*), and Alford. The reference to the Paschal lamb finds favour with Grotius and others: the reference to Isaiah is approved by Chrysostom and many others. The taking away of sin (αἴρειν) of the Baptist, and the bearing it (φέρειν, Sept.) of Isaiah, have one meaning, and answer to the Hebrew word נָשָׂא. To take the sins on Himself is to remove them from the sinners; and how can this be through His death except in the way of expiation by that death itself?

like expressions remove this Epistle far out of the sphere of Ebionitish teaching. The inspired writer sees the Saviour, in the Father's glory, preparing to return to judge the quick and dead. He puts forth Christ as Prophet and King, for he makes Him Teacher and Judge of the world; but the office of the Priest he does not dwell on. Far be it from us to say that he knows it not. Something must have taken place before he could treat his hearers with confidence, as free creatures, able to resist temptations, and even to meet temptations with joy. He treats "your faith" as something founded already, not to be prepared by this Epistle (James i. 2, 3, 21). His purpose is a purely practical one. There is no intention to unfold a Christology, such as that which makes the Epistle to the Romans so valuable. Assuming that Jesus has manifested Himself, and begotten anew the human race, he seeks to make them pray with undivided hearts, and be considerate to the poor, and strive with lusts, for which they and not God are responsible; and bridle their tongues, and show their fruits by their works.[e]

8. In the teaching of St. Peter the doctrine of the Person of our Lord is connected strictly with that of His work as Saviour and Messiah. The frequent mention of His sufferings shows the prominent place he would give them; and he puts forward as the ground of his own right to teach, that he was "a witness of the sufferings of Christ" (1 Pet. v. 1). The atoning virtue of those sufferings he dwells on with peculiar emphasis; and not less so on the purifying influence of the Atonement on the hearts of believers. He repeats again and again that Christ died for us (1 Pet. ii. 21, iii. 18, iv. 1); that He bare our sins in His own body on the tree[f] (1 Pet. ii. 24). He bare them; and what does this phrase suggest, but the goat that "shall bear" the iniquities of the people off into the land that was not inhabited? (Lev. xvi. 22) or else the *feeling the consequences* of sin, as the word is used elsewhere (Lev. xx. 17, 19)? We have to choose between the cognate ideas of sacrifice and substitution. Closely allied with these statements are those which connect moral reformation with the death of Jesus. He bare our sins that we might live unto righteousness. His death is our life. We are not to be content with a self-satisfied contemplation of our redeemed state, but to live a life worthy of it (1 Pet. ii. 21-25, iii. 15-18). In these passages the whole Gospel is contained; we are justified by the death of Jesus, who bore our sins that we might be sanctified and renewed to a life of godliness. And from this Apostle we hear again the name of "the Lamb," as well as from John the Baptist; and the passage of Isaiah comes back upon us with unmistakeable clearness. We are redeemed "with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot" (1 Pet. i. 18, 19, with Is. liii. 7). Every word carries us back to the Old Testament and its sacrificial system: the spotless victim, the release from sin by its blood (elsewhere, i. 2, by the *sprinkling* of its blood), are here; not the type and shadow, but the truth of them; not a ceremonial purgation, but an effectual reconcilement of man and God.

9. In the inspired writings of John we are struck at once with the emphatic statements as to the Divine and human natures of Christ. A right belief in the incarnation is the test of a Christian man (1 John iv. 2; John i. 14; 2 John 7); we must believe that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, and that He is manifested to destroy the works of the devil (1 John iii. 8). And, on the other hand, He who has come in the flesh is the One who alone has been in the bosom of the Father, seen the things that human eyes have never seen, and has come to declare them unto us (1 John i. 2, iv. 14; John i. 14-18). This Person, at once Divine and human, is "the propitiation for our sins," our "Advocate with the Father," sent into the world "that we might live through Him;" and the means was His laying down His life for us, which should make us ready to lay down our lives for the brethren (1 John ii. 1, 2, iv. 9, 10, v. 11-13, iii. 16, v. 6, i. 7; John xi. 51). And the moral effect of His redemption is, that "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin" (1 John i. 7). The intimate connexion between His work and our holiness is the main subject of his First Epistle: "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin" (1 John iii. 9). As with St. Peter, so with St. John; every point of the doctrine of the Atonement comes out with abundant clearness. The substitution of another who can bear our sins, for us who cannot; the sufferings and death as the means of our redemption, our justification thereby, and our progress in holiness as the result of our justification.

10. To follow out as fully, in the more voluminous writings of St. Paul, the passages that speak of our salvation, would far transgress the limits of our paper. Man, according to this Apostle, is a transgressor of the Law. His conscience tells him that he cannot act up to that Law which, the same conscience admits, is Divine, and binding upon him. Through the old dispensations man remained in this condition. Even the Law of Moses could not justify him: it only by its strict behests held up a mirror to conscience that its frailness might be seen. Christ came, sent by the mercy of our Father who had never forgotten us; given to, not deserved by us. He came to reconcile men and God by dying on the Cross for them, and bearing their punishment in their stead[g] (2 Cor. v. 14-21; Rom. v. 6-8). He is "a propitiation through faith in His blood" (Rom. iii. 25, 26. Compare Lev. xvi. 15. Ἱλαστήριον means "victim for expiation"): words which most people will find unintelligible, except in reference to the Old Testament and its sacrifices. He is the ransom, or price paid, for the redemption of man from all iniquity (Titus ii. 14). The wrath of God was against man, but it did not fall on man. God made His Son "to be sin for us" though He knew no sin, and Jesus suffered though men had sinned. By this act God and man were reconciled (Rom. v. 10; 2 Cor. v. 18-20; Eph. ii. 16; Col. i. 21). On the side of man, trust and love and hope take the place of fear and of an evil conscience; on the side of God, that terrible wrath of His, which is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, is turned away (Rom. i.

[e] See Neander, *Pflanzung*, b. vi. c. 3; Schmid. *Theologie der N. T.*, part ii.; and Dorner, *Christologie*, i. 95.

[f] If there were any doubt that "for us" (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν) means "in our stead" (see ver 21), this 24th verse, which explains the former, would set it at rest.

[g] These two passages are decisive as to the fact of substitution: they might be fortified with many others.

[h] Still stronger in 1 Tim. ii. 6, "ransom instead of" (ἀντίλυτρον). Also Eph. i. 7 (ἀπολύτρωσις); 1 Cor. vi. 20 vii. 23.

18, v. 9; 1 Thess. i. 10). The question whether we are reconciled to God only, or God is also reconciled to us, might be discussed on deep metaphysical grounds; but we purposely leave that on one side, content to show that at all events the intention of God to punish man is averted by this "propitiation" and "reconcilement."

11. Different views are held about the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, by modern critics; but its numerous points of contact with the other Epistles of St. Paul must be recognized. In both the incompleteness of Judaism is dwelt on; redemption from sin and guilt is what religion has to do for men, and this the Law failed to secure. In both, reconciliation and forgiveness and a new moral power in the believers are the fruits of the work of Jesus. In the Epistle to the Romans, Paul shows that the Law failed to justify, and that faith in the blood of Jesus must be the ground of justification. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the same result follows from an argument rather different: all that the Jewish system aimed to do is accomplished in Christ in a far more perfect manner. The Gospel has a better Priest, more effectual sacrifices, a more profound peace. In the one Epistle the Law seems set aside wholly for the system of faith; in the other the Law is exalted and glorified in its Gospel shape; but the aim is precisely the same—to show the weakness of the Law and the effectual fruit of the Gospel.

12. We are now in a position to see how far the teaching of the New Testament on the effects of the death of Jesus is continuous and consistent. Are the declarations of our Lord about Himself the same as those of James and Peter, John and Paul? and are those of the Apostles consistent with each other? The several points of this mysterious transaction may be thus roughly described:—

1. God sent His Son into the world to redeem lost and ruined man from sin and death, and the Son willingly took upon Him the form of a servant for this purpose; and thus the Father and the Son manifested their love for us.

2. God the Father laid upon His Son the weight of the sins of the whole world, so that He bare in His own body the wrath which men must else have borne, because there was no other way of escape for them; and thus the Atonement was a manifestation of Divine justice.

3. The effect of the Atonement thus wrought is, that man is placed in a new position, freed from the dominion of sin, and able to follow holiness; and thus the doctrine of the Atonement ought to work in all the hearers a sense of love, of obedience, and of self-sacrifice.

In shorter words, the sacrifice of the death of Christ is a proof of Divine *love*, and of Divine *justice*, and is for us a document of *obedience*.

Of the four great writers of the New Testament, Peter, Paul, and John set forth every one of these points. Peter, the "witness of the sufferings of Christ," tells us that we are redeemed with the blood of Jesus, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot; says that Christ bare our sins in His own body on the tree. If we "have tasted that the Lord is gracious" (1 Pet. ii. 3), we must not rest satisfied with a contemplation of our redeemed state, but must live a life worthy of it. No one can well doubt, who reads the two Epistles, that the love of God and Christ, and the justice of God, and the duties thereby laid on us, all have their value in them: but the love is less dwelt on than the justice, whilst the most prominent idea of all is the moral and practical working of the Cross of Christ upon the lives of men.

With St. John, again, all three points find place. That Jesus willingly laid down His life for us, and is an advocate with the Father; that He is also the propitiation, the suffering sacrifice, for our sins, and that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin, for that whoever is born of God doth not commit sin; all are put forward. The death of Christ is both justice and love, both a propitiation and an act of loving self-surrender; but the moral effect upon us is more prominent even than these.

In the Epistles of Paul the three elements are all present. In such expressions as a ransom, a propitiation, who was "made sin for us," the wrath of God against sin, and the mode in which it was turned away, are presented to us. Yet not wrath alone. "The love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead: and that He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them, and rose again" (2 Cor. v. 14, 15). Love in Him begets love in us, and in our reconciled state the holiness which we could not practise before becomes easy.

The reasons for not finding from St. James similar evidence, we have spoken of already.

Now in which of these points is there the semblance of contradiction between the Apostles and their Master? In none of them. In the Gospels, as in the Epistles, Jesus is held up as the sacrifice and victim, draining a cup from which His human nature shrank, feeling in Himself a sense of desolatio such as we fail utterly to comprehend on a theory of human motives. Yet no one takes from Him His precious redeeming life; He lays it down of Himself, out of His great love for men. But men are to deny themselves, and take up their cross and tread in His steps. They are His friends only if they keep His commands and follow His footsteps.

We must consider it proved that these three points or moments are the doctrine of the whole New Testament. What is there about this teaching that has provoked in times past and present so much disputation? Not the hardness of the doctrine,—for none of the theories put in its place are any easier,—but its want of logical completeness. Sketched out for us in a few broad lines, it tempts the fancy to fill it in and lend it colour: and we do not always remember that the hands that attempt this are trying to make a mystery into a theory, an infinite truth into a finite one, and to reduce the great things of God into the narrow limits of our little field of view. To whom was the ransom paid? What was Satan's share of the transaction? How can one suffer for another? How could the Redeemer be miserable when He was conscious that His work was one which could bring happiness to the whole human race? Yet this condition of indefiniteness is one which is imposed on us in the reception of every mystery: prayer, the incarnation, the immortality of the soul, are all subjects that pass far beyond our range of thought. And here we see the wisdom of God in connecting so closely our redemption with our reformation. If the object were to give us a complete theory of salvation, no doubt there would be in the Bible much to seek. The theory is gathered by fragments out of many an exhortation and warn-

ing; nowhere does it stand out entire, and without logical flaw. But if we assume that the New Testament is written for the guidance of sinful hearts, we find a wonderful aptness for that particular end. Jesus is proclaimed as the solace of our fears, as the founder of our moral life, as the restorer of our lost relation with our Father. If He had a cross, there is a cross for us; if He pleased not Himself, let us deny ourselves; if He suffered for sin, let us hate sin. And the question ought not to be, What do all these mysteries mean? but, Are these thoughts really such as will serve to guide our life and to assuage our terrors in the hour of death? The answer is twofold—one from history and one from experience. The preaching of the Cross of the Lord even in this simple fashion converted the world. The same doctrine is now the ground of any definite hope that we find in ourselves, of forgiveness of sins and of everlasting life.

It would be out of place in a Dictionary of the Bible to examine the History of the Doctrine or to answer the modern objections urged against it. For these subjects the reader is referred to the author's Essay on the "Death of Christ," in *Aids to Faith*, which also contains the substance of the present article. [W. T.]

SAW.[a] Egyptian saws, so far as has yet been discovered, were single-handed, though St. Jerome has been thought to allude to circular saws. As is the case in modern Oriental saws, the teeth usually incline towards the handle, instead of away from it like ours. They have, in most cases, bronze blades, apparently attached to the handles by leathern thongs, but some of those in the British Museum have their blades let into them like our knives. A double-handed iron saw has been found at Nimrûd; and double saws strained with a cord, such as modern carpenters use, were in use among the Romans. In sawing wood the Egyptians placed the wood perpendicularly in a sort of frame, and cut it downwards. No evidence exists of the use of the saw applied to stone in Egypt, nor without the double-handed saw does it seem likely that this should be the case; but we read of sawn stones used in the Temple. (1 K. vii. 9; Ges. *Thes.* 305; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* ii. 114, 119; Brit. Mus. *Egyp. Room*, No. 6046; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 195; Jerome, *Comm. in Is.* xxviii. 27.) The saws "under" or "in"[b] which David is said to have placed his captives were of iron. The expression in 2 Sam. xii. 31, does not necessarily imply torture, but the word "cut" in 1 Chr. xx. 3, can hardly be understood otherwise. (Ges. *Thes.* p. 1326; Thenius on 2 Sam. xii. and 1 Chr. xx.) A case of sawing asunder, by placing the criminal between boards, and then beginning at the head, is mentioned by Shaw, *Trav.* p. 254. (See *Dict. of Antiq.* "Serra.") [HANDICRAFT; PUNISHMENT]. [H. W. P.]

SCAPE-GOAT. [ATONEMENT, DAY OF.]

SCARLET. [COLOURS.]

SCEPTRE (שֵׁבֶט). The Hebrew term *shebet*, like its Greek equivalent σκῆπτρον, and our derivative *sceptre*, originally meant a *rod* or *staff*. It was thence specifically applied to the shepherd's crook (Lev. xxvii. 32; Mic. vii. 14), and to the wand or sceptre of a ruler. It has been inferred that the latter of these secondary senses is derived from the former (Winer, *Realwb.* "Sceptre"); but this appears doubtful from the circumstance that the sceptre of the Egyptian kings, whence the idea of a sceptre was probably borrowed by the early Jews, resembled, not a shepherd's crook, but a plough (Diod. Sic. iii. 3). The use of the staff as a symbol of authority was not confined to kings; it might be used by any leader, as instanced in Judg. v. 14, where for "pen of the writer," as in the A. V., we should read "sceptre of the leader." Indeed, no instance of the sceptre being actually handled by a Jewish king occurs in the Bible; the allusions to it are all of a metaphorical character, and describe it simply as one of the insignia of supreme power (Gen. xlix. 10; Num. xxiv. 17; Ps. xlv. 6; Is xiv. 5; Am. i. 5; Zech. x. 11; Wisd. x. 14; Bar. vi. 14). We are consequently unable to describe the article from any Biblical notices; we may infer from the term *shebet*, that it was probably made of wood; but we are not warranted in quoting Ez. xix. 11 in support of this, as done by Winer, for the term rendered "rods" may better be rendered "shoots," or "sprouts" as = *offspring*. The sceptre of the Persian monarchs is described as "golden," *i. e.* probably of massive gold (Esth. iv. 11; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 7, §13); the inclination of it towards a subject by the monarch was a sign of favour, and kissing it an act of homage (Esth. iv. 11, v. 2). A carved ivory staff discovered at Nimrûd is supposed to have been a sceptre (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 195). The sceptre of the Egyptian queens is represented in Wilkinson's *Anc. Eg.* i. 276. The term *shebet* is rendered in the A. V. "rod" in two passages where *sceptre* should be substituted, viz. in Ps. ii. 9, where "sceptre of iron" is an expression for strong authority, and in Ps. cxxv. 3. [W. L. B.]

SCE'VA (Σκευᾶς; *Sceva*). A Jew residing at Ephesus at the time of St. Paul's second visit to that town (Acts xix. 14-16). He is described as a "high-priest" (ἀρχιερεύς), either as having exercised the office at Jerusalem, or as being chief of one of the twenty-four classes. His seven sons attempted to exorcise spirits by using the name of Jesus, and on one occasion severe injury was inflicted by the demoniac on two of them (as implied in the term ἀμφοτέρων, the true reading in ver. 16 instead of αὐτῶν). [W. L. B.]

SCIENCE (מַדָּע: γνῶσις: *scientia*). In the A. V. this word occurs only in Dan. i. 4, and 1 Tim. vi. 20. Elsewhere the rendering for the Hebrew or Greek words and their cognates is "knowledge," while the Vulg. has as uniformly *scientia*. Its use in Dan. i. 4 is probably to be explained by the number of synonymous words in the verse, forcing the translators to look out for diversified equivalents in English. Why it should have been chosen for 1 Tim. vi. 20 is not so obvious. Its effect is injurious, as leading the reader to suppose that St. Paul is speaking of something else than the "knowledge" of which both the Judaizing and the mystic sects of the Apostolic age continually boasted, against which he so urgently warns men (1 Cor. viii. 1, 7), the counterfeit of the true knowledge which he prizes so highly (1 Cor. xii. 8; xiii. 2; Phil. i. 9; Col

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[a] 1. מַגְרָה; πρίων; from גָּרַר: only used in part. Pual. 1 K. vii. 9.

2. מְשׂוֹר; πρίων; *serra*.

[b] בַּמַּגֵּרָה; ἐν τῷ πρίονι (ἔθηκε); *serravit*

ffi. 10). A natural perversion of the meaning of the text has followed from this translation. Men have seen in it a warning, not against a spurious theosophy—of which Swedenborgianism is, perhaps, the nearest modern analogue—but against that which did not come within St Paul's horizon, and which, if it had, we may believe he would have welcomed—the study of the works of God, the recognition of His Will working by laws in nature. It has been hurled successively at the heads of astronomers and geologists, whenever men have been alarmed at what they have deemed the antagonism of physical "science" to religion. It would be interesting to ascertain whether this were at all the *animus* of the translators of the A. V.—whether they were beginning to look with alarm at the union of scepticism and science, of which the common proverb, "*ubi tres medici duo athei*," was a witness. As it is, we must content ourselves with noting a few facts in the Biblical history of the English word.

(1.) In Wiclif's translation, it appears less frequently than might have been expected in a version based upon the Vulgate. For the "knowledge of salvation" of the A. V. in Luke i. 77, we have the "science of health." In Christ are hid "the treasures of wisdom and of science" (Col. ii. 3). In 1 Tim. vi. 20, however, Wiclif has "kunnynge."

(2.) Tindal, rejecting "science" as a rendering elsewhere, introduces it here; and is followed by Cranmer's and the Geneva Bibles, and by the A. V.[a]

(3.) The Rhemish translators, in this instance adhering less closely to the Vulg. than the Protestant versions, give "knowledge."

It would obviously be out of place to enter here into the wide question what were the *ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως* of which St. Paul speaks. A dissertation on the Gnosticism of the Apostolic age would require a volume. What is necessary for a Dictionary will be found under TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO. [E. H. P.]

SCORPION (עַקְרָב, *'akrâb*: *σκορπίος*: *scorpio*). The well-known animal of that name, belonging to the class *Arachnida* and order *Pulmonaria*, which is twice mentioned in the O. T. and four times in the N. T. The wilderness of Sinai is especially alluded to as being inhabited by scorpions at the time of the exodus (Deut. viii. 15), and to this day these animals are common in the same district, as well as in some parts of Palestine. Ehrenberg (*Symb. Phys.*) enumerates five species as occurring near Mt. Sinai, some of which are found also in the Lebanon. Ezekiel (ii. 6) is told to be in no fear of the rebellious Israelites, here compared to scorpions. The Apostles were endued with power to resist the stings of serpents and scorpions (Luke x. 19). In the vision of St. John (Rev. ix. 3, 10) the locusts that came out of the smoke of the bottomless pit are said to have had "tails like unto scorpions," while the pain resulting from this creature's sting is alluded to in verse 5. A scorpion for an egg (Luke xi. 12) was probably a proverbial expression. According to Erasmus the Greeks had a similar proverb (*ἀντὶ περκῆς σκορπίον*). Scorpions are generally found in dry and in dark places, under stones and in ruins, chiefly in warm climates. They are carnivorous in their habits, and move along in a threatening attitude with the tail elevated. The sting, which is situated at the extremity of the tail, has at its base a gland that secretes a poisonous fluid, which is discharged into the wound by two minute orifices at its extremity. In hot climates the sting often occasions much suffering, and sometimes alarming symptoms. The following are the species of scorpions mentioned by Ehrenberg:—*Scorpio macrocentrus*, *S. palmatus*, *S. bicolor*, *S. leptochelis*, *S. funestus*, all found at Mt. Sinai; *S. nigrocinctus*, *S. melanophysa*, *S. palmatus*, Mt. Lebanon.[b] Besides these Palestine and Sinai kinds, five others are recorded as occurring in Egypt.

Scorpion

The "scorpions" of 1 K. xii. 11, 14, 2 Chr. x. 11 14, have clearly no allusion whatever to the animal, but to some instrument of scourging—unless indeed the expression is a mere figure. Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 45) thinks the "scorpion" scourge was the spiny stem of what the Arabs call *Hedek* (حدق), the *Solanum melongena*, var. *esculentum*, egg-plant, because, according to Abul Fadli, this plant, from the resemblance of its spines to the sting of a scorpion, was sometimes called the "scorpion thorn;" but in all probability this instrument of punishment was in the form of a whip armed with iron points "Virga—si nodosa vel aculeata, scorpio rectissimo nomine vocatur, qui arcuato vulnere in corpus infigitur." (Isidorus *Orig. Lat.* 5, 27; and see Jahn, *Bib. Ant.* p. 287.) In the Greek of 1 Macc. vi. 51, some kind of war missile is mentioned under the name *σκορπιδιον*; but we want information both as to its form and the reason of its name. (See *Dict. of Antiquities*, art. "Tormentum.") [W. H.]

[a] The following quotation from Tindal is decisive as to the sense in which he used the word. It shows that he contemplated no form of science (in the modern sense of the term), mathematical or physical, but the very opposite of this,—the attempt to bring all spiritual or divine truths under the formulae of the logical understanding. He speaks of the disputes of Romish theologians as the "contradictions of which Paul warned Timothy, calling them the oppositions of a false-named science, for that their *scholastical divinity* must make objections against any truth, be it never so plain, with *pro* and *contra*" (*Supper of the Lord*, iii. 284, Parker Soc. Edition). Tindal's use and application of the word accounts, it may be remarked, for the choice of a different word by the Rhemish translators. Those of the A. V. *may* have used it with a different meaning.

[b] Modern naturalists restrict the genus *Scorpio* to those kinds which have six eyes, Boathus to those which have eight, and Androctonus to those which have twelve.

SCOURGING.[a] The punishment of scourging was prescribed by the Law in the case of a betrothed bondwoman guilty of unchastity, and perhaps in the case of both the guilty persons (Lev. xix. 20). Women were subject to scourging in Egypt, as they still are by the law of the Korân, for incontinence (Sale, *Koran*, chap. xxiv. and chap. iv. note; Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* i. 147; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyp.* abridgm. ii. 211). The instrument of punishment in ancient Egypt, as it is also in modern times generally in the East, was usually the stick, applied to the soles of the feet—bastinado (Wilkinson, *l. c.*; Chardin, vi. 114; Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* i. 146). A more severe scourge is possibly implied in the term "scorpions," whips armed with pointed balls of lead, the "horribile flagellum" of Horace, though it is more probably merely a vivid figure. Under the Roman method the culprit was stripped, stretched with cords or thongs on a frame (*divaricatio*), and beaten with rods. After the Porcian law (B.C. 300), Roman citizens were exempted from scourging, but slaves and foreigners were liable to be beaten, even to death (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1062; Isid. *Orig.* v. 27, ap. Scheller; *Lex. Lat.* Scorpio; Hor. 1 *Sat.* ii. 41, iii. 119; Prov. xxvi. 3; Acts xvi. 22, and Grotius, ad l., xxii. 24, 25; 1 K. xii. 11; Cic. *Ver.* iii. 28, 29; *pro Rab.* 4; Liv. x. 9; Sall. *Cat.* 51). [H. W. P.]

SCREECH-OWL. [OWL.]

SCRIBES (סוֹפְרִים: γραμματεῖς: *scribae*). The prominent position occupied by the Scribes in the Gospel history would of itself make a knowledge of their life and teaching essential to any clear conception of our Lord's work. It was by their influence that the later form of Judaism had been determined. Such as it was when the "new doctrine" was first proclaimed, it had become through them. Far more than priests or Levites they represented the religious life of the people. On the one hand we must know what they were in order to understand the innumerable points of contrast presented by our Lord's acts and words. On the other, we must not forget that there were also, inevitably, points of resemblance. Opposed as His teaching was, in its deepest principles, to theirs, He was yet, in the eyes of men, as one of their order, a Scribe among Scribes, a Rabbi among Rabbis (John i. 49, iii. 2, vi. 25, &c.; Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb.* ii. *Christus Rabbinorum Summus*).

I. *Name.*—(1.) Three meanings are connected with the verb *sâphar* (סָפַר), the root of *Sopherim*—(1) to write, (2) to set in order, (3) to count. The explanation of the word has been referred to each of these. The *Sopherim* were so called because they wrote out the Law, or because they classified and arranged its precepts, or because they counted with scrupulous minuteness every clause and letter it contained. The traditions of the Scribes, glorying in their own achievements,[b] were in favour of the last of these etymologies (*Sekalim*, 5; Carpzov, *App. Crit.* ii. 135). The second fits in best with the military functions connected with the word in the earlier stages of its history (*infra*). The authority of most Hebrew scholars is with the first (Gesenius, *s. v.*). The Greek equivalent answers to the derived rather than the original meaning of the word. The γραμματεὺς of a Greek state was not the mere writer, but the keeper and registrar of public documents (Thuc. iv. 118, vii. 10; so in Acts xix. 35). The Scribes of Jerusalem were, in like manner, the custodians and interpreters of the γράμματα upon which the polity of the nation rested. Other words applied to the same class are found in the N. T. Νομικοὶ appears in Matt. xxii. 35, Luke vii. 30, x. 25, xiv. 3; νομοδιδάσκαλοι in Luke v. 17; Acts v. 34. Attempts have been made, but not very successfully, to reduce the several terms to a classification.[c] All that can be said is that γραμματεὺς appears the most generic term; that in Luke xi. 45 it is contrasted with νομικὸς; that νομοδιδάσκαλος, as in Acts v. 34, seems the highest of the three. Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 6, §2) paraphrases the technical word by ἐξηγηταὶ νόμων.

(2.) The name of KIRJATH-SEPHER (πόλις γραμμάτων, LXX., Josh. xv. 15; Judg. i. 12) may possibly connect itself with some early use of the title. In the Song of Deborah (Judg. v. 14) the word appears to point to military functions of some kind. The "pen of the writer" of the A. V. (LXX. ἐν ῥάβδῳ διηγήσεως γραμματέως) is probably the rod or sceptre of the commander numbering or marshalling his troops.[d] The title appears with more distinctness in the early history of the monarchy. Three men are mentioned as successively filling the office of Scribe under David and Solomon (2 Sam. viii. 17, xx. 25; 1 K. iv. 3, in this instance two simultaneously). Their functions are not specified, but the high place assigned to them, side by side with the high-priest and the captain of the host, implies power and honour. We may think of them as the king's secretaries, writing his letters, drawing up his decrees, managing his finances (comp. the work of the scribe under Joash, 2 K. xii. 10). At a later period the word again connects itself with the act of numbering the military forces of the country (Jer. lii. 25, and probably Is. xxxiii. 18). Other associations, however, began to gather round it about the same period. The zeal of Hezekiah led him to foster the growth of a body of men whose work it was to transcribe old records, or to put in writing what had been handed down orally (Prov. xxv. 1). To this period accordingly belongs the new significance of the title. It no longer designates only an officer of the king's court, but a class, students and interpreters of the Law, boasting of their wisdom (Jer. viii. 8).

(3.) The seventy years of the Captivity gave a fresh glory to the name. The exiles would be

[a] 1. To scourge, שׁוֹט, the scourge, שׁוֹט; μάστιξ; *flagellum*; also in A. V. "whip."

2. שָׁטַט; ἅλος; *offendiculum*; only in Josh. xxiii. 13. Either a subst or the inf. in Piel. (Ges. 1379).

[b] They had ascertained that the central letter of the whole Law was the *vau* of גָּחוֹן in Lev. xi. 42, and wrote it accordingly in a larger character. (*Kiddush.* in Lightfoot, *On Luke* x.) They counted up in like manner the precepts of the Law that answered to the number of Abraham's servants or Jacob's descendants.

[c] Lightfoot's arrangement, though conjectural, is worth giving (*Harm.* § 77). The "Scribes," as such, were those who occupied themselves with the *Mikra*. Next above them were the "Lawyers," students of the *Mishna*, acting as assessors, though not voting in the Sanhedrim. The "Doctors of the Law" were expounders of the *Gemara*, and actual members of the Sanhedrim. (Comp. Carpzov, *App. Crit.* i. 7; Leusden, *Phil. Hebr.* c. 23; Leyrer, in Herzog's *Encyclop.* "Schriftgelehrte.")

[d] Ewald, however (*Poet. Büch.* i. 126), takes כֹּפֵר as equivalent to שֹׁפֵט, "a judge."

anxious above all things to preserve the sacred books, the laws, the hymns, the prophecies of the past. To know what was worth preserving, to transcribe the older Hebrew documents accurately, when the spoken language of the people was passing into Aramaic, to explain what was hard and obscure—this was what the necessities of the time demanded. The man who met them became emphatically Ezra the Scribe, the priestly functions falling into the background, as the priestly order itself did before the Scribes as a class. The words of Ezr. vii. 10 describe the high ideal of the new office. The Scribe is "to seek (דָּרַשׁ) the law of the Lord and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments." This, far more than his priesthood, was the true glory of Ezra. In the eyes even of the Persian king he was "a Scribe of the Law of the God of Heaven" (vii. 12). He was assisted in his work by others, chiefly Levites. Publicly they read and expounded the Law, perhaps also translated it from the already obsolescent Hebrew into the Aramaic of the people[e] (Neh. viii. 8-13).

(4.) Of the time that followed we have but scanty records. The Scribes' office apparently became more and more prominent. Traces are found in the later canonical books of their work and influence. Already they are recognised as "masters of assemblies," acting under "one shepherd," having, that is, something of a corporate life (Eccl. xii. 11; Jost, *Judenth.* i. 42). As such they set their faces steadily to maintain the authority of the Law and the Prophets, to exclude from all equality with them the "many books" of which "there is no end" (Eccl. xii. 12). They appear as a distinct class, "the families of the Scribes," with a local habitation (1 Chr. ii. 55). They compile, as in the two Books of Chronicles, *excerpta* and epitomes of larger histories (1 Chr. xxix. 29; 2 Chr. ix. 29). The occurrence of the word *midrash* ("the story—margin, 'the commentary'—of the Prophet Iddo"), afterwards so memorable, in 2 Chr. xiii. 22, shows that the work of commenting and expounding had begun already.

II. *Development of Doctrine.*—(1.) It is characteristic of the Scribes of this period that, with the exception of Ezra and Zadok (Neh. xiii. 13), we have no record of their names. A later age honoured them collectively as the men of the Great Synagogue, the true successors of the Prophets (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1), but the men themselves by whose agency the Scriptures of the O. T. were written in their present characters,[f] compiled in their present form, limited to their present number, remain unknown to us. Never, perhaps, was so important a work done so silently. It has been well argued (Jost, *Judenthum*, i. 42) that it was so of set purpose. The one aim of those early Scribes was to promote reverence for the Law, to make it the groundwork of the people's life. They would write nothing of their own, lest less worthy words should be raised to a level with those of the oracles of God. If interpretation were needed, their teaching should be oral only. No precepts should be perpetuated as resting on their authority.[g] In the words of later Judaism, they devoted themselves to the *Mikra* (*i.e.* recitation, reading, as in Neh. viii. 8), the careful study of the text, and laid down rules for transcribing it with the most scrupulous precision (comp. the tract *Sopherim* in the Jerusalem Gemara).

(2.) A saying is ascribed to Simon the Just (B.C. 300-290), the last of the succession of the men of the Great Synagogue, which embodies the principle on which they had acted, and enables us to trace the next stage of the growth of their system. "Our fathers have taught us," he said, "three things, to be cautious in judging, to train many scholars, and to set a fence about the Law" (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1; Jost, i. 95). They wished to make the Law of Moses the rule of life for the whole nation and for individual men. But it lies in the nature of every such law, of every informal, half-systematic code, that it raises questions which it does not solve. Circumstances change, while the Law remains the same. The infinite variety of life presents cases which it has not contemplated. A Roman or Greek jurist would have dealt with these on general principles of equity or polity. The Jewish teacher could recognise no principles beyond the precepts of the Law. To him they all stood on the same footing, were all equally divine. All possible cases must be brought within their range, decided by their authority.

(3.) The result showed that, in this as in other instances, the idolatry of the letter was destructive of the very reverence in which it had originated. Step by step the Scribes were led to conclusions at which we may believe the earlier representatives of the order would have started back with horror. Decisions on fresh questions were accumulated into a complex system of casuistry. The new precepts, still transmitted orally, more precisely fitting in to the circumstances of men's lives than the old, came practically to take their place. The "Words of the Scribes" (דִּבְרֵי סוֹפְרִים, now used as a technical phrase for these decisions) were honoured above the Law (Lightfoot, *Harm.* i. §77; Jost, *Judenth.* i. 93). It was a greater crime to offend against them than against the Law. They were as wine, while the precepts of the Law were as water. The first step was taken towards annulling the commandments of God for the sake of their own traditions. The casuistry became at once subtle and prurient,[h] evading the plainest duties, tampering with conscience (Matt. xv. 1-6, xxiii. 16-23). The right relation of moral and ceremonial laws was not only forgotten, but absolutely inverted. This was the result of the profound reverence for the letter which gave no heed to the "word abiding in them" (John v. 38).

(4.) The history of the full development of these tendencies will be found elsewhere. [TARGUMS.]

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[e] If this were so (and most commentators adopt this view), we should have in this history the starting-point of the Targum. It has, however, been questioned. (Comp. Leyrer, *l. c.*)

[f] Jost (*Judenth.* i. 52) draws attention to the singular, almost unique combinations of this period. The Jewish teachers kept to the old Hebrew, but used Aramaic characters. The Samaritans spoke Aramaic, but retained the older Hebrew writing.

[g] The principle of an unwritten teaching was maintained among the Rabbis of Palestine up to the destruction of the Temple (Jost, i. 97, 367).

[h] It would be profitless to accumulate proofs of this. Those who care for them may find them in Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*; M'Caul, *Old Paths.* Revolting as it is, we must remember that it rose out of the principle that there can be no indifferent action, that there must be a right or a wrong even for the commonest necessities the merest animal functions of man's life, that it was the work of the teacher to formulate that principle into rules

Here it will be enough to notice in what way the teaching of the Scribes in our Lord's time was making to that result. Their first work was to report the decisions of previous Rabbis. These were the *Halachoth* (that which *goes*, the *current* precepts of the schools)—precepts binding on the conscience. As they accumulated they had to be compiled and classified. A new code, a second *Corpus Juris*, the Mishna (δευτερώσεις), grew out of them, to become in its turn the subject of fresh questions and commentaries. Here ultimately the spirit of the commentators took a wider range. The anecdotes of the schools or courts of law, the *obiter dicta* of Rabbis, the wildest fables of Jewish superstition (Tit. i. 14), were brought in, with or without any relation to the context, and the *Gemara* (completeness) filled up the measure of the Institutes of Rabbinic Law. The Mishna and the Gemara together were known as the Talmud (instruction), the "necessary doctrine and erudition" of every learned Jew (Jost, *Judenth.* ii. 202-222).

(5.) Side by side with this was a development in another direction. The sacred books were not studied as a code of laws only. To *search* into their meaning had from the first belonged to the ideal office of the Scribe. He who so searched was secure, in the language of the Scribes themselves, of everlasting life (John v. 39; *Pirke Aboth*, ii. 8). But here also the book suggested thoughts which could not logically be deduced from it. Men came to it with new beliefs, new in form if not in essence, and, not finding any ground for them in a literal interpretation, were compelled to have recourse to an interpretation which was the reverse of literal.[1] The fruit of this effort to find what was not there appears in the *Midrashim* (searchings, investigations) on the several books of the O. T. The process by which the meaning, moral or mystical, was elicited, was known as *Hagada* (saying, opinion). There was obviously no assignable limit to such a process. It became a proverb that no one ought to spend a day in the Beth-ham-Midrash ("the house of the interpreter") without lighting on something new. But there lay a stage higher even than the Hagada. The mystical school of interpretation culminated in the *Kabbala* (reception, the received doctrine). Every letter, every number, became pregnant with mysteries. With the strangest possible distortion of its original meaning, the Greek word which had been the representative of the most exact of all sciences was chosen for the wildest of all interpretations. The Gematria (=γεωμετρία) showed to what depths the wrong path could lead men. The mind of the interpreter, obstinately shutting out the light of day, moved in its self-chosen darkness amid a world of fantastic Eidola (comp. Carpzov, *App. Crit.* i. 7; Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb. de Mess.* i. 4; Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge*, pp. 42-61; Jost, *Judenth.* iii. 65-81).

III. *History.*—(1.) The names of the earlier scribes passed away, as has been said, unrecorded. Simon the Just (circ. B.C. 300-290) appears as the last of the men of the Great Synagogue, the beginner of a new period. The memorable names of the times that followed—Antigonus of Socho, Zadok, Boethos—connect themselves with the rise of the first opposition to the traditional system which was growing up. [SADDUCEES.] The tenet of the Sadducees, however, never commanded the adhesion of more than a small minority. It tended, by maintaining the sufficiency of the letter of the Law, to destroy the very occupation of a Scribe, and the class, as such, belonged to the party of its opponents. The words "Scribes" and "Pharisees" were bound together by the closest possible alliance (Matt. xxiii. *passim*; Luke v. 30). [PHARISEES.] Within that party there were shades and subdivisions, and to understand their relation to each other in Our Lord's time, or their connexion with His life and teaching, we must look back to what is known of the five pairs (זוּגוֹת) of teachers who represented the scribal succession. Why two, and two only, are named in each case we can only conjecture, but the Rabbinic tradition that one was always the Nasi or President of the Sanhedrim as a council, the other the Ab-beth-din (Father of the House of Judgment), presiding in the supreme court, or in the Sanhedrim when it sat as such, is not improbable (Jost, *Judenth.* i. 160).

(2.) The two names that stand first in order are Joses ben-Joezer, a priest, and Joses ben-Jochanan (circ. B.C. 140-130). The precepts ascribed to them indicate a tendency to a greater elaboration of all rules connected with ceremonial defilement. Their desire to *separate* themselves and their disciples from all occasions of defilement may have furnished the starting-point for the name of Pharisee. The brave struggle with the Syrian kings had turned chiefly on questions of this nature, and it was the wish of the two teachers to prepare the people for any future conflict by founding a fraternity (the *Chaberim*, or associates) bound to the strictest observance of the Law. Every member of the order on his admission pledged himself to this in the presence of three *Chaberim*. They looked on each other as brothers. The rest of the nation they looked on as "the people of the earth." The spirit of Scribedom was growing. The precept associated with the name of Jose ben-Joezer, "Let thy house be the assembly-place for the wise; dust thyself with the dust of their feet; drink eagerly of their words," pointed to a further growth (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1; Jost, i. 233). It was hardly checked by the taunt of the Sadducees that "these Pharisees would purify the sun itself" (Jost, i. 217).

(3.) Joshua ben-Perachiah and Nithai of Arbela were contemporary with John Hyrcanus (circ B.C. 135-108), and enjoyed his favour till towards the close of his reign, when caprice or interest led him to pass over to the camp of the Sadducees. The saying ascribed to Joshua, "Take to thyself a teacher (*Rab*), get to thyself an associate (*Chaber*) judge every man on his better side" (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1), while its last clause attracts us by its candour, shows how easily even a fairminded man might come to recognise no bonds of fellowship outside the limits of his sect or order (Jost, i. 227-233).

(4.) The secession of Hyrcanus involved the

[1] Comp. *e.g.* the exposition which found in Laban and Balaam "going to their own place" (Gen. xxxi. 55; Num. xxiv. 25) an intimation of their being sentenced to Gehenna (Gill, *Comm. on Acts*, i. 25).

[2] A striking instance of this is seen in the history of John Hyrcanus. A Sadducee came to him with proofs of the disaffection of the Pharisees. The king asked, "What then am I to do?" "Crush them," was the answer. "But what then will become of the teaching of the Law?" "The Law is now in the hands of every man. They and they only, would keep it in a corner" (Jost, *Judenth* i. 235).

Pharisees, and therefore the Scribes as a class, in difficulties, and a period of confusion followed. The meetings of the Sanhedrim were suspended or became predominantly Sadducean. Under his successor, Alexander Jannai, the influence of Simon ben-Shetach over the queen-mother Salome re-established for a time the ascendancy of the Scribes. The Sanhedrim once again assembled, with none to oppose the dominant Pharisaic party. The day of meeting was observed afterwards as a festival only less solemn than those of Purim and the Dedication. The return of Alexander from his campaign against Gaza again turned the tables. Eight hundred Pharisees took refuge in a fortress, were besieged, taken, and put to death. Joshua ben-Perachiah, the venerable head of the order, was driven into exile. Simon ben-Shetach, his successor, had to earn his livelihood by spinning flax. The Sadducees failed, however, to win the confidence of the people. Having no body of oral traditions to fall back on, they began to compile a code. They were accused by their opponents of wishing to set up new laws on a level with those of Moses, and had to abandon the attempt. On the death of Jannai the influence of his widow Alexandra was altogether on the side of the Scribes, and Simon ben-Shetach and Judah ben-Tabbai entered on their work as joint teachers. Under them the juristic side of the Scribe's functions became prominent. Their rules turn chiefly on the laws of evidence (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1). In two memorable instances they showed what sacrifices they were prepared to make in support of those laws. Judah had, on one occasion, condemned false witnesses to death. His zeal against the guilt led him to neglect the rule which only permitted that penalty when it would have been the consequence of the original accusation. His colleague did not shrink from rebuking him, "Thou hast shed innocent blood." From that day Judah resolved never to give judgment without consulting Simon, and every day threw himself on the grave of the man he had condemned, imploring pardon. Simon, in his turn, showed a like sense of the supreme authority of the Law. His own son was brought before him as an offender, and he sentenced him to death. On the way to execution the witnesses confessed that they had spoken falsely; but the son, more anxious that they should suffer than that he himself should escape, turned round and entreated his father not to stop the completion of the sentence. The character of such a man could not fail to impress itself upon his followers. To its influence may probably be traced the indomitable courage in defence of the Temple, which won the admiration even of the Roman generals (Jost, i. 234-247).

(5.) The two that followed, Shemaiah and Abtalion (the names also appear under the form of Sameas, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9, §4, and Pollio, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1, §1), were conspicuous for another reason. Now, for the first time, the teachers who sat in Moses' seat were not even of the children of Abraham. Proselytes themselves, or the sons of proselytes, their pre-eminence in the knowledge of the Law raised them to this office. The jealousy of the high-priest was excited. As the people flocked round their favourite Rabbis when it was his function to pronounce the blessing, he looked round and, turning his benediction into a sarcasm, said, with a marked emphasis, "May the sons of the *alien* walk in peace!" The answer of the two teachers expressed the feeling of scorn with which the one order was beginning to look upon the other: "Yes, the sons of the alien shall indeed walk in peace, for they do the work of peace. Not so the son of Aaron who follows not in the footsteps of his father." Here also we have some significant sayings. The growing love of titles of honour was checked by Shemaiah by the counsel that "men should love the work, but hate the Rabbiship." The tendency to new opinions (the fruits, probably, of the freer exposition of the *Hagada*) was rebuked by Abtalion in a precept which enwraps a parable, "Take good heed to thy words, lest, if thou wander, thou light upon a place where the wells are poisoned, and thy scholars who come after thee drink deep thereof and die" (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1). The lot of these two also was cast upon evil days. They had courage to attempt to check the rising power of Herod in his bold defiance of the Sanhedrim (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9, §3). When he showed himself to be irresistible they had the wisdom to submit, and were suffered to continue their work in peace. Its glory was, however, in great measure, gone. The doors of their school were no longer thrown open to all comers so that crowds might listen to the teacher. A fixed fee[m] had to be paid on entrance. The regulation was probably intended to discourage the attendance of the young men of Jerusalem at the Scribes' classes; and apparently it had that effect (Jost, i. 248-253). On the death of Shemaiah and Abtalion there were no qualified successors to take their place. Two sons of Bethera, otherwise unknown, for a time occupied it, but they were themselves conscious of their incompetence. A question was brought before them which neither they nor any of the other Scribes could answer. At last they asked, in their perplexity, "Was there none present who had been a disciple of the two who had been so honoured?" The question was answered by Hillel the Babylonian, known also, then or afterwards, as the son of David. He solved the difficulty, appealed to principles, and, when they demanded authority as well as argument, ended by saying, "So have I heard from my masters Shemaiah and Abtalion." This was decisive. The sons of Bethera withdrew. Hillel was invited by acclamation to enter on his high office. His alleged descent from the house of David may have added to his popularity.

(6.) The name of Hillel (born circ. B.C. 112) has hardly received the notice due to it from students of the Gospel history.[n] The noblest and most genial representative of his order, we may see in him the best fruit which the system of the Scribes was capable of producing.[o] It is instructive to

[m] The amount is uncertain. The story of Hillel (*infra*) represents it as half a *stater*, but it is doubtful whether the *stater* here is equal to twice the *didrachma* or to half (Comp. Geiger, *De Hillele et Shammai*, in Ugolini, *Thes.* xxi.). It was, at any rate, half the day's wages of a skilled labourer.

[n] The exhaustive treatise by Geiger in Ugolini, *Thes.* xxi. must be mentioned as an exception.

[o] The reverence of later Jews for Hillel is shown in some curious forms. To him it was given to understand the speech of animals as well as of men. He who hearkened not to the words of Hillel was worthy of death. (Geiger, *ut supra.*) Of him too it was said that the Divine Shechinah rested on him: if the heavens were parchment, and all the trees of the earth pens, and all the sea ink, it would not be enough to write down his wisdom (Comp

mark at once how far he prepared the way for the higher teaching which was to follow, how far he inevitably fell short of it. The starting-point of his career is told in a tale which, though deformed by Rabbinic exaggerations, is yet fresh and genial enough. The young student had come from Golah in Babylonia to study under Shemaiah and Abtalion. He was poor and had no money. The new rule requiring payment was in force. For the most part he worked for his livelihood, kept himself with half his earnings, and paid the rest as the fee to the college-porter. On one day, however, he had failed to find employment. The doorkeeper refused him entrance; but his zeal for knowledge was not to be baffled. He stationed himself outside, under a window, to catch what he could of the words of the Scribes within. It was winter, and the snow began to fall, but he remained there still. It fell till it lay upon him six cubits high (!) and the window was darkened and blocked up. At last the two teachers noticed it, sent out to see what caused it, and when they found out, received the eager scholar without payment. "For such a man," said Shemaiah, "one might even break the Sabbath" (Geiger, *ut supra*; Jost, i. 254). In the earlier days of his activity Hillel had as his colleague Menahem, probably the same as the Essene Manaen of Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 10, §5). He, however, was tempted by the growing power of Herod, and, with a large number (eighty in the Rabbinic tradition) of his followers, entered the king's service and abandoned at once their calling as Scribes and their habits of devotion. They appeared publicly in the gorgeous apparel, glittering with gold, which was inconsistent with both [p] (Jost, i. 259). The place thus vacant was soon filled by Shammai. The two were held in nearly equal honour. One, in Jewish language, was the Nasi, the other the Ab-beth-din of the Sanhedrim. They did not teach, however, as their predecessors had done, in entire harmony with each other. Within the party of the Pharisees, within the order of the Scribes, there came for the first time to be two schools with distinctly opposed tendencies, one vehemently, rigidly orthodox, the other orthodox also, but with an orthodoxy which, in the language of modern politics, might be classed as Liberal Conservative. The points on which they differed were almost innumerable (comp. Geiger, *ut supra*). In most of them, questions as to the causes and degrees of uncleanness, as to the law of contracts or of wills, we can find little or no interest. On the former class of subjects the school of Shammai represented the extremest development of the Pharisaic spirit. Everything that could possibly have been touched by a heathen or an unclean Israelite, became itself unclean. "Defilement" was as a contagious disease which it was hardly possible to avoid even with the careful scrupulosity described in Mark vii. 1-4. They were, in like manner, rigidly sabbatarian. It was unlawful to do anything before the Sabbath which would, in any sense, be in operation during it, *e. g.* to put cloth into a dye-vat, or nets into the sea. It was unlawful on the Sabbath itself to give money to the poor, or to teach children, or to visit the sick. They maintained the marriage law in its strictness, and held that nothing but the adultery of the wife could justify repudiation (Jost, i. 257-269). We must not think of them, however, as rigid and austere in their lives. The religious world of Judaism presented the inconsistencies which it has often presented since. The "straitest sect" was also the most secular. Shamnai himself was said to be rich, luxurious, self-indulgent. Hillel remained to the day of his death as poor as in his youth (Geiger, *l. c.*).

(7.) The teaching of Hillel showed some capacity for wider thoughts. His personal character was more loveable and attractive. While on the one side he taught as from a mind well stored with the traditions of the elders, he was, on the other, anything but a slavish follower of those traditions. He was the first to lay down principles for an equitable construction of the Law with a dialectic precision which seems almost to imply a Greek culture (Jost, i. 257). When the letter of a law, as *e. g.* that of the year of release, was no longer suited to the times, and was working, so far as it was kept at all, only for evil, he suggested an interpretation which met the difficulty or practically set it aside. His teaching as to divorce was in like manner an adaptation to the temper of the age. It was lawful for a man to put away his wife for any cause of disfavour, even for so slight an offence as that of spoiling his dinner by her bad cooking [q] (Geiger, *l. c.*). The genial character of the man comes out in some of his sayings, which remind us of the tone of Jesus the son of Sirach, and present some faint approximations to a higher teaching: "Trust not thyself to the day of thy death." "Judge not thy neighbour till thou art in his place." "Leave nothing dark and obscure, saying to thyself, I will explain it when I have time; for how knowest thou whether the time will come?" (comp. James iv. 13-15). "He who gains a good name gains it for himself, but he who gains a knowledge of the Law gains everlasting life" (comp. John v. 39; *Pirke Aboth*, ii. 5-8). In one memorable rule we find the nearest approach that had as yet been made to the great commandment of the Gospel: "Do nothing to thy neighbour that thou wouldest not that he should do to thee." [r]

John xxi. 25). (See Heubner, *De Academiis Hebraeorum*, in Ugolini, *Thes.* xxi.)

[p] We may perhaps find in this fact an explanation which gives a special force to words that have hitherto been interpreted somewhat vaguely. When our Lord contrasted the stedfastness and austerity of the Baptist with the lives of those who wore soft clothing, were gorgeously apparelled, and lived delicately in kings' houses (Matt. xi. 3; Luke vii. 24), those who heard Him may at once have recognised the picture. In the multitude of uncertain guesses as to the Herodians of the Gospels (Matt. xxii. 16) we may be permitted to hazard the conjecture that they may be identified with the party, perhaps rather with the clique, of Menahem and his followers (Geiger, *ut sup.*; Otho, *Hist. Doctorum Mishicorum*, in Ugolini, *Thes.* xxi.). The fact that the stern, sharp words of a divine scorn which have been quoted above, meet us just after the first combination of Herodians and Pharisees, gives it a strong confirmation (comp. Mark iii. 6; Luke vi. 11, vii. 19).

[q] It is fair to add that a great Rabbinic scholar maintains that this "spoiling the dinner" was a well-known figurative phrase for conduct which brought shame or discredit on the husband (Jost, i. 264).

[r] The history connected with this saying is too charmingly characteristic to be passed over. A proselyte came to Shammai and begged for some instruction in the Law if it were only for as long as he, the learner, could stand on one foot. The Scribe was angry, and drove him away harshly. He went to Hillel with the same request. He received the inquirer benignantly and gave him the precept above quoted, adding—"Do this, and thou hast fulfilled the Law and the Prophets (Geiger *ut supra*).

(8.) The contrast showed itself in the conduct of the followers not less than in the teachers. The disciples of Shammai were conspicuous for their fierceness, appealed to popular passions, used the sword to decide their controversies. Out of that school grew the party of the Zealots, fierce, fanatical, vindictive, the Orangemen of Pharisaism (Jost, 267-269). Those of Hillel were, like their master (comp. *e. g.* the advice of Gamaliel, Acts v. 34-42), cautious, gentle, tolerant, unwilling to make enemies, content to let things take their course. One school resisted, the other was disposed to foster the study of Greek literature. One sought to impose upon the proselyte from heathenism the full burden of the Law, the other that he should be treated with some sympathy and indulgence. (PROSELYTE.] One subject of debate between the schools exhibits the contrast as going deeper than these questions, touching upon the great problems of the universe. "Was the state of man so full of misery that it would have been better for him never to have been? Or was this life, with all its suffering, still the gift of God, to be valued and used as a training for something higher than itself?" The school of Shammai took, as might be expected, the darker, that of Hillel the brighter and the wiser view (Jost, i. p. 264).

(9.) Outwardly the teaching of our Lord must have appeared to men different in many ways from both. While they repeated the traditions of the elders, He "spake as one having authority," "not as the Scribes" (Matt. vii. 29; comp. the constantly recurring "I say unto you"). While they confined their teaching to the class of scholars, He "had compassion on the multitudes" (Matt. ix. 36). While they were to be found only in the council or in their schools, He journeyed through the cities and villages (Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35, &c., &c.). While they spoke of the kingdom of God vaguely, as a thing far off, He proclaimed that it had already come nigh to men (Matt. iv. 17). But in most of the points at issue between the two parties, He must have appeared in direct antagonism to the school of Shammai, in sympathy with that of Hillel. In the questions that gathered round the law of the Sabbath (Matt. xii. 1-14, and 2 John v. 1-16, &c.), and the idea of purity (Matt. xv. 1-11, and its parallels), this was obviously the case. Even in the controversy about divorce, while His chief work was to assert the truth which the disputants on both sides were losing sight of, He recognised, it must be remembered, the rule of Hillel as being a true interpretation of the Law (Matt. xix. 8). When He summed up the great commandment in which the Law and the Prophets were fulfilled, He reproduced and ennobled the precept which had been given by that teacher to his disciples (Matt. vii. 12, xxii. 34-40). So far, on the other hand, as the temper of the Hillel school was one of mere adaptation to the feeling of the people, cleaving to tradition, wanting in the intuition of a higher life, the teaching of Christ must have been felt as unsparingly condemning it.

(10.) It adds to the interest of this inquiry to remember that Hillel himself lived, according to the tradition of the Rabbis, to the great age of 120, and may therefore have been present among the doctors of Luke ii. 46, and that Gamaliel, his grandson and successor,* was at the head of this school during the whole of the ministry of Christ, as well as in the early portion of the history of the Acts. We are thus able to explain the fact, which so many passages in the Gospels lead us to infer, the existence all along of a party among the Scribes themselves, more or less disposed to recognise Jesus of Nazareth as a teacher (John iii. 1; Mark x. 17), not far from the kingdom of God (Mark xii. 34), advocates of a policy of toleration (John vii. 51), but, on the other hand, timid and time-serving, unable to confess even their half-belief (John xii. 42), afraid to take their stand against the strange alliance of extremes which brought together the Sadducean section of the priesthood and the ultra-Pharisaic followers of Shammai. When the last great crisis came, they apparently contented themselves with a policy of absence (Luke xxiii. 50, 51), possibly were not even summoned, and thus the Council which condemned our Lord was a packed meeting of the confederate parties, not a formally constituted Sanhedrim. All its proceedings, the hasty investigation, the immediate sentence, were vitiated by irregularity (Jost, i. pp. 407-409). Afterwards, when the fear of violence was once over, and popular feeling had turned, we find Gamaliel summoning courage to maintain openly the policy of a tolerant expectation (Acts v. 34).

IV. *Education and Life.* — (1.) The special training for a Scribe's office began, probably, about the age of thirteen. According to the *Pirke Aboth* (v. 24) the child began to read the Mikra at five and the Mishna at ten. Three years later every Israelite became a child of the Law (*Bar-Mitsvah*), and was bound to study and obey it. The great mass of men rested in the scanty teaching of their synagogues, in knowing and repeating their Tephillim, the texts inscribed on their phylacteries. For the boy who was destined by his parents, or who devoted himself, to the calling of a Scribe, something more was required. He made his way to Jerusalem, and applied for admission to the school of some famous Rabbi. If he were poor, it was the duty of the synagogue of his town or village to provide for the payment of his fees, and in part also for his maintenance. His power to learn was tested by an examination on entrance. If he passed it he became a "chosen one" (בחור, comp. John xv. 16), and entered on his work as a disciple (Carpzov, *App. Crit.* i. 7). The master and his scholars met, the former sitting on a high chair, the elder pupils (תלמידים) on a lower bench, the younger (קטנים) on the ground, both literally "at his feet." The class-room might be the chamber of the Temple set apart for this purpose, or the private school of the Rabbi. In addition to the Rabbi, or head master, there were assistant teachers, and one interpreter, or crier, whose function it was to proclaim aloud to the whole school what the Rabbi had spoken in a whisper

* Rabbi Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, came between them, but apparently for a short time only. The question whether he is to be identified with the Simeon of Luke ii. 25, is one which we have not sufficient data to determine. Most commentators answer it in the negative. There seem, however, some probabilities on the other side. One trained in the school of Hillel might not unnaturally be looking for the "consolation of Israel." Himself of the house and lineage of David, he would readily accept the inward witness which pointed to a child of that house as "the Lord's Christ." There is something significant, too, in the silence of Rabbinic literature. In the *Pirke Aboth* he is not even named. Comp. Otho, *Hist. Doct. Miss.* in Ugolini xxi.

(comp. Matt. x. 27). The education was chiefly catechetical, the pupil submitting cases and asking questions, the teacher examining the pupil (Luke ii.). The questions might be ethical, "What was the great commandment of all? What must a man do to inherit eternal life?" or casuistic, "What might a man do or leave undone on the Sabbath?" or ceremonial, "What did or did not render him unclean?"[t] In due time the pupil passed on to the laws of property, of contracts, and of evidence. So far he was within the circle of the Halachah, the simple exposition of the traditional "Words of the Scribes." He might remain content with this, or might pass on to the higher knowledge of the Beth-ham-Midrash, with its inexhaustible stores of mystical interpretation. In both cases, pre-eminently in the latter, parables entered largely into the method of instruction. The teacher uttered the similitude, and left it to his hearers to interpret for themselves. [PARABLES.] That the relation between the two was often one of genial and kindly feeling, we may infer from the saying of one famous Scribe, "I have learnt much from the Rabbis my teachers, I have learnt more from the Rabbis my colleagues, I have learnt most of all from my disciples" (Carpzov, *App. Crit.* i. 7).

(2.) After a sufficient period of training, probably at the age of thirty,[u] the probationer was solemnly admitted to his office. The presiding Rabbi pronounced the formula, "I admit thee, and thou art admitted to the Chair of the Scribe," solemnly ordained him by the imposition of hands (the סמיכה = *χειροθεσία*),[x] and gave to him, as the symbol of his work, tablets on which he was to note down the sayings of the wise, and the "key of knowledge" (comp. Luke xi. 52), with which he was to open or to shut the treasures of Divine wisdom. So admitted, he took his place as a *Chaber*, or member of the fraternity, was no longer *ἀγράμματος καὶ ἰδιώτης* (Acts iv. 13), was separated entirely from the multitude, the brute herd that knew not the Law, the "cursed" "people of the earth" (John vii. 15, 49).[y]

(3.) There still remained for the disciple after his admission the choice of a variety of functions, the chances of failure and success. He might give himself to any one of the branches of study, or combine two or more of them. He might rise to high places, become a doctor of the law, an arbitrator in family litigations (Luke xii. 14), the head of a school, a member of the Sanhedrim. He might have to content himself with the humbler work of a transcriber, copying the Law and the Prophets for the use of synagogues, or Tephillim for that of the devout (Otho, *Lexic. Rabbin.* s. v. *Phylacteria*), or a notary writing out contracts of sale, covenants of espousals, bills of repudiation. The position of the more fortunate was of course attractive enough. Theoretically, indeed, the office of the Scribe was not to be a source of wealth. It is doubtful how far the fees paid by the pupils were appropriated by the teacher (Buxtorf, *Synag. Judaic.* cap. 46). The great Hillel worked as a day-labourer. St. Paul's work as a tentmaker, our Lord's work as a carpenter, were quite compatible with the popular conception of the most honoured Rabbi. The indirect payments were, however, considerable enough. Scholars brought gifts. Rich and devout widows maintained a Rabbi as an act of piety, often to the injury of their own kindred (Matt. xxiii. 14). Each act of the notary's office, or the arbitration of the jurist, would be attended by an honorarium.

(4.) In regard to social position there was a like contradiction between theory and practice. The older Scribes had had no titles [RABBI]; Shemaiah, as we have seen, warned his disciples against them. In our Lord's time the passion for distinction was insatiable. The ascending scale of Rab, Rabbi. Rabban (we are reminded of our own Reverend, Very Reverend, Right Reverend), presented so many steps on the ladder of ambition (Serupius, *de tit. Rabbi*, in Ugolini xxii.). Other forms of worldliness were not far off.[z] The salutations in the market-place (Matt. xxiii. 7), the reverential kiss offered by the scholars to their master, or by Rabbis to each other, the greeting of Abba, father (Matt. xxiii. 9, and Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in loc.), the long *στολαί*, as contrasted with the simple *χίτων* and *ἱμάτιον* of our Lord and His disciples, with the broad blue Zizith or fringe (the *κράσπεδον* of Matt. xxiii. 5), the Tephillim of ostentatious size, all these go to make up the picture of a Scribe's life. Drawing to themselves, as they did, nearly all the energy and thought of Judaism, the close hereditary caste of the priesthood was powerless to compete with them. Unless the priest became a Scribe also, he remained in obscurity. The order, as such, became contemptible and base.[a] For the Scribes there were the best places at feasts, the chief seats in synagogues (Matt. xxiii. 6; Luke xiv. 7).

(5.) The character of the order was marked under these influences by a deep, incurable hypocrisy, all the more perilous because, in most cases, it was unconscious. We must not infer from this that all were alike tainted, or that the work which they had done, and the worth of their office, were not recognised by Him who rebuked them for their evil. Some there were not far from the kingdom of God, taking their place side by side with prophets and wise men, among the instruments by which the wisdom of God was teaching men (Matt. xxiii. 34). The name was still honourable. The Apostles themselves were to be Scribes in the kingdom of God (Matt. xiii. 52). The Lord himself did not refuse the salutations which hailed Him as a Rabbi. In

[t] We are left to wonder what were the questions and answers of the school-room of Luke ii. 46, but those proposed to our Lord by his own disciples, or by the Scribes, as tests of his proficiency, may fairly be taken as types of what was commonly discussed. The Apocryphal Gospels, as usual, mock our curiosity with the most irritating puerilities. (Comp. *Evangel. Infant.* c. 45, in Tischendorf, *Codex Apoc. N. T.*)

[u] This is inferred by Schoettgen (*Hor. Heb.* l. c.) from the analogy of the Levite's office, and from the fact that the Baptist and our Lord both entered on their ministry at this age.

[x] It was said of Hillel that he placed a limit on this practice. It had been exercised by any Scribe. After his time it was reserved for the Nasi or President of the Sanhedrim (Geiger, *ut supra*).

[y] For all the details in the above section, and many others, comp. the elaborate treatises by Ursinus, *Antiqq. Heb.*, and Heubner, *De Academiis Hebraeorum*, in Ugolini *Thes.* xxi.

[z] The later Rabbinic saying that "the disciples of the wise have a right to a goodly house, a fair wife, and a soft couch," reflected probably the luxury of an earlier time (Ursini, *Antiqq. Heb.* cap. 5, *ut supra*.)

[a] The feeling is curiously prominent in the Rabbinic scale of precedence. The Wise Man, i. e. the Rabbi, is higher than the High Priest himself. (Chem. Rieros *Horaioth*, f. 84.)

"Zenas the lawyer" (*νομικός*, Tit. iii. 13) and Apollos "mighty in the Scriptures," sent apparently for the special purpose of dealing with the *μάχαι νομικαί* which prevailed at Crete (Tit. iii. 9), we may recognise the work which members of the order were capable of doing for the edifying of the Church of Christ (comp. Winer, *Realwb.*, and Herzog's *Encyclop.* "Schriftgelehrte"). [E. H. P.]

SCRIP (יַלְקוּט: *συλλογή*, *πηρά*: *pera*). The Hebrew word[a] thus translated appears in 1 Sam. xvii. 40, as a synonyme for כְּלֵי הָרֹעִים (*τὸ κάδιον τὸ ποιμενικόν*), the bag in which the shepherds of Palestine carried their food or other necessaries. In Symmachus and the Vulg. *pera*, and in the marginal reading of A. V. "scrip," appear in 2 K. iv. 42, for the צִקְלוֹן, which in the text of the A. V. is translated *husk* (comp. Gesen. s. v.). The *πήρα* of the N. T. appears in our Lord's command to his disciples as distinguished from the *ζώνη* (Matt. x. 10; Mark vi. 8) and the *βαλλάντιον* (Luke x. 4, xxii. 35, 36), and its nature and use are sufficiently defined by the lexicographers. The scrip of the Galilean peasants was of leather, used especially to carry their food on a journey (*ἡ θηκὴ τῶν ἄρτων*, Suid.; *δέρμα τι ἀρτόφορον*, Ammon.), and slung over their shoulders. In the Talmudic writers the word תרמיל is used as denoting the same thing, and is named as part of the equipment both of shepherds in their common life and of proselytes coming on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. x. 10). The *ζώνη*, on the other hand, was the loose girdle, in the folds of which money was often kept for the sake of safety [GIRDLE]; the *βαλλάντιον* (*sacculus*, Vulg.), the smaller bag used exclusively for money (Luke xii. 33). The command given to the Twelve first, and afterwards to the Seventy, involved therefore an absolute dependance upon God for each day's wants. They were to appear in every town or village, as men unlike all other travellers, freely doing without that which others looked on as essential. The fresh rule given in Luke xxii. 35, 36, perhaps also the facts that Judas was the bearer of the bag (*γλωσσόκομον*, John xii. 6), and that when the disciples were without bread they were ashamed of their forgetfulness (Mark viii. 14-16), show that the command was not intended to be permanent.

The English word has a meaning precisely equivalent to that of the Greek. Connected, as it probably is, with *scrape*, *scrap*, the scrip was used for articles of food. It belonged especially to shepherds (*As You Like It*, act iii. sc. 2). It was made of leather (Milton, *Comus*, 626). A similar article is still used by the Syrian shepherds (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 109). The later sense of *scrip* as a written certificate, is, it need hardly be said, of different origin or meaning; the word, on its first use in English, was written "*script*" (Chaucer). [E. H. P.]

SCRIPTURE (כְּתָב, Dan. x. 21: *γραφή*, *γράμματα*, 2 Tim. iii. 16: *Scriptura*). The chief facts relating to the books to which, individually and collectively, this title has been applied, will be found under BIBLE and CANON. It will fall within the scope of this article to trace the history of the word, and to determine its exact meaning in the language of the O. and N. T.

(1.) It is not till the return from the Captivity that the word meets us with any distinctive force. In the earlier books we read of the Law, the Book of the Law. In Ex. xxxii. 16, the Commandments written on the tables of testimony are said to be "the writing of God" (*γραφὴ θεοῦ*), but there is no special sense in the word taken by itself. In the passage from Dan. x. 21 (*ἐν γραφῇ ἀληθείας*), where the A. V. has "the Scripture of Truth," the words do not probably mean more than "a true writing." The thought of *the* Scripture as a whole is hardly to be found in them. This first appears in 2 Chr. xxx. 5, 18 (כַּכָּתוּב, *κατὰ τὴν γραφήν*, LXX., "as it was written," A. V.), and is probably connected with the profound reverence for the Sacred Books which led the earlier Scribes to confine their own teaching to oral tradition, and gave therefore to "the Writing" a distinctive pre-eminence. [SCRIBES.] The same feeling showed itself in the constant formula of quotation, "It is written," often without the addition of any words defining the passage quoted (Matt. iv. 4, 6, xxi. 13, xxvi. 24). The Greek word, as will be seen, kept its ground in this sense. A slight change passed over that of the Hebrew, and led to the substitution of another. The כְּתוּבִים (*cĕthûbîm* = writings), in the Jewish arrangement of the O. T., was used for a part and not the whole of the O. T. (the Hagiographa; comp. BIBLE), while another form of the same root (*cĕthîb*) came to have a technical significance as applied to the text, which, though written in the MSS. of the Hebrew Scriptures, might or might not be recognised as *kĕri*, the right intelligible reading to be read in the congregation. Another word was therefore wanted, and it was found in the *Mikra'* (מִקְרָא, Neh. viii. 8), or "reading," the thing read or recited, recitation.[b] This accordingly we find as the equivalent for the collective *γραφαί*. The boy at the age of five begins the study of the *Mikra*, at ten passes on to the *Mishna* (*Pirke Aboth*, v. 24). The old word has not however disappeared, and הַכָּתוּב, "the Writing," is used with the same connotation (ibid. iii. 10).

(2.) With this meaning the word *γραφή* passed into the language of the N. T. Used in the singular it is applied chiefly to this or that passage quoted from the O. T. (Mark xii. 10; John vii. 38, xiii. 18, xix. 37; Luke iv. 21; Rom. ix. 17; Gal. iii. 8, *et al.*). In Acts viii. 32 (*ἡ περιοχὴ τῆς γραφῆς*) it takes a somewhat larger extension, as denoting the *writing* of Isaiah; but in ver. 35 the more limited meaning reappears. In two passages of some difficulty, some have seen the wider, some the narrower sense. (1.) *Πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος* (2 Tim. iii. 16) has been translated in the A. V. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God," as though *γραφή*, though without the article, were taken as equivalent to the O. T. as a whole (comp. *πᾶσα οἰκοδομή*, Eph. ii. 21; *πᾶσα Ἱερασόλυμα*, Matt. ii. 3), and *θεόπνευστος*, the predicate asserted of it. Retaining the narrower meaning, however, we might still take *θεόπνευστος* as the

[a] *Yalkut*, the scrip, is the quaint title of some of the most learned of the Rabbinical treatises: for instance, the *Yalkut Shimoni*, a miscellaneous collection of fragmentary comments on the whole of the O.T., consisting of extracts from more than fifty older Jewish works (Zunz, *Gottesd. Vorträge*, cap. 18).

[b] The same root, it may be noticed, is found in the title of the Sacred Book of Islam (Koran = recitation).

predicate. "Every Scripture—*sc.* every separate portion—is divinely inspired." It has been urged, however, that this assertion of a truth, which both St. Paul and Timothy held in common, would be less suitable to the context than the assigning that truth as a ground for the further inference drawn from it; and so there is a preponderance of authority in favour of the rendering, "Every *γραφή*, being inspired, is also profitable, . . ." (comp. Meyer, Alford, Wordsworth, Ellicott, Wiesinger, *in loc.*). There does not seem any ground for making the meaning of *γραφή* dependent on the adjective *θεόπνευστος* ("every inspired writing"), as though we recognised a *γραφή* not inspired. The *usus loquendi* of the N. T. is uniform in this respect; and the word *γραφή* is never used of any common or secular writing.

(2.) The meaning of the genitive in *πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς* (2 Pet. i. 20) seems at first sight, anarthrous though it be, distinctly collective. "Every prophecy of, *i. e.* contained in, the O. T. Scripture." A closer examination of the passage will perhaps lead to a different conclusion. The Apostle, after speaking of the vision on the holy mount, goes on, "We have as something yet firmer, the prophetic word" (here, probably, including the utterances of N. T. *προφῆται*, as well as the writings of the O. T.[c]). Men did well to give heed to that word. They needed one caution in dealing with it. They were to remember that no *προφητεία γραφῆς*, no such prophetic utterance starting from, resting on a *γραφή*,[d] came from the *ἰδία ἐπίλυσις*, the individual power of interpretation of the speaker, but was, like the *γραφή* itself, inspired. It was the law of *προφητεία*, of the later as well as the earlier, that men of God spake, "borne along by the Holy Spirit."

(3.) In the plural, as might be expected, the collective meaning is prominent. Sometimes we have simply *αἱ γραφαί* (Matt. xxi. 42, xxii. 29; John v. 39; Acts xvii. 11; 1 Cor. xv. 3). Sometimes *πᾶσαι αἱ γραφαί* (Luke xxiv. 27). The epithets *ἅγιαι* (Rom. i. 2), *προφητικαί* (Rom. xvi. 26), are sometimes joined with it. In 2 Pet. iii. 16, we find an extension of the term to the Epistles of St. Paul; but it remains uncertain whether *αἱ λοιπαὶ γραφαί* are the Scriptures of the O. T. exclusively, or include other writings, then extant, dealing with the same topics. There seems little doubt that such writings did exist. A comparison of Rom. xvi. 26 with Eph. iii. 5, might even suggest the conclusion, that in both there is the same assertion, that what had not been revealed before was now manifested by the Spirit to the apostles and *prophets* of the Church; and so that the "prophetic writings" to which St. Paul refers, are, like the spoken words of N. T. prophets, those that reveal things not made known before, the knowledge of the mystery of Christ.

It is noticeable, that in the 2nd Epistle of Clement of Rome (c. xi.) we have a long citation of this nature, not from the O. T., quoted as *ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος* (comp. 2 Pet. i. 19), and that in the 1st Epistle (c. xxiii.) the same is quoted as *ἡ γραφή*. Looking to the special fulness of the prophetic gifts in the Church of Corinth (1 Cor. i. 5, xiv. 1), it is obviously probable that some of the spoken prophecies would be committed to writing; and it is a striking coincidence, that both the apostolic and the post-apostolic references are connected, first with that Church, and next with that of Rome, which was so largely influenced by it.

(4.) In one passage, *τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα* (2 Tim. iii. 15) answers to "The Holy Scriptures" of the A. V. Taken by itself, the word might, as in John vii. 15, Acts xxvi. 24, have a wider range, including the whole circle of Rabbinic education. As determined, however, by the use of other Hellenistic writers, Philo (*Leg. ad Caium*, vol. ii. p. 574, ed. Mang.), Josephus (*Ant. prooem.* 3, x. 10, §4; *c. Apion.* i. 26), there can be no doubt that it is accurately translated with this special meaning. [E. H. P.]

SCYTHIAN (*Σκύθης*: *Scytha*) occurs in Col. iii. 11 as a generalised term for rude, ignorant, degraded. In the Gospel, says Paul, "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all." The same view of Scythian barbarism appears in 2 Macc. iv. 47, and 3 Macc. vii. 5. For the geographical and ethnographical relations of the term, see *Dict. of Geog.* ii. pp. 936-945. The Scythians dwelt mostly on the north of the Black Sea and the Caspian, stretching thence indefinitely into inner Asia, and were regarded by the ancients as standing extremely low in point of intelligence and civilisation. Josephus (*c. Apion.* ii. 37) says, *Σκύθαι δὲ φόνοις χαίροντες ἀνθρώπων καὶ βραχὺ τῶν θηρίων διαφέροντες*; and Parmenio (*ap.* Athen. v. p. 221), *ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἔλκων οἶνον, ὡς ὕδωρ ἵππος Σκυθιστὶ φωνεῖ, οὐδὲ κάππα γιγνώσκων.* For other similar testimonies see Wetstein, *Nov. Test.* vol. ii. p. 292. Perhaps it may be inferred from Col. iii. 11 that there were Scythians also among the early converts to Christianity. Many of this people lived in Greek and Roman lands, and could have heard the Gospel there, even if some of the first preachers had not already penetrated into Scythia itself.

Herodotus states (i. 103-105) that the Scythians made an incursion through Palestine into Egypt, under Psammetichus, the contemporary of Josiah. In this way some would account for the Greek name of Bethshean, *Scythopolis*. [H. B. H.]

SCYTHOP'OLIS (*Σκυθῶν πόλις*: Peshito-Syriac, *Beisan*: *civitas Scytharum*), that is, "the city of the Scythians," occurs in the A. V. of Jud. iii. 10 and 2 Macc. xii. 29 only. In the LXX. of Judg. i. 27, however, it is inserted (in both the great MSS.) as the synonym of BETHSHEAN, and this identification is confirmed by the narrative of 1 Macc. v. 52, a parallel account to that of 2 Macc. xii. 29, as well as by the repeated statements of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §22, vi. 14, §8, xii. 8, §5). He uniformly gives the name in the contracted shape (*Σκυθόπολις*) in which it is also given by Eusebius (*Onom.* passim), Pliny (*H. N.* v. 18), Strabo (xvi.), &c. &c., and which is inaccurately followed in the A. V. Polybius (v. 70, 4) employs the fuller form of

[c] *ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος* is used by Philo of the words of Moses (*Leg. Alleg.* iii. 14, vol. i. p. 95, ed. Mang.). He, of course, could recognize no prophets but those of the O. T. Clement of Rome (ii. 11) uses it of a prophecy not included in the Canons.

[d] So in the only other instance in which the genitive is found (Rom. xv. 4), *ἡ παράκλησις τῶν γραφῶν* is the counsel, admonition, drawn from the Scriptures. *Λόγος παρακλήσεως* appears in Acts xiii. 15 as the received term for such an address, the Sermon of the Synagogue. *Παράκλησις* itself was so closely allied with *προφητεία* (comp. Barnabas = *υἱὸς προφητείας* = *υἱὸς παρακλήσεως*), that the expressions of the two Apostles may be regarded as substantially identical.

the LXX. Bethshean has now, like so many other places in the Holy Land, regained its ancient name, and is known as *Beisân* only. A mound close to it on the west is called *Tell Shûk*, in which it is perhaps just possible that a trace of Scythopolis may linger.

But although there is no doubt whatever of the identity of the place, there is considerable difference of opinion as to the origin of the [a] name. The LXX. (as is evident from the form in which they present it) and Pliny (*N. H.* v. 16 [b]) attribute it to the Scythians, who in the words of the Byzantine historian George Syncellus, "overran Palestine, and took possession of Baisan, which from them is called Scythopolis." This has been in modern times generally referred to the invasion recorded by Herodotus (i. 104-6), when the Scythians, after their occupation of Media, passed through Palestine on their road to Egypt (about B.C. 600—a few years before the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar), a statement now recognised as a real fact, though some of the details may be open to question (*Dict. of Geogr.* ii. 940*b*; Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 246). It is not at all improbable that either on their passage through, or on their return after being repulsed by Psammetichus (Herod. i. 105), some Scythians may have settled in the country (Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 694, *note*); and no place would be more likely to attract them than *Beisan*—fertile, most abundantly watered, and in an excellent military position. In the then state of the Holy Land they would hardly meet with much resistance.

Reland, however (apparently incited thereto by his doubts of the truth of Herodotus' account), discarded this explanation, and suggested that Scythopolis was a corruption of Succothopolis—the chief town of the district of Succoth. In this he is supported by Gesenius (*Notes to Burckhardt*, 1058) and by Grimm (*Exeg. Handbuch* on 1 Macc. v. 52). Since, however, the objection of Reland to the historical truth of Herodotus is now removed, the necessity for this suggestion (certainly most ingenious) seems not to exist. The distance of Succoth from *Beisan*, if we identify it with *Sakût*, is 10 miles, while if the arguments of Mr. Beke are valid it would be nearly double as far. And it is surely gratuitous to suppose that so large, independent, and important a town as Bethshean was in the earlier history, and as the remains show it to have been in the Greek period, should have taken its name from a comparatively insignificant place at a long distance from it. Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* iii. 330) remarks with justice, that had the Greeks derived the name from Succoth they would have employed that name in its translated form as Σκηναί, and the compound would have been Scenopolis. Reland's derivation is also dismissed without hesitation by Ewald, on the ground that the two names Succoth and Skythes have nothing in common (*Gesch.* iii. 694, *note*). Dr. Robinson suggests that, after all, *City of the Scythians* may be right; the word *Scythia* being used as in the N. T. as equivalent to a barbarian or savage. In this sense he thinks it may have been applied to the wild Arabs, who then, as now, inhabited the *Ghôr*, and at times may have had possession of Bethshean.

The Canaanites were never expelled from Bethshean, and the heathen appear to have always maintained a footing there. It is named in the *Mishna* as the seat of idolatry (Mishna, *Aboda Zara*, i. 4), and as containing a double population of Jews and heathens. At the beginning of the Roman war (A.D. 65) the heathen rose against the Jews and massacred a large number, according to Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 18, §3) no less than 13,000, in a wood or grove close to the town. Scythopolis was the largest city of the Decapolis, and the only one of the ten which lay west of Jordan. By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* "Bethsan") it is characterised as πόλις ἐπίδημος and *urbs nobilis*. It was surrounded by a district of its own of the most abundant fertility. It became the seat of a Christian bishop, and its name is found in the lists of signatures as late as the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 536. The latest mention of it under the title of Scythopolis is probably that of William of Tyre (xxii. 16 and 26). He mentions it as if it was then actually so called, carefully explaining that it was formerly Bethshan. [G.]

SEA. The Sea, *yâm*,[c] is used in Scripture to denote—1. The "gathering of the waters" (*yâmîm*), encompassing the land, or what we call in a more or less definite sense "the Ocean." 2. Some portion of this, as the Mediterranean Sea. 3. Inland lakes, whether of salt or fresh water. 4. Any great collection of water, as the rivers Nile or Euphrates, especially in a state of overflow.

1. In the first sense it is used in Gen. i. 2, 10, and elsewhere, as Deut. xxx. 13; 1 K. x. 22; Ps. xxiv. 2; Job xxvi. 8, 12, xxxviii. 8; see Hom. *Il.* xiv. 301, 302, and Hes. *Theog.* 107, 109; and 2 Pet. iii. 5.

2. In the second, it is used, with the article, (*a*) of the Mediterranean Sea, called the "hinder," [d] the "western," and the "utmost" sea (Deut. xi. 24, xxxiv. 2; Joel ii. 20); "sea of the Philistines" (Ex. xxiii. 31); "the great sea" (Num. xxxiv. 6, 7; Josh. xv. 47); "the sea" (Gen. xlix. 13; Ps. lxxx. 11, cvii. 23; 1 K. iv. 20, &c.). (*b*) Also frequently of the Red Sea (Ex. xv. 4; Josh. xxiv. 6), or one of its gulfs (Num. xi. 31; Is. xi. 15), and perhaps (1 K. x. 22) the sea traversed by Solomon's fleet. [RED SEA.]

3. The inland lakes termed seas, as the Salt or Dead Sea. (See the special articles.)

4. The term *yâm*, like the Arabic *Bahr*, is also applied to great rivers, as the Nile (Is. xix. 5; Am. viii. 8, A. V. "flood;" Nah. iii. 8; Ez. xxxii. 2), the Euphrates (Jer. li. 36). (See Stanley, *S. & P.* App. p. 533.)

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[a] The "modern Greeks" are said to derive it from κύτος, a hide (Williams, in *Dict. of Geogr.*). This is, doubtless, another appearance of the legend so well known in connexion with the foundation of Byrsa (Carthage). One such has been mentioned in reference to Hebron under MACHPELAH (p. 188).

[b] The singular name Nysa, mentioned in this passage as a former appellation of Scythopolis, is identified by Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 453) with *Neash*, an inversion of (Beth-) *Shean*, actually found on coins.

[c] יָם, Ch. יַמָּא, Dan. vii. 2, 3, θάλασσα, *mare*, from יָמַם not used, i. q. הָמַם, or הָמָה, "roar," ה and י being interchanged. Connected with this is תְּהוֹם, ἄβυσσος, *abyssus*, "the deep" (Gen. i. 2; Jon. ii. 5; Ges. p. 371). It also means the west (Ges. pp. 360, 598). When used for the sea, it very often, but not always takes the article.

Other words for the sea (in A. V. "deep") are:—1. מְצוּלָה, כְּצוֹלָה (only in plur.), or צוֹלָה, ἄβυσσος, βάθος, *abyssus, profundum*. 2. מַבּוּל, κατακλυσμός, *diluvium*, "water-flood" (Ps. xxix. 10).

[d] אַחֲרוֹן (θάλασσα ἡ) ἐσχάτη, (*mare*) *novissimum*.

The qualities or characteristics of the sea and sea-coast mentioned in Scripture are, 1. The sand,[e] whose abundance on the coast both of Palestine and Egypt furnishes so many illustrations (Gen. xxii. 17, xli. 49; Judg. vii. 12; 1 Sam. xiii. 5; 1 K. iv. 20, 29; Is. x. 22; Matt. vii. 26; Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 758, 759; Räumer, *Pal.* p. 45; Robinson, ii. 34-38, 434; Shaw, *Trav.* p. 280; Hasselquist, *Trav.* p. 119; Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 255, 260, 264). 2. The shore.[f] 3. Creeks[g] or inlets. 4. Harbours.[h] 5. Waves[i] or billows.

It may be remarked that almost all the figures of speech taken from the sea in Scripture, refer either to its power or its danger, and among the woes threatened in punishment of disobedience, one may be remarked as significant of the dread of the sea entertained by a non-seafaring people, the being brought back into Egypt "in ships" (Deut. xxviii. 68). The national feeling on this subject may be contrasted with that of the Greeks in reference to the sea. [COMMERCE.] It may be remarked, that, as is natural, no mention of the tide is found in Scripture.

The place "where two seas met"[k] (Acts xxvii. 41) is explained by Conybeare and Howson, as a place where the island Salmonetta off the coast of Malta in St. Paul's Bay, so intercepts the passage from the sea without to the bay within as to give the appearance of two seas, just as Strabo represents the appearance of the entrance from the Bosphorus into the Euxine; but it seems quite as likely that by the "place of the double sea," is meant one where two currents, caused by the intervention of the island, met and produced an eddy, which made it desirable at once to ground the ship (Conybeare and Howson, ii. p. 423; Strabo, ii. p. 124). [H. W. P.]

SEA, MOLTEN.[m] The name given to the great brazen[n] laver of the Mosaic ritual. [LAVER.]

In the place of the laver of the tabernacle, Solomon caused a laver to be cast for a similar purpose, which from its size was called a sea. It was made partly or wholly of the brass, or rather copper, which had been captured by David from "Tibhath and Chun, cities of Hadarezer king of Zobah" 1 K. vii. 23-26; 1 Chr. xviii. 8). Its dimensions were as follows:—Height, 5 cubits; diameter, 10 cubits; circumference, 30 cubits; thickness, 1 handbreadth; and it is said to have been capable of containing 2000, or according to 2 Chr. iv. 5, 3000 baths. Below the brim[o] there was a double row of "knops."[p] 10 (*i. e.* 5+5) in each cubit. These were probably a running border or double fillet of tendrils, and fruits, said to be gourds, of an oval shape (Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 397, and Jewish authorities quoted by him). The brim itself, or lip, was wrought "like the brim of a cup, with flowers[q] of lilies," *i. e.* curved outwards like a lily or lotus flower. The laver stood on twelve oxen, three towards each quarter of the heavens, and all looking outwards. It was mutilated by Ahaz, by being removed from its basis of oxen and placed on a stone base, and was finally broken up by the Assyrians (2 K. xvi. 14, 17, xxv. 13).

Josephus says that the form of the sea was hemispherical, and that it held 3000 baths; and he elsewhere tells us that the bath was equal to 72 Attic ξέσται, or 1 μετρητής = 8 gallons 5·12 pints (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2, §9, and 3, §5). The question arises, which occurred to the Jewish writers themselves, how the contents of the laver, as they are given in the sacred text, are to be reconciled with its dimensions. At the rate of 1 bath = 8 gallons 5·12 pints, 2000 baths would amount to about 17,250 gallons, and 3000 (the more precisely stated reading of 2 Chr. iv. 5) would amount to 25,920 gallons. Now supposing the vessel to be hemispherical, as Josephus says it was, the cubit to be = 20½ inches (20·6250), and the palm or handbreadth = 3 inches (2·9464, Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt* ii. 258), we find the following proportions:—From the height (5 cubits = 102½ inches) subtract the thickness (3 inches), the axis of the hemisphere would be 99½ inches, and its contents in gallons, at 277½ cubic inches to the gallon, would be about 7500 gallons; or taking the cubit at 22 inches, the contents would reach 10,045 gallons—an amount still far below the required quantity. On the other hand, a hemispherical vessel, to contain 17,250 gallons, must have a depth of 11 feet nearly, or rather more than 6 cubits, at the highest estimate of 22 inches to the cubit, exclusive of the thickness of the vessel. To meet the difficulty, we may imagine—1. an erroneous reading of the numbers. 2. We may imagine the laver, like its prototype in the tabernacle, to have had a "foot," which may have been a basin which received the water as it was drawn out by taps from the laver, so that the priests might be said to wash "at"[r] not "in" it (Ex. xxx. 18, 19; 2 Chr. iv. 6). 3. We may suppose the laver to have had another shape than the hemisphere of Josephus. The Jewish writers supposed that it had a square hollow base for 3 cubits of its height, and 2 cubits of the circular form above (Lightfoot, *Descr. Templ.* vol. i. p. 647). A far more probable suggestion is that of Thenius, in which Keil agrees, that it was of a bulging form below, but contracted at the mouth to the dimensions named in 1 K. vii. 23. 4. A fourth supposition is perhaps tenable, that when it is said the laver contained 2000 or 3000 baths, the meaning is that the supply of water required for its use amounted, at its utmost, to that quantity. The quantity itself of water is not sur-

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[e] חוֹל, ἄμμος, *arena.*

[f] חוֹף, joined with יָם; παραλία γῆ; *littus.* In Gen. xlix. 13, "haven;" Acts xxvii. 39, αἰγιαλός.

[g] מִפְרָץ, from פָּרַץ, "break," only in Judg. v. 17 in plur.; διακοπαί; *portus*; A. V. "breaches."

[h] מָחוֹז, a place of retreat; λιμήν; *portus*; A. V. "haven."

[i] 1. גַּל, lit. a heap, in plur. waves; κῦμα; *gurgites, mare fluctuans.* 2. דְּכִי, or דֻּכָּה; ἐπιτρίψεις; *fluctus*; only in Ps. xciii. 3. מִשְׁבָּר; μετεωρισμός; *gurges, elatio*; "a breaker." 4. בָּמָה (Job ix. 8); *fluctus*; lit. a high place (Ez. xx. 29).

[k] τόπος διθάλασσος; *locus dithalassus.*

[m] מוּצָק; χυτός; *fusilis.*

[n] נְחֹשֶׁת; χαλκέος; *aereus.*

[o] שְׂפָה: χεῖλος; *labrum.*

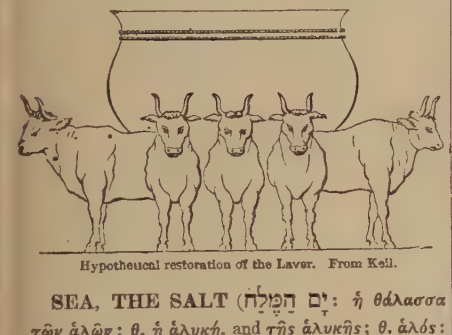
[p] פְּקָעִים: ὑποστηρίγματα; *sculptura*; properly "gourds."

[q] פֶּרַח שׁוֹשָׁן; βλαστὸς κρίνου; *folium repandi lilii.* The passage literally is, "and its lip (was) like work (such as) a cup's lip, a lily-flower."

[r] מִמֶּנּוּ; ἐξ αὐτοῦ; A. V. "thereat" (Ex. xxx. 19); בּוֹ; ἐν αὐτῇ (2 Chr. iv 6).

prising, when we remember the quantity mentioned as the supply of a private house for purification, viz 6 amphorae of 2 or 3 firkins (*μετρηταί*) each, *i. e.* from 16 to 24 gallons each (John ii. 6).

The laver is said to have been supplied in earlier days by the Gibeonites, but afterwards by a conduit from the pools of Bethlehem. Ben-Katin made twelve cocks (epistomia) for drawing off the water, and invented a contrivance for keeping it pure during the night (Joma, iii. 10; Tamid, iii. 8; Middoth, iii. 6; Lightfoot, *l. c.*). Mr. Layard mentions some circular vessels found at Nineveh, of 6 feet in diameter and 2 feet in depth, which seemed to answer, in point of use, to the Molten Sea, though far inferior in size; and on the bas-reliefs it is remarkable that cauldrons are represented supported by oxen (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 180; see Thenius on 1 K. vii.; and Keil, *Arch. Bibl.* i. 127, and pl. 3, fig. i.). [H. W. P.]



Hypothetical restoration of the Laver. From Keil.

SEA, THE SALT (יָם הַמֶּלַח: *ἡ θάλασσα τῶν ἁλῶν*; *θ. ἡ ἁλυκή*, and *τῆς ἁλυκῆς*; *θ. ἁλός*: in Gen. *mare salis*, elsewhere *m. salsissimum*, except Josh. iii. *quod nunc vocatur mortuum*). The usual, and perhaps the most ancient, name, for the remarkable lake, which to the Western world is now generally known as the Dead Sea.

I. 1. It is found only, and but rarely, in the Pentateuch (Gen. xiv. 3; Num. xxxiv. 3, 12; Deut. iii. 17[a]), and in the Book of Joshua (iii. 16, xii. 3, xv. 2, 5, xviii. 19).

2. Another, and possibly a later name, is the SEA OF THE ARABAH (יָם הָעֲרָבָה: *θάλασσα Αραβα*; *ἡ θάλ. Ἀραβα*; *ἡ θαλ. τῆς Ἀραβα*: *mare solitudinis*, or *deserti*; A. V. "sea of the plain"), which is found in Deut. iv. 49, and 2 K. xiv. 25; and combined with the former—"the sea of the Arabah, the salt sea"—in Deut. iii. 17; Josh. iii. 16, xii. 3.

3. In the prophets (Joel ii. 20; Ezek. xlvii. 18; Zech. xiv. 8) it is mentioned by the title of THE EAST SEA (הַיָּם הַקַּדְמוֹנִי: in Ez. *τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς Φοινικῶνος*; in Joel and Zech. *τὴν θάλ. τὴν πρώτην*: *mare orientale*).

4. In Ez. xlvii. 8, it is styled, without previous reference, THE SEA (הַיָּם), and distinguished from "the great sea"—the Mediterranean (ver. 10).

5. Its connexion with Sodom is first suggested in the Bible in the book of 2 Esdras (v. 7) by the name "Sodomitish sea" (*mare Sodomiticum*).

6. In the Talmudical books it is called both the "Sea of Salt" (ימא דמלחא), and "Sea of Sodom" (ימא של סדום). See quotations from Talmud and Midrash Tehillim, by Reland (*Pal.* 237).

7. Josephus, and before him Diodorus Siculus (ii. 48, xix. 98), names it the Asphaltic Lake—*ἡ Ἀσφαλτίτις λίμνη* (*Ant.* i. 9; iv. 5, §1; ix 10, §1; *B. J.* i. 33, §5; iii. 10, §7; iv. 8, §2, 4), and once *λ. ἡ ἀσφαλτοφόρος* (*Ant.* xvii 6, §5). Also (*Ant.* v. 1, §22) *ἡ Σοδομίτις λίμνη*.

8. The name "Dead Sea" appears to have been first used in Greek (*θάλασσα νεκρά*) by Pausanias (v. 7) and Galen (iv. 9), and in Latin (*mare mortuum*) by Justin (xxxvi. 3, §6), or rather by the older historian, Trogus Pompeius (cir. B.C. 10), whose work he epitomized. It is employed also by Eusebius (*Onom.* Σόδομα). The expressions of Pausanias and Galen imply that the name was in use in the country. And this is corroborated by the expression of Jerome (*Comm.* on Dan. xi. 45), "mare .... quod nunc appellatur mortuum." The Jewish writers appear never to have used it, and it has become established in modern literature, from the belief in the very exaggerated stories of its deadly character and gloomy aspect, which themselves probably arose out of the name, and were due to the preconceived notions of the travellers who visited its shores, or to the implicit faith with which they received the statements of their guides. Thus Maundeville (chap. ix.) says it is called the Dead Sea because it moveth not, but is ever still—the fact being that it is frequently agitated, and that when in motion its waves have great force. Hence also the fable that no birds could fly across it alive, a notion which the experience of almost every modern traveller to Palestine would contradict.

9. The Arabic name is *Bahr Lût*, the "Sea of Lot." The name of Lot is also specially connected with a small piece of land, sometimes island sometimes peninsula, at the north end of the lake.

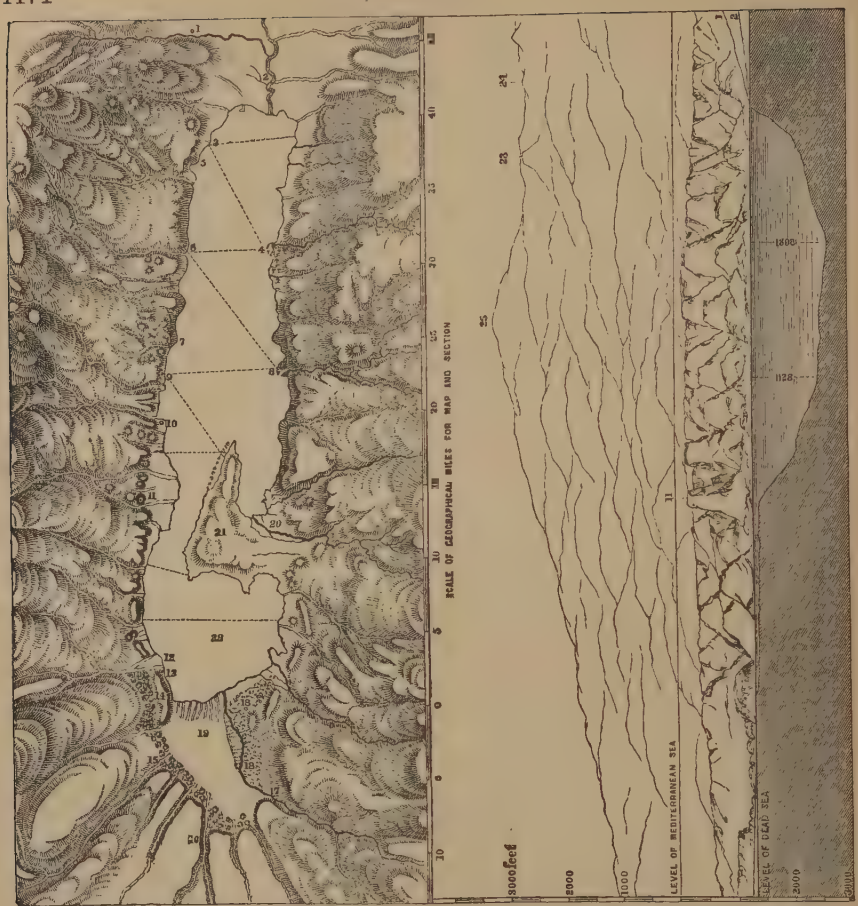
II. 1. The so-called DEAD SEA is the final receptacle of the river Jordan, the lowest and largest of the three lakes which interrupt the rush of its downward course. It is the deepest portion of that very deep natural fissure which runs like a furrow from the Gulf of Akaba to the range of Lebanon, and from the range of Lebanon to the extreme north of Syria. It is in fact a pool left by the Ocean, in its retreat from what there is reason to believe was at a very remote period a channel connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. As the most enduring result of the great geological operation which determined the present form of the country it may be called without exaggeration the key to the physical geography of the Holy Land. It is therefore in every way an object of extreme interest. The probable conditions of the formation of the lake will be alluded to in the course of this article: we shall now attempt to describe its dimensions, appearance, and natural features.

2. Viewed on the map, the lake is of an oblong form, of tolerably regular contour, interrupted only by a large and long peninsula which projects from the eastern shore, near its southern end, and virtually divides the expanse of the water into two

[a] In the Samaritan Pentateuch also in iv. 49.

[b] In Zechariah and Joel, as an antithesis to "the hinder sea," *i. e.* the Mediterranean; whence the obscure rendering of the A. V., "former sea."

[c] The version of the LXX. is remarkable, as introducing the name of Phoenicia in both ver. 18 and 19. This may be either an equivalent of Engedi, originally Hazazon-tamar, the "City of Palm-trees" (*φοινίκων*); or may arise out of a corruption of *Kadmoni* into *Kanaan*, which in this version is occasionally rendered by Phoenicia. The only warrant for it in the existing Heb. text is the name Tamar (= "a palm," and rendered *Θαιμᾶν καὶ Φοινικῶνος*) in ver 19.



Map and Longitudinal Section (from North to South), of the DEAD SEA, from the Observations, Surveys, and Soundings of Lynch, Robinson, De Saulcy, Van de Velde, and others, drawn under the superintendence of Mr. Grove by Trelawney Saunders, and engraved by J. D. Cooper.

References.—1. Jericho. 2. Ford of Jordan. 3. Wady Goumran. 4. Wady Zûrka Ma'in. 5. Ras el Feshkhah. 6. Ain Terâbeh. 7. Ras Mersed. 8. Wady Mojib. 9. Ain Jidy. 10. Birket el Khulil. 11. Sebbeh. 12. Wady Zuweirah. 13. Um Zoghal. 14. Khashm Usdum. 15. Wady Fikreh. 16. Wady el Jeib. 17. Wady Tufileh. 18. Ghor es Safieh. 19. Plain es Sabkah. 20. Wady ed Dra'ah. 21. The Peninsula. 22. The Lagoon. 23. The Frank Mountain. 24. Bethlehem. 25. Hebron.

The dotted lines crossing and recrossing the Lake show the place of the transverse sections given on the opposite page.

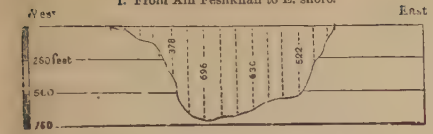
portions, connected by a long, narrow, and somewhat devious, passage. Its longest axis is situated nearly North and South. It lies between 31° 6′ 20″ and 31° 46′ N. lat., nearly; and thus its water surface is from N. to S. as nearly as possible 40 geographical, or 46 English miles long. On the other hand, it lies between 35° 24′ and 35° 37′ East long.,[d] nearly; and its greatest width (some 3 miles S. of *Ain Jidy*) is about 9[e] geogr. miles, or 10½ Eng. miles. The ordinary area of the upper portion is about 174 square geogr. miles; of the channel 29; and of the lower portion, hereafter styled "the lagoon," 46; in all about 250 square geographical miles. These dimensions are not very dissimilar to those of the Lake of Geneva. They are, however, as will be seen further on, subject to considerable variation according to the time of the year

At its northern end the lake receives the stream of the Jordan: on its Eastern side the *Zûrka Ma'in* (the ancient Callirrhoë, and possibly the more ancient en-Eglaim), the *Mojîb* (the Arnon of the Bible), and the *Beni-Hemâd*. On the South the *Kurâhy* or *el-Ahsy*; and on the West that of *Ain Jidy*. These are probably all perennial, though variable, streams; but, in addition, the beds of the torrents which lead through the mountains East and West, and over the flat shelving plains on both North and South of the lake, show that in the winter a very large

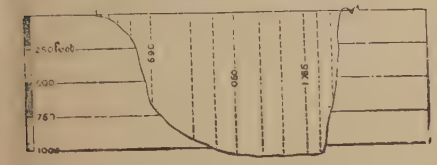
[d] The longitudes and latitudes are given with care by Van de Velde (*Mem.* 65), but they can none of them be implicitly trusted.

[e] Lynch says 9 to 9¾; Dr. Robinson says 9 (i. 509). The ancient writers, as is but natural, estimated its dimensions very inaccurately. Diodorus states the length as 500 stadia, or about 50 miles, and breadth 60, or 6 miles. Josephus extends the length to 580 stadia, and the breadth to 150. It is not necessary to accuse him, on this account, of wilful exaggeration. Nothing is more difficult to estimate accurately than the extent of a sheet of water, especially one which varies so much in appearance as the Dead Sea. As regards the length, it is not impossible that at the time of Josephus the water extended over the southern plain, which would make the entire length over 50 geogr. miles.

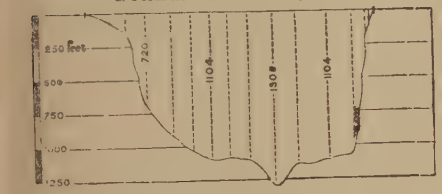
1. From Ain Feshkhah to E. shore.



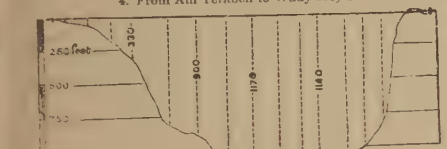
2. From Ain Feshkhah to Wady Zûrka Ma'în.



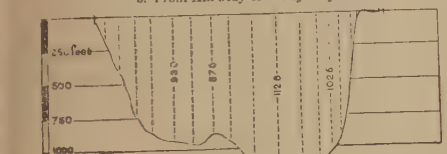
3. From Ain Terâbeh to Wady Zûrka.



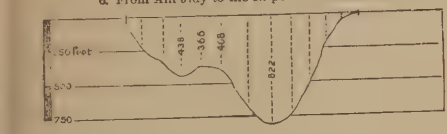
4. From Ain Terâbeh to Wady Mojib.



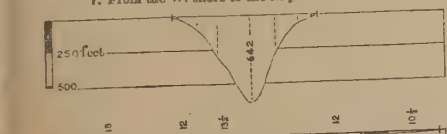
5. From Ain Jidy to Wady Mojib.



6. From Ain Jidy to the N. point of Peninsula.



7. From the W. shore to the N. point of Peninsula.



Transverse Sections (from West to East) of the DEAD SEA; plotted for the first time, from the Soundings given by Lynch on the Map in his *Narrative of the U. S. Expedition*, &c., London, 1849. The spots at which the Sections were taken are indicated on the Map (opposite) by the dotted lines. The depths are given in English feet.

N B.—For the sake of clearness, the horizontal and vertical scales for these Sections have been enlarged from those adopted for the Map and Longitudinal Section on the opposite page.

quantity of water must be poured into it. There are also all along the western side a considerable number of springs, some fresh, some warm, some salt and fetid—which appear to run continually, and all find their way, more or less absorbed by the sand and shingle of the beach, into its waters. The lake has no visible[f] outlet.

3. Excepting the last circumstance, nothing has yet been stated about the Dead Sea that may not be stated of numerous other inland lakes. The depression of its surface, however, and the depth which it attains below that surface, combined with the absence of any outlet, render it one of the most remarkable spots on the globe. According to the observations of Lieut. Lynch, the surface of the lake in May 1848, was 1316·7[g] feet below the level of

[f] Nor can there be any invisible one: the distance of the surface below that of the ocean alone renders it impossible; and there is no motive for supposing it, because the evaporation (see note to § 4) is amply sufficient to carry off the supply from without.

[g] This figure was obtained by running levels from *Ain Terâbeh* up the Wady *Ras el-Ghuweir* and Wady *en-Nar* to Jerusalem, and thence by Ramleh to Jaffa. It seems to have been usually assumed as accurate, and as settling the question. The elements of error in levelling across such a country are very great, and even practised surveyors would be liable to mistake, unless by the adoption of a series of checks which it is inconceivable that Lynch's party can have adopted. The very fact that no datum on the beach is mentioned, and that they appear to have levelled from the then surface of the water, shews that the party was not directed by a practised leveller, and casts suspicion over all the observations. Lynch's observation with the barometer (p. 12) gave 1234·589 feet—82 feet less depression than that mentioned above. The existence of the depression was for a long time unknown. Even Seetzen (i. 425) believed that it lay higher than the ocean. Marmont (*Voyage*, iii. 61) calculates the Mount of Olives at 747 metres above the Mediterranean, and then estimates the Dead Sea at 500 metres below the mount. The fact was first ascertained by Moore and Beek in March 1837 by boiling water; but they were unable to arrive at a figure. It may be well here to give a list of the various observations on the level of the lake made by different travellers:—

			Eng. ft
Apr. 1837	Von Schubert . .	Barom.	637·
1838	De Bertou . . .	Do.	1374·7
1838	Russegger . . .	Do.	1429·2
1841	Symonds	Trignom.	1312·2
1845	Von Wildenbruch	Barom.	1446·3
May, 1848	Lynch	Do.	1234·6
,, do.	Do.	Level	1316·7
Nov. 1850	Rev. G. W. Bridges	Anerold	1367·
Oct. 27, 1855	Poole	Do.	1313·5
Apr. (?) 1857	Roth	Barom.	1374·6

— See Petermann, in *Geogr. Journal*, xviii. 90; for Roth, Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1858, p. 3; for Poole, *Geogr. Journ.* xxvi. 58. Mr. Bridges has kindly communicated to the writer the results of his observations. Captain Symonds's operations are briefly described by Mr. Hamilton in his addresses to the Royal Geogr. Society in 1842 and '43. He carried levels across from Jaffa to Jerusalem by two routes, and thence to the Dead Sea by one route: the ultimate difference between the two observations was less than 12 feet (*Geogr. Journal*, xii. p. lx.; xiii. p. lxxiv.). One of the sets, ending in 1312·2 ft., is given in Van de Velde's *Memoir*, 75-81.

Widely as the results in the table differ, there is yet enough agreement among them, and with Lynch's level-observation, to warrant the statement in the text. Those of Symonds, Lynch, and Poole, are remarkably close, when the great difficulties of the case are considered; but it must be admitted that those of De Bertou, Roth, and Bridges are equally close. The time of year must not be overlooked. Lynch's level was taken about midway between the winter

the Mediterranean at Jaffa (*Report of Secretary of Navy*, &c., 8vo. p. 23), and although we cannot absolutely rely on the accuracy of that dimension, still there is reason to believe that it is not very far from the fact. The measurements of the depth of the lake taken by the same party are probably more trustworthy. The expedition consisted of sailors, who were here in their element, and to whom taking soundings was a matter of every day occurrence. In the upper portion of the lake, north of the peninsula, seven cross sections were obtained, six of which are exhibited on the preceding page.[h] They shew this portion to be a perfect basin, descending rapidly till it attains, at about one-third of its length from the north end, a depth of 1308[i] feet. Immediately west of the upper extremity of the peninsula, however, this depth decreases suddenly to 336 feet, then to 114, and by the time the west point of the peninsula is reached, to 18 feet. Below this the southern portion is a mere lagoon of almost even bottom, varying in depth from 12 feet in the middle to 3 at the edges. It will be convenient to use the term "lagoon"[k] in speaking of the southern portion.

The depression of the lake, both of its surface and its bottom, below that of the ocean is at present quite without parallel. The lake Assal, on the Somali coast of Eastern Africa opposite Aden, furnishes the nearest approach to it. Its surface is said to be 570 feet below that of the ocean.

4. The level of the lake is liable to variation according to the season of the year. Since it has no outlet, its level is a balance struck between the amount of water poured into it, and the amount given off by[m] evaporation. If more water is supplied than the evaporation can carry off, the lake will rise until the evaporating surface is so much increased as to restore the balance. On the other hand, should the evaporation drive off a larger quantity than the supply, the lake will descend until the surface becomes so small as again to restore the balance. This fluctuation is increased by the fact that the winter is at once the time when the clouds and streams supply most water, and when the evaporation is least; while in summer on the other hand, when the evaporation goes on most furiously, the supply is at its minimum. The extreme differences in level resulting from these causes have not yet been carefully observed. Dr. Robinson in May 1838, from the lines of drift wood which he found beyond the then brink of the water in the southern part of the lake, judged that the level must be sometimes from 10 to 15 feet higher than it then was (*B. R.* i. 515, ii. 115); but this was only the commencement of the summer, and by the end of September the water would probably have fallen much lower. The writer, in the beginning of Sept. 1858, after a very hot summer, estimated the line of driftwood along the steep beach of the north end at from 10 to 12 feet above the then level of the water. Robinson (i. 506) mentions a bank of shingle at *Ain Jidy* 6 or 8 feet above the then (May 10) level of the water, but which bore marks of having been covered. Lynch (*Narr.* 289) says that the marks on the shore near the same place indicated that the lake had already (April 22) fallen 7 feet that season.

Possibly a more permanent rise has lately taken place, since Mr. Poole (60) saw many dead trees standing in the lake for some distance from the shore opposite *Khashm Usdum*. This too was at the end of October, when the water must have been at its lowest (for that year).

5. The change in level necessarily causes a change in the dimensions of the lake. This will chiefly affect the southern end. The shore of that part slopes up from the water with an extremely gradual incline. Over so flat a beach a very slight rise in the lake would send the water a considerable distance. This was found to be actually the case. The line of drift-wood mentioned by Dr. Robinson (ii. 115) was about 3 miles from the brink of the lagoon. Dr. Anderson, the geologist of the American expedition, conjectured that the water occasionally extended as much as 8 or 10 miles south of its then position (*Official Report*, 4to. p. 182). On the peninsula, the acclivity of which is much greater than that of the southern shores of the lagoon, and in the early part of the summer (June 2), Irby and Mangles found the "high-water mark a mile distant from the water's edge." At the northern end the shore being steeper, the water-line probably remains tolerably constant. The variation in breadth will not be so much. At the N.W. and N.E. corners there are some flats which must be often overflowed. Along the lower part of the western shore, where the beach widens, as at *Birket el-Khulîl*, it is occasionally covered in portions, but they are probably

rains and the autumnal drought, and therefore is consistent with that of Poole, taken 5 months later, at the very end of the dry season.

[h] The map in Lynch's private *Narrative* (London, 1849) from which these sections have, for the first time, been plotted, is to a much larger scale, contains more details, and is a more valuable document, than that in his *Official Report*, 4to. (Baltimore, 1852), or his *Report*, 8vo. (Senate Papers, 30th Congr., 2nd Session, No. 34).

[i] Three other attempts have been made to obtain soundings, but in neither case with any very practical result. 1. By Messrs. Moore and Beek in March, 1837. They record a maximum depth of 2400 ft. between *Ain Terâbeh* and *W. Zûrka*, and a little north of the same 2220 ft. (See Palmer's *Map*, to which these observations were contributed by Mr. Beek himself: also *Geogr. Journ.* vii. 456). Lynch's soundings at nearly the same spots give 1170 and 1308 ft. respectively, at once reversing and greatly diminishing the depths. 2. Captain Symonds, R.E., is said to have been upon the lake and to have obtained soundings, the deepest of which was 2100 ft. But for this the writer can find no authority beyond the statement of Ritter (*Erdkunde*, Jordan, 704), who does not name the source of his information. 3. Lieut. Molyneux, R.N., in Sept. 1847, took three soundings. The first of these seems to have been about opposite *Ain Jidy*, and gave 1350 ft., though without certainly reaching the bottom. The other two were further north, and gave 1068 and 1098 ft. (*Geogr. Journ.* xviii. 127, 8). The greatest of these appears to be about coincident with Lynch's 1104 feet; but there is so much vagueness about the spots at which they were taken, that no use can be made of the results. Lynch and Beek agree in representing the west side as more gradual in slope than the east, which has a depth of more than 900 ft. close to the brink.

[k] Irby and Mangles always term this part "the backwater," and reserve the name "Dead Sea" for the northern and deeper portion.

[l] Murchison in *Geogr. Journal*, xiv. p. cxvi. A brief description of this lake is given in an interesting paper by Dr. Buist on the principal depressions of the globe, reprinted in the *Edinb. N. Phil. Journal*, April, 1855.

[m] This subject has been ably and carefully investigated by the late Professor Marchand, the eminent chemist of Halle, in his paper on the Dead Sea in the *Journal für prakt. Chemie*, Leipzig, 1849, 371-4. The result of his calculations, founded on the observations of Shaw, A. von Humboldt, and Balard, is that while the average quantity supplied cannot exceed 20,000,000 cub. ft., the evaporation may be taken at 34,000,000 cub. ft. per diem.

not enough to make any great variation in the width of the lake. Of the eastern side hardly anything is known, but the beach there appears to be only partial, and confined to the northern end.

6. The mountains which form the walls of the great fissure in whose depths the lake is contained, continue a nearly parallel course throughout its entire length. Viewed from the beach at the northern end of the lake—the only view within the reach of most travellers—there is little perceptible difference between the two ranges. Each is equally bare and stern to the eye. On the left the eastern mountains stretch their long, hazy, horizontal line, till they are lost in the dim distance. The western mountains on the other hand do not offer the same appearance of continuity, since the headland of *Ras el-Feshkhah* projects so far in front of the general line as to conceal the southern portion of the range when viewed from most points. The horizon is formed by the water-line of the lake itself, often lost in a thick mist which dwells on the surface, the result of the rapid evaporation always going on. In the centre of the horizon, when the haze permits it, may be discovered the mysterious peninsula.

7. Of the eastern side but little is known. One traveller in modern times (Seetzen) has succeeded in forcing his way along its whole length. The American party landed at the *W. Mojib* and other points. A few others have rounded the southern end of the lake, and advanced for 10 or 12 miles along its eastern shores. But the larger portion of those shores—the flanks of the mountains which stretch from the peninsula to the north end of the lake—have been approached by travellers from the West only on very rare occasions nearer than the western shore.

Both Dr. Robinson from *Ain Jidy* (i. 502), and Lieut. Molyneux (127) from the surface of the lake, record their impression that the eastern mountains are much more lofty than the western, and much more broken by clefts and ravines than those on the west. In colour they are brown, or red,—a great contrast to the grey and white tones of the western mountains. Both sides of the lake, however, are alike in the absence of vegetation—almost entirely barren and scorched, except where here and there a spring, bursting up at the foot of the mountains, covers the beach with a bright green jungle of reeds and thorn-bushes, or gives life to a clump of stunted palms; or where, as at *Ain Jidy* or the *Wady Mojib*, a perennial stream betrays its presence, and breaks the long monotony of the precipice by filling the rift with acacias, or nourishing a little oasis of verdure at its embouchure.

8. Seetzen's journey, just mentioned, was accomplished in 1807. He started in January from the ford of the Jordan through the upper country, by *Mkaur*, *Attarrus*, and the ravine of the *Wady Mojib* to the peninsula; returning immediately after by the lower level, as near the lake as it was possible to go. He was on foot with but a single guide. He represents the general structure of the mountains as limestone, capped in many places by basalt, and having at its foot a red ferruginous sandstone, which forms the immediate margin of the lake.[a] The ordinary path lies high up on the face of the mountains, and the lower track, which Seetzen pursued, is extremely rough, and often all but impassable. The rocks lie in a succession of enormous terraces, apparently more vertical in form than those on the west. On the lower one of these, but still far above the water, lies the path, if path it can be called, where the traveller has to scramble through and over a chaos of enormous blocks of limestone, sandstone, and basalt, or basalt conglomerate, the *débris* of the slopes above, or is brought abruptly to a stand by wild clefts in the solid rock of the precipice. The streams of the *Mojib* and *Zûrka* issue from portals of dark red sandstone of romantic beauty, the overhanging sides of which no ray of sun ever enters.[b] The deltas of these streams, and that portion of the shore between them, where several smaller rivulets[p] flow into the lake, abound in vegetation, and form a truly grateful relief to the rugged desolation of the remainder. Palms in particular are numerous (Anderson, 192; Lynch, *Narr.* 369), and in Seetzen's opinion bear marks of being the relics of an ancient cultivation; but except near the streams, there is no vegetation. It was, says he, the greatest possible rarity to see a plant. The north-east corner of the lake is occupied by a plain of some extent left by the retiring mountains, probably often overflowed by the lake, mostly salt and unproductive, and called the *Ghôr el-Belka*.

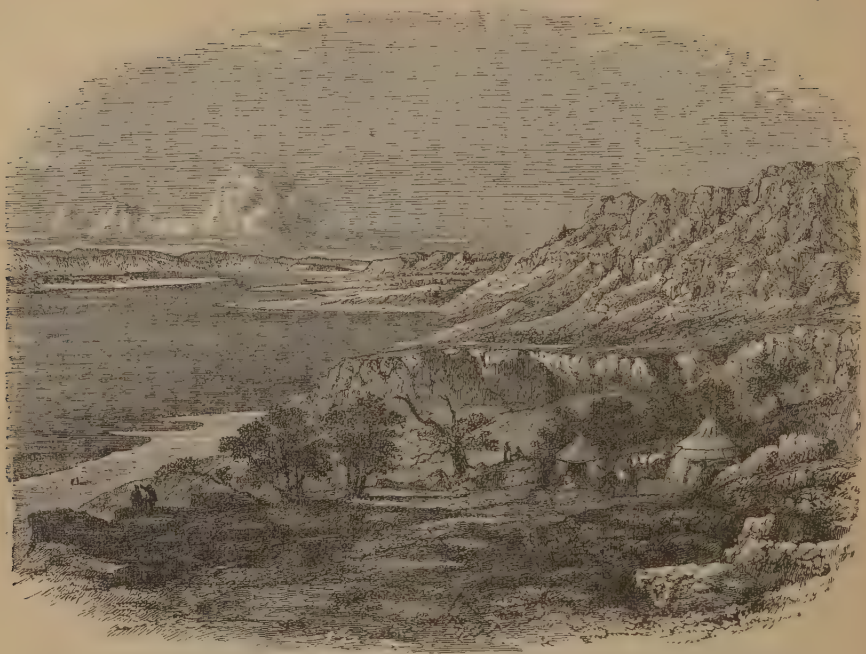
9. One remarkable feature of the northern portion of the eastern heights is a plateau which divides the mountains halfway up, apparently forming a gigantic landing-place in the slope, and stretching northwards from the Wady *Zûrka Ma'în*. It is very plainly to be seen from Jerusalem, especially at sunset, when many of the points of these fascinating mountains come out into unexpected relief. This plateau appears to be on the same general level with a similar plateau on the Western side opposite it (Poole, 68), with the top of the rock of *Sebbeh*, and perhaps with the Mediterranean.

10. The western shores of the lake have been more investigated than the eastern, although they cannot be said to have been yet more than very partially explored. Two travellers have passed over their entire length:—De Saulcy in January 1851, from North to South, *Voyage dans la Syrie*, &c., 1853, and *Narrative of a Journey*, &c., London, 1854; and Poole in Nov. 1855, from South to North (*Geogr. Journal*, xxvi. 55). Others have passed over considerable portions of it, and have recorded observations both with pen and pencil. Dr. Robinson on his first journey in 1838 visited *Ain Jidy*, and proceeded from thence to the Jordan and Jericho:—Wolcott and Tipping, in 1842, scaled the rock of Masada (probably the first travellers from the Western world to do so), and from thence journeyed to *Ain Jidy* along the shore. The views which illustrate this article have been, through the kindness of Mr. Tipping, selected from those which he took during this journey. Lieut. Van de Velde in 1852, also visited Masada, and then went south as far as the south end of *Jebel Usdum*, after which he turned up to the right into the western mountains. Lieut. Lynch's party, in 1848, landed and travelled over the greater part of the shore from *Ain Feshkhah* to *Usdum*. Mr. Holman Hunt, in 1854, with the Messrs. Beamont, resided at *Usdum* for several days, and afterwards went over the entire length from *Usdum* to the Jordan. Of this journey one of the ultimate fruits was Mr. Hunt's picture of the

[a] Termed by Anderson (189, 190) the Undercliff.

[b] A rude view of the embouchure of the former of these is given by Lynch (*Narrative*, 368).

[p] Conjectured by Seetzen to be the "springs of Pisgah."



THE DEAD SEA.—View from *Ain Jidy*, looking South. From a Drawing made on the spot in 1842, by W. Tipping, Esq.

Dead Sea at sunset, known as "The Scapegoat." Miss Emily Beaufort and her sister, in December 1860, accomplished the ascent of Masada, and the journey from thence to *Ain Jidy*; and the same thing, including *Usdum*, was done in April 1863 by a party consisting of Mr. G. Clowes, jun., Mr. Straton, and others.

11. The western range preserves for the greater part of its length a course hardly less regular than the eastern. That it does not appear so regular when viewed from the north-western end of the lake is owing to the projection of a mass of the mountain eastward from the line sufficiently far to shut out from view the range to the south of it. It is Dr. Robinson's opinion (*B. R.* i. 510, 11) that the projection consists of the *Ras el Feshkhah* and its "adjacent cliffs" only, and that from that headland the western range runs in a tolerably direct course as far as *Usdum*, at the S.W. corner of the lake. The *Ras el Feshkhah* stands some six miles below the head of the lake, and forms the northern side of the gorge by which the *Wady en Nar* (the Kidron) debouches into the lake. Dr. Robinson is such an accurate observer, that it is difficult to question his opinion, but it seems probable that the projection really commences further south, at the *Ras Mersed*, north of *Ain Jidy*. At any rate no traveller[q] appears to have been able to pass along the beach between *Ain Jidy* and *Ras Feshkhah*, and the great Arab road, which adheres to the shore from the south as far as *Ain Jidy*, leaves it at that point, and mounts to the summit. It is much to be regretted that Lynch's party, who had encampments of several days duration at *Ain Feshkhah*, *Ain Terâbeh*, and *Ain Jidy*, did not make such observations as would have decided the configuration of the shores.

12. The accompanying woodcut represents the view looking southward from the spring of *Ain Jidy*, a point about 700 feet above the water (Poole, 66). It is taken from a drawing by the accurate pencil of Mr. Tipping, and gives a good idea of the course of that portion of the western heights, and of their ordinary character, except at a few such exceptional spots as the headlands just mentioned, or the isolated rock of *Sebbeh*, the ancient Masada. In their present aspect they can hardly be termed "vertical" or "perpendicular," or even "cliffs"[r] (the favourite term for them), though from a distant point on the surface of the lake they probably look vertical enough (Molyneux, 127). Their structure was originally in huge steps or offsets, but the horizontal portion of each offset is now concealed by the slopes of *débris*, which have in the lapse of ages rolled down from the vertical cliff above.[s]

13. The portion actually represented in this view is described by Dr. Anderson (p. 175) as "varying from 1200 to 1500 feet in height, bold and steep, admitting nowhere of the ascent or descent

[q] Poole appears to have tried his utmost to keep the shore, and to have accomplished more than others, but with only small success. De Saulcy was obliged to take to the heights at *Ain Terâbeh*, and keep to them till he reached *Ain Jidy*.

[r] It is a pity that travellers should so often indulge in the use of such terms as "vertical," "perpendicular," "overhanging," &c., to describe acclivities which prove to be only moderately steep slopes. Even Dr. Robinson—usually so moderate—on more than one occasion speaks of a mountain-side as "perpendicular," and immediately afterwards describes the ascent or descent of it by his party!

[s] Lynch's view of Ain Jidy (*Narr.* 290), though rough, is probably not inaccurate in general effect. It agrees with Mr. Tipping's as to the structure of the heights. That in De Saulcy by M. Belly, which purports to be from the same spot as the latter, is very poor

of beasts of burden, and practicable only here and there to the most intrepid climber. . . . The marked divisions of the great escarpment, reckoning from above, are:—1. Horizontal layers of limestone from 200 to 300 feet in depth. 2. A series of tent-shaped embankments of *débris*, brought down through the small ravines intersecting the upper division, and lodged on the projecting terrace below. 3. A sharply defined well marked formation, less perfectly stratified than No. 1, and constituting by its unbroken continuity a zone of naked rock, probably 150 feet in depth, running like a vast frieze along the face of the cliff, and so precipitous that the detritus pushed over the edge of this shelf-like ledge finds no lodgment anywhere on its almost vertical face. Above this zone is an interrupted bed of yellow limestone 40 feet thick. 4. A broad and boldly sloping talus of limestone,—partly bare, partly covered by *débris* from above—descends nearly to the base of the cliff. 5. A breastwork of fallen fragments, sometimes swept clean away, separates the upper edge of the beach from the ground line of the escarpment. 6. A beach of variable width and structure—sometimes sandy, sometimes gravelly or shingly, sometimes made up of loose and scattered patches of a coarse travertine or marl—falls gradually to the border of the Dead Sea."

14. Further south the mountain sides assume a more abrupt and savage aspect, and in the *Wady Zuweirah*, and still more at *Sebbeh*—the ancient Masada[t]—reach a pitch of rugged and repulsive, though at the same time impressive, desolation, which perhaps cannot be exceeded anywhere on the face of the earth. Beyond *Usdum* the mountains continue their general line, but the district at their feet is occupied by a mass of lower eminences, which, advancing inwards, gradually encroach on the plain at the south end of the lake, and finally shut it in completely, at about 8 miles below *Jebel Usdum*.

15. The region which lies on the top of the western heights was probably at one time a wide table-land, rising gradually towards the high lands which form the central line of the country—Hebron, *Beni-naim*, &c. It is now cut up by deep and difficult ravines, separated by steep and inaccessible summits; but portions of the table-lands still remain in many places to testify to the original conformation. The material is a soft cretaceous limestone, bright white in colour, and containing a good deal of sulphur. The surface is entirely desert, with no sign of cultivation: here and there a shrub of *Retem*, or some other desert-plant, but only enough to make the monotonous desolation of the scene more frightful. "Il existe au monde," says one of the most intelligent of modern travellers, "peu de régions plus désolées, plus abandonnées de Dieu, plus fermées à la vie, que la pente rocailleuse qui forme le bord occidental de la Mer Morte" (Rénan, *Vie de Jésus*, ch. vii.).

16. Of the elevation of this region we hitherto possess but scanty observations. Between *Ain Jidy* and *Ain Terâbeh* the summit is a table-land 740 feet above the lake (Poole, 67).[u] Further north, above *Ain Terâbeh*, the summit of the pass is 1305·75 feet above the lake (Lynch, *Off. Rep.* 45), within a few feet the height of the plain between the *Wady en-Nar* and *Goumran*, which is given by Mr. Poole (p. 68.) at 1340 feet. This appears also to be about the height of the rock of *Sebbeh*, and of the table-land, already mentioned, on the eastern mountains north of the *Wady Zûrka*. It is also nearly coincident with that of the ocean. In ascending from the lake to *Nebi Músa* Mr. Poole (58) passed over what he "thought might be the original level of the old plain, 532½ feet above the Dead Sea." That these are the remains of ancient sea margins, chronicling steps in the history of the lake (Allen, in *Geogr. Journ.* xxiii. 163), may reasonably be conjectured, but can only be determined by the observation of a competent geologist on the spot.

17. A beach of varying width skirts the foot of the mountains on the western side. Above *Ain Jidy* it consists mainly of the deltas of the torrents—fan-shaped banks of *débris*[v] of all sizes, at a steep slope, spreading from the outlet of the torrent like those which become so familiar to travellers, in Northern Italy for example. In one or two places—as at the mouth of the Kidron and at *Ain Terâbeh*—the beach may be 1000 to 1400 yards wide, but usually it is much narrower, and often is reduced to almost nothing by the advance of the headlands. For its major part, as already remarked, it is impassable. Below *Ain Jidy*, however, a marked change occurs in the character of the beach. Alternating with the shingle, solid deposits of a new material, soft friable chalk, marl, and gypsum, with salt, begin to make their appearance. These are gradually developed towards the south, till at *Sebbeh* and below it they form a terrace 80 feet or more in height at the back, though sloping off gradually to the lake. This new material is a greenish white in colour, and is ploughed up by the cataracts from the heights behind into very strange forms:—here, hundreds of small mamelons, covering the plain like an eruption; there, long rows of huge cones, looking like an encampment of enormous tents; or, again, rectangular blocks and pillars, exactly resembling the streets of a town, with rows of houses and other edifices, all as if constructed of white marble.[w] These appear to be the remains of strata of late- or post-tertiary date, deposited at a time when the water of the lake stood much higher, and covered a much larger area, than it does at present. The fact that they are strongly impregnated with the salts of the lake, is itself presumptive evidence of this. In many places they have completely disappeared, doubtless washed into the lake by the action of torrents from the hills behind, similar to, though more violent than those which have played the strange freaks just described: but

[t] This was the fortress in which the last remnant of the Zealots, or fanatical party of the Jews, defended themselves against Silva, the Roman general, in A.D. 71, and at last put themselves to death to escape capture. The spot is described and the tragedy related in a very graphic and impressive manner by Dean Milman (*Hist. of the Jews*, 3rd edit. ii. 385-9).

[u] De Saulcy mentions this as a small rocky table-land, 250 metres above the Dead Sea. But this was evidently not the actual summit, as he speaks of the sheikh occupying a post a few hundred yards above the level of that position, and further west (*Narr.* i. 169).

[v] Lynch remarks that at *Ain el-Feshkhah* there was a "total absence of round pebbles; the shore was covered with small angular fragments of flint" (*Narr.* 274). The same at *Ain Jidy* (290).

[w] De Saulcy, *Narr.* ibid.; Anderson, 176. See also a striking description of the "resemblance of a great city" at the foot of *Sebbeh*, in Beamont's *Diary*, &c., ii. 52.

[x] A specimen brought by Mr. Clowes from the foot of *Sebbeh* has been examined for the writer by Dr. Price, and proves to contain no less than 6·88 per cent of salts soluble in water, viz. chlor. sodium, 4·559, chlor. calcium, 2·08 chlor. magnesium, 0·241. Bromine was distinctly found.

they still linger on this part of the shore, on the peninsula[y] opposite, at the southern and western outskirts of the plain south of the lake, and probably in a few spots at the northern and north-western end, to testify to the condition which once existed all round the edge of the deep basin of the lake. The width of the beach thus formed is considerably greater than that above *Ain Jidy*. From the *Birket el-Khŭlil* to the wady south of *Sebbeh*, a distance of six miles, it is from one to two miles wide, and is passable for the whole distance. The *Birket el-Khŭlil* just alluded to is a shallow depression on the shore, which is filled by the water of the lake when at its greatest height, and forms a natural salt-pan. After the lake retires the water evaporates from the hollow, and the salt remains for the use of the Arabs. They also collect it from similar though smaller spots further[z] south, and on the peninsula (Irby, June 2). One feature of the beach is too characteristic to escape mention—the line of driftwood which encircles the lake, and marks the highest, or the ordinary high, level of the water. It consists of branches of brushwood, and of the limbs of trees, some of considerable size, brought down by the Jordan and other streams, and in course of time cast up on the beach. They stand up out of the sand and shingle in curiously fantastic shapes, all signs of life gone from them, and with a charred though blanched look very desolate to behold. Amongst them are said to be great numbers of palm trunks (Poole, 69); some doubtless floated over from the palm groves on the eastern shore already spoken of, and others brought down by the Jordan in the distant days when the palm flourished along its banks. The driftwood is saturated with salt, and much of it is probably of a very great age.

A remarkable feature of the western shore has been mentioned to the writer by the members of Mr. Clowes's party. This is a set of 3 parallel beaches one above the other, the highest about 50 ft. above the water; which though often interrupted by ravines, and by *débris*, &c., can be traced during the whole distance from *Wady Zuweirah* to *Ain Jidy*. These terraces are possibly alluded to by Anderson when speaking of the "several descents" necessary to reach the floor of *Wady Seyal* (177).

18. At the south-west corner of the lake, below where the wadys *Zuweirah* and *Mahauwat* break down through the enclosing heights, the beach is encroached on by the salt mountain or ridge of *Khashm Usdum*. This remarkable object is hitherto but imperfectly known. It is said to be quite independent of the western mountains, lying in front of and separated from them, by a considerable tract filled up with conical hills and short ridges of the soft chalky marly deposit just described. It is a long level ridge or dyke, of several miles long.[a] Its northern portion runs S.S.E., but after more than half its length it makes a sudden and decided bend to the right, and then runs S.W. It is from 3 to 400 feet in height, of inconsiderable width,[b] consisting of a body of crystallized rock-salt, more or less solid, covered with a capping of chalky limestone and gypsum. The lower portion, the salt rock, rises abruptly from the glossy plain at its eastern base, sloping back at an angle of not more than 45°, often less. It has a strangely dislocated, shattered look, and is all furrowed and worn into huge angular buttresses and ridges, from the face of which great fragments are occasionally detached by the action of the rains, and appear as "pillars of salt," advanced in front of the general mass. At the foot the ground is strewed with lumps and masses of salt, salt streams drain continually from it into the lake, and the whole of the beach is covered with salt—soft and sloppy, and of a pinkish hue in winter and spring, though during the heat of summer dried up into a shining brilliant crust. An occasional patch of the Kali plant (*Salicorniae*, &c.) is the only vegetation to vary the monotony of this most monotonous spot.

Between the north end of *K. Usdum* and the lake is a mound covered with stones and bearing the name of *um-Zoghal*.[c] It is about 60 feet in diameter and 10 or 12 high, evidently artificial, and not improbably the remains of an ancient structure. A view of it, engraved from a photograph by Mr. James Graham, is given in Isaacs's *Dead Sea* (p. 21). This heap M. De Saulcy maintained to be a portion of the remains of Sodom. Its name is more suggestive of Zoar, but there are great obstacles to either identification. [SODOM; ZOAR.]

19. It follows from the fact that the lake occupies a portion of a longitudinal depression, that its northern and southern ends are not enclosed by highland, as its east and west sides are. The floor of the Ghor or Jordan Valley has been already described. [PALESTINE, p. 675.] As it approaches the northern shore of the lake it breaks down by two offsets or terraces, tolerably regular in figure and level. At the outside edge of the second of these, a range of driftwood marks the highest level of the waters—and from this point the beach slopes more rapidly into the clear light-green water of the lake.

20. A small piece of land lies off the shore about halfway between the entrance of the Jordan and the western side of the lake. It is nearly circular in form. Its sides are sloping, and therefore its size varies with the height of the water. When the writer went to it in Sept. 1858, it was about 100 yards in diameter, 10 or 12 feet out of the water, and connected with the shore by a narrow neck or isthmus of about 100 yards in length. The isthmus is concealed when the water is at its full height,

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[y] They are identified by Dr. Anderson.

[z] The salt of the Dead Sea was anciently much in request for use in the Temple service. It was preferred before all other kinds for its reputed effect in hastening the combustion of the sacrifice, while it diminished the unpleasant smell of the burning flesh. Its deliquescent character (due to the chlorides of alkaline earths it contains) is also noticed in the Talmud (*Menacoth* xxi. 1; *Jalkut*). It was called "Sodom salt," but also went by the name of the "salt that does not rest" (מלח שאנן שובתת), because it was made on the Sabbath as on other days, like the "Sunday salt" of the English salt-works. It is still much esteemed in Jerusalem.

[a] There is great uncertainty about its length. Dr. Robinson states it at 5 miles and "a considerable distance further" (ii. 107, 112). Van de Velde makes it 10 miles (ii. 113), or 3½ hours (116). But when these dimensions are applied to the map they are much too large, and it is difficult to believe that it can be more than 5 miles in all.

[b] Dr. Anderson (181) says it is about 2½ miles wide. But this appears to contradict Dr. Robinson's expressions (ii. 107). The latter are corroborated by Mr. Clowes's party. They also noticed salt in large quantities among the rocks in regular strata some considerable distance back from the lake.

[c] ام زوغل (Robinson, ii. 107). By de Saulcy the name is given Redjom el-Mezorrahi (the gh and rr are both attempts to represent the *ghain*). The "Pilgrim" in *Athenaeum*, Apr. 2, 1854, expressly states that his guide called it *Rudjeim ez-Zogheir*.

and then the little peninsula becomes an island. M. De Saulcy attributes to it the name *Redjûm Lût* —the cairn of Lot.[d] It is covered with stones, and dead wood washed up by the waves. The stones are large, and though much weather-worn, appear to have been originally rectangular. At any rate they are very different from any natural fragments on the adjacent shores.

21. Beyond the island the north-western corner of the lake is bordered by a low plain, extending up to the foot of the mountains of *Neby Musa*, and south as far as *Ras Feshkhah*. This plain must be considerably lower than the general level of the land north of the lake, since its appearance implies that it is often covered with water. It is described as sloping gently upwards from the lake; flat and barren, except rare patches of reeds round a spring. It is soft and slimy to the tread, or in the summer covered with a white film of salt formed by the evaporation of the surface water. The upper surface appears to be only a crust, covering a soft and deep substratum, and often not strong enough to bear the weight of the traveller.[e] In all these particulars it agrees with the plain at the south of the lake, which is undoubtedly covered when the waters rise. It further agrees with it in exhibiting at the back remains of the late tertiary deposits already mentioned, cut out, like those about *Sebbeh*, into fantastic shapes by the rush of the torrents from behind.

A similar plain (the *Ghôr el-Belka*, or *Ghôr Seisaban*) appears to exist on the N.E. corner of the lake between the embouchure of the Jordan and the slopes of the mountains of Moab. Beyond, however, the very brief notice of Seetzen (ii. 373), establishing the fact that it is "salt and stony," nothing is known of it.[f]

22. The southern end is like the northern, a wide plain, and like it retains among the Arabs the name of *El Ghôr*.[g] It has been visited by but few travellers. Seetzen crossed it from E. to W. in April, 1806 (*Reisen*, i. 426-9), Irby and Mangles in May, 1818, De Saulcy in Jan. 1851, and Poole in Nov. 1855, all crossed it in the opposite direction at a moderate distance from the lake. Dr. Robinson, on his way from Hebron to Petra in May, 1838, descended the *Wady Zuweirah*, passed between *K. Usdum* and the lake, and went along the western side of the plain to the *Wady el-Jeib*. The same route was partially followed by M. Van de Velde. The plain is bounded on the west side, below the *Khashm Usdum*, by a tract thickly studded with confused mass of unimportant eminences, "low cliffs and conical hills," of chalky indurated marl (Rob. ii. 116), apparently of the same late formation as that already mentioned further north. These eminences intervene between the lofty mountains of Judah and the plain, and thus diminish the width of the *Ghôr* from what it is at *Ain Jidy*. Their present forms are due to the fierce rush of the winter torrents from the elevated tracts behind them. In height they vary from 50 to 150 feet. In colour they are brilliant white (Poole, 61). All along their base are springs, generally of brackish, though occasionally of fresh water, the overflow from which forms a tract of marshland, overgrown with canes, tamarisks, retem, ghurkud, thorn, and other shrubs. Here and there a stunted palm is to be seen Several principal wadys, such as the *Wady Emaz*, and the *Wady Fikreh*, descend into the *Ghor* through these hills from the higher mountains behind, and their wide beds, strewed with great stones and deeply furrowed, show what vast bodies of water they must discharge in the rainy season. The hills themselves bend gradually round to the eastward, and at last close the valley in to the south. In plan they form "an irregular curve, sweeping across the *Ghor* in something like the segment of a circle, the chord of which would be 6 or 7 geogr. miles in length, extending obliquely from N.W. to S.E." (Rob. ii. 120). Their apparent height remains about what it was on the west, but, though still insignificant in themselves, they occupy here an important position as the boundary-line between the districts of the *Ghor* and the *Arabah*—the central and southern compartments of the great longitudinal valley mentioned in the outset of this article. The *Arabah* is higher in level than the *Ghor*. The valley takes at this point a sudden rise or step of about 100 ft. in height, and from thence continues rising gradually to a point about 35 miles north of *Akabeh*, where it reaches an elevation of 1800 ft. above the Dead Sea, or very nearly 500 ft. above the ocean.[h]

23. Thus the waters of two-thirds of the *Arabah* drain northwards into the plain at the south of the lake, and thence into the lake itself. The *Wady el Jeib*—the principal channel by which this vast drainage is discharged on to the plain—is very large, "a huge channel," "not far from half a mile wide," "bearing traces of an immense volume of water, rushing along with violence, and covering the whole breadth of the valley." The body of detritus discharged by such a river must be enormous. We have no measure of the elevation of the plain at the foot of the southern line of mounds, but there can be no doubt that the rise from the lake upwards is, as the torrents are approached, considerable, and it seems hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that the silting up of the lagoon which forms the southern portion of the lake itself is due to the materials brought down by this great torrent and by those, hardly inferior to it, which, as already mentioned, discharge the waters of the extensive highlands both on the east and west.

24. Of the eastern boundary of the plain we possess hardly any information. We know that it is formed by the mountains of Moab, and we can just discern that, adjacent to the lake, they consist of sandstone, red and yellow, with conglomerate containing porphyry and granite, fragments of which have rolled down and seem to occupy the position which on the western side is occupied by the tertiary hills. We know also that the wadys *Ghurundel* and *Tufileh*, which drain a district of the mountains N. of Petra, enter at the S.E. corner of the plain—but beyond this all is uncertain.

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[d] This island was shewn to Maundrell (March 30, 1697) as containing, or having near it, the "monument of Lot's wife." It forms a prominent feature in the view of "the Dead Sea from its northern shore," No. 429 of Frith's stereoscopic views in the Holy Land.

[e] This was especially mentioned to the writer by Mr. David Roberts, R.A., who was nearly lost in such a hole on his way from the Jordan to *Mar Saba*.

[f] The statement of the ancient traveller Thietmar (A.D. 1217), who crossed the Jordan at the ordinary ford, and at a mile from thence was shewn the "salt pillar" of Lot's wife, seems to imply that there are masses of rock-salt at this spot, of the same nature as that at *Usdum*, though doubtless less extensive (Thietmar *Peregr.* xi. 47).

[g] *Rohr* in the spelling adopted by De Saulcy.

[h] See the section given by Petermann in *Geogr. Journ.* xviii. 89.

25. Of the plain itself hardly more is known than of its boundaries. Its greatest width from W. to E. is estimated at from 5 to 6 miles, while its length from the cave in the salt mountain to the range of heights on the south, appears to be about 8. Thus the breadth of the *Ghôr* seems to be here considerably less than it is anywhere north of the lake, or across the lake itself. That part of it which more immediately adjoins the lake consists of two very distinct sections, divided by a line running nearly N. and S. Of these the western is a region of salt and barrenness, bounded by the salt mountain of *Khashm Usdum*, and fed by the liquefied salt from its caverns and surface, or by the drainage from the salt springs beyond it—and overflowed periodically by the brine of the lake itself. Near the lake it bears the name of *es Sabkah*, *i. e.* the plain of salt mud (De Saulcy, 262). Its width from W. to E.—from the foot of *K. Usdum* to the belt of reeds which separates it from the *Ghôr es Safieh*—is from 3 to 4 miles.[j] Of its extent to the south nothing is known, but it is probable that the muddy district, the *Sabkah* proper, does not extend more at most than 3 miles from the lake. It is a naked marshy plain, often so boggy as to be impassable for camels (Rob. 115), destitute of every species of vegetation, scored at frequent intervals[k] by the channels of salt streams from the *Jebel Usdum*, or the salt springs along the base of the hills to the south thereof. As the southern boundary is approached the plain appears to rise, and its surface is covered with a "countless number" of those conical mamelons (Poole, 61), the remains of late aqueous deposits, which are so characteristic of the whole of this region. At a distance from the lake a partial vegetation is found (Rob. ii. 103), clumps of reeds surrounding and choking the springs, and spreading out as the water runs off.

26. To this curious and repulsive picture the eastern section of the plain is an entire contrast. A dense thicket of reeds, almost impenetrable, divides it from the *Sabkah*. This past, the aspect of the land completely changes. It is a thick copse of shrubs similar to that around Jericho (Rob. ii. 113), and, like that, cleared here and there in patches where the *Ghuwarîneh*,[l] or Arabs of the *Ghôr*, cultivate their wheat and durra, and set up their wretched villages. The variety of trees appears to be remarkable. Irby and Mangles (108 *b*) speak of "an infinity of plants that they knew not how to name or describe." De Saulcy expresses himself in the same terms—"une riche moisson botanique." The plants which these travellers name are dwarf mimosa, tamarisk, dom, osher, *Asclepias procera*, nubk, arek, indigo. Seetzen (i. 427) names also the *Thuja aphylla*. Here, as at Jericho, the secret of this vegetation is an abundance of fresh water acting on a soil of extreme richness (Seetzen, ii. 355). Besides the watercourse,[m] in which the belt of reeds flourishes (like those north of the Lake of Huleh in the marshes which bound the upper Jordan[n]), the *Wady Kurâhy* (or *el Ahsy*), a considerable stream[o] from the eastern mountains, runs through it, and Mr. Poole mentions having passed three swift brooks, either branches of the same,[p] or independent streams But this would hardly be sufficient to account for its fertility, unless this portion of the plain were too high to be overflowed by the lake; and although no mention is made of any such change of level, it is probably safe to assume it. Perhaps also something is due to the nature of the soil brought down by the *Wady el-Ahsy*, of which it is virtually the delta. This district, so well wooded and watered, is called the *Ghôr es-Safieh*.[q] Its width is less than that of the *Sabkah*. No traveller has traversed it from W. to E., for the only road through it is apparently that to *Kerak*, which takes a N.E. direction immediately after passing the reeds. De Saulcy made the nearest approach to such a traverse on his return from *Kerak* (*Narrative*, i. 492), and on his detailed map (feuille 6) it appears about 2½ miles in width. Its length is still more uncertain, as we are absolutely without record of any exploration of its southern portion. Seetzen (ii. 355) specifies it (at second hand) as extending to the mouth of the *Wady el-Hŏssa* (*i. e.* the *el-Ahsy*). On the other hand, De Saulcy, when crossing the *Sabkah* for the first time from W. to E. (*Narr.* i. 263), remarked that there was no intermission in the wood before him, between the *Ghor es-Safieh* and the foot of the hills at the extreme south of the plain. It is possible that both are right—and that the wood extends over the whole east of the *Ghor*, though it bears the name of *es-Safieh* only as far as the mouth of the *el-Ahsy*.

27. The eastern mountains which form the background to this district of woodland, are no less naked and rugged than those on the opposite side of the valley. They consist, according to the reports of Seetzen (ii. 354), Poole, and Lynch, of a red sandstone, with limestone above it—the sandstone in horizontal strata with vertical cleavage (Lynch, *Narr.* 311, 313). To judge from the fragments at their feet, they must also contain very fine brecciae and conglomerates, of granite, jasper, greenstone, and felspar of varied colour. Irby and Mangles mention also porphyry, serpentine, and basalt; but Seetzen expressly declares that of basalt he there found no trace.

Of their height nothing is known, but all travellers concur in estimating them as higher than those on the west, and as preserving a more horizontal line to the south.

After passing from the *Ghôr es-Safieh* to the north, a salt plain is encountered resembling the *Sabkah*, and like it overflowed by the lake when

[j] Irby, 1¼ hour; De Saulcy, 1 hr. 18 min.+800 metres; Poole, 1 hr. 5 min. Seetzen, 3 hours (i. 428).

[k] Irby and Mangles report the number of these "drains" between *Jebel Usdum* and the edge of the *Ghor es-Safieh* at six; Poole at eleven; De Saulcy at three, but he evidently names only the most formidable ones.

[l] The Ghorneys of Irby and Mangles; the Rhaouarnas of De Saulcy.

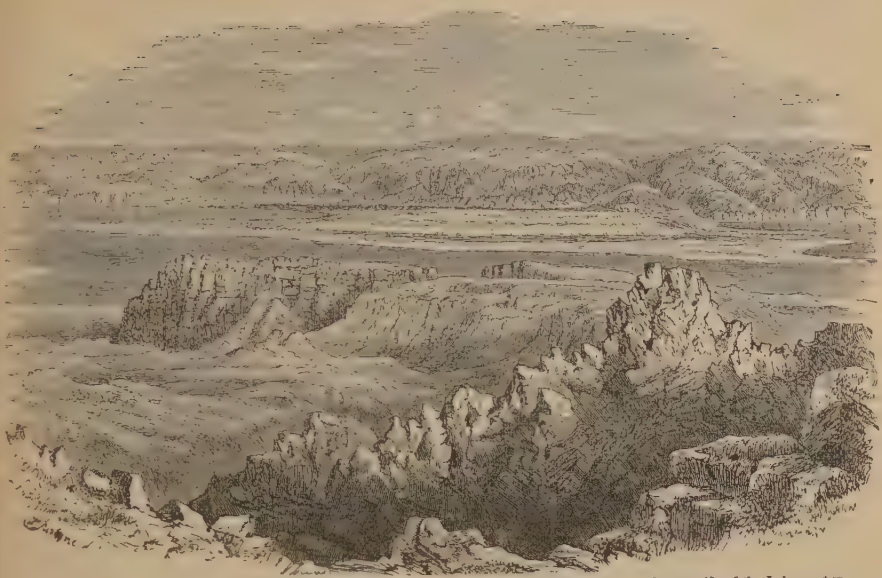
[m] Probably the *Wady et-Tufŭleh*.

[n] See De Saulcy, *Narr.* i. 493.

[o] Larger than the *Wady Mojib* (Seetzen, i. 427).

[p] Seetzen (ii. 355) states that the stream, which he calls *el-Hŏssa*, is conducted in artificial channels (*Kanäle*) through the fields (also i. 427). Poole names them *Ain Ashka*.

[q] Mr. Tristram found even at the foot of the salt mountain of *Usdum* that about 2 feet below the salt surface there was a splendid alluvial soil; and he has suggested to the writer that there is an analogy between this plain and certain districts in North Africa, which though fertile and cultivated in Roman times, are now barren and covered with efflorescence of natron. The cases are also to a certain degree parallel, inasmuch as the African plains (also called *Sebkha*) have their salt mountain (like the *Khashm Usdum*, "isolated from the mountain range behind," and flanked by small mamelons bearing stunted herbage), the streams from which supply them with salt (*The Great Sahara*, 71, &c.). They are also, like the Sabkah of Syria, overflowed every winter by the adjoining lake.



THE DEAD SEA.—View from the heights behind Sebbeh (Masada), snewing the wide beach on the Western side of the Lake, and the tongue-shaped Peninsula. From a Drawing made on the spot by W. Tipping, Esq.

high (Seetzen, ii. 355). With this exception the mountains come down abruptly on the water during the whole length of the eastern side of the lagoon. In two places only is there a projecting beach, apparently due to the deltas caused by the Wadys *en-Nemeirah* and *Uheimir*.

28. We have now arrived at the peninsula which projects from the eastern shore and forms the north enclosure of the lagoon. It is too remarkable an object, and too characteristic of the southern portion of the lake, to be passed over without description.

It has been visited and described by three explorers—Irby and Mangles in June 1818; Mr. Poole in Nov. 1835; and the American expedition in April 1848. Among the Arabs it appears to bear the names *Ghor el Mezra'ah* and *Ghor el-Lisân*. The latter name—"the Tongue—"[r] recals the similar Hebrew word *lashon*, לָשׁוֹן, which is employed three times in relation to the lake in the specification of the boundaries of Judah and Benjamin contained in the Book of Joshua But in its three occurrences the word is applied to two different places—one at the north (Josh. xv. 5, xviii. 19), and one at the south (xv. 2); and it is probable that it signifies in both cases a tongue of water—a bay—instead of a tongue[s] of land.

29. Its entire length from north to south is about 10 geogr. miles—and its breadth from 5 to 6—though these dimensions are subject to some variation according to the time of year. It appears to be formed entirely of recent aqueous deposits, late or post-tertiary, very similar, if not identical, with those which face it on the western shore, and with the "mounds" which skirt the plains at the south and N.W. of the lake. It consists of a friable carbonate of lime intermixed with sand or sandy marls, and with frequent masses of sulphate of lime (gypsum). The whole is impregnated strongly with sulphur, lumps of which are found, as on the plain at the north end of the lake, and also with salt, existing in the form of lumps or packs of rock-salt (And. 187). Nitre is reported by Irby (139), but neither Poole nor Anderson succeeded in meeting with it. The stratification is almost horizontal, with a slight dip to the east (Poole, 63). At the north it is worn into a sharp ridge or mane, with very steep sides and serrated top. Towards the south the top widens into a table-land, which Poole (ib.) reports as about [t] 230 ft. above

[r] This appellation is justified by the view at the top of this page.

[s] From the expression being in the first two cases "tongue of the sea," and in the third simply "tongue," M. de Saulcy conjectures that in the last case a tongue *of land* is intended: but there is nothing to warrant this. It is by no means certain whether the two Arabic names just mentioned apply to different parts of the peninsula, or are given indiscriminately to the whole. *Ghor el Mezra'ah* is the only name which Seetzen mentions, and he attaches it to the whole. It is also the only one mentioned by Dr. Anderson, but he restricts it to the depression on the east side of the peninsula, which runs N. and S., and intervenes between the main body and the foot of the eastern mountains (And. 184). M. de Saulcy is apparently the earliest traveller to mention the name *Lisân*. He (Jan. 15) ascribes it to the whole peninsula, though he appears to attach it more particularly to its southern portion — "le Liçan actuel des Arabes, c'est-à-dire la pointe sud de la presqu'île" (*Voyage*, i. 290). And this is supported by the practice of Van de Velde, who on his map marks the north portion of the peninsula as *Ghor-el-Mezra'ah*, and the south *Ghor-el-Lisân*. M. de Saulcy also specifies with much detail the position of the former of these two as at the opening of the *Wady ed Dra'a* (Jan. 15). The point is well worth the careful attention of future travellers, for if the name *Lisân* is actually restricted to the south side, a curious confirmation of the accuracy of the ancient survey recorded in Josh. xv. 2 would be furnished, as well as a remarkable proof of the tenacity of an old name.

[t] This dimension, which Mr. Poole took with his aneroid, is strangely at variance with the estimate of Lynch's party. Lynch himself, on approaching it at the north

the level of the lake at its southern end. It breaks down on the W., S., and N.E. sides by steep declivities to the shore, furrowed by the rains which are gradually washing it into the lake, into cones and other fantastic forms, like those already described on the western beach near *Sebbeh*. It presents a brilliant white appearance when lit up by the blazing sun, and contrasted with the deep blue of the lake (Beaufort, 104). A scanty growth of shrubs (Poole, 64)—so scanty as to be almost invisible (Irby, 139 *b*)—is found over the table-land. On the east the highland descends to a depression of 1½ or 2 miles wide, which from the description of Dr. Anderson (184) appears to run across the neck from S. to N., at a level hardly above that of the lake. It will doubtless be ultimately worn down quite to the level of the water, and then the peninsula will become an island (Anderson, 184, 189). Into this valley lead the torrents from the ravines of the mountains on the east. The principal of these is the *Wady ed-Dra'a* or *W. Kerak*, which leads up to the city of that name. It is here that the few inhabitants of the Peninsula reside, in a wretched village called *Mezra'ah*. The soil is of the most unbounded fertility, and only requires water to burst into riotous prodigality of vegetation (Seetzen, ii. 351, 2).

30. There seems no reason to doubt that this peninsula is the remnant of a bed of late aqueous strata which were deposited at a period when the water of the lake stood very much higher than it now does, but which, since it attained its present level, and thus exposed them to the action of the winter torrents, are gradually being disintegrated and carried down into the depths of the lake. It is in fact an intrusion upon the form of the lake, as originally determined by the rocky walls of the great fissure of the *Ghôr*. Its presence here, so long after the great bulk of the same formation has been washed away, is an interesting and fortunate circumstance, since it furnishes distinct evidence of a stage in the existence of the lake, which in its absence might have been inferred from analogy, but could never have been affirmed as certain. It may have been deposited either by the general action of the lake, or by the special action of a river, possibly in the direction of *Wady Kerak*, which in that case formed this extensive deposit at its mouth, just as the Jordan is now forming a similar bank at its embouchure. If a change were to take place which either lowered the water, or elevated the bottom, of the lake, the bank at the mouth of the Jordan would be laid bare, as the *Lisân* now is, and would immediately begin to undergo the process of disintegration which that is undergoing.

31. The extraordinary difference between the depth of the two portions of the lake—north and south of the peninsula—has been already alluded to, and may be seen at a glance on the section given on page 1174. The former is a bowl, which at one place attains the depth of more than 1300 feet, while the average depth along its axis may be taken at not far short of 1000. On the other hand the southern portion is a flat plain, with the greater part of its area nearly level, a very few feet[u] only below the surface, shoaling gradually at the edges till the brink is reached. So shallow is this lagoon that it is sometimes possible to ford right across from the west to the east side (Seetzen, i. 428,[x] ii. 358; Rob. i. 521; Lynch, *Narr.* 304).

The channel connecting the two portions, on the western side of the peninsula, is very gradual in its slope from S. to N.,[y] increasing in depth from 3 fathoms to 13, and from 13 to 19, 32 and 50, when it suddenly drops to 107 (642 feet), and joins the upper portion.

32. Thus the circular portion below the peninsula, and a part of the channel, form a mere lagoon, entirely distinct and separate from the basin of the lake proper. This portion, and the plain at the south as far as the rise or offset at which the Arabah commences—a district in all of some 16 miles by 8—would appear to have been left by the last great change in the form of the ground at a level not far below its present one, and consequently much higher than the bottom of the lake itself. But surrounded as it is on three sides by highlands, the waters of which have no other outlet, it has become the delta into which those waters discharge themselves. On its south side are the immense torrents of the *Jeib*, the *Ghurundel*, and the *Fikreh*. On the east the somewhat less important *El Ahsy*, *Numeirah*, *Humeir* and *ed-Dra'ah*. On the west the *Zuweirah*, *Mubughghik*,[z] and *Senîn*. These streams are the drains of a district not less than 6000 square miles in area, very uneven in form, and composed of materials more or less friable. They must therefore bring down enormous quantities of silt and shingle. There can be little doubt that they have already filled up the southern part of the estuary as far as the present brink of the water, and the silting up of the rest is merely a work of time. It is the same process which is going on, on a larger and more rapid scale, in the Sea of Azov, the upper portion of which is fast filling up with the detritus of the river Don. Indeed the two portions of the Dead Sea present several points of analogy to the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea.

It is difficult to speak with confidence on any of the geological features of the lake, in the absence of reports by competent observers. But the theory that the lagoon was lowered by a recent change, and overflowed (Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 189), seems directly contrary to the natural inference from the fact that such large torrents discharge themselves into that spot. There is nothing in the appearance of the ground to suggest any violent change in recent (*i. e.* historical) times, or that anything has taken place but the gradual accumulation of the deposits of the torrents all over the delta.

33. The water of the lake is not less remarkable than its other features. Its most obvious peculiarity is its great weight.[a] Its specific gravity

point (*Narr.* 297), states it at from 40 to 60 ft. high, with a sharp angular central ridge some 20 ft. above that. This last feature is mentioned also by Irby (June 2). Anderson increases the dimension of his chief to 80 or 90 ft. (*Off. Rep.* 185); but even this falls short of Poole. The peninsula probably slopes off considerably towards the north end, at which Lynch and Anderson made their estimate.

[u] When sounded by Lynch, its depth over the greater part of the area was 12 feet.

[x] He fixes the ford at 4 an hour north of the N. end of *Jebel Usdum*.

[y] Across this, too, there is a ford, described in some detail by Irby and Mangles (June 2). The water must have been unusually low, since they not only state that donkeys were able to cross, but also that the width did not exceed a mile, a matter in which the keen eye of a practical sailor is not likely to have been deceived. Lynch could find no trace of either ford, and his map shews the channel as fully two miles wide at its narrowest spot.

[z] Pronounced Mŏburrik; the Embarreg of De Saulcy

[a] Of the salt-lakes in Northern Persia (*Urumiyeh* &c.) nothing as yet known. Wagner's account is very

has been found to be as much as 12·28; that is to say, a gallon of it would weigh over 12¼ lbs. instead of 10 lbs., the weight of distilled water. Water so heavy must not only be extremely buoyant, but must possess great inertia. Its buoyancy is a common theme of remark by the travellers who have been upon it or in it. Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 8, §4) relates some experiments made by Vespasian by throwing bound criminals into it; and Lynch, bathing on the eastern shore near the mouth of the *Wady Zûrka*, says (*Narr.* 371), in words curiously parallel to those of the old historian, "With great difficulty I kept my feet down, and when I laid upon my back, and, drawing up my knees, placed my hands upon them, I rolled immediately over." In the bay on the north side of the peninsula "a horse could with difficulty keep himself upright. Two fresh hens' eggs floated up one third of their length," *i. e.* with one-third exposed; "they would have sunk in the water of the Mediterranean or Atlantic" (*Narr.* 342). "A muscular man floated nearly breast-high without the least exertion" (*ib.* 325). One of the few things recollected by the Maltese servant of Mr. Costigan—who lost his life from exposure on the lake—was that the boat "floated a palm higher than before" (Stephens, *Incidents*, ch. xxxii). Dr. Robinson "could never swim before, either in fresh or salt water," yet here he "could sit, stand, lie, or swim without difficulty" (*B. R.* i. 506).

34. So much for its buoyancy. Of its weight and inertia the American expedition had also practical experience. In the gale in which the party were caught on their first day on the lake, between the mouth of the Jordan and *Ain Feshkhah*, "it seemed as if the bows of the boats were encountering the sledge-hammers of the Titans." When, however, "the wind abated, the sea rapidly fell; the water, from its ponderous quality, settling as soon as the agitating cause had ceased to act" (*Narr.* 268, 9). At ordinary times there is nothing remarkable in the action of the surface of the lake. Its waves rise and fall, and surf beats on the shore, just like the ocean. Nor is its colour, dissimilar to that of the Sea. The water has a greasy feel, owing possibly to the saponification of the lime and other earthy salts with the perspiration of the skin, and this seems to have led some observers to attribute to it a greasy look. But such a look exists in imagination only. It is quite transparent, of an opalescent green tint, and is compared by Lynch (*Narr.* 337) to diluted absinthe. Lynch (*Narr.* 296) distinctly contradicts the assertion that it has any smell, noxious or not. So do the chemists[b] who have analysed it.

35. One or two phenomena of the surface may be mentioned. Many of the old travellers, and some modern ones (as Osburn, *Pal. Past and Present*, 443, and Churton, *Land of the Morning*, 149), mention that the turbid yellow stream of the Jordan is distinguishable for a long distance in the lake. Molyneux (129) speaks of a "curious broad strip of white foam which appeared to lie in a straight line nearly N. and S. throughout the whole length of the sea . . . . . some miles W. of the mouth of the Jordan" (comp. Lynch, *Narr.* 279, 295). "It seemed to be constantly bubbling and in motion, like a stream that runs rapidly through still water; while nearly over this track during both nights we observed in the sky a white streak like a cloud extending also N. and S. and as far as the eye could reach." Lines of foam on the surface are mentioned by others: as Robinson (i. 503); Borrer (*Journey*, &c., 479); Lynch (*Narr.* 288, 9). From *Ain Jidy* a current was observed by Mr. Clowes's party running steadily to the N. not far from the shore (comp. Lynch, *Narr.* 291). It is possibly an eddy caused by the influx of the Jordan. Both De Saulcy (*Narr.* Jan. 8) and Robinson (i. 504) speak of spots and belts of water remaining smooth and calm while the rest of the surface was rippled, and presenting a strong resemblance to islands (comp. Lynch, 288, Irby, June 5). The haze or mist which perpetually broods over the water has been already mentioned. It is the result of the prodigious evaporation. Lynch continually mentions it. Irby (June 1) saw it in broad transparent columns, like water-spouts, only very much larger. Extraordinary effects of mirage due to the unequal refraction produced by the heat and moisture are occasionally seen (Lynch, *Narr.* 320).

36. The remarkable weight of this water is due to the very large quantity of mineral salts which it holds in solution. The details of the various analyses are given overleaf in a tabular form, accompanied by that of sea-water for comparison. From that of the U. S. expedition[c] it appears that each gallon of the water, weighing 12¼ lbs., contains nearly 3⅛ lbs. (3·319) of matter in solution—an immense quantity when we recollect that sea-water, weighing 10¼ lbs. per gallon, contains less than ½ a lb. Of this 3⅛ lbs. nearly 1 lb. is common salt (chloride of sodium); about 2 lbs. chloride of magnesium, and less than ½ a lb. chloride of calcium (or muriate of lime). The most unusual ingredient is bromide of magnesium, which exists in truly extraordinary[d] quantity. To its presence is due the therapeutic reputation enjoyed by the lake when its water was sent to Rome for wealthy invalids (Galen, in Reland, *Pal.* 242) or lepers flocked to its shores (Ant. Mart. §x.). Boussingault (*Ann. de Chimie*, 1856, xlviii. 168) remarks that if ever bromine should become an article of commerce the Dead Sea will be the natural source for it. It is the magnesian compounds which impart so nauseous and bitter a flavour to the water. The quantity of common salt in solution is very large. Lynch found (*Narr.* 377) that while distilled water would dissolve 5-17ths of its weight of salt, and the water of the Atlantic 1-6th, the water of the Dead Sea was so nearly saturated as only to be able to take up 1-11th.

37. The sources of the components of the water may be named generally without difficulty. The lime and magnesia proceed from the dolomitic limestone of the surrounding mountains; from the gypsum which

vague. Those in Southern Russia have been fully investigated by Goebel (*Reisen* &c., Dorpat, 1837). The heaviest water is that of the "Red Sea," near Perekop in the Crimea (solid contents 37·22 per cent.; sp. gr. 1·331). The others, including the Ieltonskoë or Elton, contain from 24 to 28 per cent of solid matter in solution, and range in sp. gr., from 12·07 to 12·68.

[b] With the single exception of Moldenhauer, who when he first opened the specimen he analysed, found it to smell strongly of sulphur.

[c] This is chosen because the water was taken from a considerable depth in the centre of the lake, and therefore probably more fairly represents the average composition than the others.

[d] Adopting Marchand's analysis, it appears that the quantity of this salt in the Dead Sea is 128 times as great as in the Ocean and 74 times as great as in the Kreuznach water, where its strength is considered remarkable.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ANALYSES OF THE WATER OF THE DEAD SEA.

	1. C. G. Gmelin, 1824. As recalculated by Marchand.	2. Apjohn, 1838.	3. Marchand, 1847.	4. Herapath, 1849.	5. Booth, of Philadelphia (U. S. Exped.), 1849.	6. Boutron-Charlard and Henry.	7. Prof. W. Gregory, 1854.	8. Moldenhauer, Nov. 1854.	9. Water of the Ocean.
Chloride of Magnesium	12·166	7·370	10·543	7·822	14·589	1·696	13·951	6·831	·360
,, Sodium	7·039	7·839	6·578	12·109	7·855	11·003	7·339	2·957	2·700
,, Calcium	3·336	2·438	2·894	2·455	*3·107	·680	2·796	1·471	. .
,, Potassium	1·086	·852	1·398	1·217	·658	·166	·571	2·391	·070
,, Manganese	·161	·005	. .	·006	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
,, Ammonium	·007	. .	. .	·006	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
,, Aluminium	·143	. .	·018	·056	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
,, Iron	. .	. .	. .	·003	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Sulphate of Potash	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	·062	. .
,, Lime	·052	·075	·088	·068	·070	.	·106	. .	·140
,, Magnesia	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	·233	. .	. .	·230
Bromide of Magnesium	·442	·201	·251	·251	·137	trace	·069	·183	·002
,, Sodium	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Organic matter	. .	. .	. .	·062	. .	. .	. .	. .	.
Silica	. .	. .	·003	. .	. .	0·200	. .	. .	. .
Bituminous matter	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Carbonate of Lime	.	. .	. .	. .	. .	0·953	. .	. .	·003
									Loss ·025
Total solid contents	24·435	18·780	21·773	24.055	26·416	14·927	24·832	13·895	3·530
Water	75·565	81·220	78·227	75·945	73·584	85·073	75·168	86·105	96·470
	100·000	100·000	100·000	100·000	100·000	100·000	100·000	100·000	100·000
Specific gravity	1·202	1·153	1·1841 at 66° F.	1·172	1·227 at 60° F.	1·099	1·210 at 60° F.	1·116	1·0278
Boiling Point	. .	221°	. .	227·75					
Water obtained	. .	½ mile from Jordan, late in rainy season.	in 1847, at the north end.	in March, 1849, ½ mile N.W. of mouth of Jordan.	May 5, '48 195 fath. deep, off A.Terábeh	Apr. 2, 1850, "2 hours from the Jordan."	from Island at N. end. March 11, 1854.	in June, 1854.	

No. 1. The figures in the Table are the recalculations of Marchand (*Journal*, &c., 359) on the basis of the improved chemical science of his time. The original analysis is in *Naturwis. Abhandl.*, Tübingen, i. (1827) 333.

No. 2. See *The Athenæum*, June 15, 1839.

No. 3. *Journal für prakt. Chemie*, &c., Leipzig, xlvii. 1849), 365.

No. 4. *Quarterly Journal of Chem. Soc.* ii. (1850) 336.

No. 5. *Off. Report of U. S. Expedition*, 4to.. p. 204.

No. 6. *Journal de Pharmacie et de Chimie*, Mars 1852.

No. 7. Calculated by the writer from the proportionate table of salts given in Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, 381.

No. 8. Liebig and Wöhler's *Annalen der Chemie*, xlvii. (1856) 357; xlviii. (1856) 129-170.

No. 9. Regnault's *Cours Elém. de Chimie*, ii. 190.

The older analyses have not been reprinted, the methods employed having been imperfect and the results uncertain as compared with the more modern ones quoted. They are as follows:—1. Macquer, Lavoisier, and Lesage (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, 1778); 2. Marcet (*Phil. Trans.*, 1807, p. 296, &c.); 3. Klaproth (*Mag. der Gesells. naturfor. Freunde zu Berlin*, iii. 139); 4. Gay Lussac (*Ann. de Chimie*, xi. (1819), p. 197); 5. Hermbstädt (Schweigger's *Journal*, xxxiv. 163).

Want of space compels the omission of the analysis of Boussingault of water collected in spring 1855 (*Ann. de Chimie*, xlviii. (1856), 129-170), which corresponds very closely with that of Gmelin (viz. sp. gr. 1·194; salts, 22·785 per cent), as well as that of Commines (quoted in the same paper) of water collected in June 1853, showing sp. gr. 1·196 and salts 18·26 per cent. Another analysis by Prof. W. Gregory, giving 19·25 per cent of salts, is quoted by Kitto (*Phys. Geogr.* 374).

The writer has been favoured with specimens of water collected 13th Nov., 1850, by the Rev. G. W. Bridges, and 7th April, 1863, by Mr. R. D. Wilson. Both were taken from the north end. The former, which had been carefully sealed up until examination, exhibited sp. gr. 1·1812, solid contents, 21·585 per cent; the latter, sp. gr. 1·184, solid contents, 22·188; the boiling point in both cases 226° 4 Fahr.;—a singular agreement, when it is remembered that one specimen was obtained at the end, the other at the beginning, of summer. For this investigation, and much more valuable assistance in this part of his article, the writer is indebted to his friend Dr. David Simpson Price, F.C.S.

The inferiority in the quantity of the salts in Nos. 2, 6, and 8 is very remarkable, and must be due to the fact (acknowledged in the 2 first) that the water was obtained during the rainy season, or from near the entrance of the Jordan or other fresh water. Nos. 7 and 8 were collected within two months of each other. The preceding winter, 1853-4, was one of the wettest and coldest remembered in Syria, and yet the earlier of the two analyses shows a largely preponderating quantity of salts. There is sufficient discrepancy in the whole of the results to render it desirable that a fresh set of analyses should be made, of water obtained from various defined spots and depths, at different times of the year, and investigated by the same analyst. The variable density of the water was observed as early as by Galen (see quotations in Reland, *Pal.* 242).

The best papers on this interesting subject are those of Gmelin, Marchand, Herapath, and Boussingault (see the references given above). The second of these contains an excellent review of former analyses, and most instructive observations on matters more or less connected with the subject.

The absence of iodine is remarkable. It was particularly searched for by both Herapath and Marchand, but without effect. In Sept. 1858 the writer obtained a large quantity of water from the island at the north end of the lake, which he reduced by boiling on the spot. The concentrated salts were afterwards tested by Dr. D. S. Price by his nitrate of potash test (see *Chem. Soc. Journal* for 1851), with the express view of detecting iodine, but not a trace could be discovered.

* Dr. Anderson (*Off. Rep.* 205) states that in water from "another part" of the lake he found as much as 4·8 per cent of chloride of calcium.

exists on the shores, nearly pure, in large quantities; and from the carbonate of lime and carbonate of magnesia found on the peninsuala and elsewhere (Anderson, 185). The chloride of sodium is supplied from *Khashm Usdum*, and the copious brine springs on both shores. Balls of nearly pure sulphur (probably the deposit of some sulphurous stream) are found in the neighbourhood of the lake, on the peninsula (Anderson, 187), on the western beach and the north-western heights (Ibid. 176, 180, 160), and on the plain S. of Jericho (Rev. G. W. Bridges). Nitre may exist, but the specimens mentioned by Irby and others are more probably pieces of rock salt, since no trace of nitric acid has been found in the water or soil (Marchand, 370).[e] Manganese, iron, and alumina have been found on the peninsula (Anderson, 185, 7), and the other constituents are the product of the numerous mineral springs which surround the lake,[f] and the washings of the aqueous deposits on the shores (see §17), which are gradually restoring to the lake the salts they received from it ages back when covered by its waters. The strength of these ingredients is heightened by the continual evaporation, which (as already stated) is sufficient to carry off the whole amount of the water supplied, leaving, of course, the salts in the lake; and which in the Dead Sea, as in every other lake which has affluents but no outlets, is gradually concentrating the mineral constituents of the water, as in the alembic of the chemist. When the water becomes saturated with salt, or even before, deposition will take place, and salt-beds be formed on the bottom of the lake.[g] If, then, at a future epoch a convulsion should take place which should upheave the bottom of the lake, a salt mountain would be formed similar to the Khashm Usdum; and this is not improbably the manner in which that singular mountain was formed. It appears to have been the bed of an ancient salt lake, which during the convulsion which depressed the bed of the present lake, or some other remote change, was forced up to its present position. Thus this spot may have been from the earliest ages *the home of Dead Seas*; and the present lake but one of a numerous series.

38. It has been long supposed that no life whatever existed in the lake. But recent facts show that some inferior organizations can and do find a home even in these salt and acrid waters. The Cabinet d'Hist. Naturelle at Paris contains a fine specimen of a coral called *Stylophora pistillata*, which is stated to have been brought from the lake in 1837 by the Marq. de l'Escalopier, and has every appearance of having been a resident there, and not an ancient or foreign specimen.[h] Ehrenberg discovered 11 species of Polygaster, 2 of Polythalamiae, and 5 of Phytolithariae, in mud and water brought home by Lepsius (*Monatsb. d. Kön. Pr. Akad.* June 1842). The mud was taken from the north end of the lake, 1 hour N.W. of the Jordan, and far from the shore. Some of the specimens of Polygaster exhibited ovaries, and it is worthy of remark that all the species were found in the water of the Jordan also. The copious phosphorescence mentioned by Lynch (*Narr.* 280) is also a token of the existence of life in the waters In a warm salt stream which rose at the foot of the *Jebel Usdum*, at a few yards only from the lake, Mr. Poole (Nov. 4) caught small fish (*Cyprinodon hammonis*) 1¼ inch long. He is of opinion, though he did not ascertain the fact, that they are denizens of the lake. The *melanopsis* shells found by Poole (67) at the fresh springs (? *Ain Terâbeh*), and which other travellers have brought from the shore at *Ain Jidy*, belong to the spring and not to the lake. Fucus and ulva are spoken of by some of the travellers, but nothing certain is known of them. The ducks seen diving by Poole must surely have been in search of some form of life, either animal or vegetable.

39. The statements of ancient travellers and geographers to the effect that no living creature could exist on the shores of the lake, or bird fly across its surface, are amply disproved by later travellers. It is one of the first things mentioned by Maundrell (March 30); and in our own days almost every traveller has noticed the fable to contradict it. The cane brakes of *Ain Feshkhah*, and the other springs on the margin of the lake, harbour snipe, partridges, ducks, nightingales, and other birds, as well as frogs; hawks, doves, and hares are found along the shore (Lynch, 274, 277, 279, 287, 294, 371, 6); and the thickets of *Ain Jidy* contain "innumerable birds," among which were the lark, quail, and partridge, as well as birds of prey (*B. R.* i. 524). Lynch mentions the curious fact that "all the birds, and most of the insects and animals" which he saw on the western side were of a stone colour so as to be almost invisible on the rocks of the shore (*Narr.* 279, 291, 294). Van de Velde (*S. & P.* ii. 119), Lynch (*Narr.* 279, 287, 308), and Poole (Nov. 2, 3, and 7), even mention having seen ducks and other birds, single and in flocks, swimming and diving in the water.

40. Of the temperature of the water more observations are necessary before any inferences can be drawn. Lynch (*Report*, May 5) states that a stratum

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[e] On the subject of the bitumen of the lake the writer has nothing to add to what is said under PALESTINE, 682*b*, and SLIME, 1333, 4.

[f] The bromine has not yet been satisfactorily traced. The salt of *Khashm Usdum* has been analysed for its discovery (Rob. ii. 108), but in vain. Marchand examined a specimen of soil from a "salt-plain called Zeph" ½ an hour W. of the lake, and found it to contain "an appreciable quantity of bromine" (*Journal für prakt. Chemie*, xlvii. 369, 70).

In addition to the obvious sources named in the text, there are doubtless others less visible. The remarkable variation in the proportions of the constituents of the water in the specimens obtained by different travellers (see the analyses) leads to the inference that in the bed of the lake there are masses of mineral matter, or mineral springs, which may modify the constitution of the water in their immediate neighbourhood.

[g] This is already occurring, for Lynch's sounding-lead several times brought up cubical crystals of salt, sometimes with mud, sometimes alone (*Narr.* 281, 297; comp. Molyneux, 127). The lake of Assal, on the E. coast of Africa, which has neither affluent nor outlet, is said to be concentrated to (or nearly to) the point of saturation (*Edin. N. Phil. Journ.* Apr. 1855, 259).

[h] This interesting fact is mentioned by Humboldt (*Views of Nat.* 270); but the writer is indebted to the kind courtesy of M. Valenciennes, keeper of the Cabinet, for confirmation of it. Humboldt gives the coral the name of *Porites elongata*, but the writer has the authority of Dr. P. Martin Duncan for saying that its true designation is *Stylophora pist.* Unfortunately nothing whatever is known of the place or manner of its discovery: and it is remarkable that after 26 years no second specimen should have been acquired. It is quite possible for the coral in question to grow under the conditions presented by the Dead Sea, and it is true that it abounds also in the Red Sea; but it will not be safe to draw any deduction from these facts till other specimens of it have been brought from the lake.

at 59° Fahr. is almost invariably found at 10 fathoms below the surface. Between *Wady Zûrka* and *Ain Terâbeh* the temp. at surface was 76°, gradually decreasing to 62° at 1044 ft. deep, with the exception just named (*Narr.* 374). At other times, and in the lagoon, the temp. ranged from 82° to 90°, and from 5° to 10° below that of the air (*Ib.* 510-20. Comp. Poole, Nov. 2). Dr. Stewart (*Tent and Khan*, 381), on 11th March, 1854, found the Jordan 60° Fahr., and the Dead Sea (N. end) 73°; the temperature of the air being 83° in the former case, and 78° in the latter.

41. Nor does there appear to be anything inimical to life in the atmosphere of the lake or its shores, except what naturally proceeds from the great heat of the climate. The *Ghawârineh* and *Rashaideh* Arabs, who inhabit the southern and western sides and the peninsula, are described as a poor stunted race; but this is easily accounted for by the heat and relaxing nature of the climate, and by their meagre way of life, without inferring anything specially unwholesome in the exhalations of the lake. They do not appear to be more stunted or meagre than the natives of Jericho, or, if more, not more than would be due to the fact that they inhabit a spot 500 to 600 feet further below the surface of the ocean and more effectually enclosed. Considering the hard work which the American party accomplished in the tremendous heat (the thermometer on one occasion 106°, after sunset, *Narr.* 314), and that the sounding and working the boats necessarily brought them a great deal into actual contact with the water of the lake, their general good health is a proof that there is nothing pernicious in the proximity of the lake itself. A strong smell of sulphur pervades some parts of the western shore, proceeding from springs or streams impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen (De Saulcy, *Narr.* i. 192; Van de Velde,[i] ii. 109; Beaufort, ii. 113). It accompanied the north wind which blew in the evenings (Lynch, 292, 294). But this odour, though unpleasant, is not noxious, and in fact M. de Saulcy compares it to the baths of Barèges. The *Sabkah* has in summer a "strong marshy smell," from the partial desiccation of the ditches which convey the drainage of the salt springs and salt rocks into the lagoon; but this smell can hardly be stronger or more unhealthy than it is in the marshes above the Lake *el-Huleh*, or in many other places where marshy ground exists under a sun of equal power; such, for example, as the marshes at *Iskanderûn*, quoted by Mr. Porter (*Handbook*, 201 *a*).

42. Of the Botany of the Dead Sea little or nothing can be said. Dr. Hooker, in his portion of the article PALESTINE, has spoken (pp. 687, 8) of the vegetation of the *Ghôr* in general, and of that of *Ain Jidy* and the N.W. shore of the lake in particular. Beyond these, the only parts of the lake which he explored, nothing accurate is known. A few plants are named by Seetzen as inhabiting the *Ghôr es-Safieh* and the peninsula. These, such as they are, have been already mentioned. In addition, the following are enumerated in the lists[k] which accompany the *Official Report* (4to.) of Lynch, and the *Voyage* of De Saulcy (*Atlas des Planches, &c.*) At *Ain Jidy*, *Reseda lutea*, *Malva sylvestris*, *Glinus lotoides*, *Sedum reflexum*, *Sideritis syriaca*, *Eupatorium syriacum*, and *Withania somnifera*. On the south-eastern and eastern shore of the lake, at the *Ghôr es-Sâfieh*, and on the peninsula, they name *Zilla myagroides*, *Zygophylla coccinea*, *Ruta bracteosa*, *Zizyphus spina christi*, *Indigofera*, *Tamarix*, *Aizoon canariense*, *Salvadora persica*, *Ifloga fontanesii*, *Picridium tingitanum*, *Solanum villosum*, *Euphorbia peplus*, *Erythrostictus punctatus*, *Carex stenophylla*, and *Heliotropum albidum*. At *Ain Feshkhah*, *Ain Ghuweir*, *Ain Terâbeh*, and other spots on the western shore, they name, in addition to those given by Dr. Hooker, *Sida asiatica*, *Knautia arvensis*, *Scabiosa papposa*, *Echium italicum* and *creticum*, *Stratice sinuata*, *Anastatica hierochuntina*, *Heliotropum rotundifolium*, and *Phragmites communis*. At other places not specified along the shores, *Kakile* and *Crambe maritima*, *Arenaria maritima*, *Chenopodium maritimum*, *Anabasis aphylla*, *Anemone coronaria*, *Ranunculus asiaticus*, *Fumaria micrantha*, *Sisymbrium irio*, *Cleone trineroia*, *Anagyris foetida*, *Chrysanthemum coronaria*, *Rhagadiolus stellatus*, *Anagallis arvensis*, *Convolvulus siculus*, *Onosma syriaca*, *Lithospermum tenuiflorum*, *Hyoscyamus aureus*, *Euphorbia helioscopa*, *Iris caucasica*, *Morea sisyrinchium*, *Romulea bulbocodium* and *grandiflora*. The mouth of the *Wady Zuweirah* contains large quantities of oleanders.

43. Of the Zoology of the shores, it is hardly too much to say that nothing is known. The birds and animals mentioned by Lynch and Robinson have been already named, but their accurate identification must await the visit of a traveller versed in natural history. On the question of the existence of life in the lake itself, the writer has already said all that occurs to him.

44. The appearance of the lake does not fulfil the idea conveyed by its popular name. "The Dead Sea," says a recent traveller,[l] "did not strike me with that sense of desolation and dreariness which I suppose it ought. I thought it a pretty, smiling lake—a nice ripple on its surface." Lord Nugent (*Lands &c.*, ii. ch. 5) expresses himself in similar terms. Schubert came to it from the Gulf of Akabeh, and he contrasts the "desert look" of that with the remarkable beauties of this, "the most glorious spot he had ever seen" (Ritter, 557). This was the view from its northern end. The same of the southern portion. "I expected a scene of unequalled horror," says Mr. Van de Velde (ii. 117), "instead of which I found a lake calm and glassy, blue and transparent, with an unclouded heaven, a smooth beach, and surrounded by mountains whose blue tints were of rare beauty. . . . It bears a remarkable resemblance to Loch Awe."—"It reminded me of the beautiful lake of Nice" (Paxton, in Kitto, *Phys. Geogr.* 383). "Nothing of gloom and desolation," says another traveller, "... even the shore was richly studded with bright[m] yellow flowers growing to the edge of the rippling waters." Of the view from Masada, Miss Beaufort (ii. 110) thus speaks—"Some one says there is no beauty in it . . . but this view is beyond all others for the splendour of its savage and yet beautiful wildness." Seetzen, in a lengthened and unusually enthusiastic

[i] M. Van de Velde's watch turned black with the sulphur in the air of the hills and valleys south of Masada. Miss Beaufort (at *Birket el Khutil*) says it was "very strong, immensely more nauseous than that of the springs of Tadmor."

[k] Lynch's lists were drawn up by Dr. R. Eglesfield Griffith; and De Saulcy's by the Abbé Michon, who also himself collected the bulk of the specimens.

[l] Rev. W. Lea (1847), who has kindly allowed the writer the use of his MS. journal. See very nearly the same remarks by Dr. Stewart (*Tent and Khan*)

[m] Probably *Inula crithmoides*.

passage (ii. 364, 5) extols the beauties of the view from the delta at the mouth of the *Wady Mojib*, and the advantages of that situation for a permanent residence. These testimonies might be multiplied at pleasure, and they contrast strangely with the statements of some of the mediaeval pilgrims (on whose accounts the ordinary conceptions of the lake are based), and even those of some modern travellers,[n] of the perpetual gloom which broods over the lake, and the thick vapours which roll from its waters like the smoke of some infernal furnace, filling the whole neighbourhood with a miasma which has destroyed all life within its reach.

45. The truth lies, as usual, somewhere between these two extremes. On the one hand the lake certainly is not a gloomy, deadly, smoking, gulf. In this respect it does not at all fulfil the promise of its[o] name. The name is more suggestive of the dead solitude of the mountain tarns of Wales or Scotland, the perpetual twilight and undisturbed lingering decay of the Great Dismal Swamp, or the reeking miasma of the Putrid Sea of the Crimea. Death can never be associated with the wonderful brightness of the sun of Syria, with the cheerful reflexion of the calm bosom of the lake at some periods of the day, or with the regular alternation of the breezes which ruffle its surface at others. At sunrise and sunset the scene must be astonishingly beautiful. Every one who has been in the West of Scotland knows what extraordinary pictures are sometimes seen mirrored in the sea-water lochs when they lie unruffled in the calm of early morning or of sunset. The reflexions from the bosom of the Dead Sea are said to surpass those, as far as the hues of the mountains which encircle it, when lit up by the gorgeous rising and setting suns of Syria, surpass in brilliancy and richness those of the hills around Loch Fyne and Loch Goyle. One such aspect may be seen—and it is said by competent judges to be no exaggerated representation—in "The Scapegoat" of Mr. Holman Hunt, which is a view of the Moab mountains at sunset, painted from the foot of *Jebel Usdum*, looking across the lower part of the Lagoon.[p] But on the other hand, with all the brilliancy of its illumination, its frequent beauty of colouring, the fantastic grandeur of its enclosing mountains, and the tranquil charm afforded by the reflexion of that unequalled sky on the no less unequalled mirror of the surface—with all these there is something in the prevalent sterility and the dry, burnt, look of the shores, the overpowering heat, the occasional smell of sulphur, the dreary salt marsh at the southern end, and the fringe of dead driftwood round the margin, which must go far to excuse the title which so many ages have attached to the lake, and which we may be sure it will never lose.

46. It does not appear probable that the condition or aspect of the lake in biblical times was materially different from what it is at present. Other parts of Syria may have deteriorated in climate and appearance owing to the destruction of the wood which once covered them, but there are no traces either of the ancient existence of wood in the neighbourhood of the lake, or of anything which would account for its destruction supposing it to have existed. A few spots, such as *Ain Jidy*, the mouth of the *Wady Zuweirah*, and that of the *Wady ed Dra'a*, were more cultivated, and consequently more populous, than they are under the discouraging influences of Mohammedanism. But such attempts must always have been partial, confined to the immediate neighbourhood of the fresh springs and to a certain degree of elevation, and ceasing directly irrigation was neglected. In fact the climate of the shores of the lake is too sultry and trying to allow of any considerable amount of civilized occupation being conducted there. Nothing will grow without irrigation, and artificial irrigation is too laborious for such a situation. The plain of Jericho we know was cultivated like a garden, but the plain of Jericho is very nearly on a level with the spring of *Ain Jidy*, some 600 feet above the *Ghor el-Lisân*, the *Ghor es Safieh*, or other cultivable portions of the beach of the Dead Sea. Of course, as far as the capabilities of the ground are concerned, provided there is plenty of water, the hotter the climate the better, and it is not too much to say that, if some system of irrigation could be carried out and maintained, the plain of Jericho, and still more the shores of the lake (such as the peninsula and the southern plain), might be the most productive spots in the world. But this is not possible, and the difficulty of communication with the external world would alone be (as it must always have been) a serious bar to any great agricultural efforts in this district.

When Machaerus and Callirrhoë were inhabited (if indeed the former was ever more than a fortress, and the latter a bathing establishment occasionally resorted to), and when the plain of Jericho was occupied with the crowded population necessary for the cultivation of its balsam-gardens, vineyards, sugar-plantations, and palm-groves, there may have been a little more life on the shores. But this can never have materially affected the lake. The track along the western shore and over *Ain Jidy* was then, as now, used for secret marauding expeditions, not for peaceable or commercial traffic. What transport there may have been between Idumaea and Jericho came by some other channel. A doubtful passage in [q] Josephus, and a reference by Edrisi (Ed. Jaubert, in Ritter, *Jordan*, 700) to an occasional venture by the people of "Zara and Dara" in the 12th

[n] As, for instance, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, quoted by Brocardus (A.D. 1290), and the terrific description given by Quaresmius (ii. 759, &c.), as if from Brocardus, though it is not in the Received Text of his works (Amst. 1711): Sir R. Guylforde (A.D. 1506): Schwarz (A.D. 1845). It is, however, surprising how free the best of the old travellers are from such fables. The descriptions of the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, of Arculfus, Maundeville, Thietmar, Doubdan, Maundrell, barring a little exaggeration of the buoyancy of the water and of its repulsion to life, are sober, and, as far as they go, accurate. It is to be lamented that the popular conception of the lake was not founded on these accounts, instead of the sensation-descriptions of others at secondhand.

[o] "It is not gloom but desolation that is its prevailing characteristic," is the remark of Prof. Stanley, in his excellent chapter on the lake in *Sinai and Palestine* (chap. vii.). "So mournful a landscape, for one having real beauty, I had never seen" (Miss Martineau, *Eastern Life*, Pt. III. ch. 4).

[p] The remarks in the text refer to the mountains which form the background to this remarkable painting. The title of the picture and the accidents of the foreground give the key to the sentiment which it conveys, which is certainly that of loneliness and death. But the mountains would form an appropriate background to a scene of a very different description.

[q] Quoted by Reland (*Pal.* 252) as "liber v. de bell. cap. 3." But this—if it can be verified, which the writer has not yet succeeded in doing—only shows that the Romans on one occasion, sooner than let their fugitives escape them, got some boats over and put them on the lake. It does not indicate any continued navigation.

century, are all the allusions known to exist to the navigation of the lake, until Englishmen and Americans[r] launched their boats on it within the last twenty years for purposes of scientific investigation. The temptation to the dwellers in the environs must always have been to ascend to the fresher air of the heights, rather than descend to the sultry climate of the shores.

47. The connexion between this singular lake and the Biblical history is very slight. In the topographical records of the Pentateuch and [s]the Book of Joshua, it forms one among the landmarks of the boundaries of the whole country, as well as of the inferior divisions of Judah and Benjamin; and attention has been already drawn to the minute accuracy with which, according to the frequent custom of these remarkable records, one of the salient features of the lake is singled out for mention. As a landmark it is once named in what appears to be a quotation from a lost work of the prophet Jonah (2 K. xiv. 25), itself apparently a reminiscence of the old Mosaic statement (Num. xxxiv. 8, 12). Besides this the name occurs once or twice in the imagery of the Prophets.[t] In the New Testament there is not even an allusion to it. There is, however, one passage in which the "Salt Sea" is mentioned in a different manner to any of those already quoted, viz., as having been in the time of Abraham the Vale of Siddim (Gen. xiv. 3). The narrative in which this occurs is now generally acknowledged to be one of the most ancient of those venerable documents, from which the early part of the Book of Genesis was compiled. But a careful examination shows that it contains a number of explanatory statements which cannot, from the very nature of the case, have come from the pen of its original author. The sentences, "Bela which[u] is Zoar" (2 and 8); "En-Mishpat which is Kadesh" (7); "the Valley of Shaveh which is the King's Valley" (17); and the one in question, "the Vale of Siddim which is the Salt Sea" (3), are evidently explanations added by a later hand at a time when the ancient names had become obsolete. These remarks (or, as they may be termed, "annotations") stand on a perfectly different footing to the words of the original record which they are intended to elucidate, and whose antiquity they enhance. *It* bears every mark of being contemporary with the events it narrates. *They* merely embody the opinion of a later person, and must stand or fall by their own merits.

48. Now the evidence of the spot is sufficient to show that no material change has taken place in the upper and deeper portion of the lake for a period very long anterior to the time of Abraham. In the lower portion—the lagoon and the plain below it—if any change has occurred, it appears to have been rather one of reclamation than of submersion—the gradual silting up of the district by the torrents which discharge their contents into it (see §23). We have seen that, owing to the gentle slope of the plain, temporary fluctuations in the level of the lake would affect this portion very materially; and it is quite allowable to believe that a few wet winters followed by cold summers, would raise the level of the lake sufficiently to lay the whole of the district south of the lagoon under water, and convert it for the time into a part of the "Salt Sea." A rise of 20 feet beyond the ordinary high-water point would probably do this, and it would take some years to bring things back to their former condition. Such an exceptional state of things the writer of the words in Gen. xiv. 3 may have witnessed and placed on record.

49. This is merely stated as a possible explanation; and it assumes the Vale of Siddim to have been the plain at the south end of the lake, for which there is no evidence. But it seems to the writer more natural to believe that the author of this note on a document which even in his time was probably of great antiquity, believed that the present lake covered a district which in historic times had been permanently habitable dry land. Such was the implicit belief of the whole modern world—with the exception perhaps of [v]Reland—till within less than half a century. Even so lately as 1830 the formation of the Dead Sea was described by a divine of our Church, remarkable alike for learning and discernment, in the following terms:—

"The Valley of the Jordan, in which the cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Adma, and Tseboim, were situated, was rich and highly cultivated. It is most probable that the river then flowed in a deep and uninterrupted channel down a regular descent, and discharged itself into the eastern gulf of the Red Sea. The cities stood on a soil broken and undermined with veins of bitumen and sulphur. These inflammable substances set on fire by lightning caused a terrible convulsion; the watercourses—both the river and the canals by which the land was extensively irrigated—burst their banks; the cities, the walls of which were perhaps built from the combustible materials of the soil, were entirely swallowed up by the fiery inundation, and the whole valley, which had been compared to Paradise and the well-watered cornfields of the Nile, became a dead and fetid lake" (Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*, 2nd ed. i. 15).

In similar language does the usually cautious Dr. Robinson express himself, writing on the spot, before the researches of his countrymen had revealed the depth and nature of the chasm, and the consequent remote date of the formation of the lake:—"Shattered mountains and the deep chasms of the rent earth are here tokens of the wrath of God, and of his vengeance upon the guilty inhabitants of the plain" (*Bib. Res.* i. 525).[w]

Now if these explanations—so entirely groundless, when it is recollected that the identity of the Vale of Siddim with the Plain of Jordan, and the

[r] Costigan in 1835, Moore and Beek in 1837, Symonds in 1841, Molyneux in 1847, Lynch in 1848.

[s] See the quotations at the head of the article.

[t] One of these (Ez. xlvii.) is remarkable for the manner in which the characteristics of the lake and its environs—the dry ravines of the western mountains; the noxious waters; the want of fish; the southern lagoon—are brought out. See Prof. Stanley's notice (*S. & P.* 294).

[u] בֶּלַע הִיא צֹעַר: such is the formula adopted in each of the instances quoted. It is the same which is used in the precisely parallel case, "Hazazon-Tamar, which is Engedi" (2 Chr. xx. 2). In other cases, where the remark seems to have proceeded from the original writer, another form is used—אֲשֶׁר—as in "el Paran, which is by the Wilderness" (6), "Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus" (15).

[v] See his chapter *De lacu Asphaltite* in *Palaestina*, lib. i. cap. xxxviii.—truly admirable, considering the scanty materials at his disposal. He seems to have been the first to disprove the idea that the cities of the plain were submerged.

[w] Even Lieut. Lynch can pause between the casts of the lead to apostrophise the "unhallowed sea . . . the record of God's wrath," or to notice the "sepulchral light" cast around by the phosphorence, &c., &c. (*Narr* 284, 288, 289).

submersion of the cities, find no warrant whatever in Scripture—are promulgated by persons of learning and experience in the 19th century after Christ, surely it need occasion no surprise to find a similar view put forward at a time when the contradictions involved in the statement that the Salt Sea had once been the Vale of Siddim could not have presented themselves to the ancient commentator who added that explanatory note to the original record of Gen. xiv. At the same time it must not be overlooked that the passage in question is the only one in the whole Bible—Old Testament, Apocrypha, or New Testament—to countenance the notion that the cities of the plain were submerged; a notion which the present writer has endeavoured elsewhere[x] to shew does not date earlier than the Christian era.

50. The writer has there also attempted to prove that the belief which prompted the statements just quoted from modern writers, viz. that the Dead Sea was formed by the catastrophe which overthrew the "Cities of the Plain"—is a mere assumption. It is not only unsupported by Scripture, but is directly in the teeth of the evidence of the ground itself. Of the situation of those cities we only know that, being in the "Plain of the Jordan," they must have been to the north of the lake. Of the catastrophe which destroyed them, we only know that it is described as a shower of ignited sulphur descending from the skies. Its date is uncertain, but we shall be safe in placing it within the limit of 2000 years before Christ. Now, how the chasm in which the Jordan and its lakes were contained was produced out of the limestone block which forms the main body of Syria, we are not at present sufficiently informed to know. It may have been the effect of a sudden fissure[y] of dislocation, or of gradual [z]erosion, or of a combination of both. But there can be no doubt that, however the operation was performed, it was of far older date than the time of Abraham, or any other historic[a] event. And not only this, but the details of the geology, so far as we can at present discern them, all point in a direction opposite to the popular hypothesis. That hypothesis is to the effect that the valley was once dry, and at a certain historic period was covered with water and converted into a lake. The evidence of the spot goes to show that the very reverse was the case; the plateaus and terraces traceable round its sides, the aqueous deposits of the peninsula and the western and southern shores, saturated with the salts of their ancient immersion, speak of a depth at one time far greater than it is at present, and of a gradual subsidence, until the present level (the balance, as already explained, between supply and evaporation) was reached.

Beyond these and similar tokens of the action of water, there are no marks of any geological action nearly so recent as the date of Abraham. Inexperienced and enthusiastic travellers have reported craters, lava, pumice, scoriae, as marks of modern volcanic action, at every step. But these things are not so easily recognized by inexperienced observers, nor, if seen, is the deduction from them so obvious. The very few competent geologists who have visited the spot—both those who have published their observations (as Dr. Anderson, geologist to the American [b]expedition), and those who have not, concur in stating that no certain indications exist in or about the lake, of volcanic action within the historical or human period, no volcanic craters, and no *coulées* of lava traceable to any vent. The igneous rocks described as lava are more probably basalt of great antiquity; the bitumen of the lake has nothing necessarily to do with volcanic action. The scorched, calcined look of the rocks in the immediate neighbourhood, of which so many travellers have [c]spoken as an evident token of the conflagration of the cities, is due to natural causes—to the gradual action of the atmosphere on the constituents of the stone.

The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah may have been by volcanic action, but it may be safely asserted that no traces of it have yet been discovered, and that, whatever it was, it can have had no connexion with that far vaster and far more ancient event which opened the great valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and at some subsequent time cut it off from communication with the Red Sea by forcing up between them the tract of the *Wady Arabah*.[d] [G.]

[x] Under the heads of SODOM, SIDDIM, ZOAR.

[y] See the remarks of Sir R. Murchison before the B. Association (in *Athenaeum*, 29 Sept. 1849).

[z] This is the opinion of Dr. Anderson.

[a] Dr. Anderson is compelled to infer from the features of the eastern shore that the Ghor existed "before the tertiary age" (189; and see his interesting remarks on 190, 2).

[b] This Report is the only document which purports to give a scientific account of the geology of the Dead Sea. The author was formerly Professor at Columbia College, U. S. It forms a part of his *Geological Reconnaissance* of those portions of the Holy Land which were visited by the American Expedition. The writer is not qualified to pass judgment on its scientific merits, but he can speak to its fulness and clearness, and to the modesty with which the author submits his conclusions, and which contrasts very favourably with the loose bombast in which the chief of the Expedition is too prone to indulge. Its usefulness would be greatly increased by the addition of sections, shewing the order of succession of the strata, and diagrams of some of the more remarkable phenomena.

[c] An instance of the loose manner in which these expressions are used is found in Lynch's *Narrative* (283), where he characterises as "scathed by fire" a rock near the mouth of the Kidron, which in the same sentence he states was in rapid progress of disintegration, with a "sloping hill of half its own height" at its base formed by the dust of its daily decay.

[d] There is a slight correspondence, though probably but a superficial one, between the Dead Sea at the apex of the Gulf of Akabeh and the Bitter Lakes at the apex of the Gulf of Suez. Each was probably at one time a portion of the sea, and each has been cut off by some change in the elevation of the land, and left to concentrate its waters at a distance from the parent branch of the ocean. The change in the latter case was probably far more recent than in the former, and may even have occurred since the Exodus.

The parallel between the Euxine and the Dead Sea has been already spoken of. If by some geological change the strait of the Bosphorus should ever be closed, and the outlet thus stopped, the parallel would in some respects be very close—the Danube and the Dnieper would correspond to the Jordan and the *Zurka*: the Sea of Azov with the Sivash would answer to the Lagoon and the *Sabkah*—the river Don to the Wady *el Jeib*. The process of adjustment between supply and evaporation would at once commence, and from the day the straits were closed the saltness of the water would begin to concentrate. If further, the evaporation should be greater than the present supply, the water would sink and sink until the great Euxine became a little lake in a deep hollow far below the level of the Mediterranean; and the parallel would then be complete.

The likeness between the Jordan with its lakes and the river of Utah has been so often alluded to, that it need not be more than mentioned here. See Dr. Buist in *Edin. N. Phil. Journal*, April 1855; Burton's *City of the Saints*, 394.

SEAL[a] The importance attached to seals in the East is so great that without one no document is regarded as authentic (Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 608; Chardin, *Voy.* v. 454). The use of some method of sealing is obviously, therefore, of remote antiquity. Among such methods used in Egypt at a very early period were engraved stones, pierced through their length and hung by a string or chain from the arm or neck, or set in rings for the finger. The most ancient form used for this purpose was the scarabaeus, formed of precious or common stone, or even of blue pottery or porcelain, on the flat side of which the inscription or device was engraved. Cylinders of stone or pottery bearing devices were also used as signets. One in the Alnwick Museum bears the date of Osirtasen I., or between 2000 and 3000 B.C. Besides finger-rings, the Egyptians, and also the Assyrians and Babylonians, made use of cylinders of precious stone or terra-cotta, which were probably set in a frame and rolled over the document which was to be sealed. The document, especially among the two latter nations, was itself often made of baked clay, sealed while it was wet and burnt afterwards. But in many cases the seal consisted of a lump of clay, impressed with the seal and attached to the document, whether of papyrus or other material, by strings. These clay lumps often bear the impress of the finger, and also the remains of the strings by which they had been fastened. One such found at Nimroud was the seal of Sabaco king of Egypt, B.C. 711, and another is believed by Mr. Layard to have been the seal of Sennacherib, of nearly the same date (Birch, *Hist. of Pottery*, i. 101, 118; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 341, 364; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* 154-160). In a somewhat similar manner doors of tombs or other places intended to be closed were sealed with lumps of clay. The custom prevalent among the Babylonians of carrying seals is mentioned by Herodotus i. 195, who also notices the seals on tombs, ii. 121; Wilkinson, i. 15, ii. 364; Matt. xxvii. 66; Dan. vi. 17. The use of clay in sealing is noticed in the Book of Job xxxviii. 14, and the signet-ring as an ordinary part of a man's equipment in the case of Judah (Gen. xxxviii. 18), who probably, like many modern Arabs, wore it suspended by a string[b] from his neck or arm. (See Cant. viii. 6; Ges. pp. 538, 1140; Robinson, i. 36; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Ar.* p. 90; Chardin, *l. c.* Olearius, *Trav.* p. 317; Knobel on Gen. xxxviii. in *Exeg. Hdb.*) The ring or the seal as an emblem of authority both in Egypt, in Persia, and elsewhere, is mentioned in the cases of Pharaoh with Joseph, Gen. xli. 42; of Ahab, 1 K. xxi. 8; of Ahasuerus, Esth. iii. 10, 12, viii. 2; of Darius, Dan. *l. c.*, also 1 Macc. vi. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 2, §2; Her. iii. 128; Curtius, iii. 6, 7, x. 5, 4; Sandys, *Trav.* p. 62; Chardin, ii. 291, v. 451, 462; and as an evidence of a covenant in Jer. xxxii. 10, 54; Neh. ix. 38, x. 1; Hag. ii. 23. Its general importance is denoted by the metaphorical use of the word, Rev. v. 1, ix. 4. Rings with seals are mentioned in the Mishna, *Shabb.* vi. 3, and earth or clay[c] as used for seals of bags, viii. 5. Seals of four sorts used in the Temple, as well as special guardians of them, are mentioned in *Shekal.* v. 1.

Among modern Orientals the size and place of the seal vary according to the importance both of the sender of a letter and of the person to whom it is sent. In sealing, the seal itself, not the paper, is smeared with the sealing-substance. Thus illiterate persons sometimes use the object nearest at hand—their own finger, or a stick notched for the purpose—and, daubing it with ink, smear the paper therewith (Chardin, v. 454, ix. 347; Arvieux, *Trav.* p. 161; Rauwolff, *Trav.* in Ray, ii. 61; Niebuhr, *l. c.*; Robinson, i. p. 36). Engraved signets were in use among the Hebrews in early times, as is evident in the description of the high-priest's breastplate, Ex. xxviii. 11, 36, xxxix. 6, and the work of the engraver as a distinct occupation is mentioned in Ecclus. xxxviii. 27. [CLAY, i. 337.] [H. W. P.]

SE'BA (סְבָא: Σαβά, Σοήνη: *Saba*: gent. n. pl. סְבָאִים: Σαβαείμ, Ζαβαείμ: *Sabaim*: A. V. incorrectly rendered SABEANS, a name there given with more probability to the שְׁבָאִים, Joel iii. 8 [Heb. text, iv. 8]; and to Sheba, used for the people, Job i. 15; but it would have been better had the original orthography been followed in both cases by such renderings as "people of Seba," "people of Sheba," where the gent. nouns occur). Seba heads the list of the sons of Cush. If Seba be of Hebrew, or cognate, origin, it may be connected with the root סָבָא, "he or it drank, drank to excess," which would not be inappropriate to a nation seated, as we shall see was that of Seba, in a well-watered country; but the comparison of two other similar names of Cushites, Sabtah (סַבְתָּה) and Sabtechah (סַבְתְּכָא), does not favour this supposition, as they were probably seated in Arabia, like the Cushite Sheba (שְׁבָא), which is not remote from Seba (סְבָא), the two letters being not unfrequently interchanged. Gesenius has suggested the Ethiopic ሰብእ: *säbĕay*, "a man," as the origin of both Seba and Sheba, but this seems unlikely. The ancient Egyptian names of nations or tribes, possibly countries, of Ethiopia, probably mainly, if not wholly, of Nigritian race, SAHABA, SABARA (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* ii. p. 9, tav. xii. K. l.), are more to the point; and it is needless to cite later geographical names of cities, though that of one of the upper confluents of the Nile, Astasobas, compared with Astaboras, and Astapus, seems worthy of notice, as perhaps indicating the name of a nation. The proper names of the first and second kings of the Ethiopian xxvth dynasty of Egypt, SHEBEK (סוא) and SHEBETEK, may also be compared. Gesenius was led, by an error of the Egyptologists, to connect Sevechus, a Greek transcription of SHEBETEK, with SABK or SBAK, the crocodile-headed divinity of Ombos (*Lex.* s. v. סוא).

The list of the sons of Cush seems to indicate the position of the Cushite nation or country Seba,

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[a] 1. חוֹתָם (Aram. خاتم); σφραγίς, ἀποσφράγισμα; *annulus* (Gen xxxviii. 25). חֹתֶמֶת *f.*; δακτύλιος; *annulus*; from חָתַם, "close" or "seal." Ch. חֲתַם; σφραγίζομαι; *signum imprimere, signare.*

2. Ring, or signet-ring, טַבַּעַת.

3. עֶזְקָה, Ch.; δακτύλιος; *annulus.*

[b] פְּתִיל; ὅρμισκος; *armilla*; A. V. "bracelet."

[c] אדמה (see Ges. p. 27).

Nimrod, who is mentioned at the close of the list, ruled at first in Babylonia, and apparently afterwards in Assyria: of the names enumerated between Seba and Nimrod, it is highly probable that some belong to Arabia. We thus may conjecture a curve of Cushite settlements, one extremity of which is to be placed in Babylonia, the other, if prolonged far enough in accordance with the mention of the African Cush, in Ethiopia. The more exact position of Seba will be later discussed.

Besides the mention of Seba in the list of the sons of Cush (Gen. x. 7; 1 Chr. i. 9), there are but three, or, as some hold, four, notices of the nation. In Psalm lxxii., which has evidently a first reference to the reign of Solomon, Seba is thus spoken of among the distant nations which should do honour to the king:—"The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts" (10). This mention of Sheba and Seba together is to be compared with the occurrence of a Sheba among the descendants of Cush (Gen. x. 7), and its fulfilment is found in the queen of Sheba's coming to Solomon. There can be little doubt that the Arabian kingdom of Sheba was Cushite as well as Joktanite; and this occurrence of Sheba and Seba together certainly lends some support to this view. On the other hand, the connection of Seba with an Asiatic kingdom is important in reference to the race of its people, which, or at least the ruling class, was, no doubt, not Nigritian. In Isaiah xliii., Seba is spoken of with Egypt, and more particularly with Cush, apparently with some reference to the Exodus, where we read: "I gave Egypt [for] thy ransom, Cush and Seba for thee" (3). Here, to render Cush by Ethiopia, as in the A. V., is perhaps to miss the sense of the passage, which does not allow us to infer, though it is by no means impossible, that Cush, as a geographical designation, includes Seba, as it would do if here meaning Ethiopia. Later in the book there is a passage parallel in its indications: "The labour of Egypt, and merchandize of Cush, and of the people of Seba, men of stature, shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine" (xlv. 14). Here there is the same mention together of the three nations, and the same special association of Cush and Seba. The great stature and beauty of the Ethiopians is mentioned by Herodotus, who speaks of them as by report the tallest and handsomest men in the world (iii. 20; comp. 114); and in the present day some of the tribes of the dark races of a type intermediate between the Nigritians and the Egyptians, as well as the Caucasian Abyssinians, are remarkable for their fine form, and certain of the former for their height. The doubtful notice is in Ezekiel, in a difficult passage: "and with men of the multitude of Adam [were] brought drunkards [סוֹבְאִים, but the Keri reads סְבָאִים, 'people of Seba'] from the wilderness, which put bracelets upon their hands, and beautiful crowns upon their heads"[a] (xxiii. 42). The first clause would seem to favour the idea that a nation is meant, but the reading of the text is rather supported by what follows the mention of the "drunkards." Nor is it clear why people of Seba should come from the wilderness. The passages we have examined thus seem to show (if we omit the last) that Seba was a nation of Africa, bordering on or included in Cush, and in Solomon's time independent and of political importance. We are thus able to conjecture the position of Seba. No ancient Ethiopian kingdom of importance could have excluded the island of Meroë, and therefore this one of Solomon's time may be identified with that which must have arisen in the period of weakness and division of Egypt that followed the Empire, and have laid the basis of that power that made SHEBEK, or Sabaco, able to conquer Egypt, and found the Ethiopian dynasty which ruled that country as well as Ethiopia.

Josephus says that Saba (Σαβά) was the ancient name of the Ethiopian island and city of Meroë (*A. J.* ii. 10, §2), but he writes Seba, in the notice of the Noachian settlements, Sabas (*Id.* i. 6, §2). Certainly the kingdom of Meroë succeeded that of Seba; and the ancient city of the same name may have been the capital, or one of the capitals, of Seba, though we do not find any of its monuments to be even as early as the xxvth dynasty. There can be no connection between the two names. According to Josephus and others, Meroë was named after a sister of Cambyses; but this is extremely unlikely, and we prefer taking it from the ancient Egyptian MERU, an island, which occurs in the name of a part of Ethiopia that can only be this or a similar tract, MERU-PET, "the island of PET [Phut?] the bow," where the bow may have a geographical reference to a bend of the river, and the word island, to the country enclosed by that bend and a tributary [PHUT].

As Meroë, from its fertility, must have been the most important portion of any Ethiopian kingdom in the dominions of which it was included, it may be well here to mention the chief facts respecting it which are known. It may be remarked that it seems certain that, from a remote time, Ethiopia below Meroë could never have formed a separate powerful kingdom, and was probably always dependent upon either Meroë or Egypt. The island of Meroë lay between the Astaboras, the Atbara, the most northern tributary of the Nile, and the Astapus, the Bahr el-Azrak or "Blue River," the eastern of its two great confluents: it is also described as bounded by the Astaboras, the Astapus, and the Astasobas, the latter two uniting to form the Blue River (Str. xvii. p. 821), but this is essentially the same thing. It was in the time of the kingdom rich and productive. The chief city was Meroë, where was an oracle of Jupiter Ammon. Modern research confirms these particulars. The country is capable of being rendered very wealthy, though its neighbourhood to Abyssinia has checked its commerce in that direction, from the natural dread that the Abyssinians have of their country being absorbed like Kurdufán, Dárfoor, and Fayzóglu, by their powerful neighbour Egypt. The remains of the city Meroë have not been identified with certainty, but between N. lat. 16° and 17°, temples, one of them dedicated to the ram-headed Num, confounded with Ammon by the Greeks, and pyramids, indicate that there must have been a great population, and at least one important city. When ancient writers speak of sovereigns of Meroë, they may either mean rulers of Meroë alone, or, in addition, of Ethiopia to the north nearly as far or as far as Egypt. [R. S. P.]

SE'BAT. [MONTH.]

SEC'ACAH (סְכָכָה: Αἰοχιόζα; Alex. Σοχοχα: *Schacha*, or *Sachacha*). One of the six cities of Judah which were situated in the *Midbar* ("wilder-

[a] The reading of the A. V. in the text is, "with the men of the common sort," and in the margin, "with the men of the multitude of men."

ness"), that is the tract bordering on the Dead Sea (Josh. xv. 61). It occurs in the list between Middin and han-Nibshan. It was not known to Eusebius and Jerome, nor has the name been yet encountered in that direction in more modern times. From *Sinjil*, among the highlands of Ephraim, near *Seilûn*, Dr. Robinson saw a place called *Sekâkeh* (*B. R.* ii. 267, *note*). [G.]

SECHENI'AS (Σεχενίας: *Scecilias*). 1. SHECHANIAH (1 Esd. viii. 29; comp. Ezr. viii. 3).

2. (*Jechonias.*) SHECHANIAH (1 Esd. viii. 32; comp. Ezr. viii. 5).

SE'CHU (הַשֵּׂכוּ, with the article: ἐν τῷ Σεφεί; Alex. ἐν Σοκχω: *Soccho*). A place mentioned once only (1 Sam. xix. 22), apparently as lying on the route between Saul's residence, Gibeah, and Ramah (Ramathaim Zophim), that of Samuel. It was notorious for "the great well" (or rather cistern, בּוֹר) which it contained. The name is derivable from a root signifying elevation, thus perhaps implying that the place was situated on an eminence.

Assuming that Saul started from Gibeah (*Tuleil el-Ful*), and that *Neby Samwil* is Ramah, then *Bir Neballa* (the well of Neballa), alleged by a modern traveller (Schwarz, 127) to contain a large pit, would be in a suitable position for the great well of Sechu. Schwarz would identify it with *Askar*, on the S.E. end of Mount Ebal, and the well with Jacob's Well in the plain below; and Van de Velde (*S. & P.* ii. 53, 4) hesitatingly places it at *Shûk*, in the mountains of Judah N.E. of Hebron; but this they are forced into by their respective theories as to the position of Ramathaim Zophim.

The Vat. LXX. alters the passage, and has "the well of the threshing-floor that is in Sephei," substituting, in the first case, גרן for גדל, or ἅλω for μεγάλου, and in the latter שפי for שכו. The Alex. MS., as usual, adheres more closely to the Hebrew. [G.]

SECUN'DUS (Σεκοῦνδος: *Secundus*) was one of the party who went with the Apostle Paul from Corinth as far as Asia (ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας), probably to Troas or Miletus (all of them so far, some further), on his return to Jerusalem from his third missionary tour (see Acts xx. 4). He and Aristarchus are there said to have been Thessalonians. He is otherwise unknown. [H. B. H.]

SEDECI'AS (Σεδεκίας: *Sedecias*), the Greek form of Zedekiah. 1. A man mentioned in Bar. i. 1 as the father of Maaseiah, himself the grandfather of Baruch, and apparently identical with the false prophet in Jer. xxix. 21, 22.

2. The "son of Josiah, king of Judah" (Bar. i. 8). [ZEDEKIAH.] [B. F. W.]

SEER. [PROPHET.]

SE'GUB (שְׂגוּב; *Kri*, שְׁגוּב: Σεγούβ: *Segub*). 1. The youngest son of Hiel the Bethelite, who rebuilt Jericho (1 K. xvi. 34). According to Rabbinical tradition he died when his father had set up the gates of the city. One story says that his father slew him as a sacrifice on the same occasion.

2. (Σερούχ; Alex. Σεγούβ.) Son of Hezron, by the daughter of Machir the father of Gilead (1 Chr. ii. 21, 22).

SEIR, MOUNT (שֵׂעִיר, "rough" or "rugged:" Σηείρ: *Seir*). We have both אֶרֶץ שֵׂעִיר, "land of Seir" (Gen. xxxii. 3, xxxvi. 30), and הַר שֵׂעִיר, "Mount Seir" (Gen. xiv. 6). 1. The original name of the mountain ridge extending along the east side of the valley of Arabah, from the Dead Sea to the Elanitic Gulf. The name may either have been derived from Seir the Horite, who appears to have been the chief of the aboriginal inhabitants (Gen. xxxvi. 20), or, what is perhaps more probable, from the rough aspect of the whole country. The view from Aaron's tomb on Hor, in the centre of Mount Seir, is enough to show the appropriateness of the appellation. The sharp and serrated ridges, the jagged rocks and cliffs, the straggling bushes and stunted trees, give the whole scene a sternness and ruggedness almost unparalleled. In the Samaritan Pentateuch, instead of שֵׂעִיר, the name גבלה is used; and in the Jerusalem Targum, in place of "Mount Seir" we find טוּרָא דְגַבְלָא, *Mount Gabla*. The word *Gabla* signifies "mountain," and is thus descriptive of the region (Reland, *Pal.* p. 83). The name Gebala, or Gebalene, was applied to this province by Josephus, and also by Eusebius and Jerome (Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 1, §2; *Onomast.* "Idumaea"). The northern section of Mount Seir, as far as Petra, is still called Jebâl, the Arabic form of Gebal. The Mount Seir of the Bible extended much farther south than the modern province, as is shown by the words of Deut. ii. 1-8. In fact its boundaries are there defined with tolerable exactness. It had the Arabah on the west (vers. 1 and 8); it extended as far south as the head of the Gulf of Akabah (ver. 8); its eastern border ran along the base of the mountain range where the plateau of Arabia begins. Its northern border is not so accurately determined. The land of Israel, as described by Joshua, extended from "the Mount Halak that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal Gad" (Josh. xi. 17). As no part of Edom was given to Israel, Mount Halak must have been upon its northern border. Now there is a line of "naked" (*halak* signified "naked") white hills or cliffs which runs across the great valley about eight miles south of the Dead Sea, forming the division between the Arabah proper and the deep Ghor north of it. The view of these cliffs, from the shore of the Dead Sea, is very striking. They appear as a line of hills shutting in the valley, and extending up to the mountains of Seir. The impression left by them on the mind of the writer was that this is the very "Mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir" (Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 113, &c.; see Keil on Josh. xi. 17). The northern border of the modern district of Jebâl is Wady el-Ahsy, which falls into the Ghor a few miles farther north (Burckhardt, *Syr.* p. 401).

In Deut. xxxiii. 2, Seir appears to be connected with Sinai and Paran; but a careful consideration of that difficult passage proves that the connexion is not a geographical one. Moses there only sums up the several glorious manifestations of the Divine Majesty to the Israelites, without regard either to time or place (comp. Judg. v. 4, 5).

Mount Seir was originally inhabited by the Horites, or "troglodytes," who were doubtless the excavators of those singular rock-dwellings found in such numbers in the ravines and cliffs around Petra. They were dispossessed, and apparently annihilated, by the posterity of Esau, who "dwelt in their stead" (Deut. ii. 12). The history of Seir thus early merges into that of Edom. Though the country was afterwards called Edom, yet the older name, Seir, did not pass away: it is frequently mentioned in the subsequent history of the Israelites (1 Chr. iv. 42; 2 Chr. xx. 10). Mount Seir is the subject of a terrible prophetic curse pronounced by Ezekiel (chap. xxxv.), which seems now to be literally fulfilled:—"Thus saith the Lord God

behold, O Mount Seir, I am against thee, and I will make thee most desolate. I will lay thy cities waste, . . . when the whole earth rejoiceth I will make thee desolate. . . . I will make thee perpetual desolations, and thy cities shall not return, and ye shall know that I am the Lord." [J. L. P.]

2. (הַר שֵׂעִיר: ὄρος Ασσάρ;[a] Alex. ὁ. Σηειρ: *Mons Seir*). An entirely different place from the foregoing; one of the landmarks on the north boundary of the territory of Judah (Josh. xv. 10 only). It lay westward of Kirjath-jearim, and between it and Beth-shemesh. If *Kuriet el Enab* be the former, and *Ain-shems* the latter of these two, then Mount Seir cannot fail to be the ridge which lies between the *Wady Aly* and the *Wady Ghurab* (*Rob.* iii. 155). A village called *Saris*[b] stands on the southern site of this ridge, which Tobler (*3tte Wanderung*, 203) and Schwarz (97) would identify with Seir. The obstacle to this is that the names are radically[c] different. The *Sa'îrah* (سعيرة) on the south of the *Wady Surar* (Rob. *B. R.* 1st edit. ii. 364), is nearer in orthography, but not so suitable in position.

How the name of Seir came to be located so far to the north of the main seats of the Scirites we have no means of knowing. Perhaps, like other names occurring in the tribe of Benjamin, it is a monument of an incursion by the Edomites which has escaped record. [OPHNI, &c.] But it is more probable that it derived its name from some peculiarity in the form or appearance of the spot. Dr. Robinson (155), apparently without intending any allusion to the name of Seir, speaks of the "rugged points which composed the main ridge" of the mountain in question. Such is the meaning of the Hebrew word *Seir*. Whether there is any connection between this mountain and SEIRATH or *has-Seirah* (see the next article) is doubtful. The name is not a common one, and it is not unlikely that it may have been attached to the more northern continuation of the hills of Judah which ran up into Benjamin —or, as it was then called, Mount Ephraim. [G.]

SEI'RATH (הַשְּׂעִירָה, with the definite article: [d] Σετειρωθά; Alex. Σεειρωθα: *Seirath*). The place to which Ehud fled after his murder of Eglon (Judg. iii. 26), and whither, by blasts of his cowhorn, he collected his countrymen for the attack of the Moabites in Jericho (27). It was in "Mount Ephraim" (27), a continuation, perhaps, of the same wooded shaggy hills (such seems to be the signification of *Seir*, and *Seirath*) which stretched even so far south as to enter the territory of Judah (Josh. xv. 10). The definite article prefixed to the name in the original shows that it was a well-known spot in its day. It has, however, hitherto escaped observation in modern times. [G.]

SE'LA and **SE'LAH** (סֶלַע, or הַסֶּלַע: πέτρα, or ἡ πέτρα, 2 K. xiv. 7; Is. xvi. 1: rendered "the rock" in the A. V., in Judg. i. 36, 2 Chr. xxv. 12, Obad. 3. Probably the city later known as Petra, 500 Roman miles from Gaza (Plin. vi. 32), the ruins of which are found about two days' journey N. of the top of the gulf of Akaba, and three or four S. from Jericho. It was in the midst of Mount Seir, in the neighbourhood of Mount Hor (Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 4, §7), and therefore Edomite territory, taken by Amaziah, and called JOKTHEEL (not therefore to be confounded with Joktheel, Josh. xv. 38, which pertained to Judah in the time of Joshua), but seems to have afterwards come under the dominion of Moab. In the end of the fourth century B.C. it appears as the head-quarters of the Nabatnaeans, who successfully resisted the attacks of Antigonus (Diod. Sic. xix. 731, ed. Hanov. 1604), and under them became one of the greatest stations for the approach of Eastern commerce to Rome (*ib.* 94; Strabo, xvi. 799; Apul. *Flor.* i. 6). About 70 B.C. Petra appears as the residence of the Arab princes named Aretas (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 1, §4, and 5, §1; *B. J.* i. 6, §2, and 29, §3). It was by Trajan reduced to subjection to the Roman empire (Dion Cass. lxviii. 14), and from the next emperor received the name of Hadriana,[e] as appears from the legend of a coin. Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 4, §7) gives the name of Arce (Ἄρκη) as an earlier synonym for Petra, where, however, it is probable that Ἀρκήμ or Ἀρκέμ[f] (alleged by Euseb. *Onom.*, as found in Josephus) should be read. The city Petra lay, though at a high level,[g] in a hollow shut in by mountain-cliffs, and approached only by a narrow ravine through which, and across the city's site, the river winds (Plin. vi. 32; Strabo, xvi. 779). The principal ruins are—1. *el Khuzneh*; 2. the theatre; 3. a tomb with three rows of columns; 4. a tomb with a Latin inscription; 5. ruined bridges; 6. a triumphal arch; 7. *Zub Far'ôn*; 8. *Kŭsr Far'ôn*; and are chiefly known by the illustrations of Laborde and Linant, who also thought that they traced the outline of a naumachia or theatre for sea-fights, which would be flooded from cisterns, in which the water of the torrents in the wet season had been reserved—a remarkable proof, if the hypothesis be correct, of the copiousness of the water-supply, if properly husbanded, and a confirmation of what we are told of the exuberant fertility of the region, and its contrast to the barren Arabah on its immediate west (Robinson, ii. 169). Prof. Stanley (*S. & P.* 95) leaves little doubt that Petra was the seat of a primeval sanctuary, which he fixes at the spot now called the "Deir" or "Convent," and with which fact the choice of the site of Aaron's tomb may, he thinks, have been connected (96). As regards the question of its identity with Kadesh, see KADESH; and, for the general subject, Ritter, xiv. 69, 997 foll., and Robinson, ii. 1. [H. H.]

SELA-[h]HAM-MAHLEKOTH (*i. e.* "the cliff of escapes" or "of divisions," סֶלַע הַמַּחְלְקוֹת πέτρα ἡ μερισθεῖσα, in both MSS.: *Petra divi-*

[a] Ἀσσάρ. This looks as if the Heb. name had once had the article prefixed.

[b] Possibly the Σωρής which, in the Alex. MS., is one of the eleven names inserted by the LXX. in Josh. xv. 59. The neighbouring names agree. In the Vat. MS. it is Ἐωβής.

[c] ساريس is the orthography of *Saris* (Lists of Dr. Smith in 1st ed. of Robinson, iii. App. 123), containing no *Ain* and a duplicate s.

[d] This is the reading of the Vat Codex according to Mai. If accurate, it furnishes an instance of the ע being represented by τ, which is of the greatest rarity, and is not mentioned by Frankel (*Vorstudien*, &c. 112). γ and κ are the ordinary equivalents of ע in the LXX.

[e] Nummi in quibus ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗ ΠΗΤΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ, Reland, *s. v.*

[f] Eusebius (*Onom.*), under a later article, identifies Petra and Ῥεκέμ, which appears (Num. xxxi. 8) as the name of a Midianitish prince (see Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 94, note).

[g] Robinson (ii. 124) computes the *Wady Mousa* as about 2000 feet or more above the Arabah.

[h] One of the few cases in which the Hebrew article has been retained in our translation. Ham-moleketh and Helkath hat-Zurim are examples of the same.

dens). A rock or cliff in the wilderness of Maon, the scene of one of those remarkable escapes which are so frequent in the history of Saul's pursuit of David (1 Sam. xxiii. 28). Its name, if interpreted as Hebrew, signifies the "cliff of escapes," or "of divisions." The former is the explanation of Gesenius (*Thes.* 485), the latter of the Targum and the ancient Jewish interpreters (Midrash; Rashi). The escape is that of David; the divitions are those of Saul's mind undecided whether to remain in pursuit of his enemy or to go after the Philistines; but such explanations, though appropriate to either interpretation, and consistent with the Oriental habit of playing on words, are doubtless mere accommodations. The analogy of topographical nomenclature makes it almost certain that this cliff must have derived its name either from its smoothness (the radical meaning of חלק) or from some peculiarity of shape or position, such as is indicated in the translations of the LXX. and Vulgate. No identification has yet been suggested. [G.]

SE'LAH (סֶלָה). This word, which is only found in the poetical books of the Old Testament, occurs seventy-one times in the Psalms, and three times in Habakkuk. In sixteen Psalms it is found once, in fifteen twice, in seven three times, and in one four times—always at the end of a verse, except in Ps. lv. 19 [20], lvii. 3 [4], and Hab. iii. 3, 9, where it is in the middle, though at the end of a clause. All the Psalms in which it occurs, except eleven (iii. vii. xxiv. xxxii. xlviii. l. lxxxii. lxxxiii. lxxxvii. lxxxix. cxliii.), have also the musical direction, "to the Chief Musician" (comp. also Hab. iii. 19); and in these exceptions we find the words מִזְמֹר, *mizmôr* (A.V. "Psalm"), Shiggaion, or Maschîl, which sufficiently indicate that they were intended for music. Besides these, in the titles of the Psalms in which Selah occurs, we meet with the musical terms Alamoth (xlvi.), Altaschith (lvii. lix. lxxv.), Gittith (lxxxi. lxxxiv.), Mahalath Leannoth (lxxxviii.), Michtam (lvii. lix. lx.), Neginah (lxi.), Neginoth (iv. liv. lv. lxvii. lxxvi.; comp. Hab. iii. 19), and Shushan-eduth (lx.); and on this association alone might be formed a strong presumption that, like these, Selah itself is a term which had a meaning in the musical nomenclature of the Hebrews. What that meaning may have been is now a matter of pure conjecture. Of the many theories which have been framed, it is easier to say what is not likely to be the true one than to pronounce certainly upon what is. The Versions are first deserving of attention.

In by far the greater number of instances the Targum renders the word by לְעָלְמִין, *lĕ'almin*, "for ever;" four times (Ps. xxxii. 4, 7; xxxix. 11 [12]; 4 [6]) לְעָלְמָא, *lĕ'almâ*; once (Ps. xliv. 8 [9]) לְעָלְמֵי עָלְמִין, *lĕ'almê 'almin*; and (Ps. xlviii. 8 [9]) עַד עָלְמֵי עָלְמִין, *'ad 'almê 'almin*, with the same meaning, "for ever and ever." In Ps. xlix. 13 [14] it has לְעָלְמָא דְאָתֵי, *lĕ'almâ dĕâthê*, "for the world to come;" in Ps. xxxix. 5 [6] לְחַיֵּי עָלְמָא, *lĕchayyê 'almâ*, "for the life everlasting;" and in Ps. cxl. 5 [6] תְּדִירָא, *tĕdîrâ*, "continually." This interpretation, which is the one adopted by the majority of Rabbinical writers, is purely traditional, and based upon no etymology whatever. It is followed by Aquila, who renders "Selah" ἀεί; by the *Editio quinta* and *Editio sexta*, which give respectively διαπαντός and εἰς τέλος;[a] by Symmachus (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα) and Theodotion (εἰς τέλος), in Habakkuk; by the reading of the Alex. MS. (εἰς τέλος) in Hab. iii. 13; by the Peshito-Syriac in Ps. iii. 8 [9], iv. 2 [3], xxiv. 10, and Hab. iii. 13; and by Jerome, who has *semper*. In Ps. lv. 19 [20] קֶדֶם סֶלָה, *kedem selâh*, is rendered in the Peshito "from before the world." That this rendering is manifestly inappropriate in some passages, as for instance Ps. xxi. 2 [3], xxxii. 4, lxxxi. 7 [8], and Hab. iii. 3, and superfluous in others, as Ps. xliv. 8 [9], lxxxiv. 4 [5], lxxxix. 4 [5], was pointed out long since by Aben Ezra. In the Psalms the uniform rendering of the LXX. is διάψαλμα. Symmachus and Theodotion give the same, except in Ps. ix. 16 [17], where Theodotion has ἀεί, and Ps. lii. 5 [7], where Symmachus has εἰς ἀεί. In Hab. iii. 13, the Alex. MS. gives εἰς τέλος. In Ps. xxxviii. (in LXX.) 7, lxxx. 7 [8], διάψαλμα is added in the LXX., and in Hab. iii. 7 in the Alex. MS. In Ps. lvii. it is put at the end of ver. 2; and in Ps. iii. 8 [9], xxiv. 10, lxxxviii. 10 [11], it is omitted altogether. In all passages except those already referred to, in which it follows the Targum, the Peshito-Syriac has ܕܐܦ, an abbreviation for διάψαλμα. This abbreviation is added in Ps. xlviii. 13 [14], l. 15 [16], lxviii. 13 [14], lvii. 2, lxxx. 7 [8], at the end of the verse; and in Ps. lii. 3 in the middle of the verse after מְטוֹב; in Ps. xlix. it is put after בְּצֹאן in ver. 14 [15], and in Ps. lxviii. after רְעָשָׁה in ver. 8 [9], and after לֵאלֹהִים in ver. 32 [33]. The Vulgate omits it entirely, while in Hab. iii. 3 the *Editio sexta* and others give μεταβολὴ διαψάλματος.

The rendering διάψαλμα of the LXX. and other translators is in every way as traditional as that of the Targum "for ever," and has no foundation in any known etymology. With regard to the meaning of διάψαλμα itself there are many opinions. Both Origen (*Comm. ad Ps.*, *Opp.* ed. Delarue, ii. 516) and Athanasius (*Synops. Script. Sacr.* xiii.) are silent upon this point. Eusebius of Caesarea (*Praef. in Ps.*) says it marked those passages in which the Holy Spirit ceased for a time to work upon the choir. Gregory of Nyssa (*Tract.* 2 *in Ps.* cap. x.) interprets it as a sudden lull in the midst of the psalmody, in order to receive anew the Divine inspiration. Chrysostom (*Opp.* ed. Montfaucon, v. p. 540) takes it to indicate the portion of the psalm which was given to another choir. Augustine (on Ps. iv.) regards it as an interval of silence in the psalmody. Jerome (*Ep. ad Marcellam*) enumerates the various opinions which have been held upon the subject; that *diapsalma* denotes a change of metre, a cessation of the Spirit's influence, or the beginning of another sense. Others, he says, regard it as indicating a difference of rhythm, and the silence of some kind of music in the choir; but for himself he falls back upon the version of Aquila, and renders Selah by *semper*, with a reference to the custom of the

[a] Except in Ps. ix. 16 [17], lxxv. 3 [4], lxxvi. 3, 9 [4, 10], where *Ed. 5ta* has ἀεί, Ps. xxi. 2 [3], where it has διηνεκῶς, and in Hab. iii. 3, 13, where it reproduces the Hebrew σελά. In Ps. ix. 16 [17] *Editio 6ta* has ἀεί, in Ps. lxxv. 3 [4] διαπαντός, and in Ps. lxxvi. 3 [4] εἰς τὸ τέλος.

Jews to put at the end of their writings Amen, Selah, or Shalom. In his commentary on Ps. iii. he is doubtful whether to regard it as simply a musical sign, or as indicating the perpetuity of the truth contained in the passage after which it is placed; so that, he says, "wheresoever *Selah*, that is *diapsalma* or *semper*, is put, there we may know that what follows, as well as what precedes, belong not only to the present time, but to eternity." Theodoret (*Praef. in Ps.*) explains *diapsalma* by *μέλους μεταβολή* or *ἐναλλαγή* (as Suidas), "a change of the melody." On the whole, the rendering *διάψαλμα* rather increases the difficulty, for it does not appear to be the true meaning of Selah, and its own signification is obscure.

Leaving the Versions and the Fathers, we come to the Rabbinical writers, the majority of whom follow the Targum and the dictum of R. Eliezer (Talm. Babl. *Erubin*, v. p. 54) in rendering Selah "for ever." But Aben Ezra (on Ps. iii. 3) showed that in some passages this rendering was inappropriate, and expressed his own opinion that Selah was a word of emphasis, used to give weight and importance to what was said, and to indicate its truth:—"But the right explanation is that the meaning of Selah is like 'so it is' or 'thus,' and 'the matter is true and right.'" Kimchi (*Lex.* s. v.) doubted whether it had any special meaning at all in connexion with the sense of the passage in which it was found, and explained it as a musical term. He derives it from סָלַל, to raise, elevate, with ה paragogic, and interprets it as signifying a raising or elevating the voice, as much as to say in this place there was an elevation of the voice in song.

Among modern writers there is the same diversity of opinion. Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.) derives Selah from סָלָה, *sâlâh*, to suspend, of which he thinks it is the imperative Kal, with ה paragogic, סֶלָה, in pause סֶלָה. But this form is supported by no parallel instance. In accordance with his derivation, which is harsh, he interprets Selah to mean either, "suspend the voice," that is, "be silent," a hint to the singers; or "raise, elevate the stringed instruments." In either case he regards it as denoting a pause in the song, which was filled up by an interlude played by the choir of Levites. Ewald (*Die Dichter des A. B.* i. 179) arrives at substantially the same result by a different process. He derives Selah from סָלַל, *sâlal*, to rise, whence the substantive סַל, which with ה paragogic becomes in pause סֶלָה (comp. הָרָה, from הַר, root הָרַר, Gen. xiv. 10). So far as the form of the word is concerned, this derivation is more tenable than the former. Ewald regards the phrase "Higgaion, Selah," in Ps. ix. 16 [17], as the full form, signifying "music, strike up!"—an indication that the voices of the choir were to cease while the instruments alone came in. Hengstenberg follows Gesenius, De Wette, and others, in the rendering *pause!* but refers it to the contents of the psalm, and understands it of the silence of the music in order to give room for quiet reflection. If this were the case, Selah at the end of a psalm would be superfluous. The same meaning of *pause* or *end* is arrived at by Fürst (*Handw.* s. v.), who derives Selah from a root סָלָה, *sâlâh*, to cut off (a meaning which is perfectly arbitrary), whence the substantive סֶל, *sél*, which with ה paragogic becomes in pause סֶלָה; a form which is without parallel. While etymologists have recourse to such shifts as these, it can scarcely be expected that the true meaning of the word will be evolved by their investigations. Indeed the question is as far from solution as ever. Beyond the fact that Selah is a musical term, we know absolutely nothing about it, and are entirely in the dark as to its meaning. Sommer (*Bibl. Abhandl.* i. 1-84) has devoted an elaborate discourse to its explanation. After observing that Selah everywhere appears to mark critical moments in the religious consciousness of the Israelites, and that the music was employed to give expression to the energy of the poet's sentiments on these occasions, he (p. 40) arrives at the conclusion that the word is used "in those passages where, in the Temple Song, the choir of priests, who stood opposite to the stage occupied by the Levites, were to raise their trumpets (חֲלַל), and with the strong tones of this instrument mark the words just spoken, and bear them upwards to the hearing of Jehovah. Probably the Levite minstrels supported this priestly intercessory music by vigorously striking their harps and psalteries; whence the Greek expression *διάψαλμα*. To this points, moreover, the fuller direction, 'Higgaion, Selah' (Ps. ix. 16); the first word of which denotes the whirr of the stringed instruments (Ps. xcii. 4), the other the raising of the trumpets, both which were here to sound together. The less important *Higgaion* fell away, when the expression was abbreviated, and *Selah* alone remained." Dr. Davidson (*Introd. to the O. T.* ii. 248) with good reason rejects this explanation as laboured and artificial, though it is adopted by Keil in Hävernick's *Einleitung* (iii. 120-129). He shows that in some passages (as Ps. xxxii. 4, 5, lii. 3, lv. 7, 8) the playing of the priests on the trumpets would be unsuitable, and proposes the following as his own solution of the difficulty:—"The word denotes *elevation* or *ascent*, i. e. *loud, clear*. The music which commonly accompanied the singing was soft and feeble. In cases where it was to burst in more strongly during the silence of the song, *Selah* was the sign. At the end of a verse or strophe, where it commonly stands, the music may have readily been strongest and loudest." It may be remarked of this, as of all the other explanations which have been given, that it is mere conjecture, based on an etymology which, in any other language than Hebrew, would at once be rejected as unsound. A few other opinions may be noticed as belonging to the history of the subject. Michaelis, in despair at being unable to assign any meaning to the word, regarded it as an abbreviation, formed by taking the first or other letters of three other words (*Suppl. ad Lex. Hebr.*), though he declines to conjecture what these may have been, and rejects at once the guess of Meibomius, who extracts the meaning *da capo* from the three words which he suggests. For other conjectures of this kind, see Eichhorn's *Bibliothek*, v. 545. Mattheson was of opinion that the passages where Selah occurred were repeated either by the instruments or by another choir: hence he took it as equal to *ritornello*. Herder regarded it as marking a change of key; while Paulus Burgensis and Schindler assigned to it no meaning, but looked upon it as an enclitic word used to fill up the verse. Buxtorf (*Lex. Hebr.*) derived it from סָלָה, *sâlâh*, to spread, lay low: hence used as a sign to lower the voice, like *piano*. In Eichhorn's *Bibliothek*

(*v.* 550) it is suggested that Selah may perhaps signify a scale in music, or indicate a rising or falling in the tone. Köster (*Stud. und Krit.* 1831) saw in it only a mark to indicate the strophical divisions of the Psalms, but its position in the middle of verses is against this theory. Augusti (*Pract. Einl. in d. Ps.* p. 125) thought it was an exclamation, like *hallelujah!* and the same view was taken by the late Prof. Lee (*Heb. Gr.* §243, 2), who classes it among the interjections, and renders it *praise!* "For my own part," he says, "I believe it to be descended from the root صلي, 'he blessed,' &c., and used not unlike the word *amen*, or the *doxology*, among ourselves." If any further information be sought on this hopeless subject, it may be found in the treatises contained in Ugolini, vol. xxii., in Noldius (*Concord. Part. Ann. et Vind.* No. 1877), in Saalschütz (*Hebr. Poes.* p. 346), and in the essay of Sommer quoted above. [W. A. W.]

SEL'ED (סֶלֶד: Σαλάδ: *Saled*). One of the sons of Nadab, a descendant of Jerahmeel (1 Chr. ii. 30).

SELEMI'A (*Salemia*). One of the five men "ready to write swiftly," whom Esdras was commanded to take (2 Esd. xiv. 24).

SELEMI'AS (Σελεμίας: om. in Vulg.). SHELEMIAH of the sons of Bani (1 Esd. ix. 34; comp. Ezr. x. 39).

SELEUCI'A (Σελεύκεια: *Seleucia*) was practically the seaport of ANTIOCH, as Ostia was of Rome, Neapolis of Philippi, Cenchreae of Corinth, and the Piraeus of Athens. The river Orontes, after flowing past Antioch, entered the sea not far from Seleucia. The distance between the two towns was about 16 miles. We are expressly told that St. Paul, in company with Barnabas, sailed from Seleucia at the beginning of his first missionary circuit (Acts xiii. 4); and it is almost certain that he landed there on his return from it (xiv. 26). The name of the place shows at once that its history was connected with that line of Seleucidae who reigned at Antioch from the death of Alexander the Great to the close of the Roman Republic, and whose dynasty had so close a connexion with Jewish annals. This strong fortress and convenient seaport was in fact constructed by the first Seleucus, and here he was buried. It retained its importance in Roman times, and in St. Paul's day it had the privileges of a free city (Plin. *H. N.* v. 18). The remains are numerous, the most considerable being an immense excavation extending from the higher part of the city to the sea: but to us the most interesting are the two piers of the old harbour, which still bear the names of Paul and Barnabas. The masonry continues so good, that the idea of clearing out and repairing the harbour has recently been entertained. Accounts of Seleucia will be found in the narrative of the *Euphrates Expedition* by General Chesney, and in his papers in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, and also in a paper by Dr. Yates in the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*. [J. S. H.]

SELEU'CUS (Σέλευκος: *Seleucus*) IV. Philopator, "king of Asia" (2 Macc. iii. 3), that is, of the provinces included in the Syrian monarchy, according to the title claimed by the Seleucidae, even when they had lost their footing in Asia Minor (comp. 1 Macc. viii. 6, xi. 13, xii. 39, xiii. 32), was the son and successor of Antiochus the Great. He took part in the disastrous battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190), and three years afterwards, on the death of his father, ascended the throne. He seems to have devoted himself to strengthening the Syrian power, which had been broken down at Magnesia, seeking to keep on good terms with Rome and Egypt till he could find a favourable opportunity for war. He was, however, murdered, after a reign of twelve years (B.C. 175), by Heliodorus, one of his own courtiers [HELIODORUS], "neither in [sudden] anger nor in battle" (Dan. xi. 20, and Jerome, *ad loc.*), but by ambitious treachery, without having effected anything of importance. His son Demetrius I. Soter [DEMETRIUS], whom he had sent, while still a boy, as hostage to Rome, after a series of romantic adventures, gained the crown in 162 B.C. (1 Macc. vii. 1; 2 Macc. xiv. 1). The general policy of Seleucus towards the Jews, like that of his father (2 Macc. iii. 2, 3, καὶ Σέλευκον), was conciliatory, as the possession of Palestine was of the highest importance in the prospect of an Egyptian war; and he undertook a large share of the expenses of the Temple-service (2 Macc. iii. 3, 6). On one occasion, by the false representations of Simon, a Jewish officer [SIMON 3], he was induced to make an attempt to carry away the treasures deposited in the Temple, by means of the same Heliodorus who murdered him. The attempt signally failed, but it does not appear that he afterwards showed any resentment against the Jews (2 Macc. iv. 5, 6); though his want of money to pay the enormous tribute due to the Romans [ANTIOCHUS III., vol. i. p. 74] may have compelled him to raise extraordinary revenues, for which cause he is described in Daniel as "a raiser of taxes" (Dan. xi. *l. c.*; Liv. xli. 19). [B. F. W.]

SEM (Σήμ: *Sem*). SHEM the patriarch (Luke iii. 36).

SEMACHI'AH (סְמַכְיָהוּ: Σαβαχία; Alex. Σαμαχίας: *Samachias*). One of the sons of Shemaiah, the son of Obed-edom (1 Chr. xxvi. 7).

SEM'EI (Σεμεΐ: *Semei*). 1. SHIMEI of the sons of Hashum (1 Esd. ix. 33; comp. Ezr. x. 33).

2. (Σεμεΐας.) SHIMEI, the ancestor of Mordecai (Esth. xi. 2).

3. (Σεμεΐ.) The father of Mattathias in the genealogy of Jesus Christ (Luke iii. 26).

SEMEL'LIUS (Σαμέλλιος: *Sabellius*). SHIMSHAI the scribe (1 Esd. ii. 16, 17, 25, 30; comp. Ezr. iv.).

SEM'IS (Σεμεΐς: *Semeis*). SHIMEI the Levite in the time of Ezra (1 Esd. ix. 23; comp. Ezr. x. 23).

SEMITIC LANGUAGES. [SHEMITIC LANGUAGES.]

SENA'AH (סְנָאָה: Σαανᾶ, Σανανᾶ: *Senaa*). The "children of Senaah" are enumerated amongst the "people of Israel" who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 35; Neh. vii. 38). In Neh. iii. 3, the name is given with the article, has-Senaah.

The names in these lists are mostly those of towns; but Senaah does not occur elsewhere in the Bible as attached to a town.[a]

The Magdal-Senna, or "great Senna" of Eusebius and Jerome, seven miles N. of Jericho (*Onomast.*

[a] The rock SENEH of 1 Sam. xiv. 4 is hardly appropriate,

"Senna"), however, is not appropriate in position. There is a variation in the numbers given by Ezra and Nehemiah; but even adopting the smaller figure, it is difficult to understand how the people of Senaah should have been so much more numerous than those of the other places in the catalogue. Bertheau (*Exeg. Handb.*) suggests that Senaah represents not a single place but a district; but there is nothing to corroborate this.

In the parallel passages of 1 Esdras (iv. 23) the name is given ANNAAS, and the number 3330. [G.]

SEN'EH (סֶנֶה: Σεννά; Alex. omits: *Sene*). The name of one of the two isolated rocks which stood in the "passage of Michmash," at the time of the adventure of Jonathan and his armour-bearer (1 Sam. xiv. 4). It was the southern one of the two (ver. 5), and the nearest to Geba. The name in Hebrew means a "thorn," or thorn-bush, and is applied elsewhere only to the memorable thorn of Horeb; but whether it refers in this instance to the shape of the rock, or to the growth of *seneh* upon it, we cannot ascertain. The latter is more consistent with analogy. It is remarkable that Josephus (*B. J.* v. 2, §1), in describing the route of Titus from the north to Jerusalem, mentions that the last encampment of his army was at a spot "which in the Jews' tongue is called the valley" or perhaps the plain "of thorns (ἀκανθῶν αὐλών), near a certain village called Gabathsaoulé," *i. e.* Gibeath of Saul. The ravine of Michmash is about four miles from the hill which is, with tolerable certainty, identified with Gibeah. This distance is perhaps too great to suit Josephus's expression; still the point is worth notice. [G.]

SEN'IR (שְׂנִיר: Σανείρ: *Sanir*). This name occurs twice in the A. V., viz. 1 Chr. v. 23, and Ez. xxvii. 5; but it should be found in two other passages, in each of which the Hebrew word is exactly similar to the above, viz. Deut. iii. 9, and Cant. iv. 8. In these it appears in the A. V. as SHENIR. Even this slight change is unfortunate, since, as one of the few Amorite words preserved, the name possesses an interest which should have protected it from the addition of a single letter. It is the Amorite name for the mountain in the north of Palestine which the Hebrews called HERMON, and the Phoenicians SIRION; or perhaps it was rather the name for a portion of the mountain than the whole. In 1 Chr. v. 23, and Cant. iv. 8, Hermon and it are mentioned as distinct. Abulfeda (ed. Köhler, p. 164, quoted by Gesenius) reports that the part of Anti-Lebanon north of Damascus—that usually denominated *Jebel esh Shurky*, "the East Mountain"—was in his day called *Senîr*. The use of the word in Ezekiel is singular. In describing Tyre we should naturally expect to find the Phoenician name (Sirion) of the mountain employed, if the ordinary Israelite name (Hermon) were discarded. That it is not so may show that in the time of Ezekiel the name of Senir had lost its original significance as an Amorite name, and was employed without that restriction.

The Targum of Joseph on 1 Chr. v. 23 (ed. Beck) renders Senir by טוּר מֵישָׁרֵי פַּרְזֵי, of which the most probable translation is "the mountain of the plains of the Perizzites." In the edition of Wilkins the text is altered to ט' מַסְרֵי פֵּירְוֵי, "the mountain that corrupteth fruits," in agreement with the Targums on Deut. iii. 9, though it is there given as the equivalent of Sirion. Which of these is the original it is perhaps impossible now to decide. The former has the slight consideration in its favour, that the Hivites are specially mentioned as "under Mount Hermon," and thus may have been connected or confounded with the Perizzites; or the reading may have arisen from mere caprice, as that of the Sam. ver. of Deut. iii. 9, appears to have done. [See SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, p. 1114.] [G.]

SENNACH'ERIB (סַנְחֵרִיב: Σενναχηρίμ, Σενναχηρείμ, LXX.; Σεναχήριβος, Joseph.; Σαναχάριβος, Herod.: *Sennacherib*) was the son and successor of Sargon. [SARGON.] His name in the original is read as *Tsin-akki-irib*, which is understood to mean, "Sin (or the Moon) increases brothers:" an indication that he was not the first-born of his father. The LXX. have thus approached much more nearly to the native articulation than the Jews of Palestine, having kept the vowel-sounds almost exactly, and merely changed the labial at the close from β to μ. Josephus has been even more entirely correct, having only added the Greek nominatival ending.

We know little or nothing of Sennacherib during his father's lifetime. From his name, and from a circumstance related by Polyhistor, we may gather that he was not the eldest son, and not the heir to the crown till the year before his father's death. Polyhistor (following Berosus) related that the tributary kingdom of Babylon was held by a brother—who would doubtless be an elder brother—of Sennacherib's, not long before that prince came to the throne (Beros. *Fr.* 12). Sennacherib's brother was succeeded by a certain Hagisa, who reigned only a month, being murdered by Merodach-Baladan, who then took the throne and held it six months. These events belong to the year B.C. 703, which seems to have been the last year of Sargon. Sennacherib mounted the throne B.C. 702. His first efforts were directed to crushing the revolt of Babylonia, which he invaded with a large army. Merodach-Baladan ventured on a battle, but was defeated and driven from the country. Sennacherib then made Belibus, an officer of his court, viceroy and, quitting Babylonia, ravaged the lands of the Aramaean tribes on the Tigris and Euphrates, whence he carried off 200,000 captives. In the ensuing year (B.C. 701) he made war upon the independent tribes in Mount Zagros, and penetrated thence to Media, where he reduced a portion of the nation which had been previously independent. In his third year (B.C. 700) he turned his arms towards the west, chastised Sidon, took tribute from Tyre, Aradus, and the other Phoenician cities, as well as from Edom and Ashdod, besieged and captured Ascalon, made war on Egypt, which was still dependent on Ethiopia, took Libnah and Lachish on the Egyptian frontier, and, having probably concluded a convention with his chief enemy,[a] finally marched against Hezekiah, king of Judah. Hezekiah, apparently, had not only revolted and withheld his tribute, but had intermeddled with the affairs of the Philistian cities, and given his support to the party opposed to the influence of Assyria. It was at this time that "Sennacherib came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took

[a] The impression on clay of the seal of a Sabaco, found in Sennacherib's palace at Koyunjik, had probably been appended to this treaty.

them" (2 K. xviii. 13). There can be no doubt that the record which he has left of his campaign against "Hiskiah" in his third year, is the war with Hezekiah so briefly touched in the four verses of this chapter (vers. 13-16). The Jewish monarch was compelled to make a most humble submission. He agreed to bear whatever the Great King laid upon him; and that monarch, besides carrying off a rich booty and more than 200,000 captives, appointed him a fixed tribute of 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold. He also deprived him of a considerable portion of his territory, which he bestowed on the petty kings of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza. Having made these arrangements, he left Palestine and returned into his own country.

In the following year (B.C. 699), Sennacherib invaded Babylonia for the second time. Merodach-Baladan continued to have a party in that country, where his brothers still resided; and it may be suspected that the viceroy, Belibus, either secretly favoured his cause, or at any rate was remiss in opposing it. The Assyrian monarch, therefore, took the field in person, defeated a Chaldaean chief who had taken up arms on behalf of the banished king, expelled the king's brothers, and, displacing Belibus, put one of his own sons on the throne in his stead.

It was perhaps in this same year that Sennacherib made his second expedition into Palestine. Hezekiah had again revolted, and claimed the protection of Egypt, which seems to have been regarded by Sennacherib as the true cause of the Syrian troubles. Instead, therefore, of besieging Jerusalem, the Assyrian king marched past it to the Egyptian frontier, attacked once more Lachish and Libnah, but apparently failed to take them, sent messengers from the former to Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. **17**), and on their return without his submission wrote him a threatening letter (2 K. xix. 14), while he still continued to press the war against Egypt, which had called in the assistance of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia (ib. ver. 9). Tirhakah was hastening to the aid of the Egyptians, but probably had not yet united his troops with theirs, when an event occurred which relieved both Egypt and Judaea from their danger. In one night the Assyrians lost, either by a pestilence or by some more awful manifestation of divine power, 185,000 men! The camp immediately broke up—the king fled—the Egyptians, naturally enough, as the destruction happened upon their borders, ascribed it to their own gods, and made a boast of it centuries after (Herod. ii. 141). Sennacherib reached his capital in safety, and was not deterred, by the terrible disaster which had befallen his arms, from engaging in other wars, though he seems thenceforward to have carefully avoided Palestine. In his fifth year he led an expedition into Armenia and Media; after which, from his sixth to his eighth year, he was engaged in wars with Susiana and Babylonia. From this point his annals fail us.

Sennacherib reigned twenty-two years. The date of his accession is fixed by the Canon of Ptolemy to B.C. 702, the first year of Belibus or Elibus. The date of his death is marked in the same document by the accession of Asaridanus (Esar-Haddon) to the throne of Babylon in B.C. 680. The monuments are in exact conformity with these dates, for the 22nd year of Sennacherib has been found upon them, while they have not furnished any notice of a later year.

It is impossible to reconcile these dates with the chronology of Hezekiah's reign, according to the numbers of the present Hebrew text. Those numbers assign to Hezekiah the space between B.C. 726 and B.C. 697. Consequently the first invasion of Sennacherib falls into Hezekiah's *twenty-seventh* year instead of his fourteenth, as stated in 2 K. xviii. 13, and Is. xxxvi. 1. Various solutions have been proposed of this difficulty. According to some, there has been a dislocation as well as an alteration of the text. Originally the words ran, "Now it came to pass in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, that the king of Assyria [Sargon], came up against the fenced cities of Judah." Then followed ch. xx. (Is. xxxviii.)—"In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death," &c.; after which came the narrative of Sennacherib's two invasions. [See HEZEKIAH.] Another suggestion is, that the year has been altered in 2 K. xviii. 13 and Is. xxxvi. 1, by a scribe, who, referring the narrative in ch. xx. (Is. xxxviii.) to the period of Sennacherib's first invasion, concluded (from xx. 6) that the whole happened in Hezekiah's fourteenth year (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 479, note [2]), and therefore boldly changed "twenty-seventh" into "fourteenth."

Sennacherib was one of the most magnificent of the Assyrian kings. He seems to have been the first who fixed the seat of government permanently at Nineveh, which he carefully repaired and adorned with splendid buildings. His greatest work is the grand palace at Koyunjik, which covered a space of above eight acres, and was adorned throughout with sculptures of finished execution. He built also, or repaired, a second palace at Nineveh on the mound of Nebbi Yunus, confined the Tigris to its channel by an embankment of brick, restored the ancient aqueducts which had gone to decay, and gave to Nineveh that splendour which she thenceforth retained till the ruin of the empire. He also erected monuments in distant countries. It is his memorial which still remains [b] at the mouth of the *Nahr-el-Kelb* on the coast of Syria, side by side with an inscription of Rameses the Great, recording his conquests six centuries earlier.

Of the death of Sennacherib nothing is known beyond the brief statement of Scripture, that "as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch (?), his god, Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword, and escaped into the land of Armenia" (2 K. xix. 37; Is. xxxvii. 38). It is curious that Moses of Chorene and Alexander Polyhistor should both call the elder of these two sons by a different name (Ardumazanes or Argamozanus); and it is still more curious that Abydenus, who generally drew from Berosus, should interpose a king Nergilus between Sennacherib and Adrammelech, and make the latter be slain by Esarhaddon (Euseb. *Chr. Can.* i. 9; comp. i. 5, and see also Mos. Chor. *Arm. Hist.* i. 22). Moses, on the contrary, confirms the escape of both brothers, and mentions the parts of Armenia where they settled, and which were afterwards peopled by their descendants. [G. R.]

SEN'UAH (סְנוּאָה: Ἀσανά: *Senna*). Properly Hassenuah, with the def. article. A Ben-

[b] It has been stated that in 1861 the French occupants of Syria destroyed this tablet, and replaced it by an inscription in their own honour; but such an act of barbarism seems scarcely possible in the nineteenth century

jamite, the father of Judah, who was second over the city after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 9). In 1 Chr. ix. 7, "Judah the son of Senuah" is "Hodaviah the son of Hasenuah."

SEO'RIM (שְׂעֹרִים: Σεωρίμ; Alex. Σεωρίν: *Seorim*). The chief of the fourth of the twenty-four courses of priests instituted by David (1 Chr. xxiv. 8).

SE'PHAR (סְפָר: Σαφηρά; Alex. Σωφηρά: *Sephar*). It is written, after the enumeration of the sons of Joktan, "and their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east" (Gen. x. 30). The immigration of the Joktanites was probably from west to east, as we have shown in ARABIA, MESHA, &c., and they occupied the south-western portion of the peninsula. The undoubted identifications of Arabian places and tribes with their Joktanite originals are included within these limits, and point to Sephar as the eastern boundary. There appears to be little doubt that the ancient sea-port town called Dhafâri or Zafari, and Dhafâr or Zafâr, without the inflexional termination, represents the Biblical site or district: thus the etymology is sufficiently near, and the situation exactly agrees with the requirements of the case. Accordingly, it has been generally accepted as the Sephar of Genesis. But the etymological fitness of this site opens out another question, inasmuch as there are no less than four places bearing the same name, besides several others bearing names that are merely variations from the same root. The frequent recurrence of these variations is curious; but we need only here concern ourselves with the four first named places, and of these two only are important to the subject of this article. They are of twofold importance, as bearing on the site of Sephar, and as being closely connected with the ancient history of the Joktanite kingdom of Southern Arabia, the kingdom founded by the tribes sprung from the sons of Joktan. The following extracts will put in a clear light what the best Arabian writers themselves say on the subject. The first is from the most important of the Arabic Lexicons:—

"Dhafâri (ظَفَارِ) is a town of the Yemen; one says, He who enters Dhafâri learns the Himyeritic . . . Es-Sághánee says, 'In the Yemen are four places every one of which is called Dhafâri; two cities and two fortresses. The two cities are Dhafâri-l-Hakl, near San'à, two days' journey from it on the south; and the Tubbaas used to abide there, and it is said that it is San'à [itself]. In relation to it is called the onyx of Dhafâri. (Ibn-Es-Sikkeet says that the onyx of Dhafâri is so called in relation to Dhafâri-Asad, a city in the Yemen.) Another is in the Yemen, near Mirbât, in the extremity of the Yemen, and is known by the name of Dhafâri-s-Sáhib [that is, of the sea-coast], and in relation to it is called the Kust-Dhafâri [either costus or aloes-wood], that is, the wood with which one fumigates, because it is brought thither from India, and from it to [the rest of] the Yemen' . . . And it Yákoot meant, for he said, 'Dhafâri . . . is a city in the extremity of the Yemen, near to Esh-Shihr.' As to the two fortresses, one of them is a fortress on the south of San'à, two days' journey from it, in the country of [the tribe of] Benoo-Murád, and it is called Dhafâri-l-Wadiyeyn [that is, of the Two Valleys]. It is also called Dhafâri-Zeyd; and another is on the north thereof, also two days' journey from it, in the country of Hemdán, and is called Dhafâri-dh-Dháhir" (*Tâj-el-'Aroos*, MS., s.v.).[a]

Yákoot, in his Homonymous Dictionary (*El-Mushtarak*, s. v.) says:—"Dhafâri is a celebrated city in the extremity of the country of the Yemen, between 'Omán and Mirbât, on the shore of the sea of India: I have been informed of this by one who has seen it prosperous, abounding in good things. It is near Esh-Shihr. Dhafâri-Zeyd is a fortress in the Yemen in the territory of Habb: and Dhafâri is a city near to San'à, and in relation to it is called the Dhafâri onyx; in it was the abode of the kings of Himyer, and of it was said, He who enters Dhafâri learns the Himyeritic;—and it is said that San'à itself is Dhafâri."

Lastly, in the Geographical Dictionary called the *Marâsid*, which is ascribed to Yákoot, we read, *s. v.* "Dhafâri: two cities in the Yemen, one of them near to San'à, in relation to which is called the Dhafâri onyx: in it was the dwelling of the kings of Himyer; and it is said that Dhafâri is the city of San'à itself. And Dhafâri of this day is a city on the shore of the sea of India, between it and Mirbât are five parasangs of the territories of Esh-Shihr, [and it is] near to Suhâr, and Mirbât is the other anchorage besides Dhafâri. Frankincense is only found on the mountain of Dhafâri of Esh-Shihr."

These extracts show that the city of Dhafâri near San'à was very little known to the writers, and that little only by tradition; it was even supposed to be the same as, or another name for, San'à, and its site had evidently fallen into oblivion at their day. But the sea-port of this name was a celebrated city, still flourishing, and identified on the authority of an eye-witness. M. Fresnel has endeavoured to prove that this city, and not the western one, was the Himyerite capital; and certainly his opinion appears to be borne out by most of the facts that have been brought to light. Niebuhr, however, mentions the ruins of Dhafâri near Yereem, which would be those of the western city (*Descr.* 206). While Dhafâri is often mentioned as the capital in the history of the Himyerite kingdom (Caussin, *Essai*, i. *passim*), it was also in the later times of the kingdom the seat of a Christian Church (Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 4).

But, leaving this curious point, it remains to give what is known respecting Dhafâri the sea-port, or as it will be more convenient to call it, after the usual pronunciation, Zafâr. All the evidence is clearly in favour of this site being that of the Sephar of the Bible, and the identification has accordingly been generally accepted by critics. More accurately, it appears to preserve the name mentioned in Gen. x. 30, and to be in the district anciently so named. It is situate on the coast, in the province of Hadramâwt, and near to the district which adjoins that province on the east, called Esh-Shihr (or as M. Fresnel says it is pronounced in the modern Himyeritic *Shhêr*). Wellsted says of it, "Dofâr is

[a] Abu-l-Fidà has fallen into an absurd error in his *Geography*, noticed by M. Fresnel (*IVe. Lettre*, p. 317). He endeavours to prove that the two Zafâris were only one, by supposing that the inland town, which he places only twenty-four leagues from San'à, was originally on the sea-coast.

situated beneath a lofty mountain[a] (ii. 453). In the *Marásid* it is said, as we have seen, that frankincense (in the author's time) was found only in the "mountain of Dhafári;" and Niebuhr (*Descr.* 248) says that it exports the best frankincense. M. Fresnel gives almost all that is known of the present state of this old site in his *Lettres sur l'Hist. des Arabes avant l'Islamisme* (V^e^. Lettre, *Journ. Asiat.* iii.^e^ série, tome v.). Zafár, he tells us, pronounced by the modern inhabitants "Isfôr," is now the name of a series of villages situate some of them on the shore, and some close to the shore, of the Indian Ocean, between Mirbát and Rás-Sájir, extending a distance of two days' journey, or 17 or 18 hours, from east to west. Proceeding in this direction, those near the shore are named Tákah, Ed-Daháreez, El-Beleed, El-Háfeh, Saláhah, and Awkad. The first four are on the sea-shore, and the last two at a small distance from it. El-Beleed, otherwise called Harkám, is, in M. Fresnel's opinion, the ancient Zafár. It is in ruins, but ruins that attest its former prosperity. The inhabitants were celebrated for their hospitality. There are now only three or four inhabited houses in El-Beleed. It is on a small peninsula lying between the ocean and a bay, and the port is on the land side of the town. In the present day, during nearly the whole of the year, at least at low tide, the bay is a lake, and the peninsula an isthmus, but the lake is of sweet water. In the rainy season, which is in the spring, it is a gulf, of sweet water at low tide and of salt water at high tide.

The classical writers mention Sapphar metropolis (**Σαπφάρα μητρόπολις**) or Saphar (in *Anon. Peripl.* p. 274), in long. 88°, lat. 14° 30′, according to Ptol., the capital of the Sappharitae (**Σαπφαρῖται**), placed by Ptol. (vi. 6. §25) near the Homeritae; but their accounts are obscure, and probably from hearsay. In later times, as we have already said, it was the seat of a Christian Church: one of three which were founded A.D. 343, by permission of the reigning Tubbaa, in Dhafári (written Tapharon, **Τάφαρον**, by Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 4), in 'Aden, and on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Theophilus, who was sent with an embassy by order of the Emperor Constantine to effect this purpose, was the first bishop (Caussin, i. 111 seqq.). In the reign of Abrahah (A.D. 537-570) S. Gregentius was bishop of these churches, having been sent by the Patriarch of Alexandria (cf. authorities cited by Caussin, i. 142-5). [E. S. P.]

SEPHA'RAD (סְפָרַד; Targ. אִסְפַּמְיָא, *i. e.* Ispania: ἕως Ἐφραθᾶ, in both MSS.: *in Bosporo*). A name which occurs in Obad. ver. 20 only, as that of a place in which the Jews of Jerusalem were then held in captivity, and whence they were to return to possess the cities of the south.

Its situation has always been a matter of uncertainty, and cannot even now be said to be settled.

(1.) The reading of the LXX. given above, and followed by the Arabic Version, is probably a mere conjecture, though it may point to a modified form of the name in the then original, *viz.* Sepharath. In Jerome's copy of the LXX. it appears to have been Εὐφράτης, since (*Comm. in Abd.*) he renders their version of the verse *transmigratio Ierusalem usque Euphrathem.* This is certainly extremely ingenious, but will hardly hold water when we turn it back into Hebrew.

(2.) The reading of the Vulgate, *Bosporus*,[a] was adopted by Jerome from his Jewish instructor, who considered it to be "the place to which Hadrian had transported the captives from Jerusalem" (*Comm in Abdiam*). This interpretation Jerome did not accept, but preferred rather to treat Sepharad as connected with a similar Assyrian word signifying a "boundary," and to consider the passage as denoting the dispersion of the Jews into all regions.

We have no means of knowing to which Bosporus Jerome's teacher alluded—the Cimmerian or the Thracian. If the former (Strait of *Yeni-kalé*), which was in Iberia, it is not impossible that this Rabbi, as ignorant of geography outside the Holy Land as most of his brethren, confounded it with Iberia in Spain, and thus agreed with the rest of the Jews whose opinions have come down to us. If the latter (Strait of Constantinople), then he may be taken as confirming the most modern opinion (noticed below), that Sepharad was Sardis in Lydia.

The Targum Jonathan (see above) and the Peshito-Syriac, and from them the modern Jews, interpret Sepharad as Spain (Ispamia and Ispania), one common variation of which name, Hesperia (*Dict. of Geogr.* i. 1074*b*), does certainly bear considerable resemblance to Sepharad; and so deeply has this taken root that at the present day the Spanish Jews, who form the chief of the two great sections into which the Jewish nation is divided, are called by the Jews themselves the *Sephardim*, German Jews being known as the *Ashkenazim*.

It is difficult to suppose that either of these can be the true explanation of Sepharad. The prophecy of Obadiah has every appearance of referring to the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and there is no reason to believe that any Jews had been at that early date transported to Spain.

(3.) Others have suggested the identity of Sepharad with Sipphara in Mesopotamia, but that is more probably SEPHARVAIM.

(4.) The name has perhaps been discovered in the cuneiform Persian inscriptions of *Naksh-i-Rustum* and *Behistun*; and also in a list of Asiatic nations given by Niebuhr (*Reiseb.* ii. pl. 31). In the latter it occurs between Ka Ta Pa TUK (Cappadocia) and Ta UNA (Ionia). De Sacy was the first to propose the identification of this with Sepharad, and subsequently it was suggested by Lassen that S Pa Ra D was identical with Sardis, the ancient capital of Lydia. This identification is approved of by Winer, and adopted by Dr. Pusey (*Introd. to Obad.* p. 232, note, also 245). In support of this, Fürst (*Handwb.* ii. 95*a*) points out that Antigonus (cir. B.C. 320) may very probably have taken some of his Jewish captives to Sardis; but it is more consistent with the apparent date of Obadiah's prophecy to believe that he is referring to the event mentioned by Joel (iii. 6), when "children of Judah and Jerusalem" were sold to the "sons of the Javanim" (Ionians), which—as the first captivity that had befallen the kingdom of Judah, and a transportation to a strange land, and that beyond the sea—could hardly fail to make an enduring impression on the nation.

(5.) Ewald (*Propheten*, i. 404) considers that Sepharad has a connexion with Zarephath in the

[a] Obtained by taking the prefixed preposition as part of the name—בִּסְפָרַד; and at the same time rejecting the final D.

preceding verse; and while deprecating the "penetration" of those who have discovered the name in a cuneiform inscription, suggests that the true reading is Sepharam, and that it is to be found in a place three hours from *Akka*, i. e. doubtless the modern *Shefa 'Omar*, a place of much ancient repute and veneration among the Jews of Palestine (see Zunz, Note to Parchi, 428); but it is not obvious how a residence within the Holy Land can have been spoken of as a captivity, and there are considerable differences in the form of the two names.

(6.) Michaelis (*Suppl.* No. 1778) has devoted some space to this name; and, among other conjectures, ingeniously suggests that the "Spartans" of 1 Macc. xii. 15 are accurately "Sepharadites." This suggestion, however, does not appear to have stood the test of later investigation. [See SPARTANS.] [G.]

SEPHARVA'IM (סְפַרְוַיִם: Σεπφαρουαΐμ, Ἐπφαρουαΐμ: *Sepharvaim*) is mentioned by Sennacherib in his letter to Hezekiah as a city whose king had been unable to resist the Assyrians (2 K. xix. 13; Is. xxxvii. 13; comp. 2 K. xviii. 34). It is coupled with Hena and Ava, or Ivah, which were towns on the Euphrates above Babylon. Again, it is mentioned, in 2 K. xvii. 24, as one of the places from which colonists were transported to people the desolate Samaria, after the Israelites had been carried into captivity, where it is again joined with Ava, and also with Cuthah and Babylon. These indications are enough to justify us in identifying the place with the famous town of Sippara, on the Euphrates above Babylon (Ptol. v. 18), which was near the site of the modern Mosaïb. Sippara was mentioned by Berosus as the place where, according to him, Xithrus (or Noah) buried the records of the antediluvian world at the time of the deluge, and from which his posterity recovered them afterwards (*Fragm. Hist. Gr.* ii. p. 501, iv. p. 280). Abydenus calls it πόλιν Σιπparηνῶν (*Fr.* 9), and says that Nebuchadnezzar excavated a vast lake in its vicinity for purposes of irrigation. Pliny seems to intend the same place by his "oppida Hipparenorum"[a]—where, according to him, was a great seat of the Chaldaic learning (*H. N.* vi. 30). The plural form here used by Pliny may be compared with the dual form in use among the Jews; and the explanation of both is to be found in the fact that there were two Sipparas, one on either side of the river. Berosus called Sippara, "a city of the sun" (Ἡλίου πόλιν); and in the inscriptions it bears the same title, being called *Tsipar sha Shamas*, or "Sippara of the Sun"—the sun being the chief object of worship there. Hence the Sepharvites are said, in 2 K. xvii. 31, to have "burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim"—these two distinct deities representing respectively the male and female powers of the sun, as Lunus and Luna represented the male and female powers of the moon among the Romans. [G. R.]

SEPHE'LA (ἡ Σεφήλα: *Sephela*). The Greek form of the ancient word *has-Shĕfēlâh* (הַשְּׁפֵלָה), the native name for the southern division of the low-lying flat district which intervenes between the central highlands of the Holy Land and the Mediterranean, the other and northern portion of which was known as SHARON. The name occurs throughout the topographical records of Joshua, the historical works, and the topographical passages in the Prophets; always with the article prefixed, and always denoting the same region[b] (Deut. i. 7; Josh. ix. 1, x. 40, xi. 2, 16 *a*, xii. 8, xv. 33; Judg. i. 9; 1 K. x. 27; 1 Chr. xxvii. 28; 2 Chr. i. 15, ix. 27, xxvi. 10, xxviii. 18; Jer. xvii. 26, xxxii. 44, xxxiii 13; Obad. 19; Zech. vii. 7). In each of these passages, however, the word is treated in the A. V. not as a proper name, analogous to *the Campagna, the Wolds, the Carse*, but as a mere appellative, and rendered "the vale," "the valley," "the plain," "the low plains," and "the low country." How destructive this is to the force of the narrative may be realized by imagining what confusion would be caused in the translation of an English historical work into a foreign tongue, if such a name as "The Downs" were rendered by some general term applicable to any other district in the country of similar formation. Fortunately the Book of Maccabees has redeemed our Version from the charge of having entirely suppressed this interesting name. In 1 Macc. xii. 38 the name Sephela is found, though even here stripped of the article, which was attached to it in Hebrew, and still accompanies it in the Greek of the passage.

Whether the name is given in the Hebrew Scriptures in the shape in which the Israelites encountered it on entering the country, or modified so as to conform it to the Hebrew root *shafal*, and thus (according to the constant tendency of language bring it into a form intelligible to Hebrews—we shall probably never know. The root to which it is related is in common use both in Hebrew and Arabic. In the latter it has originated more than one proper name—as *Mespila*, now known as *Koyunjik*; *el-Mesfale*, one of the quarters of the city of Mecca (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i. 203, 4); and Seville, originally *Hi-spalis*, probably so called from its wide plain (Arias Montano, in Ford, *Handbook of Spain*).

The name Shefelah is retained in the old versions, even those of the Samaritans, and Rabbi Joseph on Chronicles (probably as late as the 11th century A.D.). It was actually in use down to the 5th century. Eusebius, and after him Jerome (*Onomast.* "Sephela," and *Comm.* on Obad.), distinctly state that "the region round Eleutheropolis on the north and west was so called."[c] And a careful investigation might not improbably discover the name still lingering about its ancient home even at the present day.

No definite limits are mentioned to the Shefelah, nor is it probable that there were any. In the list of Joshua (xv. 33-47) it contains 43 "cities," as well as the hamlets and temporary villages dependent on them. Of these, as far as our know-

[a] When Pliny places Hippara or Sippara on the Narragam (*Nahr Agam*), instead of on the Euphrates, his reference is to the artificial channel, which branched off from the Euphrates at Sippara, and led to the great *lake* (Chald. אַגְּמָא) excavated by Nebuchadnezzar. Abydenus called this branch "Aracanus" ('Αράκανος), *Ar Akan* (Fr 10).

[b] So absolute is this usage, that on the single occasion where it is used without the article (Josh. xi. 16 *b*) it evidently does not denote the region referred to above, but the plains surrounding the mountains of Ephraim.

[c] In his comment on Obadiah, St. Jerome appears to extend it to Lydda and Emmaus-Nicopolis; and at the same time to extend Sharon so far south as to include the Philistine cities.

ledge avails us, the most northern was Ekron, the most southern Gaza, and the most western Nezib (about 7 miles N.N.W. of Hebron). A large number of these towns, however, were situated not in the plain, nor even on the western slopes of the central mountains, but in the mountains themselves. [JARMUTH; KEILAH; NEZIB, &c.] This seems to show either that on the ancient principle of dividing territory one district might intrude into the limits of another, or, which is more probable, that, as already suggested, the name Shefelah did not originally mean a lowland, as it came to do in its accommodated Hebrew form.

The Shefelah was, and is, one of the most productive regions in the Holy Land. Sloping as it does gently to the sea, it receives every year a fresh dressing from the materials washed down from the mountains behind it by the furious rains of winter. This natural manure, aided by the great heat of its climate, is sufficient to enable it to reward the rude husbandry of its inhabitants, year after year, with crops of corn which are described by the travellers as prodigious.

Thus it was in ancient times the corn-field of Syria, and as such the constant subject of warfare between Philistines and Israelites, and the refuge of the latter when the harvests in the central country were ruined by drought (2 K. viii. 1-3). But it was also, from its evenness, and from its situation on the road between Egypt and Assyria, exposed to continual visits from foreign armies, visits which at last led to the destruction of the Israelite kingdom. In the earlier history of the country the Israelites do not appear to have ventured into the Shefelah, but to have awaited the approach of their enemies from thence. Under the Maccabees, however, their tactics were changed, and it became the field where some of the most hardly contested and successful of their battles were fought.

These conditions have hardly altered in modern times. Any invasion of Palestine must take place through the maritime plain, the natural and only road to the highlands. It did so in Napoleon's case, as has already been noticed under PALESTINE [p. 667 *a*]. The Shefelah is still one vast corn-field, but the contests which take place on it are now reduced to those between the oppressed peasants and the insolent and rapacious officials of the Turkish government, who are gradually putting a stop by their extortions to all the industry of this district, and driving active and willing hands to better-governed regions. [See JUDAH, vol. i. 1156; PALESTINE, vol. ii. 666 *a*, 667 *b*, 672, 3; PLAINS, 890 *b*.] [G.]

SEPTUAGINT. The Greek version of the Old Testament, known by this name, is like the Nile, *fontium qui celat origines*. The causes which produced it, the number and names of the translators, the times at which different portions were translated, are all uncertain.

It will therefore be best to launch our skiff on known waters, and try to track the stream upwards towards its source.

This Version appears at the present day in four principal editions.

1. Biblia Polyglotta Complutensis, A.D. 1514-1517.

2. The Aldine Edition, Venice, A.D. 1518.

3. The Roman Edition, edited under Pope Sixtus V., A.D. 1587.

4. Facsimile Edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, by H. H. Baber A.D. 1816.

1, 2. The texts of (1) and (2) were probably formed by collation of several MSS.

3. The Roman edition (3) is printed from the venerable *Codex Vaticanus*, but not without many errors. This text has been followed in most of the modern editions.

A transcript of the Codex Vaticanus, prepared by Cardinal Mai, was lately published at Rome, by Vercelloni. It is much to be regretted that this edition is not so accurate as to preclude the necessity of consulting the MS. The text of the Codex, and the parts added by a later hand, to complete the Codex (among them nearly all Genesis), are printed in the same Greek type, with distinguishing notes.

4. The Facsimile Edition, by Mr. Baber, is printed with types made after the form of the letters in the *Codex Alexandrinus* (Brit. Museum Library) for the Facsimile Edition of the New Testament, by Woide, in 1786. Great care was bestowed upon the sheets as they passed through the press.

Other Editions.

The Septuagint in Walton's Polyglot (1657) is the Roman text, with the various readings of the Codex Alexandrinus.

The Cambridge edition (1665), (Roman text), is only valuable for the Preface by Pearson.

An edition of the Cod. Alex. was published by *Grabe* (Oxford, 1707-1720), but its critical value is far below that of Baber's. It is printed in common type, and the editor has exercised his judgment on the text, putting some words of the Codex in the margin, and replacing them by what he thought better readings, distinguished by a smaller type. This edition was reproduced by *Breitinger* (Zurich, 1730), 4 vols. 4to., with the various readings of the Vatican text.

The Edition of *Bos* (Franeq. 1709) follows the Roman text, with its Scholia, and the various readings given in Walton's Polyglott, especially those of the Cod. Alex.

The valuable Critical Edition of *Holmes*, continued by *Parsons*, is similar in plan to the Hebrew Bible of Kennicott; it has the Roman text, with a large body of various readings from numerous MSS., and editions, *Oxford*, 1798-1827.

The Oxford Edition, by *Gaisford*, 1848, has the Roman text, with the various readings of the Codex Alexandrinus below.

Tischendorf's Editions (the 2nd, 1856) are on the same plan; he has added readings from some other MSS. discovered by himself, with very useful Prolegomena.

Some convenient editions have been published by Mr. Bagster, one in 8vo., others of smaller size, forming part of his Polyglott series of Bibles. His text is the Roman.

The latest edition, by *Mr. Field* (1859), differs from any of the preceding. He takes as his basis the Codex Alexandrinus, but corrects all the manifest errors of transcription, by the help of other MSS.; and brings the dislocated portions of the Septuagint into agreement with the order of the Hebrew Bible.[a]

Manuscripts.

The various readings given by Holmes and Parsons enable us to judge, in some measure, of the character of the several MSS. and of the degree of their accordance with the Hebrew text.

[a] There are some singular variations in 1 Kings (see the article on KINGS, p. 81).

They are distinguished thus by Holmes: the *uncial* by Roman numerals, the *cursive* by Arabic figures.

Among them may be specially noted, with their probable dates and estimates of value as given by Holmes in his Preface to the Pentateuch:—

		Probable date. Century.
	UNCIAL.[b]	
I.	COTTONIANUS. Brit. Mus. (fragments) .	4
II.	VATICANUS. Vat. Library, Rome . . .	4
III.	ALEXANDRINUS. Brit. Mus.	5
VII.	AMBROSIANUS. Ambros. Lib., Milan . .	7
X.	COISLINIANUS. Bibl. Imp., Paris . . .	7
	CURSIVE.	
16.	Mediceus. Med. Laurentian Lib., Florence	11
19.	Chigianus. Similar to Complut. Text and 108, 118	10
25.	Monachiensis. Munich	10
58.	Vaticanus (num. x.). Vat. Lib., similar to 72	13
59.	Glasguensis	12
61.	Bodleianus. Laud. 36, notae optimae . .	12
64.	Parisiensis (11). Imperial Library . .	10 or 11
72.	Venetus. Maximi faciendus	13
75.	Oxoniensis. Univ. Coll.	12
84.	Vaticanus (1901), optimae notae . . .	11
106. 107.	Ferrarienses. These two agree . . .	14 14
108.	Vaticanus (330) Similar to Complut.	14
118.	Parisiensis. Imp. Lib. Text and (19) .	13

The texts of these MSS. differ considerably from each other, and consequently differ in various degrees from the Hebrew original.

The following are the results of a comparison of the readings in the first eight chapters of Exodus:

1. Several of the MSS. agree well with the Hebrew; others differ very much.

2. The chief variance from the Hebrew is in the addition, or omission, of words and clauses.

3. Taking the Roman text as the basis, there are found 80 places (α) where some of the MSS. differ from the Roman text, either by addition or omission, *in agreement with the Hebrew*; 26 places (β) where differences of the same kind are *not in agreement with the Hebrew*. There is therefore a large balance against the Roman text, in point of accordance with the Hebrew.

4. Those MSS. which have the largest number of differences of class (α) have the smallest number of class (β). There is evidently some strong reason for this close accordance with the Hebrew in these MSS.

5. The divergence between the extreme points of the series of MSS. may be estimated from the following statement:—

72 differs from the Roman Text	in 40 places,	*with*	Hebrew.
	in 4 „	*against*	„
59 ditto ditto	in 40 „	*with*	„
	in 9 „	*against*	„

Between these and the Roman text lie many shades of variety.

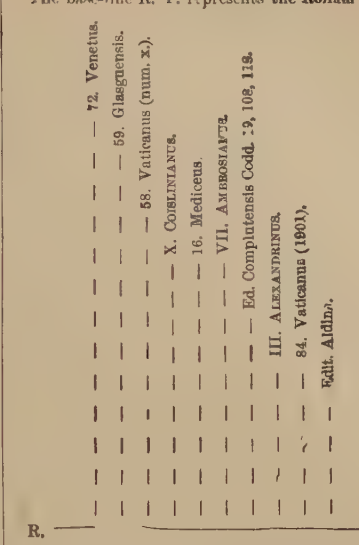
The Alexandrine text falls about halfway between the two extremes:

Differing from Roman Text	in 25 places,	*with*	Hebrew.
	in 16 „	*against*	„

The diagram below, drawn on a scale representing the comparison thus instituted (by the test of agreement with the Hebrew in respect of additions or omissions), may help to bring these results more clearly into view.

[b] An uncial MS., brought by Tischendorf from St. Catherine's Monastery, and named Codex Sinaiticus, is supposed by him to be as ancient as Cod. Vaticanus (II.)

The base-line R. T. represents the Roman text



The above can only be taken as an approximation, the range of comparison being limited. A more extended comparison might enable us to discriminate the several MSS. more accurately, but the result would, perhaps, hardly repay the labour.

But whence these varieties of text? Was the Version at first more in accordance with the Hebrew, as in (72) and (59), and did it afterwards degenerate into the less accurate state of the Codex Vaticanus?

Or was the Version at first less accurate, like the Vatican text, and afterwards brought, by critical labours, into the more accurate form of the MSS. which stand highest in the scale?

History supplies the answer.

Hieronymus (*Ep. ad Suniam et Fretelam*, tom. ii. p. 627) speaks of two copies, one older and less accurate, *κοινή*, fragments of which are believed to be represented by the still extant remains of the old Latin Version; the other more faithful to the Hebrew, which he took as the basis of his own new Latin Version.

"In quo illud breviter admoneo, ut sciatis, aliam esse editionem, quam Origenes, et Caesariensis Eusebius, omnesque Graeciae tractatores *κοινὴν*, id est, *communem*, appellant, atque *vulgatam*, et a plerisque nunc *Λουκιανὸς* dicitur; aliam LXX. interpretum, quae et in *ἑξαπλοῖς* codicibus reperitur, et a nobis in latinum sermonem fideliter versa est, et Hierosolymae atque in Orientis Ecclesiis decantatur . . . *κοινὴ* autem ista, hoc est, communis editio, ipsa est quae et LXX. sed hoc interest inter utramque, quod *κοινὴ* pro locis et temporibus, et pro voluntate scriptorum, vetus corrupta editio est; ea autem quae habetur in *ἑξαπλοῖς*, et quam nos vertimus, ipsa est quae in eruditorum libris incorrupta et immaculata LXX. interpretum translatio reservatur. Quicquid ergo ab hoc discrepat, nulli dubium est, quin ita et ab Hebraeorum auctoritate discordet."

In another place (*Praefat. in Paralip.* tom. i. col. 1022) he speaks of the corruption of the ancient translation, and the great variety of copies used in different countries:—

"Cum germana ilia antiquaque translatio corrupta sit." . . . "Alexandria et Aegyptus in LXX. suis Hesychium laudant auctorem; Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat; mediae inter has provinciae Palaestinos codices legunt: quos *ab Origene elaboratos* Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt: totusque orbis hâc inter se contrariâ varietate compugnat.'

The labours of Origen, designed to remedy the conflict of discordant copies, are best described in his own words (*Comment. in Matth.* tom. i. p. 381, ed. Huet.).

"Now there is plainly a great difference in the copies, either from the carelessness of scribes, or the rash and mischievous correction of the text by others, or from the additions or omissions made by others at their own discretion. This discrepance in the copies of the Old Covenant, we have found means to remedy, by the help of God, *using as our criterion the other versions.* In all passages of the LXX. rendered doubtful by the discordance of the copies, *forming a judgment from the other versions*, we have preserved what agreed with them; and some words we have marked with an *obelos* as not found in the Hebrew, not venturing to omit them entirely; and some we have added with asterisks affixed, to show that they are not found in the LXX., but added by us from the other versions, in accordance with the Hebrew."

The other *ἐκδόσεις*, or versions, are those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus.

Origen, *Comm. in Joann.* (tom. ii. p. 131, ed. Huet.). "The same errors in names may be observed frequently in the Law and the Prophets, as we have learnt by diligent enquiry of the Hebrews, and by comparing our copies with their copies, as represented in the still uncorrupted versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus."

It appears, from these and other passages, that Origen, finding great discordance in the several copies of the LXX., laid this version side by side with the other three translations, and, *taking their accordance with each other as the test of their agreement with the Hebrew*, marked the copy of the LXX. with an *obelos*, ÷, where he found superfluous words, and supplied the deficiencies of the LXX. by words taken from the other versions, with an *asterisc*, *, prefixed.

The additions to the LXX. were chiefly made from Theodotion (Hieronymus, *Prolog. in Genesin*, t. 1).

"Quod ut auderem, Origenis me studium provocavit, qui Editioni antiquae translationem Theodotionis miscuit, asterisco * et obelo ÷, id est, stellâ et veru, opus omne distinguens: dum aut illucescere facit quae minus ante fuerant, aut superflua quaeque jugulat et confodit" (see also *Praef. in Job*, p. 795).

From Eusebius, as quoted below, we learn that this work of Origen was called *τετραπλᾶ, the fourfold Bible.* The specimen exhibited at the top of the next column is given by Montfaucon.

Gen. i. 1.

ΑΚΥΛΑΣ.	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.	Οἱ Ο.	Θεοδοτίων.
ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἔκτισεν ὁ Θεὸς συν τον οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν.	ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

But this was only the earlier and the smaller portion of Origen's labours; he rested not till he had acquired the knowledge of Hebrew, and compared the Septuagint directly with the Hebrew copies. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 16, p. 217, ed. Vales.) thus describes the labours which led to the greater work, the *Hexapla*; the last clause of the passage refers to the *Tetrapla*:—

"So careful was Origen's investigation of the sacred oracles, that he learnt the Hebrew tongue, and made himself master of the original Scriptures received among the Jews, in the Hebrew letters; and reviewed the versions of the other interpreters of the Sacred Scriptures, besides the LXX.; and discovered some translations varying from the well-known versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, which he searched out, and brought to light from their long concealment in neglected corners; . . . . and in his Hexapla, after the four principal versions of the Psalms, added a fifth, yea, a sixth and seventh translation, stating that one of these was found in a cask at Jericho, in the time of Antoninus, son of Severus: and bringing these all into one view, and dividing them in columns, over against one another, together with the Hebrew text, he left to us the work called *Hexapla*; having arranged separately, in the *Tetrapla*, the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, together with the version of the Seventy."

So Jerome (in *Catal. Script. Eccl.* tom. iv. P. 2, p. 116): "Quis ignorat, quod tantum in Scripturis divinis habuerit studii, ut etiam hebraeam linguam contra aetatis gentisque suae naturam ediceret; et acceptis LXX. interpretibus, alias quoque editiones in unum volumen congregaret: Aquilae scilicet Pontici proselyti, et Theodotionis Ebionaei, et Symmachi ejusdem dogmatis . . . . Praeterea Quintam et Sextam et Septimam Editionem, quas etiam nos de ejus Bibliothecâ habemus, miro labore reperit, et cum caeteris editionibus comparavit."

From another passage of Jerome (in *Epist. ad Titum*, t. iv. P. 1, p. 437) we learn that in the Hexapla the Hebrew text was placed in one column in Hebrew letters, in the next column in Greek letters:—

"Unde et nobis curae fuit omnes veteris legis libros, quos vir doctus Adamantius (Origenes) in Hexapla digesserat, de Caesariensi Bibliothecâ descriptos, ex ipsis authenticis emendare, in quibus et ipsa hebraea propriis sunt characteribus verba descripta, et Graecis literis tramite expressa vicino."

Hexapla (Hos. xi. 1).

Το ΕΒΡΑΙΚΟΝ.	Το ΕΒΡ. ΕΔΛΗΝΙΚΟΙΣ ΓΡ.	ΑΚΥΛΑΣ.	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.	Οἱ Ο.	ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΩΝ.
כי נער ישראל ואהבהו וממצרים קראתי לבני	χι νερ Ισραηλ ουεαβηον ουμεμεσραιμ καραθι λεβαι.	οτι παις Ισραηλ, και ηγαπησα αυτον, και απο Αιγυπτου εκαλεσα τον υιον μου.	οτι παις Ισραηλ και ηγαπημενος εξ Αιγυπτου κεκληται υιος μου.	οτι νηπιος Ισραηλ και εγω ηγαπησα αυτον και εξ Αιγυπτου κεκληται υιος μου.	οτι νηπιος Ισραηλ και ηγαπησα αυτον και εκαλεσα υιον μου εξ Αιγυπτου

It should here be mentioned that some take the *Tetrapla* as denoting, not a separate work, but only that portion of the Hexapla which contains the four columns filled by the four principal Greek versions. Valesius (*Notes on Eusebius*, p. 106) thinks that the Tetrapla was formed by taking those four columns out of the Hexapla, and making them into a separate book.

But the testimony of Origen himself (i. 381, ii. 131), above cited, is clear that he formed one corrected text of the Septuagint, by *comparison of the three other Greek versions* (A, Σ, Θ), *using them as his criterion*. If he had known Hebrew at this time, would he have confined himself to the Greek versions? Would he have appealed to the Hebrew, as represented by Aquila, &c.? It seems very evident that he must have learnt Hebrew at a later time, and therefore that the Hexapla, which rests on a comparison with the Hebrew, must have followed the Tetrapla, which was formed by the help of Greek versions only.

The words of Eusebius also (*H. E.* vi. 16) appear to distinguish very clearly between the Hexapla and Tetrapla as separate works, and to imply that the Tetrapla preceded the Hexapla.

The order of precedence is not a mere literary question; the view above stated, which is supported by Montfaucon, Ussher, &c., strengthens the force of Origen's example as a diligent student of Scripture, showing his increasing desire *integros accedere fontes*.

The labours of Origen, pursued through a long course of years, first in procuring by personal travel the materials for his great work, and then in comparing and arranging them, made him worthy of the name *Adamantius*.

But what was the result of all this toil? Where is now his great work, the Hexapla, prepared with so much care, and written by so many skilful hands? Too large for transcription, too early by centuries for printing (which alone could have saved it), it was destined to a short existence. It was brought from Tyre and laid up in the Library at Caesarea, and there probably perished by the flames, A.D. 653.

One copy, however, had been made, by Pamphilus and Eusebius, of the column containing the corrected text of the Septuagint, with Origen's *asterisks* and *obeli*, and the letters denoting from which of the other translators each addition was taken. This copy is probably the ancestor of those Codices which now approach most nearly to the Hebrew, and are entitled *Hexaplar*; but in the course of transcription the distinguishing marks have disappeared or become confused; and we have thus a text composed partly of the old Septuagint text, partly of insertions from the three other chief Greek versions, especially that of Theodotion.

The facts above related agree well with the phenomena of the MSS. before stated. As we have Codices derived from the Hexaplar text, *e. g.* 72, 59, 58; and at the other extreme the Codex Vaticanus (II.), probably representing nearly the ancient uncorrected text, κοινή; so between these we find texts of intermediate character in the Codex Alexandrinus (III.), and others, which may perhaps be derived from the text of the Tetrapla.

To these main sources of our existing MSS. must be added the recensions of the Septuagint mentioned by Jerome and others, viz. those of Lucian of Antioch and Hesychius of Egypt, not long after the time of Origen. We have seen above that each of these had a wide range; that of Lucian (supposed to be corrected by the Hebrew) in the Churches from Constantinople to Antioch; that of Hesychius in Alexandria and Egypt; while the Churches lying between these two regions used the Hexaplar text copied by Eusebius and Pamphilus (Hieron. tom. i. col. 1022).

The great variety of text in the existing MSS. is thus accounted for by the variety of sources from which they have descended.

I. History of the Version.

We have now to pursue our course upwards, by such guidance as we can find. The ancient text, called κοινή, which was current before the time of Origen, whence came it?

We find it quoted by the early Christian Fathers, in Greek by Clemens Romanus, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus; in Latin versions by Tertullian and Cyprian; we find it questioned as inaccurate by the Jews (Just. Martyr, *Apol.*), and provoking them to obtain a better version (hence the versions of Aquila, &c.); we find it quoted by Josephus and Philo; and thus we are brought to the time of the Apostles and Evangelists, whose writings are full of citations and references, and imbued with the phraseology of the Septuagint.

But when we attempt to trace it to its origin, our path is beset with difficulties. Before we enter on this doubtful ground we may pause awhile to mark the wide circulation which the Version had obtained at the Christian era, and the important services it rendered, first in preparing the way of Christ, secondly in promoting the spread of the Gospel.

1. This version was highly esteemed by the Hellenistic Jews before the coming of Christ. An annual festival was held at Alexandria in remembrance of the completion of the work (Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, lib. ii.). The manner in which it is quoted by the writers of the New Testament proves that it had been long in general use. Wherever, by the conquests of Alexander, or by colonization, the Greek language prevailed; wherever Jews were settled, and the attention of the neighbouring Gentiles was drawn to their wondrous history and law, there was found the Septuagint, which thus became, by Divine Providence, the means of spreading widely the knowledge of the One True God, and His promises of a Saviour to come, throughout the nations; it was indeed *ostium gentibus ad Christum*. To the wide dispersion of this version we may ascribe in great measure that general persuasion which prevailed over the whole East (*percrebuerat oriente toto*) of the near approach of the Redeemer, and led the Magi to recognise the star which proclaimed the birth of the King of the Jews.

2. Not less wide was the influence of the Septuagint in the spread of the Gospel. Many of those Jews who were assembled at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, from Asia Minor, from Africa, from Crete and Rome, used the Greek language; the testimonies to Christ from the Law and the Prophets came to them in the words of the Septuagint; St. Stephen probably quoted from it in his address to the Jews; the Ethiopian eunuch was reading the Septuagint version of Isaiah in his chariot (...ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη...); they who were scattered abroad went forth into many lands speaking of Christ in Greek, and pointing to the things written of Him in the Greek version of Moses and the Prophets; from Antioch and Alexandria in the East

to Rome and Massilia in the West the voice of the Gospel sounded forth in Greek; Clemens of Rome, Ignatius at Antioch, Justin Martyr in Palestine, Irenaeus at Lyons, and many more, taught and wrote in the words of the Greek Scriptures; and a still wider range was given to them by the Latin version (or versions) made from the LXX. for the use of the Latin Churches in Italy and Africa; and in later times by the numerous other versions into the tongues of Aegypt, Aethiopia, Armenia, Arabia, and Georgia. For a long period the Septuagint was the Old Testament of the far larger part of the Christian Church.[c]

Let us now try to ascend towards the source. Can we find any clear, united, consistent testimony to the origin of the Septuagint? (1) Where and (2) when was it made? and (3) by whom? and (4) whence the title? The testimonies of ancient writers, or (to speak more properly) their traditions, have been weighed and examined by many learned men, and the result is well described by Pearson (*Praef. ad LXX.*, 1665):

"Neque vero de ejus antiquitate dignitateque quicquam impraesentiarum dicemus, de quibus viri docti multa, hoc praesertim saeculo, scripsere; qui cum maxime inter se dissentiant, *nihil adhuc satis certi et explorati videntur tradidisse.*"

(1) The only point in which all agree is that Alexandria was the birthplace of the Version: the Septuagint begins where the Nile ends his course.

(2) On one other point there is a near agreement, viz. as to time, that the Version was made, or at least commenced, in the time of the earlier Ptolemies, in the first half of the third century B.C.

(3) *By whom was it made?*—The following are some of the traditions current among the Fathers:—

Irenaeus (lib. iii. c. 24) relates that Ptolemy Lagi, wishing to adorn his Alexandrian Library with the writings of all nations, requested from the Jews of Jerusalem a Greek version of their Scriptures; that they sent seventy elders well skilled in the Scriptures and in later languages; that the king *separated them from one another*, and bade them all translate the several books. When they came together before Ptolemy and showed their versions, God was glorified, for *they all agreed exactly*, from beginning to end, in every phrase and word, so that all men may know *that the Scriptures are translated by the inspiration of God.*

Justin Martyr (*Cohort. ad Graecos*, p. 34) gives the same account, and adds that he was taken to see the cells in which the interpreters worked.

Epiphanius says that the translators were divided into pairs, in 36 cells, each pair being provided with two scribes; and that 36 versions, agreeing in every point, were produced, *by the gift of the Holy Spirit* (*De Pond. et Mens.* cap. iii.–vi.).

Among the Latin Fathers Augustine adheres to the inspiration of the translators:—"Non autem secundum LXX. interpretes, qui etiam ipsi divino Spiritu interpretati, ob hoc aliter videntur nonnulla dixisse, ut ad spiritualem sensum scrutandum magis admoneretur lectoris intentio . . . ." (*De Doctr. Christ.* iv. 15).

But Jerome boldly throws aside the whole story of the cells and the inspiration:—"Et nescio quis primus auctor Septuaginta cellulas Alexandriae mendacio suo extruxerit, quibus divisi eadem scripsitarent, cum Aristaeus ejusdem Ptolemaei ὑπερασπιστής, et multo post tempore Josephus, nihil tale retulerint: sed in unâ basilicâ congregatos, contulisse scribant, non prophetasse. Aliud est enim vatem, aliud esse interpretem. Ibi Spiritus ventura praedicit; hic eruditio et verborum copia ea quae intelligit transfert" (*Praef. ad Pent.*).

The decision between these conflicting reports as to the inspiration may be best made by careful study of the version itself.

It will be observed that Jerome, while rejecting the stories of others, refers to the relation of Aristaeus, or Aristeas, and to Josephus, the former being followed by the latter.

This (so called) letter of Aristeas to his brother Philocrates is still extant; it may be found at the beginning of the folio volume of Hody (*De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus*, &c., Oxon. MDCCV.), and separately in a small volume published at Oxford (1692). It gives a splendid account of the origin of the Septuagint; of the embassy and presents sent by King Ptolemy to the high-priest at Jerusalem, by the advice of *Demetrius Phalereus, his librarian*, 50 talents of gold and 70 talents of silver, &c.; the Jewish slaves whom he set free, paying their ransom himself; the letter of the king; the answer of the high-priest; the choosing of six interpreters from each of the twelve tribes, and their names; the copy of the Law, in letters of gold; their arrival at Alexandria on the anniversary of the king's victory over Antigonus; the feast prepared for the seventy-two, which continued for seven days; the questions proposed to each of the interpreters in turn, with the answers of each; their lodging by the sea-shore; and the accomplishment of their work in seventy-two days, *by conference and comparison.*

Οἱ δὴ ἐπετέλουν ἕκαστα σύμφωνα ποιοῦντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τάῖς ἀντιβολαῖς, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς συμφωνίας γινόμενον πρεπόντως ἀναγραφῆς οὕτως ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου· . . . .

The king rejoiced greatly, and commanded the books to be carefully kept; gave to each three robes, two talents of gold, &c.; to Eleazar the high-priest he sent ten silver-footed tables, a cup of thirty talents, &c., and begged him to let any of the interpreters who wished come and see him again, for he loved to have such men and to spend his wealth upon them.

This is the story which probably gave to this version the title of the *Septuagint*. It differs from the later accounts above cited, being more embellished, but less marvellous. It speaks much of royal pomp and munificence, but says *nothing of inspiration.* The translators met together and conferred, and produced the best version they could.

A simpler account, and probably more genuine, is that given by Aristobulus (2nd century B.C.) in a fragment preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata*, lib. v. p. 595) and by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* b. xiii. c. 12):—

"It is manifest that Plato has followed our Law, and studied diligently all its particulars. For before Demetrius Phalereus a translation had been made, by others, of the history of the Hebrews' going forth out of Egypt, and of all that happened to them, and of the conquest of the land, and of the exposition of the whole Law. Hence it is manifest that the aforesaid philosopher borrowed many things; for he was very learned, as was Pythagoras, who also transferred many of our doctrines into his system. But the entire translation of our

[c] On this part of the subject see an Hulsean Prize Essay, by W. R. Churton, "On the Influence of the LXX. on the Progress of Christianity."

whole Law (ἡ δὲ ὅλη ἑρμήνεια τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων) was made in the time of the king named Philadelphus, a man of greater zeal, under the direction of Demetrius Phalereus."[a]

This probably expresses the belief which prevailed in the 2nd century B.C., viz. that some portions of the Jewish history had been published in Greek before Demetrius, but that in his time and under his direction the whole Law was translated: and this agrees with the story of Aristeas.

The Prologue of the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach (ascribed to the time of Ptolemy Physcon, about 133 B.C.) makes mention of "the Law itself, the Prophets, and the rest of the books," having been translated from the Hebrew into another tongue.

The letter of Aristeas was received as genuine and true for many centuries; by Josephus and Jerome, and by learned men in modern times. The first who expressed doubts were Lud. de Vives (Note on Augustin. *De Civit. Dei*, xviii. 42) and Julius Scaliger, who boldly declared his belief that it was a forgery: "*a Judaeo quodam Aristeae nomine confectam esse*:" and the general belief of scholars now is, that it was the work of some Alexandrian Jew, whether with the object of enhancing the dignity of his Law, or the credit of the Greek version, or for the meaner purpose of gain. The age in which the letter of Aristeas makes its appearance was fertile in such fictitious writings (see Bentley *on Phalaris*, p. 85, ed. Dyce).

"The passage in Galen that I refer to is this: 'When the Attali and the Ptolemies were in emulation about their libraries, the knavery of forging books and titles began. For there were those that, to enhance the price of their books, put the names of great authors before them, and so sold them to those princes.'"

It is worth while to look through the letter of Aristeas, that the reader may see for himself how exactly the characters of the writing correspond to those of the fictitious writings of the Sophists, so ably exposed by Bentley.

Here are the same kind of errors and anachronisms in history, the same embellishments, eminent characters and great events, splendid gifts of gold and silver and purple, of which the writers of fiction were so lavish. These are well exposed by Hody; and we of later times, with our inherited wisdom, wonder how such a story could have obtained credit with scholars of former days.

"What clumsie cheats, those Sibyllline oracles now extant, and Aristeas' story of the Septuagint, passed without contest, even among many learned men" (Bentley *on Phalaris*, Introd. p. 83).

But the Pseudo-Aristeas had a basis of fact for his fiction; on three points of his story there is no material difference of opinion, and they are confirmed by the study of the Version itself:—

1. The Version was made at Alexandria.

2. It was begun in the time of the earlier Ptolemies, about 280 B.C.

3. The Law (*i. e.* the Pentateuch) alone was translated at first.

It is also very possible that there is some truth in the statement of a copy being placed in the royal library. (The emperor Akbar caused the New Testament to be translated into Persian.)

But by whom was the Version made? As Hody justly remarks, "it is of little moment whether it was made at the command of the king or spontaneously by the Jews; but it is a question of great importance whether the Hebrew copy of the Law, and the interpreters (as Pseudo-Aristeas and his followers relate), were summoned from Jerusalem, and sent by the high-priest to Alexandria."

On this question no testimony can be so conclusive as the evidence of the Version itself, which bears upon its face the marks of imperfect knowledge of Hebrew, and exhibits the forms and phrases of the Macedonic Greek prevalent in Alexandria, with a plentiful sprinkling of Egyptian words. The forms ἦλθοσαν, παρενεβάλοσαν, bewray the fellow-citizens of Lycophron, the Alexandrian poet, who closes his iambic line with κἀπὸ γῆς ἐσχάζοσαν. Hody (ii. c. iv.) gives several examples of Egyptian renderings of names, and coins, and measures; among them the hippodrome of Alexandria, for the Hebrew *Cibrath* (Gen. xlviii. 7), and the papyrus of the Nile for the rush of Job (viii. 11). The reader of the LXX. will readily agree with his conclusion, "Sive regis jussu, sive sponte a Judaeis, a Judaeis Alexandrinis fuisse factam."

The question as to the moving cause which gave birth to the Version is one which cannot be so decisively answered either by internal evidence or by historical testimony. The balance of probability must be struck between the tradition, so widely and permanently prevalent, of the king's intervention, and the simpler account suggested by the facts of history, and the phenomena of the Version itself.

It is well known that, after the Jews returned from the Captivity of Babylon, having lost in great measure the familiar knowledge of the ancient Hebrew, the readings from the Books of Moses in the synagogues of Palestine were explained to them in the Chaldaic tongue, in Targums or Paraphrases; and the same was done with the Books of the Prophets when, at a later time, they also were read in the synagogues.

The Jews of Alexandria had probably still less knowledge of Hebrew; their familiar language was Alexandrian Greek. They had settled in Alexandria in large numbers soon after the time of Alexander, and under the earlier Ptolemies. They would naturally follow the same practice as their brethren in Palestine; the Law first and afterwards the Prophets would be explained in Greek, and from this practice would arise in time an entire Greek Version.

All the phenomena of the Version seem to confirm this view; the Pentateuch is the best part of the Version; the other books are more defective, betraying probably the increasing degeneracy of the Hebrew MSS., and the decay of Hebrew learning with the lapse of time.

4. *Whence the title?*—It seems unnecessary to suppose, with Eichhorn, that the title *Septuagint* arose from the approval given to the Version by an Alexandrian Sanhedrim of 70 or 72; that title appears sufficiently accounted for above by the prevalence of the letter of Aristeas, describing the mission of 72 interpreters from Jerusalem.

II. Character of the Septuagint.

We come now to consider the character of the Version, and the help which it affords in the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures.

[a] Some doubts have been raised of the genuineness of this fragment, but it is well defended by Valckenaer (*Diatribe de Aristobulo Judaeo*).

The Character of the Version.—Is it faithful in substance? Is it minutely accurate in details? Does it bear witness for or against the tradition of its having been made by special inspiration?

These are some of the chief questions: there are others which relate to particulars, and it will be well to discuss these latter first, as they throw some light on the more general questions.

א. Was the Version made from Hebrew MSS. with the vowel points now used?

A few examples will indicate the answer.

1. Proper Names.

	Hebrew.	*Septuagint.*
Ex. vi. 17.	לִבְנִי, Libni.	Λοβενεί.
vi. 19.	מַחְלִי, Machli.	Μοολεί.
xiii. 20.	אֵתָם, Etham.	Ὀθώμ.
Deut. iii. 10.	סַלְכָה Salchah.	Ἐλχᾶ.
iv. 43.	בָּצֶר, Bezer.	Βοσόρ.
xxxiv. 1.	פִּסְגָּה, Pisgah.	Φασγά.

2. Other Words.

	Hebrew.	*Septuagint.*
Gen. i. 9.	מָקוֹם, *place.*	συναγωγή (מָקוֹם).
xv. 11.	וַיֵּשֶׁב אֹתָם, *and he drove them away.*	καὶ συνεκάθισεν αὐτοὺς (וַיֵּשֶׁב אֹתָם).
Ex. xii. 17.	אֶת־הַמַּצּוֹת, *unleavened bread.*	τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην (אֶת־הַמִּצְוָה)
Num. xvi. 5.	בֹּקֶר, *in the morning.*	ἐπέσκεπται (בָּקַר).
Deut. xv. 18.	כִּמְשֻׁנָה, *double.*	ἐπέτειον (מִשְׁנָה).
Is. ix. 8.	דָּבָר, *a word.*	θανατον (דֶּבֶר).

Examples of these two kinds are innumerable. Plainly the Greek translators had not Hebrew MSS. pointed as at present.

In many cases (*e. g.* Ex. ii. 25; Nahum iii. 8) the LXX. have probably preserved the true pronunciation and sense where the Masoretic pointing has gone wrong.

ב. Were the Hebrew words divided from one another, and were the final letters, ץ, ף, ן, ם, ך, in use when the Septuagint was made?

Take a few out of many examples:

	Hebrew.	*LXX.*
(1) Deut. xxvi. 5.	אֲרַמִּי אֹבֵד, *a perishing Syrian.*	Συρίαν ἀπέβαλεν (ארם יאבד).
(2)	2 K. ii. 14. אַף־הוּא, *he also.*	ἀφφώ [they join the two words in one].
(3)	2 K. xxii. 20. לָכֵן, *therefore.*	οὐχ οὕτως (לֹא־כֵן).
(4)	1 Chr. xvii. 10. וְאַגֶּד לְךָ, *and I will tell thee.*	καὶ αὐξήσω σε (וְאַגְדֶּלְךָ).
(5)	Hos. vi. 5. וּמִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ אוֹר יֵצֵא, *and thy judgments (are as) the light (that) goeth forth.*	καὶ τὸ κρίμα μου ὡς φῶς ἐξελεύσεται. The LXX. read: וּמִשְׁפָּטִי כָאוֹר.
(6)	Zech. xi. 7. לָכֵן עֲנִיֵּי הַצֹּאן, *even you, O poor of the flock.*	εἰς τὴν Χαναῖτιν [they join the two first words].

Here we find three cases (2, 4, 6) where the LXX. read as one word what makes two in the present Hebrew text: one case (3) where one Hebrew word is made into two by the LXX.; two cases (1, 5) where the LXX. transfers a letter from the end of one word to the beginning of the next. By inspection of the Hebrew in these cases it will be easily seen that the Hebrew MSS. must have been written without intervals between the words, and that the present final forms were not then in use.

In three of the above examples (4, 5, 6), the Septuagint has probably preserved the true division and sense.

In the study of these minute particulars, which enable us to examine closely the work of the translators, great help is afforded by *Cappelli Critica Sacra*, and by the *Vorstudien* of Frankel, who has most diligently anatomised the text of the LXX. His projected work on the whole of the Version has not been completed, but he has published a part of it in his treatise *Ueber den Einfluss der Palästinischen Exegese auf die Alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, in which he reviews minutely the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch.

We now proceed to the larger questions.

A. *Is the Septuagint faithful in substance?*—Here we cannot answer by citing a few examples; the question refers to the general texture, and any opinion we express must be verified by continuous reading.

1. And first it has been clearly shown by Hody, Frankel, and others, that the several books were translated by different persons, without any comprehensive revision to harmonise the several parts. Names and words are rendered differently in different books; *e. g.* פֶּסַח, the passover, in the Pentateuch is rendered πάσχα, in 2 Chr. xxxv. 6 φασέκ.

אוּרִים, *Urim.* Ex. xxviii. 26, δήλωσις, Deut. xxxiii. 8, δῆλοι, Ezr. ii. 63, φωτίζοντες, Neh. vii. 65, φωτισων.

תֻּמִּים, *Thummim*, in Ex. xxviii. 26, is ἀλήθεια in Ezr. ii. 63, τέλειον.

The Philistines in the Pentateuch and Joshua are φυλιστιείμ, in the other books, ἀλλόφυλοι.

The Books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings, are distinguished by the use of ἐγώ εἰμι, instead of ἐγώ.

These are a few out of many like variations.

2. Thus the character of the Version varies much in the several books; those of the Pentateuch are the best, as Jerome says (*Confitemur plus quam caeteris cum hebraicis consonare*), and this agrees well with the external evidence that the Law was translated first, when Hebrew MSS. were more correct and Hebrew better known. Perhaps the simplicity of the style in these early books facilitated the fidelity of the Version.

3. The poetical parts are, generally speaking, inferior to the historical, the original abounding with rarer words and expressions. In these parts the reader of the LXX. must be continually on the watch lest an imperfect rendering of a difficult word mar the whole sentence. The Psalms and Proverbs are perhaps the best.

4. In the Major Prophets (probably translated nearly 100 years after the Pentateuch) some of the most important prophecies are sadly obscured: *e. g.* Is. ix. 1, τοῦτο πρῶτον πίς ταχὺ ποίει, χώρα Ζαβουλὼν, κ. τ. λ., and in ix. 6, *Esaias noctus est interpretem sese indignum* (Zuingli); Jer. xxiii. 6, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὃ καλέσει αὐτὸν Κύριος Ἰωσεδὲκ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις.

Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets (speaking generally) seem to be better rendered. The LXX. version of Daniel was not used, that of Theodotion being substituted for it.

5. Supposing the numerous glosses and duplicate renderings, which have evidently crept from the margin into the text, to be removed (*e. g.* Is. vii. 16; Hab. iii. 2; Joel i. 8),—for these are blemishes, not of the Version itself, but of the copies—and forming a rough estimate of what the Septuagint was in its earliest state, we may perhaps say of it, in the words of the well-known simile, that it was, in many parts, *the wrong side of the Hebrew tapestry*, exhibiting the general outlines of the pattern, but confused in the more delicate lines, and with many ends of threads visible; or, to use a more dignified illustration, the Septuagint is the image of the original seen through a glass not adjusted to the proper focus; the larger features are shewn, but the sharpness of definition is lost.

B. We have anticipated the answer to the second question—*Is the Version minutely accurate in details?*—but will give a few examples:

1. The *same* word in the same chapter is often rendered by *differing* words—Ex. xii. 13, פָּסַחְתִּי, "I will pass over," LXX. σκεπάσω, but 23, פָּסַח, "will pass over," LXX. παρελεύσεται.

2. *Differing* words by the *same* word—Ex. xii. 23, עָבַר, "pass through," and פָּסַח, "pass over," both by παρελεύσεται; Num. xv. 4, 5, מִנְחָה, "offering," and זֶבַח, "sacrifice," both by θυσία.

3. The divine names are frequently interchanged; Κύριος is put for אֱלֹהִים, GOD, and Θεός for יְהוָה, JEHOVAH; and the two are often wrongly combined or wrongly separated.

4. Proper names are sometimes translated, sometimes not. In Gen. xxiii. by translating the name *Machpelah* (τὸ διπλοῦν), the Version is made to speak first of the cave being in the field (ver. 9), and then of the *field being* in the cave (ver. 17), ὁ ἀγρὸς Ἐφρὼν, ὃς ἦν ἐν τῷ διπλῷ σπηλαίῳ, the last word not warranted by the Hebrew. Zech. vi. 14 is a curious example of four names of persons being translated, *e. g.* לְטוֹבִיָּה, "to Tobijah," LXX. τοῖς χρησίμοις αὐτῆς; Pisgah in Deut. xxxiv. 1 is φασγὰ, but in Deut. iii. 27, τοῦ λελαξευμένου.

5. The translators are often misled by the similarity of Hebrew words: *e. g.* Num. iii. 26, מֵיתָרָיו, "the cords of it," LXX. τὰ κατάλοιπα, and iv. 26, τὰ περισσά. In other places οἱ κάλοι, and Is. liv. 2, τὰ σχοινίσματα, both rightly. Ex. iv. 31, וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ, "they heard," LXX. ἐχάρη (וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ); Num. xvi. 15, "I have not taken one ass" (חֲמוֹר), LXX. οὐκ ἐπιθύμημα (חמר) εἴληφα; Deut. xxxii. 10, יְמַצְאֵהוּ, "he found him," LXX. αὐτάρκησεν αὐτόν; 1 Sam. xii. 2, שַׂבְתִּי, "I am grayheaded," LXX. καθήσομαι (שִׂבְתִּי); Gen. iii. 17, בַּעֲבוּרֶךָ, "for thy sake," LXX. ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου (ר for ד).

In very many cases the error may be thus traced to the similarity of some of the Hebrew letters, ד and ר, ה and ת, י, and ו, &c.; in some it is difficult to see any connexion between the original and the version: *e. g.* Deut. xxxii. 8, בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, "the sons of Israel," LXX. ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ. Aquila and Symmachus, υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ.

Is. xxi. 11, 12.	LXX.
Watchman, what of the night?	Φυλάσσετε ἐπάλξεις
Watchman, what of the night?	φυλάσσω τοπρωΐ α
The watchman said,	τὴν νύκτα
The morning cometh, and also	ἐὰν ζητῆς ζήτει
the night:	καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ οἶκει.
If ye will enquire, enquire ye.	
Return, come.	

6. Besides the above deviations, and many like them, which are probably due to accidental causes, the change of a letter, or doubtful writing in the Hebrew, there are some passages which seem to exhibit a studied variation in the LXX. from the Hebrew: *e. g.* Gen. ii. 2, on the seventh (הַשְּׁבִיעִי) day GOD *ended his work*, LXX. συνετέλεσεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. The addition in Ex. xii. 40, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ Χανάαν, appears to be of this kind, inserted to solve a difficulty.

Frequently the strong expressions of the Hebrew are softened down; where human parts are ascribed to GOD, for *hand* the LXX. substitute *power*: for *mouth—word*, &c. Ex. iv. 16, "Thou shalt be to him instead of GOD" (לֵאלֹהִים), LXX. σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔσῃ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν; see Exod. iv. 15. These and many more savour of design, rather than of accident or error.

The Version is, therefore, not minutely accurate in details; and it may be laid down as a principle, *never to build any argument on words or phrases of the Septuagint, without comparing them with the Hebrew.* The Greek *may* be right; but very often its variations are wrong.

Γ. We shall now be prepared to weigh the tradition of the Fathers, that the Version was made by inspiration: κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, Irenaeus; "divino Spiritu interpretati," Augustine. Even Jerome himself seems to think that the LXX. may have sometimes added words to the original, "*ob Spiritus Sancti auctoritatem, licet in Hebraeis voluminibus non legatur*" (*Praefat. in Paralip.* tom. i. col. 1419).

Let us try to form some conception of what is meant by the *inspiration of translators*. It cannot mean what Jerome here seems to allow, that the translators were divinely moved to add to the original, for this would be the *inspiration of Prophets*; as he himself says in another passage (*Prolog. in Genesin*, tom. i.) "*aliud est enim vertere, aliud esse interpretem.*" Every such addition would be, in fact, a new revelation.

Nor can it be, as some have thought, that the deviations of the Septuagint from the original were divinely directed, whether in order to adapt the Scriptures to the mind of the heathen, or for other purposes. This would be, *pro tanto*, a new revelation, and it is difficult to conceive of such a revelation; for, be it observed, the discrepance between the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures would tend to separate the Jews of Palestine from those of Alexandria, and of other places where the Greek Scriptures were used; there would be two different copies of the same books dispersed throughout the world, each claiming Divine authority; the appeal to Moses and the Prophets would lose much of its force; the standard of Divine truth would be rendered doubtful; the trumpet would give an uncertain sound.

No! If there be such a thing as an *inspiration*

of translators. it must be an effect of the Holy Spirit on their minds, enabling them to do their *work of translation* more perfectly than by their own abilities and acquirements; to overcome the difficulties arising from defective knowledge, from imperfect MSS., from similarity of letters, from human infirmity and weariness; and so to produce a copy of the Scriptures, setting forth the Word of God, and the history of his people, in its original truth and purity. This is the kind of inspiration claimed for the translators by Philo (*Vit. Mosis*, lib. ii.), "We look upon the persons who made this Version, not merely as translators, but as persons chosen and set apart by Divine appointment, to whom it was given to comprehend and express the sense and meaning of Moses in the fullest and clearest manner."

The reader will be able to judge, from the foregoing examples, whether the Septuagint Version satisfies this test. If it does, it will be found not only substantially faithful, but minutely accurate in details; it will enable us to correct the Hebrew in every place where an error has crept in; it will give evidence of that faculty of intuition in its highest form, which enables our great critics to divine from the faulty text the true reading; it will be, in short, a republication of the original text, purified from the errors of human hands and eyes, stamped with fresh authority from Heaven.

This is a question to be decided by facts, by the phenomena of the Version itself. We will simply declare our own conviction that, instead of such a Divine republication of the original, we find a marked distinction between the original and the Septuagint; a distinction which is well expressed in the words of Jerome (*Prolog. in Genesin*):

Ibi Spiritus ventura praedicit; hic eruditio et verborum copia ea quae intelligit transfert.

And it will be remembered that this agrees with the ancient narrative of the Version, known by the name of Aristeas, which represents the interpreters as meeting in one house, forming one council, conferring together, and agreeing on the sense (see Hody, lib. ii. c. vi.).

There are some, perhaps, who will deem this estimate of the LXX. too low; who think that the use of this version in the N. T. stamps it with an authority above that of a mere translation. But as the Apostles and Evangelists do not invariably cite the O. T. according to this version, we are left to judge by the light of facts and evidence. Students of Holy Scripture, as well as students of the natural world, should bear in mind the maxim of Bacon—*Sola spes est in verâ inductione.*

III. What, then, are the benefits to be derived from the study of the Septuagint?

After all the notices of imperfection above given, it may seem strange to say, but we believe it to be the truth, that the student of Scripture can scarcely read a chapter without some benefit, especially if he be a student of Hebrew, and able, even in a very humble way, to compare the Version with the Original.

1. For the Old Testament. We have seen above, that the Septuagint gives evidence of the character and condition of the Hebrew MSS. from which it was made, with respect to vowel points and the mode of writing.

This evidence often renders very material help in the correction and establishment of the Hebrew text. Being made from MSS. far older than the Masoretic recension, the Septuagint often indicates readings more ancient and more correct than those of our present Hebrew MSS. and editions; and often speaks decisively between the conflicting readings of the present MSS.

E. g. Ps. xxii. 17 (in LXX. xxi. 16), the printed Hebrew text is כארי; but several MSS. have a verb in 3 pers. plural, כארו: the Sept. steps in to decide the doubt, ὤρυξαν χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας μου, confirmed by Aquila, ᾔσχυναν.

Ps. xvi. 10. The printed text is חסידיך, in the plural; but near 200 MSS. have the singular, חסידך, which is clearly confirmed by the evidence of the Sept., οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.

In passages like these, which touch on the cardinal truths of the Gospel, it is of great importance to have the testimony of an unsuspected witness, in the LXX., long before the controversy between Christians and Jews.

In Hosea vi. 5, the context clearly requires that the first person should be maintained throughout the verse; the Sept. corrects the present Hebrew text, without a change except in the position of one letter, τὸ κρίμα μου ὡς φῶς ἐξελεύσεται, rendering unnecessary the addition of words in Italics, in our English Version.

More examples might be given, but we must content ourselves with one signal instance, of a clause omitted in the Hebrew (probably by what is called ὁμοιοτέλευτον), and preserved in the Sept. In Genesis iv. 8, is a passage which in the Hebrew, and in our English Version, is evidently incomplete: "And Cain talked (וַיֹּאמֶר) with Abel his brother; and it came to pass when they were in the field," &c.

Here the Hebrew word וַיֹּאמֶר, is the word constantly used as the introduction to words spoken, "Cain *said* unto Abel" . . . , but, as the text stands, there are no words spoken; and the following words ". . . *when they were in the field*," come in abruptly. The Sept. fills up the *lacuna Hebraeorum codicum* (Pearson), καὶ εἶπε Κάϊν πρὸς Ἀβὲλ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον (= נֵלְכָה הַשָּׂדֶה). The Sam. Pentateuch and the Syriac Version agree with the Sept., and the passage is thus cited by Clemens Romanus (*Ep.* i. c. iv.). The Hebrew transcriber's eye was probably misled by the word שָׂדֶה, terminating both the clauses.

In all the foregoing cases, we do not attribute any paramount *authority* to the Sept. on account of its superior antiquity to the extant Hebrew MSS.; but we take it as an evidence of a more ancient Hebrew text, as an eye-witness of the texts, 280 or 180 years B.C. The decision as to any particular reading must be made by weighing this evidence, together with that of other ancient Versions, with the arguments from the context, the rules of grammar, the genius of the language, and the comparison of parallel passages. And thus the Hebrew will sometimes correct the Greek, and sometimes the Greek the Hebrew; both liable to err through the infirmity of human eyes and hands, but each checking the other's errors.

2. The close connexion between the Old and New Testament makes the study of the Septuagint extremely valuable, and almost indispensable to the theological student. Pearson quotes from Ire-

naeus and Jerome, as to the citation of the words of prophecy from the Septuagint. The former, as Pearson observes, speaks too universally, when he says that the Apostles, "prophetica *omnia* ita enunciaverunt quemadmodum Seniorum interpretatio continet." But it was manifestly the chief storehouse from which they drew their proofs and precepts. Mr. Grinfield[a] says that "the number of direct quotations from the Old Testament in the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, may be estimated at 350, of which not more than 50 materially differ from the LXX. But the indirect verbal allusions would swell the number to a far greater amount" (*Apol. for LXX.*, p. 37). The comparison of the citations with the Septuagint is much facilitated by Mr. Grinfield's 'Editio Hellenistica' of the New Testament, and by Mr. Gough's 'New Test. Quotations,' in which the Hebrew and Greek passages of the Old Test. are placed side by side with the citations in the New. (On this subject see Hody, p. 248, 281; Kennicott, *Dissert. Gen.* §84; Cappelli *Critica Sacra*, vol. ii.)

3. Further, the language of the Sept. is the mould in which the thoughts and expressions of the Apostles and Evangelists are cast. In this version Divine Truth has taken the Greek language as its shrine, and adapted it to the things of GOD. Here the peculiar idioms of the Hebrew are grafted upon the stock of the Greek tongue; words and phrases take a new sense. The terms of the Mosaic ritual in the Greek Version are employed by the Apostles to express the great truths of the Gospel, *e. g.* ἀρχιερεὺς, θυσία, ὁσμὴ εὐωδίας. Hence the Sept. is a treasury of illustration for the Greek Testament.

Many examples are given by Pearson (*Praef. ad LXX.*), *e. g.* σὰρξ, πνεῦμα, δικαιόω, φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς, "Frustra apud veteres Graecos quaeras quid sit πιστεύειν τῷ Θεῷ, vel εἰς τὸν Θεὸν, quid sit εἰς τὸν Κύριον, vel πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν πίστις, quae toties in Novo Foedere inculcantur, et ex lectione Seniorum facile intelliguntur."

Valckenaer also (on Luke i. 51) speaks strongly on this subject: "Graecum Novi Testamenti contextum rite intellecturo nihil est utilius, quam diligenter versasse Alexandrinam antiqui Foederis interpretationem, e quâ unâ plus peti poterit auxilii, quam ex veteribus scriptoribus Graecis simul sumtis. Centena reperientur in N. T. nusquam obvia in scriptis Graecorum veterum, sed frequentata in Alex[a]. Versione."

E. g. the sense of τὸ πάσχα in Deut. xvi. 2, including the sacrifices of the Paschal week, throws light on the question as to the day on which our Lord kept his last Passover, arising out of the words in John xviii. 28, ἀλλ' ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα.

4. The frequent citations of the LXX. by the Greek Fathers and of the Latin Version of the LXX. by the Fathers who wrote in Latin, form another strong reason for the study of the Septuagint. Pearson cites the appellation of *Scarabaeus bonus*, applied to CHRIST by Ambrose and Augustine, as explained by reference to the Sept. in Habak. ii. 11, κάνθαρος ἐκ ξύλου.

5. On the value of the Sept. as a monument of the Greek language in one of its most curious phases, this is not the place to dwell. Our business is with the use of this Version, as it bears on the criticism and interpretation of the Bible. And we may safely urge the theological student who wishes to be "thoroughly furnished," to have always at his side the Septuagint. Let the Hebrew, if possible, be placed before him; and at his right, in the next place of honour, the Alexandrian Version; the close and careful study of this Version will be more profitable than the most learned inquiry into its origin; it will help him to a better knowledge both of the Old Testament and the New.

OBJECTS TO BE ATTAINED BY THE CRITICAL SCHOLAR.

1. A question of much interest still waits for a solution. In many of the passages which show a *studied variation* from the Hebrew (some of which are above noted), the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch agree together: *e. g.* Gen. ii. 2; Ex. xii. 40.

They also agree in many of the ages of the Post-Diluvian Patriarchs, adding 100 years to the age at which the first son of each was born, according to the Hebrew. (See Cappelli *Crit. Sacr.* iii. xx. vii.)

They agree in the addition of the words διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, Gen. iv. 8, which we have seen reason to think rightly added.

Various reasons have been conjectured for this agreement; translation into Greek from a Samaritan text, interpolation from the Samaritan into the Greek, or *vice versâ*; but the question does not seem to have found a satisfactory answer.

2. For the critical scholar it would be a worthy object of pursuit to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the original text of the Septuagint as it stood in the time of the Apostles and Philo. If this could be accomplished with any tolerable completeness, it would possess a strong interest, as being the first translation of any writing into another tongue, and the first repository of Divine truth to the great colony of Hellenistic Jews at Alexandria.

The critic would probably take as his basis the Roman edition, from the Codex Vaticanus, as representing most nearly the ancient (κοινὴ) texts. The collection of fragments of Origen's *Hexapla*, by Montfaucon and others, would help him to eliminate the additions which have been made to the LXX. from other sources, and to purge out the glosses and double renderings; the citations in the New Testament and in Philo, in the early Christian Fathers, both Greek and Latin, would render assistance of the same kind; and perhaps the most effective aid of all would be found in the fragments of the Old Latin Version collected by Sabatier in 3 vols. folio (Rheims, 1743).

3. Another work, of more practical and general interest, still remains to be done, viz. to provide a Greek version, accurate and faithful to the Hebrew original, for the use of the Greek Church, and of students reading the Scriptures in that language for purposes of devotion or mental improvement. Mr. Field's edition is as yet the best edition of this kind; it originated in the desire to supply the Greek Church with such a faithful copy of the Scriptures; but as the editor has followed the text of the Alexandrian MS., only correcting, by the help of other MSS., the evident errors of transcription (*e. g.* in Gen. xv. 15, correcting τραφεῖς, in the Alex. MS. to ταφεῖς, the

[a] One of the most diligent students of the LXX., who has devoted his life to the promotion of this branch of Scripture study, and has lately founded a Lecture on the LXX. in the University of Oxford.

reading of the Complut. text), and as we have seen above that the Alexandrian text is far from being the nearest to the Hebrew, it is evident that a more faithful and complete copy of the Old Testament in Greek might yet be provided.

We may here remark, in conclusion, that such an edition might prepare the way for the correction of the blemishes which remain in our Authorised English Version. Embracing the results of the criticism of the last 250 years, it might exhibit several passages in their original purity; and the corrections thus made, being approved by the judgment of the best scholars, would probably, after a time, find their way into the margin, at least, of our English Bibles.

One example only can be here given, in a passage which has caused no small perplexity and loads of commentary. Isai. ix. 3 is thus rendered in the LXX.: *τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ λαοῦ, ὃ κατήγαγες ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ σου· καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται ἐνώπιόν σου, ὡς οἱ εὐφραινόμενοι ἐν ἀμήτῳ, καὶ ὃν τρόπον οἱ διαιρούμενοι σκῦλα.*

It is easy to see how the faulty rendering of the first part of this has arisen from the similarity of Hebrew letters, ת and ה, ד and ר, and from an ancient error in the Hebrew text. The following translation restores the whole passage to its original clearness and force:—

ἐπλήθυνας τὴν ἀγαλλίασιν (הַגִּיל),
ἐμεγαλύνας τὴν εὐφροσύνην·
εὐφραίνονται ἐνώπιόν σου ὡς οἱ εὐφραινόμενοι
ἐν ἀμήτῳ,
ὃν τροπον ἀγαλλιῶνται οἱ διαιρούμενοι σκῦλα.

Thou hast multiplied the gladness,
Thou hast increased the joy;
They rejoice before thee as with the joy of harvest;
As men are glad when they divide the spoil.

Here *ἀγαλλίασις* and *ἀγαλλιῶνται*, in the first and fourth lines, correspond to גִּיל and יָגִילוּ; *εὐφροσύνη* and *εὐφραίνονται*, in the second and third, to שִׂמְחָה and שָׂמְחוּ.

The fourfold *introverted* parallelism is complete, and the connexion with the context of the prophecy perfect.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that in such an edition the apocryphal additions to the Book of Esther, and those to the Book of Daniel, which are not recognised by the Hebrew Canon, would be either omitted, or (perhaps more properly, since they appear to have been incorporated with the Septuagint at an early date) would be placed separately, as in Mr. Field's edition and our English Version. [See APOCRYPHA; CANON; DANIEL; APOC. ADDITIONS; ESTHER; SAMARITAN PENT.]

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SEPULCHRE. [BURIAL.]

SE'RAH (שֶׂרַח: Σάρα in Gen., Σορέ in 1 Chr.; Alex., Σαάρ in Gen., Σαραΐ in 1 Chr.: *Sara*). The daughter of Asher (Gen. xlvi. 17; 1 Chr. vii. 30); called in Num. xxvi. 46, SARAH.

SERAI'AH (שְׂרָיָה: Σασά; Alex. Σαραΐας: *Saraias*). **1.** Seraiah, the king's scribe or secretary in the reign of David (2 Sam. viii. 17). In the Vatican MS. of the LXX. Σασά appears to be the result of a confusion between Seraiah and Shisha, whose sons were secretaries to Solomon (1 K. iv. 3).

2. (Σαραΐας; Alex. Σαραΐας: *Saraïas.*) The high-priest in the reign of Zedekiah. He was taken captive to Babylon by Nebuzaradan, the captain of the guard, and slain with others at Riblah (2 K. xxv. 18; 1 Chr. vi. 14; Jer. lii. 24).

3. (*Saraia, Sarea.*) The son of Tanhumeth the Netophathite, according to 2 K. xv. 23, who came with Ishmael, Jonanan, and Jaazaniah to Gedaliah, and was persuaded by him to submit quietly to the Chaldeans and settle in the land (Jer. xl. 8).

4. (Σαραΐα: *Saraïa.*) The son of Kenaz, brother of Othniel, and father of Joab, the father or founder of the valley of Charashim (1 Chr. iv. 13, 14).

5. (Σαραῦ; Alex. Σαραΐα.) Ancestor of Jehu, a chief of one of the Simeonite families (1 Chr. iv. 35).

6. (Σαραΐας.) One of the children of the province who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 2). In Neh. vii. 7 he is called AZARIAH, and in 1 Esd. v. 8 ZACHARIAS.

7. One of the ancestors of Ezra the scribe (Ezr. vii. 1), but whether or not the same as Seraiah the high-priest seems uncertain. Called also SARAIAS (1 Esd. viii. 1; 2 Esd. i. 1).

8. (*υἱὸς* Ἀραΐα; Alex. *υἱὸς* Σαραΐα.) A priest, or priestly family, who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 2).

9. (Σαραΐα.) A priest, the son of Hilkiah (Neh xi. 11), who was ruler of the house of God after the

return from Babylon. In 1 Chr. ix. 11 he is called AZARIAH.

10. (Σαραΐα.) The head of a priestly house which went up from Babylon with Zerubbabel. His representative in the days of Joiakim the high-priest was Meraiah (Neh. xii. 1, 12).

11. The son of Neriah, and brother of Baruch (Jer. li. 59, 61). He went with Zedekiah to Babylon in the 4th year of his reign, or, as the Targum has it, "in the mission of Zedekiah," and is described as שַׂר מְנוּחָה, *sar mĕnûchâh* (lit. "prince of rest;" A. V. "a quiet prince;" marg. "or, prince of Menucha, or, chief chamberlain"), a title which is interpreted by Kimchi as that of the office of chamberlain, "for he was a friend of the king, and was with the king at the time of his rest, to talk and to delight himself with him." The LXX. and Targum read מִנְחָה, *minchâh*, "an offering," and so Rashi, who says, "under his hand were those who saw the king's face, who brought him a present." The Peshito-Syriac renders "chief of the camp," apparently reading מַחֲנֶה, *machâneh*, unless the translator understood *mĕnûchâh* of the halting-place of an army, in which sense it occurs in Num. x. 33. Gesenius adopts the latter view, and makes Seraiah hold an office similar to that of "quarter-master-general" in the Babylonian army. It is perfectly clear, however, that he was in attendance upon Zedekiah, and an officer of the Jewish court. The suggestion of Maurer, adopted by Hitzig, has more to commend it, that he was an officer who took charge of the royal caravan on its march, and fixed the place where it should halt. Hiller (*Onomast.*) says Seraiah was prince of Menuchah, a place on the borders of Judah and Dan, elsewhere called Manahath. The rendering of the Vulgate is unaccountable, *princeps prophetiae*.

Seraiah was commissioned by the prophet Jeremiah to take with him on his journey the roll in which he had written the doom of Babylon, and sink it in the midst of the Euphrates, as a token that Babylon should sink, never to rise again (Jer. li. 60-64). [W. A. W.]

SER'APHIM (שְׂרָפִים: Σεραφείμ: *Seraphim*). An order of celestial beings, whom Isaiah beheld in vision standing above Jehovah (not as in A. V., "above *it*," *i.e.* the throne) as He sat upon his throne (Is. vi. 2). They are described as having each of them three pairs of wings, with one of which they covered their faces (a token of humility; comp. Ex. iii. 6; 1 K. xix. 13 Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 10); with the second they covered their feet (a token of respect; see Lowth on Is. vi., who quotes Chardin in illustration); while with the third they flew. They seem to have borne a general resemblance to the human figure, for they are represented as having a face, a voice, feet, and hands (ver. 6). Their occupation was twofold—to celebrate the praises of Jehovah's holiness and power (ver. 3), and to act as the medium of communication between heaven and earth (ver. 6). From their antiphonal chant ("one cried unto another") we may conceive them to have been ranged in opposite rows on each side of the throne. As the Seraphim are nowhere else mentioned in the Bible, our conceptions of their appearance must be restricted to the above particulars, aided by such uncertain light as etymology and analogy will supply. We may observe that the idea of a winged human figure was not peculiar to the Hebrews: among the sculptures found at *Mourghaub* in Persia, we meet with a representation of a man with two pairs of wings, springing from the shoulders, and extending, the one pair upwards, the other downwards, so as to admit of covering the head and the feet (Vaux's *Nin. and Persep.* p. 322). The wings in this instance imply deification; for speed and ease of motion stand, in man's imagination, among the most prominent tokens of Divinity. The meaning of the word "seraph" is extremely doubtful; the only word which resembles it in the current Hebrew is *sâraph*,[a] "to burn," whence the idea of *brilliancy* has been extracted. Such a sense would harmonise with other descriptions of celestial beings (*e. g.* Ez. i. 13; Matt. xxviii. 3); but it is objected that the Hebrew term never bears this secondary sense. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1341) connects it with an Arabic term signifying *high* or *exalted*; and this may be regarded as the generally received etymology; but the absence of any cognate Hebrew term is certainly worthy of remark. The similarity between the names Seraphim and Sarapis, led Hitzig (*in Is.* vi. 2) to identify the two, and to give to the former the figure of a winged serpent. But Sarapis was unknown in the Egyptian Pantheon until the time of Ptolemy Soter (Wilkinson's *Anc. Eg.* iv. 360 ff.); and, even had it been otherwise, we can hardly conceive that the Hebrews would have borrowed their imagery from such a source. Knobel's conjecture that Seraphim is merely a false reading for *shârâthîm*,[b] "ministers," is ingenious, but the latter word is not Hebrew. The relation subsisting between the Cherubim and Seraphim presents another difficulty: the "living creatures" described in Rev. iv. 8 resemble the Seraphim in their occupation and the number of the wings; and the Cherubim in their general appearance and number, as described in Ez. i. 5 ff., x. 12. The difference between the two may not, therefore, be great, but we cannot believe them to be identical so long as the distinction of name holds good. [W. L. B.]

SER'ED (סֶרֶד: Σερέδ in Gen., Σαρέδ in Num.: *Sared*). The firstborn of Zebulon, and ancestor of the family of the Sardites (Gen. xlvi. 14; Num. xxvi. 26).

SER'GIUS PAU'LUS (Σέργιος Παῦλος: *Sergius Paulus*) was the name of the proconsul of Cyprus when the Apostle Paul visited that island with Barnabas on his first missionary tour (Acts xiii. 7 sq.). He is described as an intelligent man (*συνετός*), truth-seeking, eager for information from all sources within his reach. It was this trait of his character which led him in the first instance to admit to his society Elymas the Magian, and afterwards to seek out the missionary strangers and learn from them the nature of the Christian doctrine. The strongest minds at that period were drawn with a singular fascination to the occult studies of the East; and the ascendancy which Luke represents the "sorcerer" as having gained over Sergius illustrates a characteristic feature of the times. For other examples of a similar character, see Howson's *Life and Epistles of Paul*, vol. i. p. 177 sq. But Sergius was not effectually or long deceived by the arts of the impostor; for on becoming acquainted with the Apostle he examined at once the claims of the Gospel, and yielded his mind to the evidence of its truth.

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[a] שָׂרַף. [b] שָׂרָתִים.

It is unfortunate that this officer is styled "deputy" in the Common Version, and not "proconsul," according to the import of the Greek term (*ἀνθύπατος*). Though Cyprus was originally an imperial province (Dion Cassius, liii. 12), and as such governed by propraetors or legates (*ἀντιστράτηγοι, πρεσβευταί*), it was afterwards transferred to the Roman senate, and henceforth governed by proconsuls (*καὶ οὕτως ἀνθύπατοι καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἔθνη πέμπεσθαι ἤρξαντο*, Dion Cassius, liv. 4). For the value of this attestation of Luke's accuracy, see Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History*, vol. i. p. 32 sq. Coins too are still extant, on which this very title, ascribed in the Acts to Sergius Paulus, occurs as the title of the Roman governors of Cyprus. (See Akerman's *Numismatic Illustrations*, p. 41; and Howson's *Life and Epistles of Paul*, vol. i. pp. 176, 187.) [H. B. H.]

SE'RON (Σήρων: in Syr. and one Gk. MS. Ηρων: *Seron*), a general of Antiochus Epiph., in chief command of the Syrian army (1 Macc. iii. 13, *ὁ ἄρχων τ. δυν.* Σ.), who was defeated at Bethhoron by Judas Maccabaeus (B.C. 166), as in the day when Joshua pursued the five kings "in the going down of Beth-horon" (1 Macc. iii. 24; Josh. x. 11). According to Josephus, he was the governor of Coele-Syria and fell in the battle (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 7, §1), nor is there any reason to suppose that his statements are mere deductions from the language of 1 Macc. [B. F. W.]

SERPENT. The following Hebrew words denote serpents of some kind or other. *'Acshûb, pethen, tzepha'* or *tziph'ôni, shephîphôn, nâchâsh,* and *eph'eh*. There is great uncertainty with respect to the identification of some of these terms, the first four of which are noticed under the articles ADDER and ASP (Appendix A): the two remaining names we proceed to discuss.

1. *Nâchâsh* (נָחָשׁ: ὄφις, δράκων: *serpens, coluber*), the generic name of any serpent, occurs frequently in the O. T. The following are the principal Biblical allusions to this animal:—Its subtilty is mentioned in Gen. iii. 1; its wisdom is alluded to by our Lord in Matt. x. 16; the poisonous properties of some species are often mentioned (see Ps. lviii. 4; Prov. xxiii. 32); the sharp tongue of the serpent, which it would appear some of the ancient Hebrews believed to be the instrument of poison, is mentioned in Ps. cxl. 3; Job xx. 16, "the viper's tongue shall slay him;" although in other places, as in Prov. xxiii. 32, Eccl. x. 8, 11, Num. xxi. 9, the venom is correctly ascribed to the bite, while in Job xx. 14 the gall is said to be the poison; the habit serpents have of lying concealed in hedges is alluded to in Eccl. x. 8, and in holes of walls, in Am. v. 19; their dwelling in dry sandy places, in Deut. viii. 15; their wonderful mode of progression did not escape the observation of the autnor of Prov. xxx, who expressly mentions it as "one of the three things which were too wonderful for him" (19); the oviparous nature of most of the order is alluded to in Is. lix. 5, where the A. V., however, has the unfortunate rendering of "cockatrice." The art of taming and charming serpents is of great antiquity, and is alluded to in Ps. lviii. 5; Eccl. x. 11; Jer. viii. 17, and doubtless intimated by St. James (iii. 7), who particularises serpents among all other animals that "have been tamed by man." [SERPENT-CHARMING.]

It was under the form of a serpent that the devil seduced Eve; hence in Scripture Satan is called "the old serpent" (Rev. xii. 9, and comp. 2 Cor. xi. 3).

The part which the serpent played in the transaction of the Fall must not be passed over without some brief comment, being full of deep and curious interest. First of all, then, we have to note the subtilty ascribed to this reptile, which was the reason for its having been selected as the instrument of Satan's wiles, and to compare with it the quality of wisdom mentioned by our Lord as belonging to it, "Be ye wise as serpents" (Matt. x. 16). It was an ancient belief, both amongst Orientals and the people of the western world, that the serpent was endued with a large share of sagacity. The Hebrew word translated "subtle," though frequently used in a good sense, implies, it is probable, in this passage, "mischievous and malignant craftiness," and is well rendered by Aquila and Theodotion by *πανοῦργος*, and thus commented upon by Jerome, "magis itaque hoc verbo calliditas et versutia quam sapientia demonstratur" (see Rosenmüller, *Schol. l. c.*). The ancients give various reasons for regarding serpents as being endued with wisdom, as that one species, the *Cerastes,* hides itself in the sand and bites the heels of animals as they pass, or that, as the head was considered the only vulnerable part, the serpent takes care to conceal it under the folds of the body. Serpents have in all ages been regarded as emblems of cunning craftiness. The particular wisdom alluded to by our Lord refers, it is probable, to the sagacity displayed by serpents in avoiding danger. The disciples were warned to be as prudent in not incurring unnecessary persecution.

It has been supposed by many commentators that the serpent, prior to the Fall, moved along in an erect attitude, as Milton (*Par. L.* ix. 496) says—

> "Not with indented wave
> Prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear,
> Circular base of rising folds that tower'd
> Fold above fold, a surging maze."

Compare also Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 1, §4, who believed that God now for the first time inserted poison under the serpent's tongue, and deprived him of the use of feet, causing him to crawl low on the ground by the undulating inflexions of the body (*κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἑλυσπώμενον*). Patrick (*Comment. l. c.*) entertained the extraordinary notion that the serpent of the Fall was a winged kind (*Saraph*).

It is quite clear that an erect mode of progression is utterly incompatible with the structure of a serpent, whose motion on the ground is so beautifully effected by the mechanism of the vertebral column and the multitudinous ribs which, forming as it were so many pairs of levers, enable the animal to move its body from place to place; consequently, had the snakes before the Fall moved in an erect attitude, they must have been formed on a different plan altogether. It is true that there are saurian reptiles, such as the *Saurophis tetradactylus* and the *Chamaesaura anguina* of S. Africa, which in external form are very like serpents, but with quasi-feet; indeed, even in the boa-constrictor, underneath the skin near the extremity, there exist rudimentary legs; some have been disposed to believe that the snakes before the Fall were similar to the *Saurophis*. Such an hypothesis, however, is untenable, for all the fossil ophidia that have hitherto been found differ in no essential respects from modern representatives of that order: it is, moreover, beside

the mark, for the words of the curse, "upon thy belly shalt thou go," are as characteristic of the progression of a saurophoid serpent before the Fall as of a true ophidian after it. There is no reason whatever to conclude from the language of Scripture that the serpent underwent any change of form on account of the part it played in the history of the Fall. The sun and the moon were in the heavens long before they were appointed "for signs and for seasons, and for days and for years." The typical form of the serpent and its mode of progression were in all probability the same before the Fall as after it; but subsequent to the Fall its form and progression were to be regarded with hatred and disgust by all mankind, and thus the animal was cursed "above all cattle," and a mark of condemnation was for ever stamped upon it. There can be no necessity to show how that part of the curse is literally fulfilled which speaks of the "enmity" that was henceforth to exist between the serpent and mankind; and though, of course, this has more especial allusion to the devil, whose instrument the serpent was in his deceit, yet it is perfectly true of the serpent. Few will be inclined to differ with Theocritus (*Id.* xv. 58):—

τὸν ψυχρὸν ὄφιν ταμάλιστα δεδοίκω
Ἐκ παιδός.

Serpents are said in Scripture to "eat dust" (see Gen. iii. 14; Is. lxv. 25; Mic. vii. 17); these animals, which for the most part take their food on the ground, do consequently swallow with it large portions of sand and dust.

"Almost throughout the East," writes Dr. Kalisch (*Hist. and Crit. Comment.* Gen. iii. 1), "the serpent was used as an emblem of the evil principle, of the spirit of disobedience and contumacy. A few exceptions only can be discovered. The Phœnicians adored that animal as a beneficent genius; and the Chinese consider it as a symbol of superior wisdom and power, and ascribe to the kings of heaven (*tien-hoangs*) bodies of serpents.

Coeph Agathodaemon, denoting Immortality (see Horapollo, i. 1).

Some other nations fluctuated in their conceptions regarding the serpent. The Egyptians represented the eternal spirit Kneph, the author of all good, under the mythic form of that reptile; they understood the art of taming it, and embalmed it after death; but they applied the same symbol for the god of revenge and punishment (Tithrambo), and for Typhon, the author of all moral and physical evil; and in the Egyptian symbolical alphabet the serpent represents subtlety and cunning, lust and sensual pleasure. In Greek mythology it is certainly, on the one hand, the attribute of Ceres, of Mercury, and of Aesculapius, in their most beneficent qualities; but it forms, on the other hand, a part of the terrible Furies or Eumenides: it appears in the form of a Python as a fearful monster, which the arrows of a god only were able to destroy; and it is the most hideous and most formidable part of the impious giants who despise and blaspheme the power of

Agathodaemon. From Egyptian Monuments.
a. Sacred symbol of the winged globe and serpent. *b.* Head of hawk surmounted by globe and serpent.

Heaven. The Indians, like the savage tribes of Africa and America, suffer and nourish, indeed, serpents in their temples, and even in their houses; they believe that they bring happiness to the places which they inhabit; they worship them as the symbols of eternity; but they regard them also as evil genii, or as the inimical powers of nature which is gradually depraved by them, and as the enemies of the gods, who either tear them to pieces or tread their venomous head under their all-conquering feet. So contradictory is all animal worship. Its principle is, in some instances, gratitude, and in others fear; but if a noxious animal is very dangerous the fear may manifest itself in two ways, either by the resolute desire of extirpating the beast, or by the wish of averting the conflict with its superior power; thus the same fear may, on the one hand, cause fierce enmity, and on the other submission and worship." (See on the subject of serpent-worship, Vossius, *de Orig. Idol.* i. 5; Bryant's *Mythology*, i. 420-490; it is well illustrated in the apocryphal story of "Bel and the Dragon;" comp. Steindorff, *de* Ὀφιολατρείᾳ; Winer's *Bib. Realwört.* ii. 488.) The subjoined woodcut represents the horned *cerastes*, as very frequently depicted on the Egyptian monuments.

Horned Cerastes. From Egyptian Monuments.

The evil spirit in the form of a serpent appears in the Ahriman or lord of evil who, according to the doctrine of Zoroaster, first taught men to sin under the guise of this reptile (*Zendavesta*, ed. Kleuk. i. 25, iii. 84; see J. Reinh. Rus *de serpente seductore non naturali sed diabolo*, Jen. 1712, and Z. Grapius, *de tentatione Evae et Christi a diabolo in assumpto corpore facta*, Rostoch. 1712). But compare the opinion of Dr. Kalisch, who (*Comment.* on Gen. iii. 14, 15) says "the serpent is the reptile, not an evil demon that had assumed its shape . . . . . If the serpent represented Satan, it would be extremely surprising that the former only was cursed; and that the latter is not even mentioned . . . . if

would be entirely at variance with the Divine justice for ever to curse the animal whose shape it had pleased the evil one to assume." According to the Talmudists, the name of the evil spirit that beguiled Eve was Sammâel (סַמָּאֵל); "R. Moses ben Majemon scribit in More lib. 2, cap. 30, Sammaelem inequitasse serpenti antiquo et seduxisse Evam. Dicit etiam nomen hoc absolute usurpari de Satana, et *Sammaelem nihil aliud* esse quam ipsum Satanam" (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* 1495).

Much has been written on the question of the "fiery serpents" (הַנְּחָשִׁים הַשְּׂרָפִים) of Num. xxi. 6, 8, with which it is usual erroneously to identify the "fiery flying serpent" of Is. xxx. 6, and xiv. 29. In the transaction recorded (Num. *l. c.*; Deut viii. 15) as having occurred at the time of the Exodus, when the rebellious Israelites were visited with a plague of serpents, there is not a word about their having been "flying" creatures; there is therefore no occasion to refer the venomous snakes in question to the kind of which Niebuhr (*Descript. de l'Arab.* p. 156) speaks, and which the Arabs at Basra denominate *Heie sursurîe*, or *Heie thiâre*, "flying serpents," which obtained that name from their habit of "springing" from branch to branch of the date trees they inhabit. Besides these are tree-serpents (*Dendrophidae*), a harmless family of the Colubrine snakes, and therefore quite out of the question. The Heb. term rendered "fiery" by the A. V. is by the Alexandrine edition of the LXX. represented by *θανατοῦντες*, "deadly;" Onkelos, the Arabic version of Saadias, and the Vulg. translate the word "burning," in allusion to the sensation produced by the bite; other authorities understand a reference to the bright colour of the serpents. It is impossible to point out the species of poisonous snake which destroyed the people in the Arabian desert. Niebuhr says that the only truly formidable kind is that called *Baetan*, a small slender creature spotted black and white, whose bite is instant death and whose poison causes the dead body to swell in an extraordinary manner (see Forskâl, *Descript. Animal.* p. 15). What the modern name of this serpent is we have been unable to ascertain; it is obvious, however, that either the *Cerastes*, or the *Naia haje*, or any other venomous species frequenting Arabia, may denote the "serpent of the burning bite" which destroyed the children of Israel. The "fiery flying serpent" of Isaiah (*l. c.*) can have no existence in nature, though it is curious to notice that Herodotus (ii. 75, iii. 108) speaks of serpents with wings whose bones he imagined he had himself seen near Buto in Arabia. Monstrous forms of snakes with birds' wings occur on the Egyptian sculptures; it is probable that some kind of flying lizard (*Draco*, *Dracocella*, or *Dracunculus*) may have been the "flying serpent" of which Herodotus speaks; and perhaps, as this animal, though harmless, is yet calculated to inspire horror by its appearance, it may denote the flying serpent of the prophet, and have been regarded by the ancient Hebrews as an animal as terrible as a venomous snake.

[a] The theory which ascribes the healing to mysterious powers known to the astrologers or alchemists of Egypt may be mentioned, but hardly calls for examination (Marsham, *Can. Chron.* pp. 148, 149; R. Tirza, in Deyling, *Exercitt. Sacr.* ii. 210).

2. *Eph'eh* (אֶפְעֶה: *ὄφις*, *ἀσπὶς*, *Barbarus*: *vipera*, *regulus*) occurs in Job xx. 16, Is. xxx. 6 and lix. 5, in all of which passages the A. V. has "viper." There is no Scriptural allusion by means of which it is possible to determine the species of serpent indicated by the Heb. term, which is derived from a root which signifies "to hiss." Shaw (*Trav.* p. 251) speaks of some poisonous snake which the Arabs call Leffah (*El effah*): "it is the most malignant of the tribe, and rarely above a foot long." Jackson also (*Marocco*, p. 110) mentions this serpent; from his description it would seem to be the Algerine adder (*Echidna arietans* var. *Mauritanica*). The snake (*ἔχιδνα*) that fastened on St. Paul's hand when he was at Melita (Acts xxviii. 3) was probably the common viper of this country (*Pelias berus*), which is widely distributed throughout Europe and the islands of the Mediterranean, or else the *Vipera aspis*, a not uncommon species on the coasts of the same Sea. [W. H.]

SERPENT, BRAZEN. The familiar history of the brazen serpent need not be repeated here. The nature of the fiery snakes by which the Israelites were attacked has been discussed under SERPENT. The scene of the history, determined by a comparison of Num. xxi. 3 and xxxiii. 42, must have been either Zalmonah or Punon. The names of both places probably connect themselves with it, Zalmonah as meaning "the place of the image," Punon as probably identical with the *Φαινοί* mentioned by Greek writers as famous for its copper-mines, and therefore possibly supplying the materials (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 3, 13). [PUNON; ZALMONAH.] The chief interest of the narrative lies in the thoughts which have at different times gathered round it. We meet with these in three distinct stages. We have to ask by what associations each was connected with the others.

I. The truth of the history will, in this place, be taken for granted. Those who prefer it may choose among the hypotheses by which men halting between two opinions have endeavoured to retain the historical and to eliminate the supernatural element.[a] They may look on the cures as having been effected by the force of imagination, which the visible symbol served to heighten, or by the rapid rushing of the serpent-bitten from all parts of the camp to the standard thus erected, curing them, as men are said to be cured by dancing of the bite of the tarantula (Bauer, *Heb. Gesch.* ii. 320; Paulus, *Comm. IV.* i. 198, in Winer, *Rwb.*). They may see in the serpent the emblematic sign-post, as it were, of the camp-hospital to which the sufferers were brought for special treatment, the form in this instance, as in that of the rod of Aesculapius, being a symbol of the art of healing (Hoffmann, in Scherer, *Schrift. Forsch.* i. 576; Winer, *Rwb.*). Leaving these conjectures on one side, it remains for us to inquire into the fitness of the symbol thus employed as the instrument of healing. To most of the Israelites it must have seemed as strange then as it did afterwards to the later Rabbis,[b] that any such symbol should be employed. The Second Commandment appeared to forbid the likeness of

[b] One of the Jewish interlocutors in the dialogue of Justin Martyr with Trypho (p. 322) declares that he had often asked his teachers to solve the difficulty, and had never found one who explained it satisfactorily. Justin himself, of course, explains it as a type of Christ.

any living thing. The golden calf had been destroyed as an abomination. Now the colossal serpent (the narrative implies that it was visible from all parts of the encampment), made, we may conjecture, by the hands of Bezaleel or Aholiab, was exposed to their gaze, and they were told to look to it as gifted with a supernatural power. What reason was there for the difference? In part, of course, the answer may be, that the Second Commandment forbade, not all symbolic forms as such, but those that men made for themselves to worship; but the question still remains, why was *this* form chosen? It is hardly enough to say, with Jewish commentators, that *any* outward means might have been chosen, like the lump of figs in Hezekiah's sickness, the salt which healed the bitter waters, and that the brazen serpent made the miracle yet more miraculous, inasmuch as the glare of burnished brass, the gaze upon the serpent form were, of all things, most likely to be fatal to those who had been bitten (Gem. Bab. *Joma*; Aben Ezra and others in Buxtorf, *Hist. Aen. Serp.* c. 5). The fact is doubtful, the reason inadequate. It is hardly enough again to say, with most Christian interpreters, that it was intended to be a type of Christ. Some meaning it must have had for those to whom it was actually presented, and we have no grounds for assuming, even in Moses himself, still less in the multitude of Israelites slowly rising out of sensuality, unbelief, rebellion, a knowledge of the far-off mystery of redemption. If the words of our Lord in John iii. 14, 15 point to the fulfilment of the type, there must yet have been another meaning for the symbol. Taking its part in the education of the Israelites, it must have had its starting-point in the associations previously connected with it. Two views, very different from each other, have been held as to the nature of those associations. On the one side it has been maintained that, either from its simply physical effects or from the mysterious history of the temptation in Gen. iii., the serpent was the representative of evil. To present the serpent-form as deprived of its power to hurt, impaled as the trophy of a conqueror, was to assert that evil, physical and spiritual, had been overcome, and thus help to strengthen the weak faith of the Israelites in a victory over both. The serpent, on this view, expressed the same idea as the dragon in the popular representations of the Archangel Michael and St. George (Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 228).[c] To some writers, as to Ewald, this has commended itself as the simplest and most obvious view. It has been adopted by some orthodox divines who have been unable to convince themselves that the same form could ever really have been at once a type of Satan and of Christ (Jackson, *Humiliation of the Son of God*, c. 31; Patrick, *Comm. in loc.*; Espagnaeus, Burmann, Vitringa, in Deyling, *Observatt. Sac.* ii. 15). Others, again, have started from a different ground. They raise the question whether Gen. iii. was then written, or, if written, known to the great body of the Israelites. They look to Egypt as the starting-point for all the thoughts which the serpent could suggest, and they find there that it was worshipped as an *agathodaemon*, the symbol of health and life.[d] This, for them, explains the mystery. It was as the known emblem of a power to heal that it served as the sign and sacrament on which the faith of the people might fasten and sustain itself.

Contrasted as these views appear, they have, it is believed, a point of contact. The idea primarily connected with the serpent in the history of the Fall, as throughout the proverbial language of Scripture, is that of wisdom (Gen. iii. 1; Matt. x. 16; 2 Cor. xi. 3). Wisdom, apart from obedience to a divine order, allying itself to man's lower nature, passes into cunning. Man's nature is envenomed and degraded by it. But wisdom, the self-same power of understanding, yielding to the divine law, is the source of all healing and restoring influences, and the serpent-form thus becomes a symbol of deliverance and health. The Israelites were taught that it would be so to them in proportion as they ceased to be sensual and rebellious. There were facts in the life of Moses himself which must have connected themselves with this two-fold symbolism. When he was to be taught that the Divine Wisdom could work with any instruments, his rod became a serpent (Ex. iv. 1-5). (Comp. Cyril. Alex. *Schol.* 15. *Glaphyra* in Ex. ii.)[e] When he and Aaron were called to their great conflict with the perverted wisdom of Egypt, the many serpents of the magicians were overcome by the one serpent of the future high-priest. The conqueror and the conquered were alike in outward form (Ex. vii. 10-12).

II. The next stage in the history of the brazen serpent shows how easily even a legitimate symbol, retained beyond its time, after it had done its work, might become the occasion of idolatry. It appears in the reign of Hezekiah as having been, for some undefined period, an object of worship. The zeal of that king leads him to destroy it. It receives from him, or had borne before, the name Nehushtan. [Comp. NEHUSHTAN.] We are left to conjecture when the worship began, or what was its locality. It is hardly likely that it should have been tolerated by the reforming zeal of kings like Asa and Jehoshaphat. It must, we may believe, have received a fresh character and become more conspicuous in the period which preceded its destruction. All that we know of the reign of Ahaz makes it probable that it was under his auspices that it received a new development,[f] that it thus became the object of a marked aversion to the iconoclastic party who were prominent among the counsellors of Hezekiah. Intercourse with countries in which Ophiolatry prevailed—Syria, Assyria, possibly Egypt also—acting on the feeling which led him to bring together the idolatries of all neighbouring nations, might easily bring about this perversion of the reverence felt for the time-honoured relic.

Here we might expect the history of the material object would cease, but the passion for relics

[c] Another view, verging almost on the ludicrous, has been maintained by some Jewish writers. The serpent was set up *in terrorem*, as a man who has chastised his son hangs up the rod against the wall as a warning (Otho, *Lexic. Rabbin.* s. v. *Serpens*).

[d] Comp. SERPENT, and, in addition to the authorities there referred to, Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, ii. 134, iv. 395, v. 64, 238; Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, iii. 348, Eng. transl.; Witsius, *Ægyptiaca*, in Ugolini, i. 852.

[e] The explanation given by Cyril is, as might be expected, more mystical than that in the text. The rod transformed into a serpent represents the Divine Word taking on Himself the likeness of sinful flesh.

[f] Ewald's conjecture (*Gesch.* iv. 622) that, till then, the serpent may have remained at Zalmonah, the object of occasional pilgrimages, is probable enough.

has prevailed even against the history of the Bible. The church of St. Ambrose, at Milan, has boasted, for centuries, of possessing the brazen serpent which Moses set up in the wilderness. The earlier history of the relic, so called, is matter for conjecture. Our knowledge of it begins in the year A.D. 971, when an envoy was sent by the Milanese to the court of the Emperor John Zimisces, at Constantinople. He was taken through the imperial cabinet of treasures and invited to make his choice, and he chose this, which, the Greeks assured him, was made of the same metal as the original serpent (Sigonius, *Hist. Regn. Ital.* b. vii.). On his return it was placed in the church of St. Ambrose, and popularly identified with that which it professed to represent. It is, at least, a possible hypothesis that the Western Church has in this way been led to venerate what was originally the object of the worship of some Ophite sect.

III. When the material symbol had perished, its history began to suggest deeper thoughts to the minds of men. The writer of the Book of Wisdom, in the elaborate contrast which he draws between true and false religions in their use of outward signs, sees in it a *σύμβολον σωτηρίας, εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἐντολῆς νόμου σου*; "he that turned himself was not saved by the thing that he saw (*διὰ τὸ θεωρούμενον*), but by Thee that art the Saviour of all" (Wisd. xvi. 6, 7). The Targum of Jonathan paraphrases Num. xxi. 8, "He shall be healed if he direct his heart unto the Name of the Word of the Lord." Philo, with his characteristic taste for an ethical, mystical interpretation, represents the history as a parable of man's victory over his lower sensuous nature. The metal, the symbol of permanence and strength, has changed the meaning of the symbol, and that which had before been the emblem of the will, yielding to and poisoned by the serpent pleasure, now represents *σωφροσύνη*, the *ἀντιπαθὲς ἀκολασίας φάρμακον* (*De Agricult.*). The facts just stated may help us to enter into the bearing of the words of John iii. 14, 15. If the paraphrase of Jonathan represents, as it does, the current interpretation of the schools of Jerusalem, the devout Rabbi to whom the words were spoken could not have been ignorant of it. The new teacher carried the lesson a step further. He led him to identify the "Name of the Word of the Lord" with that of the Son of Man. He prepared him to see in the lifting-up of the Crucifixion that which should answer in its power to heal and save to the serpent in the wilderness.

IV. A full discussion of the typical meaning here unfolded belongs to Exegesis rather than to a Dictionary. It will be enough to note here that which connects itself with facts or theories already mentioned. On the one side the typical interpretation has been extended to all the details. The pole on which the serpent was placed was not only a type of the cross, but was itself crucial in form (Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 322). The serpent was nailed to it as Christ was nailed. As the symbol of sin it represented His being made sin for us. The very metal, like the fine brass of Rev. i. 15, was an emblem of the might and glory of the Son of Man (comp. Lampe, *in loc.*). On the other it has been maintained (Patrick and Jackson, *ut supra*) that the serpent was from the beginning, and remains still, exclusively the symbol of evil, that the lifting-up of the Son of Man answered to that of the serpent because on the cross the victory over the serpent was accomplished. The point of comparison lay not between the serpent and Christ, but between the look of the Israelite to the outward sign, the look of a justifying faith to the cross of Christ. It will not surprise us to find that, in the spiritual as in the historical interpretation, both theories have an element of truth. The serpent here also is primarily the emblem of the "knowledge of good and evil." To man, as having obtained that knowledge by doing evil, it has been as a venomous serpent, poisoning and corrupting. In the nature of the Son of Man it is once more in harmony with the Divine will, and leaves the humanity pure and untainted. The Crucifixion is the witness that the evil has been overcome by the good. Those who are bitten by the serpent find their deliverance in looking to Him who knew evil only by subduing it, and who is therefore mighty to save. Well would it have been for the Church of Christ if it had been content to rest in this truth. Its history shows how easy it was for the old perversion to reproduce itself. The highest of all symbols might share the fate of the lower. It was possible even for the cross of Christ to pass into a Nehushtan. (Comp. Stier, *Words of the Lord Jesus*, on John iii., and Kurtz, *Hist. of the Old Covenant*, iii. 344-358 Eng. transl.) [E. H. P.]

SERPENT-CHARMING. Some few remarks on this subject are made under ASP (Appendix A), where it is shown that the *pethen* (פֶּתֶן) probably denotes the Egyptian cobra. There can be no question at all of the remarkable power which, from time immemorial, has been exercised by certain people in the East over poisonous serpents. The art is most distinctly mentioned in the Bible, and probably alluded to by St. James (iii. 7). The usual species operated upon, both in Africa and India, are the hooded snakes (*Naia tripudians*, and *Naia haje*) and the horned *Cerastes*. The skill of the Italian Marsi and the Libyan Psylli in taming serpents was celebrated throughout the world; and to this day, as we are told by Sir G. Wilkinson (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, iii. 124, *note*, ed. 1862), the snake-players of the coast of Barbary are worthy successors of the Psylli (see Pliny, viii. 25, xi. 25, and especially Lucan's account of the Psylli, *Pharsal.* ix. 892). See numerous references cited by Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 164, &c.) on the subject of serpent-taming.

That the charmers frequently, and perhaps generally, take the precaution of extracting the poison fangs before the snakes are subjected to their skill, there is much probability for believing, but that this operation is not always attended to is clear from the testimony of Bruce and numerous other writers. "Some people," says the traveller just mentioned, "have doubted that it was a trick, and that the animals so handled had been first trained and then disarmed of their power of hurting, and, fond of the discovery, they have rested themselves upon it without experiment, in the face of all antiquity. But I will not hesitate to aver that I have seen at Cairo a man . . . . who has taken a *cerastes* with his naked hand from a number of others lying at the bottom of the tub, has put it upon his bare head, covered it with the common red cap he wears, then taken it out, put it in his breast and tied it about his neck like a necklace, after which it has been applied to a hen and bit it, which has died in a few minutes." Dr. Davy, in his *Interior of*

Ceylon, speaking of the snake charmers, says on this subject:—"The ignorant vulgar believe that these men really possess a charm by which they thus play without dread, and with impunity from danger. The more enlightened, laughing at this idea, consider the men impostors, and that in playing their tricks there is no danger to be avoided, it being removed by the abstraction of the poison fangs. The enlightened in this instance are mistaken, and the vulgar are nearer the truth in their opinion. I have examined the snakes I have seen exhibited, and have found their poison fangs in and uninjured. These men do possess a charm, though not a supernatural one—viz. that of confidence and courage.... They will play their tricks with any hooded snakes (*Naja tripudians*), whether just taken or long in confinement, but with no other kind of poisonous snake." See also Tennent, *Ceylon*, i. 199, 3rd ed. Some have supposed that the practice of taking out or breaking off the poison fangs is alluded to in Ps. lviii. 6, "Break their teeth, O God, in their mouth."

Serpent-charming.

The serpent-charmer's usual instrument is a flute. Shrill sounds, it would appear, are those which serpents, with their imperfect sense of hearing, are able most easily to discern; hence it is that the Chinese summon their tame fish by whistling or by ringing a bell.

The reader will find much interesting matter on the art of serpent-charming, as practised by the ancients, in Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 161) in the dissertation by Böhmer entitled *De Psyllorum, Marsorum, et Ophiogenum adversus serpentes virtute*, Lips. 1745; and in Kaempfer's *Amoenitates Exoticae*, iii. ix. 565; see also Broderip's *Note Book of a Naturalist*, and *Anecdotes of Serpents*, published by Chambers; Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, ii. 106. Those who professed the art of taming serpents were called by the Hebrews *mĕnuchashtm* (מְנַחֲשִׁים), while the art itself was called *lachash* (לָחַשׁ), Jer. viii. 17: Eccl. x. 11; but these terms were not always used in this restricted sense. [DIVINATION; ENCHANTMENT.] [W. H.]

SERU'G (שְׂרוּג: Σερούχ; N. T. Σαρούχ· *Saruq*). Son of Reu, and great-grandfather of Abraham. His age is given in the Hebrew Bible as 230 years—30 years before he begat Nahor, and 200 years afterwards. But in the LXX. 130 years are assigned to him before he begat Nahor (making his total age 330), being one of those systematic variations in the ages of the patriarchs between Shem and Terah, as given by the LXX., by which the interval between the Flood and Abraham is lengthened from 292 (as in the Heb. B.) to 1172 (or Alex. 1072) years. [CHRONOLOGY, p. 319.] Bochart (*Phal.* ii. cxiv.) conjectures that the town of *Seruj*, a day's journey from Charrae in Mesopotamia, was named from this patriarch. Suidas and others ascribe to him the deification of dead benefactors of mankind. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haeres.* i. 6, 8), who says that his name signifies "provocation," states that, though in his time idolatry took its rise, yet it was confined to pictures; and that the deification of dead men, as well as the making of idols, was subsequent. He characterises the religion of mankind up to Serug's days as Scythic; after Serug and the building of the Tower of Babel, the Hellenic or Greek form of religion was introduced, and continued to the writer's time (see Petavius, *Anim. adv. Epiph. Oper.* ii. 13). The account given by John of Antioch, is as follows:—Serug, of the race of Japhet, taught the duty of honouring eminent deceased men, either by images or statues,[a] or worshipping them on certain anniversaries as if still living, of preserving a record of their actions in the sacred books of the priests, and of calling them *gods*, as being benefactors of mankind. Hence arose Polytheism and idolatry (see *Fragm. Historic. Graec.* iv. 345, and the note). It is in accordance with his being called of the race of Japhet that Epiphanius sends Phaleg and Reu to Thrace (*Epist. ad Descr. Paul.* §ii.). There is, of course, little or no historical value in any of these statements. [A. C. H.]

SERVANT (מְשָׁרֵת; נַעַר). The Hebrew terms *na'ar* and *meshârêth*, which alone answer to our "servant," in as far as this implies the notions of liberty and voluntariness, are of comparatively rare occurrence. On the other hand, *'ebed*, which is common and is equally rendered "servant" in the A. V., properly means a *slave*.[b] Slavery was in point of fact the normal condition of the underling in the Hebrew commonwealth [SLAVE], while the terms above given refer to the exceptional cases of young or confidential attendants. Joshua, for instance, is described as at once the *na'ar* and *meshârêth* of Moses (Ex. xxxiii. 11); Elisha's servant sometimes as the former (2 K. iv. 12, v. 20), sometimes as the latter (2 K. iv. 43, vi. 15). Amnon's servant was a *meshârêth* (2 Sam. xiii. 17, 18), while young Joseph was a *na'ar* to the sons of Bilhah (Gen. xxxvii. 2, where instead of "the lad was with," we should read, "he was the *servant-boy* to" the sons of Bilhah). The confidential designation *meshârêth* is applied to the priests and Levites, in their relation to Jehovah (Ezr. viii. 17; Is. lxi. 6; Ez. xliv. 11), and the cognate verb to Joseph after he found favour with Potiphar (Gen. xxxix.

[a] But perhaps εἰκόνες and ἀνδρίαντες may here be used of pictures

[b] In many passages the correct reading would add considerable force to the meaning, *e.g.* in Gen. ix. 25, "Cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be unto his brethren;" in Deut. v. 15, "Remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt;" in Job iii. 19, "The slave is free from his master;" and particularly in passages where the speaker uses the term of himself, as in Gen. xviii. 3, "Pass not away, I pray thee, from thy slave."

4), and to the nephews of Ahaziah (2 Chr. xxii. 8). In 1 K. xx. 14, 15, we should substitute "servants" (*na'ar*) for "young men." [W. L. B.]

SES'IS (Σεσίς; Alex. Σεσσεῖς: om. in Vulg.). SHASHAI (1 Esd. ix. 34; comp. Ezr. x. 40).

SES'THEL (Σεσθήλ: *Beseel*). BEZALEEL of the sons of Pahath-Moab (1 Esd. ix. 31; Ezr. x. 30).

SETH (שֵׁת, *i. e.* Sheth: Σήθ: *Seth*), Gen. iv. 25, v. 3; 1 Chr. i. 1. The third son of Adam, and father of Enos. The signification of his name (given in Gen. iv. 25) is "appointed" or "put" in the place of the murdered Abel, and Delitzsch speaks of him as the second Abel; but Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 353) thinks that another signification, which he prefers, is indicated in the text, viz. "seedling," or "germ." The phrase, "children of Sheth" (Num. xxiv. 17) has been understood as equivalent to all mankind, or as denoting the tribe of some unknown Moabitish chieftain; but later critics, among whom are Rosenmüller and Gesenius (*Thes.* i. 346), bearing in mind the parallel passage (Jer. xlviii. 45), render the phrase, "children of noise, tumultuous ones," *i. e.* hostile armies. [SHETH.]

In the 4th century there existed in Egypt a sect calling themselves Sethians, who are classed by Neander (*Ch. Hist.* ii. 115, ed. Bohn) among those Gnostic sects which, in opposing Judaism, approximated to paganism. (See also Tillemont, *Mémoires*, II. 318.) Irenaeus (i. 30; comp. Massuet, *Dissert.* i. 3, §14) and Theodoret (*Haeret. Fab.* xiv. p. 306), without distinguishing between them and the Ophites, or worshippers of the serpent, say that in their system Seth was regarded as a divine effluence or virtue. Epiphanius, who devotes a chapter to them (*Adv. Haer.* i. 3, §39), says that they identified Seth with our Lord. [W. T. B.]

SETHU'R (סְתוּר: Σαθούρ: *Sthur*). The Asherite spy, son of Michael (Num. xiii. 13).

SEVEN. The frequent recurrence of certain numbers in the sacred literature of the Hebrews is obvious to the most superficial reader; and it is almost equally obvious that these numbers are associated with certain ideas, so as in some instances to lose their numerical force, and to pass over into the province of symbolic signs. This is more or less true of the numbers three, four, seven, twelve, and forty; but seven so far surpasses the rest, both in the frequency with which it recurs, and in the importance of the objects with which it is associated, that it may fairly be termed the *representative* symbolic number. It has hence attracted considerable attention, and may be said to be the keystone on which the symbolism of numbers depends. The origin of this symbolism is a question that meets us at the threshold of any discussion as to the number seven. Our limits will not permit us to follow out this question to its legitimate extent, but we may briefly state that the views of Biblical critics may be ranged under two heads, according as the symbolism is attributed to theoretical speculations as to the internal properties of the number itself, or to external associations of a physical or historical character. According to the former of these views, the symbolism of the number seven would be traced back to the symbolism of its component elements three and four, the first of which = Divinity, and the second = Humanity, whence seven = Divinity + Humanity, or, in other words, the union between God and Man, as effected by the manifestations of the Divinity in creation and revelation. So again the symbolism of twelve is explained as the symbolism of 3×4, *i. e.* of a second combination of the same two elements, though in different proportions, the representative number of Humanity, as a multiplier, assuming a more prominent position (Bähr's *Symbolik*, i. 187, 201, 224). This theory is seductive from its ingenuity, and its appeal to the imagination, but there appears to be little foundation for it. For (1.) we do not find any indication, in early times at all events, that the number seven was resolved into three and four, rather than into any other arithmetical elements, such as two and five. Bengel notes such a division as running through the heptads of the Apocalypse (*Gnomon, in Rev.* xvi. 1), and the remark undoubtedly holds good in certain instances, *e. g.* the trumpets, the three latter being distinguished from the four former by the triple "woe" (Rev. viii. 13), but in other instances, *e. g.* in reference to the promises (*Gnom. in Rev.* ii. 7), the distinction is not so well established, and even if it were, an explanation might be found in the adaptation of such a division to the subject in hand. The attempt to discover such a distinction in the Mosaic writings—as, for instance, where an act is to be done on the third day out of seven (Num. xix. 12)—appears to be a failure. (2.) It would be difficult to show that any associations of a sacred nature were assigned to three and four previously to the sanctity of seven. This latter number is so far the sacred number κατ' ἐξοχήν that we should be less surprised if, by a process the reverse of the one assumed, sanctity had been subsequently attached to three and four as the supposed elements of seven. But (3.) all such speculations on mere numbers are alien to the spirit of Hebrew thought; they belong to a different stage of society, in which speculation is rife, and is systematized by the existence of schools of philosophy.

We turn to the second class of opinions which attribute the symbolism of the number seven to external associations. This class may be again subdivided into two, according as the symbolism is supposed to have originated in the observation of purely physical phenomena, or, on the other hand, in the peculiar religious enactments of Mosaism. The influence of the number seven was not restricted to the Hebrews; it prevailed among the Persians (Esth. i. 10, 14), among the ancient Indians (Von Bohlen's *Alt. Indien*, ii. 224, *seqq.*), among the Greeks and Romans to a certain extent, and probably among all nations where the week of seven days was established, as in China, Egypt, Arabia, &c. (Ideler's *Chronol.* i. 88, 178, ii. 473). The wide range of the word *seven* is in this respect an interesting and significant fact: with the exception of "six," it is the only numeral which the Semitic languages have in common with the Indo-European; for the Hebrew *sheba*[a] is essentially the same as ἑπτά, *septem*, *seven*, and the Sanscrit, Persian, and Gothic names for this number (Pott's *Etym. Forsch.* i. 129). In the countries above enumerated, the institution of seven as a cyclical number is attributed to the observation of the changes of the moon, or to the supposed number of the planets. The Hebrews are held by some writers to have borrowed their notions of the sanctity of seven from their heathen neighbours, either wholly or partially (Von Bohlen's *Introd. to Gen.* i. 216

[a] שֶׁבַע.

seqq.; Hengstenberg's *Balaam*, p. 393, Clark's ed.); but the peculiarity of the Hebrew view consists in the special dignity of the *seventh*, and not simply in that of *seven*. Whatever influence, therefore, may be assigned to astronomical observation or to prescriptive usage, in regard to the original institution of the week, we cannot trace back the peculiar associations of the Hebrews farther than to the point when the seventh day was consecrated to the purposes of religious rest.

Assuming this, therefore, as our starting-point, the first idea associated with seven would be that of *religious periodicity*. The Sabbath, being the seventh day, suggested the adoption of seven as the *coefficient*, so to say, for the appointment of all sacred periods; and we thus find the 7th month ushered in by the Feast of Trumpets, and signalised by the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles and the great Day of Atonement; 7 weeks as the interval between the Passover and the Pentecost; the 7th year as the Sabbatical year; and the year succeeding 7×7 years as the Jubilee year. From the idea of periodicity, it passed by an easy transition to the *duration* or *repetition* of religious proceedings; and thus 7 days were appointed as the length of the Feasts of Passover and Tabernacles; 7 days for the ceremonies of the consecration of priests; 7 days for the interval to elapse between the occasion and the removal of various kinds of legal uncleanness, as after childbirth, after contact with a corpse, &c.; 7 times appointed for aspersion either of the blood of the victim (*e. g.* Lev. iv. 6, xvi. 14) or of the water of purification (Lev. xiv. 51; comp. 2 K. v. 10, 14); 7 things to be offered in sacrifice (oxen, sheep, goats, pigeons, wheat, oil, wine); 7 victims to be offered on any special occasion, as in Balaam's sacrifice (Num. xxiii. 1), and especially at the ratification of a treaty, the notion of seven being embodied in the very term[b] signifying to swear, literally meaning to *do seven times* (Gen. xxi. 28; comp. Herod. iii. 8, for a similar custom among the Arabians). The same idea is further carried out in the vessels and arrangements of the Tabernacle—in the seven arms of the golden candlestick, and the seven chief utensils (altar of burnt-offerings, laver, shewbread table, altar of incense, candlestick, ark, mercy-seat).

The number seven, having thus been impressed with the seal of sanctity as the symbol of all connected with the Divinity, was adopted generally as a *cyclical* number, with the subordinate notions of perfection or completeness. It hence appears in cases where the notion of satisfaction is required, as in reference to punishment for wrongs (Gen. iv. 15; Lev. xxvi. 18, 28; Ps. lxxix. 12; Prov. vi. 31), or to forgiveness of them (Matt. xviii. 21). It is again mentioned in a variety of passages too numerous for quotation (*e. g.* Job v. 19; Jer. xv. 9; Matt. xii. 45) in a sense analogous to that of a "round number," but with the additional idea of sufficiency and completeness. To the same head we may refer the numerous instances in which persons or things are mentioned by sevens in the historical portions of the Bible—*e. g.* the 7 kine and the 7 ears of corn in Pharaoh's dream, the 7 daughters of the priest of Midian, the 7 sons of Jesse, the 7 deacons, the 7 sons of Sceva, the twice 7 generations in the pedigree of Jesus (Matt. i. 17); and again the still more numerous instances in which periods of seven days or seven years, occasionally combined with the repetition of an act seven times; as, in the taking of Jericho, the town was surrounded for 7 days, and on the 7th day it fell at the blast of 7 trumpets borne round the town 7 times by 7 priests; or again at the flood, an interval of 7 days elapsed between the notice to enter the ark and the coming of the flood, the beasts entered by sevens, 7 days elapsed between the two missions of the dove, &c. So again in private life, 7 years appear to have been the usual period of a hiring (Gen. xxix. 18), 7 days for a marriage-festival (Gen. xxix. 27; Judg. xiv. 12), and the same, or in some cases 70 days, for mourning for the dead (Gen. l. 3, 10; 1 Sam. xxxi. 13).

The foregoing applications of the number seven become of great practical importance in connexion with the interpretation of some of the prophetical portions of the Bible, and particularly of the Apocalypse. For in this latter book the ever-recurring number seven both serves as the mould which has decided the external form of the work, and also to a certain degree penetrates into the essence of it. We have but to run over the chief subjects of that book—the 7 churches, the 7 seals, the 7 trumpets, the 7 vials, the 7 angels, the 7 spirits before the throne, the 7 horns and 7 eyes of the Lamb, &c.—in order to see the necessity of deciding whether the number is to be accepted in a literal or a metaphorical sense—in other words, whether it represents a number or a quality. The decision of this question affects not only the number seven, but also the number which stands in a relation of antagonism to seven, viz. the half of seven, which appears under the form of forty-two months, $= 3\frac{1}{2}$ years (Rev. xiii. 5), twelve hundred and sixty days, also $= 3\frac{1}{2}$ years (xi. 3, xii. 6), and again a time, times, and half a time $= 3\frac{1}{2}$ years (xii. 14). We find this number frequently recurring in the Old Testament, as in the forty-two stations of the wilderness (Num. xxxiii.), the three and a half years of the famine in Elijah's time (Luke iv. 25), the "time, times, and the dividing of time," during which the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes was to last (Dan. vii. 25), the same period being again described as "the midst of the week," *i. e.* the half of seven years (Dan. ix. 27), "a time, times, and a half" (Dan. xii. 7), and again probably in the number of days specified in Dan. viii. 14, xii. 11, 12. If the number seven express the notion of completeness, then the number half-seven = incompleteness and the secondary ideas of suffering and disaster: if the one represent divine agency, the other we may expect to represent human agency. Mere numerical calculations would thus, in regard to unfulfilled prophecy, be either wholly superseded, or at all events take a subordinate position to the general idea conveyed. [W. L. B.]

SHAAL'ABBIN (שַׁעַלַבִּין, but in many MSS. שעלבים: Σαλαβείν; Alex. Σαλαμειν:[c] *Selebin*). A town in the allotment of Dan, named between IR-SHEMESH and AJALON (Josh. xix. 42). There is some uncertainty about the form of the name. The MSS. preponderate in favour of SHAALBIM, in which form it is found in two other passages. But there is also some ground for suspecting that

[b] נִשְׁבַּע.

[c] A city called Σαλαμίν, or Σαλαμίς, formerly lay at the east end of the island of Cyprus, between which and Phoenicia, or Canaan, there was a constant intercourse and close connexion. Perhaps this also was a Shaalabbin.

it was Shaalbon. [See SHAALBIM and SHAALBONITE.]

SHA'ALBIM (שַׁעַלְבִים: [a]Θαλαβειν, Alex. *αἱ ἀλωπεκες*; in 1 K. Βηθαλαμεί, Alex. Σαλαβειμ: *Salabim, Salebim*). The commoner form of the name of a town of Dan which in one passage is found as Shaalabbin. It occurs in an ancient fragment of history inserted in Judg. i. enumerating the towns of which the original inhabitants of Canaan succeeded in keeping possession after the general conquest. Mount Heres, Aijalon, and Shaalbim were held against the Danites by the Amorites (ver. 35) till the help of the great tribe of Ephraim being called in, they were at last compelled to succumb. It is mentioned with Aijalon again in Josh. xix. 42 (Shaalabbin) and with Bethshemesh both there and in 1 K. iv. 9, in the last passage as making up one of Solomon's commissariat districts. By Eusebius and Jerome it is mentioned in the *Onomasticon* ("Selah") as a large village in the district of Sebaste (*i. e.* Samaria), and as then called Selaba. But this is not very intelligible, for except in the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §22), that the allotment of the Danites extended as far north as Dor (*Tantura*), there is nothing to lead to the belief that any of their towns were at all near Samaria, while the persistent enumeration of Shaalbim with Aijalon and Bethshemesh, the sites of both which are known with tolerable certainty as within a radius of 15 miles west of Jerusalem, is strongly against it. It is also at variance with another notice of Jerome, in his commentary on Ezek. xlviii. 22, where he mentions the "towers of Ailon and Selebi and Emmaus-Nicopolis," in connexion with Joppa, as three landmarks of the tribe of Dan. No trace appears to have been yet discovered of any name resembling Shaalbim, in the neighbourhood of *Yalo* or *Ain-shems*, or indeed anywhere else, unless it be a place called 'Esalin, عسلين, mentioned in the lists of Eli Smith and Robinson (*B. R.* 1st Ed. iii. App. 120 *b*) as lying next to *Sûrâh*, the ancient Zorah, a position which is very suitable.

The *Shala'bûn*, discovered by M. Renan's expedition about 4 miles N. W. of *Bint-Jebeil*, in the *Belad Besharrah* (see the *Carte dressée par la brigade topographique*, &c., 1862), may be an ancient Shaalbim, possibly so named by the northern colony of Danites after the town of their original dwelling-place. But it is obvious from the foregoing description that it cannot be identical with it. [G.]

SHAAL'BONITE, THE (הַשַּׁעַלְבֹנִי: *ὁ Σαλαβωνείτης*: *de Salboni*). Eliahba the Shaalbonite was one of David's thirty-seven heroes (2 Sam. xxiii. 32; 1 Chr. xi. 33). He was the native of a place named Shaalbon, which is unmentioned elsewhere, unless it is identical with SHAALBIM or SHAALABBIN of the tribe of Dan. In this case it becomes difficult to decide which of the three is the original form of the name. [G.]

SHA'APH (שַׁעַף: Σαγαέ; Alex. Σαγάφ: *Saaph*). 1. The son of Jahdai (1 Chr. ii. 47).

2. The son of Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel by his concubine Maachah. He is called the father, that is, the founder, of the town Madmannah (1 Chr. ii. 49).

SHAARA'IM (שַׁעֲרַיִם: *τῶν πυλῶν* in both MSS.; Σεωρείμ: *Sarim, Saarim*). A city in the territory allotted to Judah (Josh. xv. 36; in A. V. incorrectly Sharaim). It is one of the first group of the towns of the Shefelah, or lowland district, which contains also Zoreah, Jarmuth, Socoh, besides others not yet recognised. It is mentioned again in the account of the rout which followed the fall of Goliath, where the wounded fell down on the road to Shaaraim and as far as Gath and Ekron (1 Sam. xvii. 52). These two notices are consistent with each other. Goliath probably fell in the *Wady es-Sumt*, on opposite sides of which stand the representatives of Socoh and Jarmuth; Gath was at or near *Tell es-Safieh*, a few miles west of Socoh at the mouth of the same Wady; whilst Ekron (if *'Akir* be Ekron) lies farther north. Shaaraim is therefore probably to be looked for somewhere west of *Shuweikeh*, on the lower slopes of the hills, where they subside into the great plain.[b]

We find the name mentioned once more in a list of the towns of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 31),[c] occupying the same place with Sharuchen and Sansannah, in the corresponding lists of Joshua. Lying as the allotment of Simeon did in the lowest part of Judah, many miles south of the region indicated above, it is impossible that the same Shaaraim can be intended, and indeed it is quite doubtful whether it be not a mere corruption of one of the other two names.

Taken as Hebrew, the word is a dual, and means "two gateways," as the LXX. have rendered it in 1 Sam. xvii. It is remarkable that the group in which Shaaraim is included in Josh. xv. should contain more names in dual form than all the rest of the list put together; viz. besides itself, Adithaim, and Gederothaim, and probably also Enam and Adullam. For the possible mention of Shaaraim in 1 Macc. v. 66, see SAMARIA, 1101*a*. [G.]

SHAASH'GAZ (שַׁעַשְׁגַז: not found in the LXX., who substitute Γαΐ, Hegai, as in v. 8, 15: *Susagazus*). The eunuch in the palace of Xerxes who had the custody of the women in the second house, *i. e.* of those who had been in to the king (Esth. ii. 14). [HEGAI.] [A. C. H.]

SHABBETHA'I (שַׁבְּתַי: Σαββαθαΐ; Alex. Καββαθαΐ: *Sebethaï* in Ezr., *Septhaï* in Neh.).

1. A Levite in the time of Ezra, who assisted him in investigating the marriages with foreigners which had taken place among the people (Ezr. x. 15). It is apparently the same who with Jesnua and others instructed the people in the knowledge

[a] This passage in the Vatican Codex (Mai's Ed.) contains a curious specimen of a double reading, each of the two being a translation of the Hebrew proper names:—*ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ὀστρακώδει ἐν ᾧ αἱ ἄρκοι καὶ ἐν ᾧ αἱ ἀλώπεκες ἐν τῷ Μυρσινῶνι, καὶ ἐν Θαλαβείν.* Here *ὀστρακώδης* and *Μυρσινών* are both attempts to render חֶרֶס, reading it חֵרֵשׁ and חֶרֶם respectively. The *ἀλώπεκες* is due to the שׁעל in Shaalbin. *αἱ ἄρκοι*, "the she-bears," is for Ajalon, though that signifies deer or gazelles.

[b] The word *shaaraim* means "two gateways;" and but for the mention of the town in Joshua, and the consistency of its position with 1 Sam. xvii. 52, it would be perhaps more natural in that passage to take it as meaning the gates of Gath and Ekron, as the LXX. have done. In that case, however, it ought to have the article, which it has not

[c] Here there is a slight difference in the vowels, due to the pause—שַׁעֲרָיִם—which is reflected in both LXX and Vulgate (see above, at head of article)

of the Law (Neh. viii. 7). He is called SABBATHEUS (1 Esdr. ix. 14) and SABATEAS (1 Esdr. ix. 48).

2. (Om. in LXX.: *Sabathaï*.) Shabbethai and Jozabad, of the chief of the Levites, were over the outward business of the house of God after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 16). Possibly 1. and 2. are identical, although Burrington (*Geneal.* i. 167) regards Shabbethai, who is mentioned in Neh. viii. 7, as a priest.

SHACH'IA (שַׁבְיָה: Ζαβία: *Sechia*). Properly "Shabiah," a son of Shaharaim by his wife Hodesh (1 Chr. viii. 10). This form of the name is retained from the Geneva Version. The translators have followed the Vulgate in reading כ for ב. Seven of Kennicott's MSS. read שביא, and fifteen שכיה.

SHADDA'I (שַׁדַּי, in pause שָׁדָי). An ancient name of God, rendered "Almighty" everywhere in the A. V. In all passages of Genesis, except one (xlix. 25[a]), in Ex. vi. 3, and in Ez. x. 5, it is found in connexion with אֵל, *êl*, "God," El Shaddai being there rendered "God Almighty," or "the Almighty God." It occurs six times in Genesis, once in Exodus (vi. 3), twice in Numbers (xxiv. 4, 16), twice in Ruth (i, 20, 21), thirty-one times in Job, twice in the Psalms (lxviii. 14 [15], xci. 1), once in Isaiah (xiii. 6), twice in Ezekiel (i. 24, x. 5), and once in Joel (i. 15). In Genesis and Exodus it is found in what are called the Elohistic portions of those books, in Numbers in the Jehovistic portion, and throughout Job the name Shaddai stands in parallelism with Elohim, and never with Jehovah. By the name or in the character of El Shaddai, God was known to the patriarchs—to Abraham (Gen. xvii. 1), to Isaac (Gen. xxviii. 3), and to Jacob (Gen. xliii. 14, xlviii. 3, xlix. 25), before the name Jehovah, in its full significance, was revealed (Ex. vi. 3). By this title He was known to the Midianite Balaam (Num. xxiv. 4, 16), as God the Giver of Visions, the Most High (comp. Ps. xci. 1); and the identity of Jehovah and Shaddai, who dealt bitterly with her, was recognised by Naomi in her sorrow (Ruth i. 20, 21). Shaddai, the Almighty, is the God who chastens men (Job v. 17, vi. 4, xxiii. 16, xxvii. 2); the just God (Job viii. 3, xxxiv. 10) who hears prayer (Job viii. 5, xxii. 26, xxvii. 10); the God of power who cannot be resisted (Job xv. 25), who punishes the wicked (Job xxi. 20, xxvii. 13), and rewards and protects those who trust in Him (Job xxii. 23, 25, xxix. 5); the God of providence (Job xxii. 17, 23, xxvii. 11) and of foreknowledge (Job xxiv. 1), who gives to men understanding (Job xxxii. 8) and life (Job xxxiii. 4): "excellent in power, and in judgment, and in plenty of justice," whom none can perfectly know (Job xi. 7, xxxvii. 23). The prevalent idea attaching to the name in all these passages is that of strength and power, and our translators have probably given to "Shaddai" its true meaning when they rendered it "Almighty."

In the Targum throughout, the Hebrew word is retained, as in the Peshito-Syriac of Genesis and Exodus and of Ruth i. 20. The LXX. gives ἱκανός, ἰσχυρός, θεός, κύριος, παντοκράτωρ, κύριος παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τὰ πάντα ποιήσας (Job viii. 3), ἐπουράνιος (Ps. lxviii. 14 [15]), ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (Ps. xci. 1), σαδδαΐ (Ez. x. 5), and ταλαιπωρία (Joel i. 15). In Job xxix. 5 we find the strange rendering ὑλώδης. In Gen. and Ex. "El Shaddai" is translated ὁ θεός μου, or σου, or αὐτῶν, as the case may be. The Vulgate has *omnipotens* in all cases, except *Dominus* (Job v. 17, vi. 4, 14; Is. xiii. 6), *Deus* (Job xxii. 3, xl. 2), *Deus coeli* (Ps. xci. 1), *sublimis Deus* (Ez. i. 24), *coelestis* (Ps. lxviii. 14 [15]), *potens* (Joel i. 15), and *digne* (Job xxxvii. 23). The Veneto-Greek has κραταιός. The Peshito-Syriac, in many passages, renders "Shaddai" simply "God," in others ܚܣܝܢܐ, *chasînô*, "strong, powerful" (Job v. 17, vi. 4, &c.), and once ܥܠܝܐ, *'elôyô*, "Most High" (Job vi. 14). The Samaritan Version of Gen. xvii. 1 has for "El Shaddai," "powerful, sufficient," though in the other passages of Genesis and Exodus it simply retains the Hebrew word; while in Num. xxiv. 4, 16, the translator must have read שָׂדֶה, *sâdeh*, "a field," for he renders "the vision of Shaddai," "the vision of the field," *i. e.* the vision seen in the open plain. Aben Ezra and Kimchi render it "powerful."

The derivations assigned to Shaddai are various. We may mention, only to reject, the Rabbinical etymology which connects it with דַּי, *dai*, "sufficiency," given by Rashi (on Gen. xvii. 1), "I am He in whose Godhead there is sufficiency for the whole creation;" and in the Talmud (*Chagiga*, fol. 12, col. 1), "I am He who said to the world, Enough!" According to this, אֲשֶׁר דַּי = שַׁדַּי, "He who is sufficient," "the all-sufficient One;" and so "He who is sufficient in himself," and therefore self-existent. This is the origin of the ἱκανός of the LXX., Theodoret, and Hesychius, and of the Arabic الكافي, *alkâfi*, of Saadias, which has the same meaning. Gesenius (*Gram.* §86, and *Jesaia*, xiii. 6) regards שַׁדַּי, *shaddai*, as the plural of majesty, from a singular noun, שַׁד, *shad*, root שָׁדַד, *shâdad*, of which the primary notion seems to be, "to be strong" (Fürst, *Handwb.*). It is evident that this derivation was present to the mind of the prophet from the play of words in Is. xiii. 6. Ewald (*Lehrb.* §155*c*. 5*te Ausg.*) takes it from a root שָׂדָה = שָׁדַד, and compares it with דַּוָּי, *davvâi*, from דָּוֶה, *dâvâh*, the older termination י־ being retained. He also refers to the proper names יִשַׁי, *Yishai* (Jesse), and בַּוַּי, *Bavvai* (Neh. iii. 18). Roediger (Ges. *Thes.* s. v.) disputes Ewald's explanation, and proposes, as one less open to objection, that *Shaddai* originally signified "my powerful ones," and afterwards became the name of God Almighty, like the analogous form *Adonai*. In favour of this is the fact that it is never found with the definite article, but such would be equally the case if Shaddai were regarded as a proper name. On the whole there seems no reasonable objection to the view taken by Gesenius, which Lee also adopts (*Gram.* §139, 6).

Shaddai is found as an element in the proper names Ammishaddai, Zurishaddai, and possibly also in Shedeur there may be a trace of it. [W. A. W.]

SHAD'RACH (שַׁדְרַךְ: Σεδράκ: *Sidrach*: of uncertain etymology). The Chaldee name of Hananiah [HANANIAH 7; SHESHBAZZAR], the chief of the "three children," whose song, as given in

[a] Even here some MSS. and the Samaritan Text read אֵת *êt*, for אֵת *eth*.

the apocryphal Daniel, forms part of the service of the Church of England, under the name of "Benedicite, omnia opera." A long prayer in the furnace is also ascribed to him in the LXX. and Vulgate, but this is thought to be by a different hand from that which added the song. The history of Shadrach, or Hananiah, is briefly this. He was taken captive with Daniel, Mishael, and Azariah, at the first invasion of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, in the fourth, or, as Daniel (i. 1) reckons, in the third[a] year of Jehoiakim, at the time when the Jewish king himself was bound in fetters to be carried off to Babylon. [JEHOIAKIM.] Being, with his three companions, apparently of royal birth (Dan. i. 3), of superior understanding, and of goodly person, he was selected, with them, for the king's immediate service, and was for this end instructed in the language and in all the learning and wisdom of the Chaldeans, as taught in the college of the magicians. Like Daniel, he avoided the pollution of the meat and wine which formed their daily provision at the king's cost, and obtained permission to live on pulse and water. When the time of his probation was over, he and his three companions, being found superior to all the other magicians, were advanced to stand before the king. When the decree for the slaughter of all the magicians went forth from Nebuchadnezzar, we find Shadrach uniting with his companions in prayer to God to reveal the dream to Daniel; and when, in answer to that prayer, Daniel had successfully interpreted the dream, and been made ruler of the province of Babylon, and head of the college of magicians, Shadrach was promoted to a high civil office. But the penalty of Oriental greatness, especially when combined with honesty and uprightness, soon had to be paid by him, on the accusation of certain envious Chaldeans. For refusing to worship the golden image he was cast with Meshach and Abed-nego into the burning furnace. But his faith stood firm; and his victory was complete when he came out of the furnace, with his two companions, unhurt, heard the king's testimony to the glory of God, and was "promoted in the province of Babylon." We hear no more of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego in the O. T. after this; neither are they spoken of in the N. T., except in the pointed allusion to them in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as having "through faith quenched the violence of fire" (Heb. xi. 33, 4). But there are repeated allusions to them in the later apocryphal books, and the martyrs of the Maccabaean period seem to have been much encouraged by their example. See 1 Macc. ii. 59, 60; 3 Macc. vi. 6; 4 Macc. xiii. 9, xvi. 3, 21, xviii. 12. Ewald (*Geschichte*, iv. 557) observes, indeed, that next to the Pentateuch no book is so often referred to in these times, in proportion, as the Book of Daniel. The apocryphal additions to Daniel contain, as usual, many supplementary particulars about the furnace, the angel, and Nebuchadnezzar, besides the introduction of the prayer of Shadrach, and the hymn. Theodore Parker observes with truth, in opposition to Bertholdt, that these additions of the Alexandrine prove that the Hebrew was the original text, because they are obviously inserted to introduce a better connexion into the narrative (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 10; Prideaux, *Connect.* i. 59, 60; Parker's De Wette's *Introd.* ii. 483-510; Grimm, on 1 Macc. ii. 60; Hitzig (who takes a thoroughly sceptical view), *on Dan.* iii.; Ewald, iv. 106-7, 557-9; Keil, *Einleit. Daniel*). [A. C. H.]

SHA'GE (שָׁגֵא: Σωλά; Alex. Σαγή: *Sage*), Father of Jonathan the Hararite, one of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 34). In the parallel list of 2 Sam. xxiii. 33, he is called Shammah: unless, as seems probable, there is a confusion between Jonathan the son of "Shage the Hararite," Jonathan the son of Shammah, David's brother, and "Shammah the son of Agee the Hararite." [See SHAMMAH 5.]

SHAHARA'IM (שַׁחֲרַיִם: Σααρίν; Alex. Σααρήμ: *Saharaïm*). A Benjamite whose history and descent are alike obscure in the present text (1 Chr. viii. 8). It is more intelligible if we remove the full stop from the end of ver. 7, and read on thus: "and begat Uzza and Ahihud, and Shaharaim he begat in the field of Moab," &c. This would make Shaharaim the son of Gera. He had three wives and nine children.

SHAHAZ'IMAH (שַׁחֲצִימָה: but in the orig. text (*Cethib*) שחצומה, *i. e.* Shahatsûmah: Σαλεὶμ κατὰ [b]θάλασσαν; Alex. Σασειμαθ: *Seesima*). One of the towns of the allotment of Issachar, apparently between Tabor and the Jordan (Josh. xix. 22 only). The name is accurately Shahatsim, the termination *ah* being the particle of motion—"to Shahatsim." [G.]

SHA'LEM (שָׁלֵם; Samar. שלום: εἰς Σαλήμ: *in Salem*), Gen. xxxiii. 18. It seems more than probable that this word should not here be taken as a proper name, but that the sentence should be rendered, "Jacob came safe to the city of Shechem." Our translators have followed the LXX., Peshito-Syriac, and Vulgate, among ancient, and Luther's among modern versions, in all of which Shalem is treated as a proper name, and considered as a town dependent on or related to Shechem. And it is certainly remarkable that there should be a modern village bearing the name of *Salîm* in a position to a certain degree consistent with the requirements of the narrative when so interpreted:—viz. 3 miles east of *Nâblus* (the ancient Shechem), and therefore between it and the Jordan Valley, where the preceding verse (ver. 17) leaves Jacob settled (Rob. *B. R.* ii. 279; Wilson, *Lands*, ii. 72; Van de Velde, *Syr. & Pal.* ii. 302, 334).

But there are several considerations which weigh very much against this being more than a fortuitous coincidence.

1. If Shalem was the city in front of which Jacob pitched his tent, then it certainly was the scene of the events of chap. xxxiv.; and the well of Jacob and the tomb of Joseph must be removed from the situation in which tradition has so appropriately placed them to some spot further eastward and nearer to *Salîm*. Eusebius and Jerome felt this, and they accordingly make Sychem and Salem one and the same (*Onomast.*, under both these heads).

2. Though east of *Nâblus*, *Salîm* does not appear to lie near any actual line of communication between it and the Jordan Valley. The road from *Sakût* to *Nablûs* would be either by Wady *Maleh*, through *Teyasir*, *Tubas*, and the Wady *Bidân*, or by *Kerawa*, *Yanûn*, and *Beit-Furîk*. The former passes two miles to the north, the latter two miles

[a] Keil explains the discrepancy by supposing that Nebuchadnezzar may have set off from Babylon towards the end of the third year, but not have reached Judaea till the fourth (*Einleit.* p. 387).

[b] Reading the final syllable as יָם. "to the sea."

to the south of *Salim*, but neither approach it in the direct way which the narrative of Gen. xxxiii. 18 seems to denote that Jacob's route did.

3. With the exceptions already named, the unanimous voice of translators and scholars is in favour of treating *shalem* as a mere appellative. Among the ancients, Josephus (by his silence, *Ant.* i. 21, §1), the Targums of Onkelos and Pseudojonathan, the Samaritan Codex, the Arabic Version. Among the moderns, the Veneto-Greek Version, Rashi,[a] Junius and Tremellius, Meyer (*Annot.* on Seder Olam), Ainsworth, Reland (*Pal.* and *Dissert. Misc.*), Schumann, Rosenmüller, J. D. Michaelis (*Bibel für Ungelehrt.*), and the great Hebrew scholars of our own day, Gesenius (*Thes.* 1422), Zunz (24 *Bücher*, and *Handwb.*), De Wette, Luzzatto, Knobel, and Kalisch—all these take *shalem* to mean "safe and sound," and the city before which Jacob pitched to be the city of Shechem.

Salim does not appear to have been visited by any traveller. It could be done without difficulty from *Nâblus*, and the investigation might be of importance. The springs which are reported to be there should not be overlooked, for their bearing on its possible identity with the SALIM of St. John the Baptist. [G.]

SHA'LIM, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ־שַׁעֲלִים, *i. e.* Shaalim: τῆς γῆς Ἐσακέμ;[b] Alex. τ. γ. Σααλειμ: *terra Salim*). A district through which Saul passed on his journey in quest of his father's asses (1 Sam. ix. 4 only). It appears to have lain between the "land of Shalisha" and the "land of Yemini" (probably, but by no means certainly, that of Benjamin).

In the complete uncertainty which attends the route—its starting-point and termination, no less than its whole course—it is very difficult to hazard any conjecture on the position of Shalim. The spelling of the name in the original shows that it had no connexion with Shalem, or with the modern *Salim* east of *Nâblus* (though between these two there is probably nothing in common except the name). It is more possibly identical with the "land of Shual,"[c] the situation of which appears, from some circumstances attending its mention, to be almost necessarily fixed in the neighbourhood of *Taiyibeh*, *i. e.* nearly six miles north of Michmash, and about nine from Gibeah of Saul. But this can only be taken as a conjecture. [G.]

SHAL'ISHA, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ־שָׁלִשָׁה, *i. e.* Shalishah: ἡ γῆ Σελχᾶ; Alex. ἡ γ. Σαλισσα: *terra Salisa*). One of the districts traversed by Saul when in search of the asses of Kish (1 Sam. ix. 4, only). It apparently lay between "Mount Ephraim" and the "land of Shaalim," a specification which with all its evident preciseness is irrecognisable, because the extent of Mount Ephraim is so uncertain; and Shaalim, though probably near *Taiyibeh*, is not yet definitely fixed there. The difficulty is increased by locating Shalisha at *Sârîs* or *Khirbet Sârîs*, a village a few miles west of Jerusalem, south of *Abu Gosh* (Tobler, 3*tte Wand.* 178), which some have proposed. If the land of Shalisha contained, as it not impossibly did, the place called BAAL-SHALISHA (2 K. iv. 42), which, according to the testimony of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* "Beth Salisha"), lay fifteen Roman (or twelve English) miles north of *Lydd*, then the whole disposition of Saul's route would be changed.

The words *Eglath Shalishiyah* in Jer. xlviii. 34 (A. V. "a heifer of three years old") are by some translators rendered as if denoting a place named Shalisha. But even if this be correct, it is obvious that the Shalisha of the prophet was on the coast of the Dead Sea, and therefore by no means appropriate for that of Saul. [G.]

SHALLECH'ETH, THE GATE (שַׁעַר שַׁלֶּכֶת: ἡ πυλὴ παστοφορίου: *porta quae ducit*). One of the gates of the "house of Jehovah," whether by that expression be intended the sacred tent of David or the Temple of Solomon. It is mentioned only in 1 Chr. xxvi. 16, in what purports to be a list of the staff of the sacred establishment as settled by David (xxiii. 6, 25, xxiv. 51, xxv. 1, xxvi. 31, 32). It was the gate "to the causeway of the ascent," that is to the long embankment which led up from the central valley of the town to the sacred enclosure. As the causeway is actually in existence, though very much concealed under the mass of houses which fill the valley, the gate Shallecheth can hardly fail to be identical with the *Bab Silsilen*, or *Sinsleh*, which enters the west wall of the Haram area opposite the south end of the platform of the Dome of the Rock, about 600 feet from the south-west corner of the Haram wall. For the bearing of this position on the topography of the Temple, see that article.

The signification of *shalleceth* is "falling or casting down." The LXX. however, appear to have read לִשְׁבָּה,[d] the word which they usually render by παστοφοριον. This would point to the "chambers" of the Temple. [G.]

SHAL'LUM (שַׁלּוּם: Σελλούμ: *Sellum*), the fifteenth king of Israel, son of Jabesh, conspired against Zechariah, son of Jeroboam II., killed him, and brought the dynasty of Jehu to a close, B.C. 770, according to the prophecy in 2 K. x. 30, where it is promised that Jehu's children should occupy the throne of Israel to the fourth generation. In the English version of 2 K xv. 10, we read, "And Shallum the son of Jabesh conspired against him, and smote him *before the people*, and slew him, and reigned in his stead." And so the Vulg. *percussitque eum palam et interfecit*. But in the LXX. we find Κεβλαάμ instead of *before the people*, i. e. Shallum and Keblaam killed Zechariah. The common editions read ἐν Κεβλαάμ, meaning that Shallum killed Zechariah in Keblaam; but no place of such a name is known, and there is nothing in the Heb. to answer to ἐν. The words translated *before the people*, *palam*, Κεβλαάμ, are קֶבֶל עָם. Ewald (*Geschichte* iii. 598) maintains that קֶבֶל never occurs in prose,[e] and

[a] The traditional explanation of the word among the Jews, as stated by Rashi, is that Jacob arrived before Shechem sound from his lameness (incurred at Peniel), and with his wealth and his faith alike uninjured.

[b] Many MSS. have Σεγαλιμ or Σεγαλειμ (see Holmes and Parsons), the reading followed by Tischendorf in his text (1856). The reading of the Alex. is remarkable for its suppression of the presence of the ע in the Hebrew word, usually rendered in Greek by γ.

[c] It will be seen that Shalim contains the *Ain* which is absent from Shalem. It is, however, present in Shual.

[d] At the same time omitting מְסִלָּה, "the causeway," or confounding it with the word before it.

[e] Is not the objection rather that the word is Chaldee? It occurs repeatedly in Daniel (ii. 31; iii. 3; v. 1, 5, 10), and also in the Chaldee portions of Ezra (iv. 16; vii. 13).

that עָם would be הָעָם if the Latin and English translations were correct. He also observes that in ver. 14, 25, 30, where almost the same expression is used of the deaths of Shallum, Pekahiah, and Pekah, the words *before the people* are omitted. Hence he accepts the translation in the Vatican MS. of the LXX., and considers that [f] Qobolam or Κεβλαάμ was a fellow-conspirator or rival of Shallum, of whose subsequent fate we have no information. On the death of Zechariah, Shallum was made king, but, after reigning in Samaria for a month only, was in his turn dethroned and killed by Menahem. To these events Ewald refers the obscure passage in Zech. xi. 8:—*Three shepherds also I cut off in one month, and my soul abhorred them*—the three shepherds being Zechariah, Qobolam, and Shallum. This is very ingenious: we must remember, however, that Ewald, like certain English divines (Mede, Hammond, Newcome, Secker, Pye Smith), thinks that the latter chapters of the prophecies of Zechariah belong to an earlier date than the rest of the book. [G. E. L. C.]

2. (Σελλήμ; Alex. Σελλούμ in 2 K.). The husband (or son, according to the LXX. in 2 K.) of Huldah the prophetess (2 K. xxii. 14; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 22) in the reign of Josiah. He appears to have been keeper of the priestly vestments in the Temple, though in the LXX. of 2 Chr. this office is wrongly assigned to his wife.

3. (Σαλούμ; Alex. Σαλλούμ). A descendant of Sheshan (1 Chr. ii. 40, 41).

4. (Alex. Σαλλούμ in 1 Chr., Σελλήμ in Jer.). The third son of Josiah king of Judah, known in the Books of Kings and Chronicles as Jehoahaz (1 Chr. iii. 15; Jer. xxii. 11). Hengstenberg (*Christology of the O. T.* ii. p. 400, Eng. tr.) regards the name as symbolical, "the recompensed one," and given to Jehoahaz in token of his fate, as one whom God recompensed according to his deserts. This would be plausible enough if it were only found in the prophecy; but a genealogical table is the last place where we should expect to find a symbolical name, and Shallum is more probably the original name of the king, which was changed to Jehoahaz when he came to the crown. Upon a comparison of the ages of Jehoiakim, Jehoahaz or Shallum, and Zedekiah, it is evident that of the two last Zedekiah must have been the younger, and therefore that Shallum was the *third*, not the *fourth*, son of Josiah, as stated in 1 Chr. iii. 15.

5. (Σαλέμ.) Son of Shaul the son of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 25).

6. (Σαλώμ in Chr., Σελούμ in Ezr.; Alex. Σελλούμ). A high-priest, son of Zadok and ancestor of Ezra (1 Chr. vi. 12, 13; Ezr. vii. 2). Called also SALUM (1 Esdr. viii. 1), and SADAMIAS (2 Esdr. i. 1).

7. (Σελλούμ.) A son of Naphthali (1 Chr. vii. 13). He and his brethren are called "sons of Bilhah," but in the Vat. MS. of the LXX., Shallum and the rest are the sons of Naphthali, and Balam (not Bilhah) is the son of Shallum. Called also SHILLEM.

8. (Σαλώμ; Alex. Σαλλώμ in 1 Chr. ix. 17: Σελλοίμ in Ezr. ii. 42: Σαλούμ; Alex. Σελλούμ in Neh. vii. 45). The chief of a family of porters or gatekeepers of the east gate of the Temple, for the camps of the sons of Levi. His descendants were among those who returned with Zerubbabel. In 1 Esdr. v. 28 he is called SALUM, and in Neh. xii. 25 MESHULLAM.

9. (Σελλούμ, Σαλώμ; Alex. Σαλλάμ in 1 Chr. ix. 19.) Son of Kore, a Korahite, who with his brethren was keeper of the thresholds of the tabernacle (1 Chr. ix. 19, 31), "and their fathers (were) over the camp of Jehovah, keepers of the entry." On comparing this with the expression in ver. 18, it would appear that Shallum the son of Kore and his brethren were gatekeepers of a higher rank than Shallum, Akkub, Talmon, and Ahiman, who were only "for the camp of the sons of Levi." With this Shallum we may identify Meshelemiah and Shelemiah (1 Chr. xxvi. 1, 2, 9, 14), but he seems to be different from the last-mentioned Shallum.

10. (Σελλήμ.) Father of Jehizkiah, one of the heads of the children of Ephraim (2 Chr. xxviii. 12).

11. (Σολμήν; Alex. Σολλήμ.) One of the porters of the Temple who had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 24).

12. (Σελλούμ.) Son of Bani, who put away his foreign wife at the command of Ezra (Ezr. x. 42).

13. (Σαλλαούμ; FA. Σαλούμ). The son of Halohesh and ruler of a district of Jerusalem. With his daughters he assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the wall of the city (Neh. iii. 12).

14. (Σαλώμ.) The uncle of Jeremiah (Jer. xxxii. 7); perhaps the same as Shallum the husband of Huldah the prophetess. [JEREMIAH, vol. i. p. 966.]

15. (Σελώμ.) Father or ancestor of Maaseiah, "keeper of the threshold" of the Temple in the time of Jeremiah (Jer. xxxv. 4); perhaps the same as 9.

SHAL'LUN (שַׁלּוּן: Σαλωμών: *Sellum*). The son of Col-hozeh, and ruler of a district of the Mizpah. He assisted Nehemiah in repairing the spring gate, and "the wall of the pool of Hasshelach" (A. V. "Siloah") belonging to the king's garden, "even up to the stairs that go down from the city of David" (Neh. iii. 15).

SHALMA'I (שַׁלְמַי, *Keri*; שַׁלְמָי in Ezr., שַׁלְמַי in Neh.: Σελαμί, Σελμεΐ; Alex. Σελαμεί, Σελμεί: *Semlai*, *Selmai*). The children of Shalmai (or SHAMLAI, as in the margin of Ezr. ii. 46) were among the Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 46; Neh. vii. 48). In Neh. the name is properly SALMAI. In 1 Esdr. v. 30 it is written SUBAI.

SHALMAN (שַׁלְמַן: Σαλαμάν: *Salmana*). Shalmaneser, king of Assyria (Hos. x. 14). The versions differ in a remarkable manner in their rendering of this verse. The LXX. read שַׂר, *sar* (ἄρχων), for שׁוֹד, *shôd* (in which they are followed by the Arabic of the Polyglot), and "Jeroboam" (Alex. "Jerubbaal") for "Arbel." The Vulgate, reading "Jerubbaal," appears to have confounded Shalman with Zalmunna, and renders the clause, *sicut vastatus est Salmana a domo ejus qui judicavit Baal in die praelii*. The Targum of Jonathan and Peshito-Syriac both give "Shalma;" the former for בֵּית אַרְבָּאל, reading בְּמַאְרַב, "by an ambush," the latter, בֵּית אֵל, "Beth-el." The Chaldee translator seems to have caught only the first letters of the word "Arbel," while the Syrian only saw the last two. The Targum possibly regards "Shal-

[f] Q is the best representative of the Hebrew ק

man" as an appellative, "the peaceable," following in this the traditional interpretation of the verse recorded by Rashi, whose note is as follows: "As spoilers that come upon a people dwelling in peace, suddenly by means of an ambush, who have not been warned against them to flee before them, and destroy all."

SHALMANE'SER (שַׁלְמַנאֶסֶר: Σαλαμανασσάρ; Joseph. Σαλμανασσάρης: *Salmanasar*) was the Assyrian king who reigned immediately before Sargon, and probably immediately after Tiglath-pileser. Very little is known of him, since Sargon, his successor, who was of a different family, and most likely a rebel against his authority [SARGON], seems to have destroyed his monuments. He can scarcely have ascended the throne earlier than B.C. 730, and may possibly not have done so till a few years later. [TIGLATH-PILESER.] It must have been soon after his accession that he led the forces of Assyria into Palestine, where Hoshea, the last king of Israel, had revolted against his authority (2 K. xvii. 3). No sooner was he come than Hoshea submitted, acknowledged himself a "servant" of the Great King, and consented to pay him a fixed tribute annually. Shalmaneser upon this returned home; but soon afterwards he "found conspiracy in Hoshea," who had concluded an alliance with the king of Egypt, and withheld his tribute in consequence. In B.C. 723 Shalmaneser invaded Palestine for the second time, and, as Hoshea refused to submit, laid siege to Samaria. The siege lasted to the third year (B.C. 721), when the Assyrian arms prevailed; Samaria fell; Hoshea was taken captive and shut up in prison, and the bulk of the Samaritans were transported from their own country to Upper Mesopotamia (2 K. xvii. 4-6, xviii. 9-11). It is uncertain whether Shalmaneser conducted the siege to its close, or whether he did not lose his crown to Sargon before the city was taken. Sargon claims the capture as his own exploit in his first year; and Scripture, it will be found, avoids saying that Shalmaneser took the place.[a] Perhaps Shalmaneser died before Samaria, or perhaps, hearing of Sargon's revolt, he left his troops, or a part of them, to continue the siege, and returned to Assyria, where he was defeated and deposed (or murdered) by his enemy.

According to Josephus, who professes to follow the Phoenician history of Menander of Ephesus, Shalmaneser engaged in an important war with Phoenicia in defence of Cyprus (*Ant.* ix. 14, §2). It is possible that he may have done so, though we have no other evidence of the fact; but it is perhaps more probable that Josephus, or Menander, made some confusion between him and Sargon, who certainly warred with Phoenicia, and set up a memorial in Cyprus. [SARGON.] [G. R.]

SHA'MA (שַׁמָע: Σαμαθά; Alex. Σαμμά: *Samma*). One of David's guard, son of Hothan of Aroer (1 Chr. xi. 44), and brother of Jehiel. Probably a Reubenite (see 1 Chr. v. 8).

SHAMARI'AH (שְׁמַרְיָה: Σαμορία; Alex. Σαμαρία: *Somoria*). Son of Rehoboam by Abihail the daughter of Eliab (2 Chr. xi. 19).

[a] In 2 K. xvii. 6, the expression is simply "the king of Assyria took it." In 2 K. xviii. 9, 10, we find, still more remarkably, "Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, came up against Samaria, and besieged it; and at the end of three years *they* took it."

SHA'MED (שָׁמֶד: Σεμμήρ: *Samad*). Properly SHAMER, or Shemer; one of the sons of Elpaal the Benjamite, who built Ono and Lod, with the towns thereof (1 Chr. viii. 12). The A. V. has followed the Vulg., as in the case of Shachia, and retains the reading of the Geneva Version Thirteen of Kennicott's MSS. have שמר.

SHA'MER (שָׁמֶר: Σεμήρ; Alex. Σεμμήρ: *Somer*). 1. A Merarite Levite, ancestor of Ethan (1 Chr. vi. 46).

2. (Σεμμήρ; Alex. Σωμήρ.) SHOMER the son of Heber an Asherite (1 Chr. vii. 34). His four sons are mentioned by name. [W. A. W.]

SHAM'GAR (שַׁמְגַר: Σαμεγάρ: *Samgar*: of uncertain etymology; compare Samgar-nebo). Son of Anath, judge of Israel after Ehud, and before Barak, though possibly contemporary with the latter, since he seems to be spoken of in Judg. v. 6 as a contemporary of Jael, if the reading is correct.[b] It is not improbable from his patronymic that Shamgar may have been of the tribe of Naphtali, since Beth-anath is in that tribe (Judg. i. 33). Ewald conjectures that he was of Dan—an opinion in which Bertheau (*On Judg.* iii. 31) does not coincide. And since the tribe of Naphtali bore a chief part in the war against Jabin and Sisera (Judg. iv. 6, 10, v. 18), we seem to have a point of contact between Shamgar and Barak. Anyhow, in the days of Shamgar, Israel was in a most depressed condition; the tributary Canaanites (Judg. i. 33), in league apparently with their independent kinsmen, the Philistines, rose against their Israelite masters, and the country became so unsafe, that the highways were deserted, and Hebrew travellers were obliged to creep unobserved by cross-roads and by-ways. The open villages were deserted, the wells were inaccessible, and the people hid themselves in the mountains. Their arms were apparently taken from them, by the same policy as was adopted later by the same people (Judg. iii. 31, v. 8; comp. with 1 Sam. xiii. 19-22), and the whole nation was cowed. At this conjuncture Shamgar was raised up to be a deliverer. With no arms in his hand but an ox-goad (Judg. iii. 31; comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 21), he made a desperate assault upon the Philistines, and slew 600 of them; an act of valour by which he procured a temporary respite for his people, and struck terror into the hearts of the Canaanites and their Philistine allies. But it was reserved for Deborah and Barak to complete the deliverance; and whether Shamgar lived to witness or participate in it we have no certain information. From the position of "the Philistines" in 1 Sam. xii. 9, between "Moab" and "Hazor," the allusion seems to be to the time of Shamgar. Ewald observes with truth that the way in which Shamgar is mentioned in Deborah's song indicates that his career was very recent. The resemblance to Samson, pointed out by him, does not seem to lead to anything. [A. C. H.]

SHAM'HUTH (שַׁמְהוּת: Σαμαώθ: *Sornaoth*). The fifth captain for the fifth month in David's arrangement of his army (1 Chr. xxvii. 8). His designation הַיִּזְרָחִי, *hayyizrâch*, i. e. the Yizrâchi,

[b] The mention of Jael seems scarcely natural. It has occurred to the writer to conjecture for בִּימֵי יָעֵל, בִּישְׂרָאֵל, as in ver. 7. Dr. Donaldson (*Jashar* p. 271-2 conjectures וְמֵעָלָה, "and previously."

is probably for הַזַּרְחִי, *hazzarchî*, the Zarhite, or descendant of Zerah the son of Judah. From a comparison of the lists in 1 Chr. xi., xxvii., it would seem that Shamhuth is the same as SHAMMOTH the Harorite. [W. A. W.]

SHA'MIR (שָׁמִיר: Σαμείρ; Alex. in Josh. Σαφειρ, in Judg. Σαμαρεια: *Samir*). The name of two places in the Holy Land.

1. A town in the mountain district of Judah (Josh. xv. 48, only). It is the first in this division of the catalogue, and occurs in company with JATTIR in the group containing SOCHO and ESHTEMOH. It therefore probably lay some eight or ten miles south of Hebron, in the neighbourhood of the three places just named, all of which have been identified with tolerable certaintv. But it has not itself been yet discovered

2. A place in Mount Ephraim, the residence and burial-place of Tola the judge (Judg. x. 1, 2). It is singular that this judge, a man of Issachar, should have taken up his official residence out of his own tribe. We may account for it by supposing that the plain of Esdraelon, which formed the greater part of the territory of Issachar, was overrun, as in Gideon's time, by the Canaanites or other marauders, of whose incursions nothing whatever is told us—though their existence is certain—driving Tola to the more secure mountains of Ephraim. Or, as Manasseh had certain cities out of Issachar allotted to him, so Issachar on the other hand may have possessed some towns in the mountains of Ephraim. Both these suppositions, however, are but conjecture, and have no corroboration in any statement of the records.

Shamir is not mentioned by the ancient topographers. Schwarz (151) proposes to identify it with *Sanûr*, a place of great natural strength (which has some claims to be Bethulia), situated in the mountains, half-way between Samaria and *Jenîn*, about eight miles from each. Van de Velde (*Mém.* 348) proposes *Khirbet Sammer*, a ruined site in the mountains overlooking the Jordan valley, ten miles E.S.E. of *Nâblus*. There is no connexion between the names Shamir and Samaria, as proposed in the Alex. LXX. (see above), beyond the accidental one which arises from the inaccurate form of the latter in that Version, and in our own, it being correctly *Shomron*. [G.]

SHA'MIR (שָׁמוּר; *Keri*, שָׁמִיר: Σαμήρ: *Samîr*). A Kohathite, son of Micah, or Michah, the firstborn of Uzziel (1 Chr. xxiv. 24).

SHAM'MA (שַׁמָּא: Σαμά; Alex. Σαμμά: *Samma*). One of the sons of Zophar, an Asherite (1 Chr. vii. 37).

SHAM'MAH (שַׁמָּה: Σομε: Alex. Σομμέ in 1 Chr. i. 37: *Samma*). 1. The son of Reuel the son of Esau, and one of the chieftains of his tribe (Gen. xxxvi. 13, 17; 1 Chr. i. 37).

2 (Σαμά; Alex. Σαμμά: *Samma*.) The third son of Jesse, and brother of David (1 Sam. xvi. 9, xvii. 13). Called also SHIMEA, SHIMEAH, and SHIMMA. He was present when Samuel anointed David, and with his two elder brothers joined the Hebrew army in the valley of Elah to fight with the Philistines.

3. (Σαμαΐα; Alex. Σαμμεάς: *Semma*.) One of the three greatest of David's mighty men. He was with him during his outlaw life in the cave of Adullam, and signalised himself by defending a piece of ground full of lentiles against the Philistines on one of their marauding incursions. This achievement gave him a place among the first three heroes, who on another occasion cut their way through the Philistine garrison, and brought David water from the well of Bethlehem (2 Sam. xxiii. 11-17). The text of Chronicles at this part is clearly very fragmentary, and what is there attributed to Eleazar the son of Dodo properly belongs to Shammah. There is still, however, a discrepancy in the two narratives. The scene of Shammah's exploit is said in Samuel to be a field of lentiles (עֲדָשִׁים), and in 1 Chron. a field of barley (שְׂעֹרִים). Kennicott proposes in both cases to read "barley," the words being in Hebrew so similar that one is produced from the other by a very slight change and transposition of the letters (*Diss.* p. 141). It is more likely, too, that the Philistines should attack and the Israelites defend a field of barley than a field of lentiles. In the Peshito-Syriac, instead of being called "the Hararite," he is said to be "from the king's mountain" (ܡܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ), and the same is repeated at ver. 25. The Vat. MS. of the LXX. makes him the son of Asa (*υἱὸς Ἀσα ὁ Ἀρουχαῖος*, where Ἀρουδαῖος was perhaps the original reading). Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, §4) calls him Cesabaeus the son of Ilus (Ἰλοῦ *μὲν υἱὸς* Κησαβαῖος *δὲ ὄνομα*).

4. (Σαιμά; Alex. Σαμμαί: *Semma*.) The Harodite, one of David's mighties (2 Sam. xxiii. 25). He is called "SHAMMOTH the Harorite" in 1 Chr. xi. 27, and in 1 Chr. xxvii. 8 "SHAMHUTH the Izrahite." Kennicott maintained the true reading in both to be "Shamhoth the Harodite" (*Diss.* p. 181).

5. (Σαμνάν; Alex. Σαμνάς.) In the list of David's mighty men in 2 Sam. xxiii. 32, 33, we find "Jonathan, Shammah the Hararite;" while in the corresponding verse of 1 Chr. xi. 34, it is "Jonathan, the son of Shage the Hararite." Combining the two, Kennicott proposes to read "Jonathan, the son of Shamha, the Hararite," David's nephew who slew the giant in Gath (2 Sam. xxi. 21). Instead of "the Hararite," the Peshito-Syriac has "of the Mount of Olives" (ܡܢ ܛܘܪ ܙܝܬܐ), in 2 Sam. xxiii. 33, and in 1 Chr. xi. 34, "of Mount Carmel" (ܡܢ ܛܘܪ ܟܪܡܠ), but the origin of both these interpretations is obscure. [W. A. W.]

SHAMMA'I (שַׁמַּי: Σαμαΐ; Alex. Σαμμαΐ *Semeî*). 1. The son of Onam, and brother of Jada (1 Chr. ii. 28, 32). In the last-quoted verse the LXX. give Ἀχισαμάς for "the brother of Shammai."

2. (*Sammaî*.) Son of Rekem, and father or founder of Maon (1 Chr. ii. 44, 45).

3. (Σεμεΐ; Alex. Σεμμαΐ.) The brother of Miriam and Ishbah the founder of Eshtemoa, in an obscure genealogy of the descendants of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 17). Rabbi D. Kimchi conjectures that these were the children of Mered by his Egyptian wife Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh. [MERED.] The LXX. makes Jether the father of all three. The tradition in the *Quaest. in Libr. Paral.* identifies Shammai with Moses, and Ishbah with Aaron.

SHAM'MOTH (שַׁמּוֹת: Σαμαώθ; Alex. Σαμώθ: *Sammoth*). The Harorite, one of David's

guard (1 Chr. xi. 27). He is apparently the same with "Shammah the Harodite" (2 Sam. xxiii. 25), and with "Shamhuth" (1 Chr. xxvii. 8).

SHAMMU'A (שַׁמּוּעַ: Σαμουήλ; Alex. Σαμαλιήλ: *Sammua*). 1. The son of Zaccur (Num. xiii. 4) and the spy selected from the tribe of Reuben.

2. (Σαμαά; Alex. Σαμμαού: *Samua*.) Son of David, by his wife Bathsheba, born to him in Jerusalem (1 Chr. xiv. 4). In the A. V. of 2 Sam. v. 14 he is called SHAMMUAH, and in 1 Chr. iii. 5 SHIMEA.

3. (Σαμουί; FA. Σαμονεί.) A Levite, the father of Abda (Neh. xi. 17). He is the same as SHEMAIAH the father of Obadiah (1 Chr. ix. 16).

4. (Σαμουέ: *Sammua*.) The representative of the priestly family of Bilgah, or Bilgai, in the days of the high-priest Joiakim (Neh. xii. 18).

SHAMMU'AH (שַׁמּוּעַ: Σαμμούς; Alex. Σαμμουέ: *Samua*). Son of David (2 Sam. v. 14); elsewhere called SHAMMUA, and SHIMEA.

SHAMSHERA'I (שַׁמְשְׁרַי: Σαμσαρί; Alex. Σαμσαρία: *Samsari*). One of the sons of Jeroham, a Benjamite, whose family lived in Jerusalem (1 Chr. viii. 26).

SHA'PHAM (שָׁפָם: Σαφάμ: *Saphan*). A Gadite who dwelt in Bashan (1 Chr. v. 12). He was second in authority in his tribe.

SHA'PHAN (שָׁפָן: Σαπφάν; Alex. Σαφφάν in 2 K. xxii., but elsewhere both MSS. have Σαφάν: *Saphan*). The scribe or secretary of King Josiah. He was the son of Azaliah (2 K. xxii. 3; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 8), father of Ahikam (2 K. xxii. 12; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 20), Elasah (Jer. xxix. 3), and Gemariah (Jer. xxxvi. 10, 11, 12), and grandfather of Gedaliah (Jer. xxxix. 14, xl. 5, 9, 11, xli. 2, xliii. 6), Michaiah (Jer. xxxvi. 11), and probably of Jaazaniah (Ez. viii. 11). There seems to be no sufficient reason for supposing that Shaphan the father of Ahikam, and Shaphan the scribe, were different persons. The history of Shaphan brings out some points with regard to the office of scribe which he held. He appears on an equality with the governor of the city and the royal recorder, with whom he was sent by the king to Hilkiah to take an account of the money which had been collected by the Levites for the repair of the Temple and to pay the workmen (2 K. xxii. 4; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 9; comp. 2 K. xii. 10). Ewald calls him Minister of Finance (*Gesch.* iii. 697). It was on this occasion that Hilkiah communicated his discovery of a copy of the Law, which he had probably found while making preparations for the repair of the Temple. [HILKIAH, vol. i. p. 814.] Shaphan was entrusted to deliver it to the king. Whatever may have been the portion of the Pentateuch thus discovered, the manner of its discovery, and the conduct of the king upon hearing it read by Shaphan, prove that for many years it must have been lost and its contents forgotten. The part read was apparently from Deuteronomy, and when Shaphan ended, the king sent him with the high-priest Hilkiah, and other men of high rank, to consult Huldah the prophetess. Her answer moved Josiah deeply, and the work which began with the restoration of the decayed fabric of the Temple, quickly took the form of a thorough reformation of religion and revival of the Levitical services, while all traces of idolatry were for a time swept away. Shaphan was then probably an old man, for his son Ahikam must have been in a position of importance, and his grandson Gedaliah was already born, as we may infer from the fact that thirty-five years afterwards he is made governor of the country by the Chaldeans, an office which would hardly be given to a very young man. Be this as it may, Shaphan disappears from the scene, and probably died before the fifth year of Jehoiakim, eighteen years later, when we find Elishama was scribe (Jer. xxxvi. 12). There is just one point in the narrative of the burning of the roll of Jeremiah's prophecies by the order of the king, which seems to identify Shaphan the father of Ahikam with Shaphan the scribe. It is well known that Ahikam was Jeremiah's great friend and protector at court, and it was therefore consistent with this friendship of his brother for the prophet that Gemariah the son of Shaphan should warn Jeremiah and Baruch to hide themselves, and should intercede with the king for the preservation of the roll (Jer. xxxvi. 12, 19, 25). [W. A. W.]

SHA'PHAT (שָׁפָט: Σαφάτ: *Saphat*). 1. The son of Hori, selected from the tribe of Simeon to spy out the land of Canaan (Num. xiii. 5).

2. The father of the prophet Elisha (1 K. xix. 16, 19; 2 K. iii. 11, vi. 31).

3. (Σαφάθ; Alex. Σαφάτ.) One of the six sons of Shemaiah in the royal line of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 22).

4. (ὁ γραμματεύς.) One of the chiefs of the Gadites in Bashan (1 Chr. v. 12).

5. (Σωφάτ.) The son of Adlai, who was over David's oxen in the valleys (1 Chr. xxvii. 29).

SHA'PHER, MOUNT (הַר־שָׁפֶר: Σαφάρ. Num. xxxiii. 23). The name of a desert station where the Israelites encamped, of which no other mention occurs. The name probably means "mount of pleasantness," but no site has been suggested for it. [H. H.]

SHARA'I (שָׁרַי: Σαριού; FA. Σαρονέ: *Sarai*). One of the sons of Bani who put away his foreign wife at the command of Ezra (Ezr. x. 40). He is called ESRIL in 1 Esdr. ix. 34.

SHARA'IM (שַׁעֲרַיִם, *i. e.* Shaaraim: Σακαρείμ; Alex. [a]Σαργαρειμ: *Sarim* and *Saraim*). An imperfect version (Josh. xv. 36 only) of the name which is elsewhere more accurately given SHAARAIM. The discrepancy does not exist in the original, and doubtless arose in the A. V. from adherence to the Vulgate. [G.]

SHA'RAR (שָׁרַר: Ἀρατί; Alex. Ἀράδ: *Sarar*). The father of Ahiam the Hararite, one of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 33). In 1 Chr. xi. 35 he is called SACAR, which Kennicott (*Diss.* p. 203) thinks the true reading.

SHARE'ZER (שַׂר־אֶצֶר: Σαρασάρ: *Sarasar*) was a son of Sennacherib, whom, in conjunction with his brother Adrammelech, he murdered (2 K. xix. 37). Moses of Chorene calls him Sanasar, and says that he was favourably received by the Armenian king to whom he fled, and given a tract of country on the Assyrian frontier, where his descendants became very numerous (*Hist. Armen.* i. 22). He is not mentioned as engaged in the murder, either by Polyhistor or Abydenus, who both speak of Adrammelech. [G. R.]

[a] Codex A here retains the γ as the equivalent for the ע, which has disappeared from the name in Codex B. The first ρ, however, is unusual. [Comp. TIRAL.]

SHA'RON (הַשָּׁרוֹן, with the def. article: ὁ Σαρών;[a] ὁ δρυμός; τὸ πεδίον: *Saron, campestria, campus*). A district of the Holy Land occasionally referred to in the Bible[b] (1 Chr. v. 16, xxvii. 29; Is. xxxiii. 9, xxxv. 2, lxv. 10; Cant. ii. 1; Acts ix. 35, A. V. SARON). The name has on each occurrence, with one exception only, the definite article—*has-Sharôn*—as is the case also with other districts — the Arabah, the Shefelah, the Ciccar; and on that single occasion (1 Chr. v. 16), it is obvious that a different spot must be intended to that referred to in the other passages. This will be noticed further on. It would therefore appear that "the Sharon" was some well-defined region familiar to the Israelites, though its omission in the formal topographical documents of the nation shows that it was not a recognised division of the country, as the Shefelah for example. [SEPHELA.] From the passages above cited we gather, that it was a place of pasture for cattle, where the royal herds of David grazed (1 Chr. xxvii. 29); the beauty of which was as generally recognised as that of Carmel itself (Is. xxxv. 2); and the desolation of which would be indeed a calamity (xxxiii. 9), and its re-establishment a symbol of the highest prosperity (lxv. 10). The rose of Sharon (possibly the tall graceful and striking squill), was a simile for all that a lover would express (Cant. ii. 1). Add to these slight traits the indications contained in the renderings of the LXX., τὸ πεδίον, "the plain," and ὁ δρυμός, "the wood," and we have exhausted all that we can gather from the Bible of the characteristics of Sharon.

The only guide to its locality furnished by Scripture is its mention with Lydda in Acts ix. 35. There is, however, no doubt of the identification of Sharon. It is that broad rich tract of land which lies between the mountains of the central part of the Holy Land and the Mediterranean—the northern continuation of the SHEFELAH. Josephus but rarely alludes to it, and then so obscurely that it is impossible to pronounce with certainty, from his words alone, that he does refer to it. He employs the same term as the LXX., "woodland." Δρυμοὶ τὸ χωρίον καλεῖται, says he (*Ant.* xiv. 13, §3; and comp. *B. J.* i. 13, §2), but beyond its connexion with Carmel there is no clue to be gained from either passage. The same may be said of Strabo (xvi. 28), who applies the same name, and at the same time mentions Carmel.

Sharon is derived by Gesenius (*Thes.* 642) from יָשַׁר, to be straight or even—the root also of *Mishor*, the name of a district east of Jordan. The application to it, however, by the LXX., by Josephus, and by Strabo, of the name Δρυμός or Δρυμοί—"woodland," is singular. It does not seem certain that that term implies the existence of wood on the plain of Sharon. Reland has pointed out (*Pal.* 190) that the Saronicus Sinus, or Bay of Saron, in Greece, was so called (Pliny, *N. H.* iv. 5) because of its woods, σάρωνις meaning an oak. Thus it is not impossible that Δρυμός was used as an equivalent of the name Sharon, and was not intended to denote the presence of oaks or woods on the spot. May it not be a token that the original meaning of Saron, or Sharon, is not that which its received Hebrew root would imply, and that it has perished except in this one instance? The Alexandrine Jews who translated the LXX. are not likely to have known much either of the Saronic gulf, or of its connexion with a rare Greek word.—Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* "Saron"), under the name of Saronas, specify it as the region extending from Caesarea to Joppa. And this is corroborated by Jerome in his comments on the three passages in Isaiah, in one of which (on lxv. 10) he appears to extend it as far south as Jamnia. There are occasional allusions to wood in the description of the events which occurred in this district in later times. Thus, in the Chronicles of the Crusades, the "Forest of Saron" was the scene of one of the most romantic adventures of Richard (Michaud, *Histoire*, viii.), the "forest of Assur" (*i. e.* Arsuf) is mentioned by Vinisauf (iv. 16). To the S.E. of *Kaisariyeh* there is still "a dreary wood of (natural) dwarf pines and entangled bushes" (Thomson, *Land and Book*, ch. 33). The orchards and palm-groves round *Jimzu*, *Lydd*, and *Ramleh*, and the dense thickets of *dôm* in the neighbourhood of the two last—as well as the mulberry plantations in the valley of the *Aujeh* a few miles from Jaffa—an industry happily increasing every day—show how easily wood might be maintained by care and cultivation (see Stanley, *S. & P.* 260 *note*).

A general sketch of the district is given under the head of PALESTINE (pp. 672, 673). Jerome (*Comm.* on Is. xxxv. 2) characterises it in words which admirably portray its aspects even at the present:—"Omnis igitur candor (the white sand-hills of the coast), cultus Dei (the wide crops of the finest corn), et circumcisionis scientia (the well trimmed plantations) et loca uberrima et campestria (the long gentle swells of rich red and black earth) quae appellantur Saron."

2. (יְשִׁמוֹן: Γεριάμ; Alex. Σαρων: *Saron*). The SHARON of 1 Chr. v. 16, to which allusion has already been made, is distinguished from the western plain by not having the article attached to its name as the other invariably has. It is also apparent from the passage itself that it was some district on the east of Jordan in the neighbourhood of Gilead and Bashan. The expression "suburbs" (מִנְגְּשֵׁי), is in itself remarkable. The name has not been met with in that direction, and the only approach to an explanation of it is that of Prof. Stanley (*S. & P.* App. §7), that Sharon may here be a synonym for the *Mishor*—a word probably derived from the same root, describing a region with some of the same characteristics, and attached to the pastoral plains east of the Jordan. [G.]

SHA'RONITE, THE (הַשָּׁרֹנִי: ὁ Σαρωνείτης; Alex. Σαρωνιτης: *Saronites*). Shitrai, who had charge of the royal herds pastured in Sharon (1 Chr. xxvii. 29), is the only Sharonite mentioned in the Bible. [G.]

SHAR'UHEN (שַׁרוּחֵן: οἱ ἀγροὶ[c] αὐτῶν, in both MSS.: *Saron*). A town, named in Josh. xix. 6

[a] Two singular variations of this are found in the Vat. MS. (Mai), viz. 1 Chr. v. 16, Γεριάμ; and xxvii. 29, Ἀσειδῶν, where the A is a remnant of the Hebrew def. article. It is worthy of remark that a more decided trace of the Heb. article appears in Acts ix. 35, where some MSS. have ασσαρωνα.

[b] The Lasharon of Josh. xii. 18, which some scholars consider to be Sharon with a preposition prefixed, appears to the writer more probably correctly given in the A V [LASHARON.]

[c] Probably reading שַׁדֵּיהֶן, as Reland conjectures.

only, amongst those which were allotted within Judah to Simeon. Sharuhen does not appear in the catalogue of the cities of Judah; but instead of it, and occupying the same position with regard to the other names, we find SHILHIM (xv. 32). In the list of 1 Chr. on the other hand, the same position is occupied by SHAARAIM (iv. 31). Whether these are different places, or different names of the same place, or mere variations of careless copyists; and, in the last case, which is the original form, it is perhaps impossible now to determine. Of the three, Shaaraim would seem to have the strongest claim, since we know that it was the name of a place in another direction, while Shilhim and Sharuhen are found once only. If so, then the *Ain* which exists in Shaaraim has disappeared in the others.

Knobel (*Exeg. Handb.* on Josh. xv. 32) calls attention to *Tell Sheri'ah*, about 10 miles West of *Bir es-Seba*, at the head of *Wady Sheri'ah* (the "watering-place"). The position is not unsuitable, but as to its identity with Shaaraim or Sharuhen we can say nothing. [G.]

SHASHA'I (שֲׁשַׁי: Σεσεΐ: *Sisai*). One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife and put her away in the time of Ezra (Ezr. x. 40).

SHA'SHAK (שֶׁשַׁק: Σωσήκ: *Sesac*). A Benjamite, one of the sons of Beriah (1 Chr. viii. 14, 25).

SHA'UL (שָׁאוּל: Σαούλ: Alex. Σαμουήλ in Gen.: *Saül*). 1. The son of Simeon by a Canaanitish woman (Gen. xlvi. 10; Ex. vi. 15; Num. xxvi. 13; 1 Chr. iv. 24), and founder of the family of the SHAULITES. The Jewish traditions identify him with Zimri, "who did the work of the Canaanites in Shittim" (Targ. Pseudojon. on Gen. xlvi.).

2. Shaul of Rehoboth by the river was one of the kings of Edom, and successor of Samlah (1 Chr. i. 48, 49). In the A. V. of Gen. xxxvi. 37 he is less accurately called SAUL.

3. A Kohathite, son of Uzziah (1 Chr. vi. 24).

SHA'VEH, THE VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק שָׁוֵה; the Samar. Cod. adds the article, ע' השוה, Sam. Vers. מפנה[a]: τὴν Κοιλάδα τὴν [b]Σαυή; Alex. τ. κ. τ. Σαυην: *vallis Save quae est vallis regis*). A name found only in Gen. xiv. It is one of those archaic names with which this venerable chapter abounds—such as Bela, En-Mishpat, Ham, Hazezon-tamar—so archaic, that many of them have been elucidated by the insertion of their more modern[c] equivalents in the body of the document, by a later but still very ancient hand. In the present case the explanation does not throw any light upon the locality of Shaveh:—"The valley of Shaveh, that is the Valley of the King" (ver. 17). True, the "Valley of the King" is mentioned again in 2 Sam. xviii. 18, as the site of a pillar set up by Absalom; but this passage again conveys no indication of its position, and it is by no means certain that the two passages refer to the same spot. The extreme obscurity in which the whole account of Abram's route from Damascus is involved, has been already noticed under SALEM. A notion has been long[d] prevalent that the pillar of Absalom is the well-known pyramidal structure which forms the northern member of the group of monuments at the western foot of Olivet. This is perhaps originally founded on the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 10, §3) that Absalom erected (ἔστηκε) a column (στήλη) of marble (λίθου μαρμαρίνου) at a distance of two stadia from Jerusalem. But neither the spot nor the structure of the so-called "Absalom's tomb" agree either with this description, or with the terms of 2 Sam. xviii. 18. The "Valley of the King" was an *Emek*, that is a broad open valley, having few or no features in common with the deep rugged ravine of the Kedron. [VALLEY.] The pillar of Absalom—which went by the name of "Absalom's hand"—was set up, erected (יַצֵּב), according to Josephus in marble—while the lower existing part of the monument (which alone has any pretension to great antiquity) is a monolith not erected, but excavated out of the ordinary limestone of the hill, and almost exactly similar to the so-called "tomb of Zechariah," the second from it on the south. And even this cannot claim any very great age, since its Ionic capitals and the ornaments of the frieze speak with unfaltering voice of Roman art.

Shaveh occurs also in conjunction with another ancient word in the name

SHA'VEH KIRIATHA'IM (שָׁוֵה קִרְיָתַיִם: ἐν Σανῇ τῇ πόλει: *Save Cariathaim*) mentioned in the same early document (Gen. xiv. 5) as the residence of the Emim at the time of Chedorlaomer's incursion. Kiriathaim is named in the later history, and, though it has not been identified, is known to have been a town on the east of the Jordan; and Shaveh Kiriathaim, which was also in the same region, was (if Shaveh mean "Valley") probably the valley in or by which the town lay. [G.]

SHAV'SHA (שַׁוְשָׁא: Σουσά; FA. Σούς. *Susa*). The royal secretary in the reign of David (1 Chr. xviii. 16). He is apparently the same with SERAIAH (2 Sam. viii. 17), who is called Σεισά by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 5, §4), and Σασά in the Vat. MS. of the LXX. SHISHA is the reading of two MSS. and of the Targum in 1 Chr. xviii. 16. In 2 Sam. xx. 25 he is called SHEVA, and in 1 K. iv. 3 SHISHA.

SHAWM. In the Prayer-book version of Ps. xcviii. 7, "with trumpets also and *shawms*" is the rendering of what stands in the A. V. "with trumpets and sound of *cornet*." The Hebrew word translated "cornet" will be found treated under that head. The "shawm" was a musical instrument resembling the clarionet. The word occurs in the forms *shalm*, *shalmie*, and is connected with the Germ. *schalmeie*, a reed-pipe.

"With *shaumes* and trompets and with clarions sweet."
SPENSER, *F. Q.* i. 12, §13.

[a] The Targum of Onkelos gives the same equivalent, but with a curious addition, "the plain of Mefana, which is the king's place of racing;" recalling the ἱππόδρομος so strangely inserted by the LXX. in Gen. xlviii. 7.

[b] This is one of the numerous instances in which the Vatican Cod. (Mai) agrees with the Alex., and disagrees with the ordinary text, which in this case has τοῦ Σαβυ.

[c] If the signification of *Shaveh* be "valley," as Gesenius and Furst assert, then its extreme antiquity is involved in the very expression "the Emek-Shaveh," which shows that the word had ceased to be intelligible to the writer, who added to it a modern word of the same meaning with itself. It is equivalent to such names as "Puente d'Alcantara," "the Greesen Steps," &c., where the one part of the name is a mere repetition or translation of the other, and which cannot exist till the meaning of the older term is obsolete.

[d] Perhaps first mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1160), and next by Maundeville (1323).

"Even from the shrillest *shaum* unto the cornamute."
DRAYTON, *Polyolb.* iv. 366.

Mr. Chappell says (*Pop. Mus.* i. 35, note *b*), "The modern clarionet is an improvement upon the shawm, which was played with a reed like the wayte, or hautboy, but, being a bass instrument, with about the compass of an octave, had probably more the tone of a bassoon." In the same note he quotes one of the "proverbis" written about the time of Henry VII. on the walls of the Manor House at Leckingfield near Beverley, Yorkshire:—

"A shawme maketh a swete sounde, for he tunythe the basse;
It mountithe not to hye, but kepith rule and space.
Yet yf it be blowne with to vehement a wynde,
It makithe it to mysgoverne out of his kinde."

From a passage quoted by Nares (*Glossary*) it appears that the shawm had a mournful sound:—

"He—
That never wants a Gilead full of balm
For his elect, shall turn thy woful *shalm*
Into the merry pipe."
G. TOOKE, *Belides*, p. 18. [W. A. W.]

SHEA'L (שְׁאַל: Σαλουία: Alex. Σαάλ: *Saal*). One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 29). In 1 Esd. ix. 30 he is called JASAEL.

SHEAL'TIEL (שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל, but three times in Haggai שְׁלַתִּיאֵל: Σαλαθιήλ: *Salathiel*). Father of Zerubbabel, the leader of the Return from Captivity (Ezr. iii. 2, 8, v. 2, Neh. xii. 1; Hagg. i. 1, 12, 14, ii. 2, 23). The name occurs also in the original of 1 Chr. iii. 17, though there rendered in the A. V. SALATHIEL. That is its equivalent in the books of the Apocrypha and the N. T.; and under that head the curious questions connected with his person are examined.

SHEARI'AH (שְׁעַרְיָה: Σαραΐα: Alex. Σαρία in 1 Chr. ix. 44: *Saria*). One of the six sons of Azel, a descendant of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 38, ix. 44).

SHEARING-HOUSE, THE (בֵּית עֵקֶד הָרֹעִים: Βαιθακάθ τῶν ποιμένων; Alex. Βαιθακαδ τ. π.: *camera pastorum*). A place on the road between Jezreel and Samaria, at which Jehu, on his way to the latter, encountered forty-two members of the royal family of Judah, whom he slaughtered at the well or pit attached to the place (2 K. x. 12, 14). The translators of our version have given in the margin the literal meaning of the name—"house of binding of the shepherds," and in the text an interpretation perhaps adopted from Jos. Kimchi. Binding, however, is but a subordinate part of the operation of shearing, and the word *akad* is not anywhere used in the Bible in connexion therewith. The interpretation of the Targum and Arabic version, adopted by Rashi, viz. "house of the meeting of shepherds," is accepted by Simonis (*Onom.* 186) and Gesenius (*Thes.* 195 *b*). Other renderings are given by Aquila and Symmachus. None of them, however, seem satisfactory, and it is probable that the original meaning has escaped. By the LXX., Eusebius, and Jerome, it is treated as a proper name, as they also treat the "garden-house" of ix. 27. Eusebius (*Onom.*) mentions it as a village of Samaria "in the great plain [of Esdraelon] 15 miles from Legeon." It is remarkable, that at a distance of precisely 15 Roman miles from *Legiûn* the name of *Beth-Kad* appears in Van de Velde's map (see also Rob. *B.R.* ii. 316); but this place, though coincident in point of distance, is not on the plain, nor can it either belong to Samaria, or be on the road from Jezreel thither, being behind (south of) mount Gilboa. The slaughter at the well recals the massacre of the pilgrims by Ishmael ben-Nethaniah at Mizpah, and the recent tragedy at Cawnpore. [G.]

SHE'AR-JA'SHUB (שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב: ὁ καταλειφθεὶς Ἰασούβ: *qui derelictus est Jasub*). The son of Isaiah the prophet, who accompanied him when he went to meet Ahaz in the causeway of the fuller's field (Is. vii. 3). The name, like that of the prophet's other son, Maher-shalal-hash-baz, had a mystical significance, and appears to have been given with mixed feelings of sorrow and hope—sorrow for the captivity of the people, and hope that in the end a remnant should return to the land of their fathers (comp. Is. x. 20-22).

SHE'BA (שֶׁבַע: Σαβεέ; Joseph. Σαβαῖος: *Seba*). The son of Bichri, a Benjamite from the mountains of Ephraim (2 Sam. xx. 1-22), the last chief of the Absalom insurrection. He is described as a "man of Belial," which seems [comp. SHIMEI] to have been the usual term of invective cast to and fro between the two parties. But he must have been a person of some consequence, from the immense effect produced by his appearance. It was in fact all but an anticipation of the revolt of Jeroboam. It was not, as in the case of Absalom, a mere conflict between two factions in the court of Judah, but a struggle, arising out of that conflict, on the part of the tribe of Benjamin to recover its lost ascendancy; a struggle of which some indications had been already manifested in the excessive bitterness of the Benjamite Shimei. The occasion seized by Sheba was the emulation, as if from loyalty, between the northern and southern tribes on David's return. Through the ancient custom, he summoned all the tribes "to their tents;" and then, and afterwards, Judah alone remained faithful to the house of David (2 Sam. xx. 1, 2). The king might well say, "Sheba the son of Bichri shall do us more harm than did Absalom" (*ib.* 6). What he feared was Sheba's occupation of the fortified cities. This fear was justified by the result. Sheba traversed the whole of Palestine, apparently rousing the population, Joab following him in full pursuit, and so deeply impressed with the gravity of the occasion, that the murder even of the great Amasa was but a passing incident in the campaign. He stayed but for the moment of the deed, and "pursued after Sheba the son of Bichri." The mass of the army halted for an instant by the bloody corpse, and then they also "went on after Joab to pursue after Sheba the son of Bichri." It seems to have been his intention to establish himself in the fortress of Abel-Beth-maacah—in the northmost extremity of Palestine—possibly allied to the cause of Absalom through his mother Maacah, and famous for the prudence of its inhabitants (2 Sam. xx. 18). That prudence was put to the test on the present occasion. Joab's terms were—the head of the insurgent chief. A woman of the place undertook the mission to her city, and proposed the execution to her fellow-citizens. The head of Sheba was thrown over the wall, and the insurrection ended.

2. (Σεβεέ; Alex. Σοβαθέ: *Sebe.*) A Gadite

* The last word of the three is omitted in ver. 14 in the original, and in both the Versions.

one of the chiefs of his tribe, who dwelt in Bashan (1 Chr. v. 13). [A. P. S.]

SHE'BA (שְׁבָא: Σαβά: *Saba*). The name of three fathers of tribes in the early genealogies of Genesis, often referred to in the sacred books. They are:—

1. A son of Raamah, son of Cush (Gen. x. 7; 1 Chr. i. 9).

2. (Alex. Σαβεύ, Σαβάν.) A son of Joktan (Gen. x. 28; 1 Chr. i. 22); the tenth in order of his sons.

3. (Σαβά, Σαβαΐ; Alex. Σαβάν, Σαβά.) A son of Jokshan, son of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 3; 1 Chr. i. 32).

We shall consider, first, the history of the Joktanite Sheba; and, secondly, the Cushite Sheba and the Keturahite Sheba together.

I. It has been shown, in ARABIA and other articles, that the Joktanites were among the early colonists of southern Arabia, and that the kingdom which they there founded was, for many centuries, called the kingdom of Sheba, after one of the sons of Joktan. They appear to have been preceded by an aboriginal race, which the Arabian historians describe as a people of gigantic stature, who cultivated the land and peopled the deserts alike, living with the Jinn in the "deserted quarter," or, like the tribe of Thamood, dwelling in caves. This people correspond, in their traditions, to the aboriginal races of whom remains are found wherever a civilized nation has supplanted and dispossessed the ruder race. But besides these extinct tribes, there are the evidences of Cushite settlers, who appear to have passed along the south coast from west to east, and who probably preceded the Joktanites, and mixed with them when they arrived in the country.

Sheba seems to have been the name of the great south Arabian kingdom and the peoples which composed it, until that of Himyer took its place in later times. On this point much obscurity remains; but the Sabaeans are mentioned by Diod. Sic., who refers to the historical books of the kings of Egypt in the Alexandrian Library, and by Eratosthenes, as well as Artemidorus, or Agatharchides (iii. 38, 46), who is Strabo's chief authority; and the Homeritae or Himyerites are first mentioned by Strabo, in the expedition of Aelius Gallus (B.C. 24). Nowhere earlier, in sacred or profane records, are the latter people mentioned, except by the Arabian historians themselves, who place Himyer very high in their list, and ascribe importance to his family from that early date. We have endeavoured, in other articles, to show reasons for supposing that in this very name of Himyer we have the Red Man, and the origin of Erythrus, Erythraean Sea, Phoenicians, &c. [See ARABIA; RED SEA.] The apparent difficulties of the case are reconciled by supposing, as M. Caussin de Perceval (*Essai*, i. 54-5) has done, that the kingdom and its people received the name of Sheba (*Arabic*, Sebà), but that its chief and sometimes reigning family or tribe was that of Himyer; and that an old name was thus preserved until the foundation of the modern kingdom of Himyer or the Tubbaas, which M. Caussin is inclined to place (but there is much uncertainty about this date) about a century before our era, when the two great rival families of Himyer and Kahlan, together with smaller tribes, were united under the former. In support of the view that the name of Sheba applied to the kingdom and its people as a generic or national name, we find in the *Kamoos* "the name of Seba comprises the tribes of the Yemen in common" (*s. v.* Sebà); and this was written long after the later kingdom of Himyer had flourished and fallen. And further, as Himyer meant the "Red Man," so probably did Sebà. In Arabic, the verb Sebà, سبا, said of the sun, or of a journey, or of a fever, means "it altered" a man, *i. e.* by turning him red; the noun sebà, as well as sibá and sebee-ah, signifies "wine" (*Táj el-'Aroos* MS.). The Arabian wine was red; for we read "kumeyt is a name of wine, because there is in it blackness and redness" (*Sihàh* MS.). It appears, then, that in Sebà we very possibly have the oldest name of the Red Man, whence came φοῖνιξ, Himyer, and Erythrus.

We have assumed the identity of the Arabic Sebà, سبا, with Sheba (שְׁבָא). The pl. form שְׁבָאִים corresponds with the Greek Σαβαῖος and the Latin Sabaei. Gesenius compares the Heb. with Eth. ሰብእ, "man." The Hebrew *shin* is, in by far the greater number of instances, *sin* in Arabic (see Gesenius); and the historical, ethnological, and geographical circumstances of the case, all require the identification.

In the Bible, the Joktanite Sheba, mentioned genealogically in Gen. x. 28, recurs, as a kingdom, in the account of the visit of the queen of Sheba to king Solomon, when she heard of his fame concerning the name of the Lord, and came to prove him with hard questions (1 K. x. 1); "and she came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold, and precious stones" (2). And, again, "she gave the king an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones: there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon" (10). She was attracted by the fame of Solomon's wisdom, which she had heard in her own land; but the dedication of the Temple had recently been solemnized, and, no doubt, the people of Arabia were desirous to see this famous house. That the queen was of Sheba in Arabia, and not of Seba the Cushite kingdom of Ethiopia, is unquestionable; Josephus and some of the rabbinical writers[a] perversely, as usual, refer her to the latter; and the Ethiopian (or Abyssinian) church has a convenient tradition to the same effect (comp. Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 6, §5; Ludolf, *Hist. Aethiop.* ii. 3; Harris' *Abyssinia*, ii. 105). The Arabs call her Bilkees (or Yelkamah or Balkamah; Ibn Khaldoon), a queen of the later Himyerites, who, if M. Caussin's chronological adjustments of the early history of the Yemen be correct, reigned in the first century of our era (*Essai*, i. 75, &c.); and an edifice at Ma-rib (Mariaba) still bears her name, while M. Fresnel read the name of "Almacah" or "Balmacah," in many of the Himyeritic inscriptions. The Arab story of this queen is, in the present state of our knowledge, altogether unhistorical and unworthy of credit; but the attempt to make her Solomon's queen of Sheba probably arose (as M. Caussin conjectures) from the latter being mentioned in the Kur-án without any name, and the commentators adopting Bilkees as the most ancient queen of Sheba in the lists of the Yemen. The Kur-án, as usual, contains a very poor version of

[a] Aben-Ezra (on Dan. xi. 6), however, remarks that the queen of Sheba came from the Yemen, for she spoke an Ishmaelite (or rather a Shemitic) language.

the Biblical narrative, diluted with nonsense and encumbered with fables (ch. xxvii. ver. 24, &c.).

The other passages in the Bible which seem to refer to the Joktanite Sheba occur in Is. lx. 6, where we read, "all they from Sheba shall come: they shall bring gold and incense," in conjunction with Midian, Ephah, Kedar, and Nebaioth. Here reference is made to the commerce that took the road from Sheba along the western borders of Arabia (unless, as is possible, the Cushite or Keturahite Sheba be meant); and again in Jer. vi. 20, it is written, "To what purpose cometh there to me incense from Sheba, and the sweet cane from a far country?" (but compare Ezek. xxvii. 22, 23, and see below). On the other hand, in Ps. lxxii. 10, the Joktanite Sheba is undoubtedly meant; for the kingdoms of Sheba and Seba are named together, and in ver. 15 the gold of Sheba is mentioned.

The kingdom of Sheba embraced the greater part of the Yemen, or Arabia Felix. Its chief cities, and probably successive capitals, were Seba, San'à (UZAL), and Zafár (SEPHAR). Seba was probably the name of the city, and generally of the country and nation; but the statements of the Arabian writers are conflicting on this point, and they are not made clearer by the accounts of the classical geographers. Ma-rib was another name of the city, or of the fortress or royal palace in it:—"Seba is a city known by the name of Ma-rib, three nights' journey from San'à" (Ez-Zejjáj, in the *Táj-el-'Aroos* MS.). Again, "Seba was the city of Ma-rib (*Mushtarak, s. v.*), or the country in the Yemen, of which the city was Ma-rib" (*Marásid, in voc.*). Near Sebà was the famous Dyke of El-'Arim, said by tradition to have been built by Lukmán the 'Adite, to store water for the inhabitants of the place, and to avert the descent of the mountain torrents. The catastrophe of the rupture of this dyke is an important point in Arab history, and marks the dispersion in the 2nd century of the Joktanite tribes. This, like all we know of Sebà, points irresistibly to the great importance of the city as the ancient centre of Joktanite power. Although Uzal (which is said to be the existing San'à) has been supposed to be of earlier foundation, and Zafár (SEPHAR) was a royal residence, we cannot doubt that Sebà was the most important of these chief towns of the Yemen. Its value in the eyes of the old dynasties is shown by their struggles to obtain and hold it; and it is narrated that it passed several times into the hands alternately of the so-called Himyerites and the people of Hadramäwt (HAZARMAVETH). Eratosthenes, Artemidorus, Strabo, and Pliny, speak of *Mariaba*; Diodorus, Agatharchides, Steph. Byzant., of *Saba*. Σαβαί (Steph. Byzant.). Σαβᾶς (Agath.). Ptol. (vi. 7, §30, 42), and Plin. (vi. 23, §34) mention Σάβη. But the former all say that Mariaba was the metropolis of the Sabaei; and we may conclude that both names applied to the same place, one the city, the other its palace or fortress (though probably these writers were not aware of this fact): unless indeed the form Sabota (with the variants Sabatha, Sobatale, &c.) of Pliny (*N. H.* vi. 28, §32), have reference to Shibám, capital of Hadramäwt, and the name also of another celebrated city, of which the Arabian writers (*Marásid*, s. v.) give curious accounts. The classics are generally agreed in ascribing to the Sabaei the chief riches, the best territory, and the greatest numbers, of the four principal peoples of the Arabs which they name: the Sabaei, Atramitae (=Hadramäwt, Katabeni (=Kahtan=Joktan), and Minaei (for which see DIKLAH). See Bochart (*Phaleg*, xxvi.), and Müller's *Geog. Min.* p. 186, sqq.

The history of the Sabaeans has been examined by M. Caussin de Perceval (*Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*), but much remains to be adjusted before its details can be received as trustworthy, the earliest safe chronological point being about the commencement of our era. An examination of the existing remains of Sabaean and Himyerite cities and buildings will, it cannot be doubted, add more facts to our present knowledge; and a further acquaintance with the language, from inscriptions, aided as M. Fresnel believes, by an existing dialect, will probably give us some safe grounds for placing the Building, or Era, of the Dyke. In the art. ARABIA, (vol. i. 96*b*), it is stated that there are dates on the ruins of the dyke, and the conclusions which De Sacy and Caussin have drawn from those dates and other indications respecting the date of the Rupture of the Dyke, which forms then an important point in Arabian history; but it must be placed in the 2nd century of our era, and the older era of the Building is altogether unfixed, or indeed any date before the expedition of Aelius Gallus. The ancient buildings are of massive masonry, and evidently of Cushite workmanship, or origin. Later temples, and palace-temples, of which the Arabs give us descriptions, were probably of less massive character; but Sabaean art is an almost unknown and interesting subject of inquiry. The religion celebrated in those temples was cosmic; but this subject is too obscure and too little known to admit of discussion in this place. It may be necessary to observe that whatever connexion there was in *religion* between the Sabeans and the Sabians, there was none in name or in race. Respecting the latter, the reader may consult Chwolson's *Ssabier*, a work that may be recommended with more confidence than the same author's *Nabathaean Agriculture*. [See NEBAIOTH.] Some curious papers have also appeared in the Journal of the German Oriental Society of Leipsic, by Dr. Osiander.

II. Sheba, son of Raamah son of Cush, settled somewhere on the shores of the Persian Gulf. In the *Marásid* (s. v.) the writer has found an identification which appears to be satisfactory—that on the island of Awál (one of the "Bahreyn Islands"), are the ruins of an ancient city called Sebà. Viewed in connexion with RAAMAH, and the other facts which we know respecting Sheba, traces of his settlements ought to be found on or near the shores of the gulf. It was this Sheba that carried on the great Indian traffic with Palestine, in conjunction with, as we hold, the other Sheba, son of Jokshan son of Keturah, who like DEDAN, appears to have formed with the Cushite of the same name, one tribe: the Cushites dwelling on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and carrying on the desert trade thence to Palestine in conjunction with the nomade Keturahite tribes, whose pasturages were mostly on the western frontier. The trade is mentioned by Ezek. xxvii. 22, 23, in an unmistakeable manner; and possibly by Isa. lx. 6, and Jer. vi. 20, but these latter, we think, rather refer to the Joktanite Sheba. The predatory bands of the Keturahites are mentioned in Job i. 15, and vi. 19, in a manner that recalls the forays of modern Bedawees. [Comp. ARABIA, DEDAN, &c.] [E. S. P.]

SHE'BA (שֶׁבַע: Σαμαα; Alex. Σαβεε: *Sabee*). One of the towns of the allotment of Simeon (Josh. xix. 2). It occurs between Beersheba and Moladah,

in the list of the cities of the south of Judah, out of which those of Simeon were selected, no Sheba appears apart from Beersheba; but there is a Shema (xv. 26) which stands next to Moladah, and which is probably the Sheba in question. This suggestion is supported by the reading of the Vatican LXX. The change from *b* to *m* is an easy one both in speaking and in writing, and in their other letters the words are identical. Some have supposed that the name Sheba is a mere repetition of the latter portion of the preceding name, Beersheba,—by the common error called *homoioteleuton*,—and this is supported by the facts that the number of names given in xix. 2-6 is, including Sheba, fourteen, though the number stated is thirteen, and that in the list of Simeon of 1 Chron. (iv. 28) Sheba is entirely omitted. Gesenius suggests that the words in xix. 2 may be rendered "Beersheba, the town, with Sheba, the well;" but this seems forced, and is besides inconsistent with the fact that the list is a list of "cities." *Thes.* 1355 *a*, where other suggestions are cited. [G.]

SHE'BAH (שִׁבְעָה, *i. e.* Shibeâh: ὅρκος: *Abundantia*). The famous well which gave its name to the city of Beersheba (Gen. xxvi. 33). According to this version of the occurrence, Shebah, or more accurately Shibeah, was the fourth of the series of wells dug by Isaac's people, and received its name from him, apparently in allusion to the oaths (31, יִשְׁבָּעוּ, *yisshâbe'û*) which had passed between himself and the Philistine chieftains the day before. It should not be overlooked that according to the narrative of an earlier chapter the well owed its existence and its name to Isaac's father (xxi. 32). Indeed its previous existence may be said to be implied in the narrative now directly under consideration (xxvi. 23). The two transactions are curiously identical in many of their circumstances—the rank and names of the Philistine chieftains, the strife between the subordinates on either side, the covenant, the adjurations, the city that took its name from the well. They differ alone in the fact that the chief figure in the one case is Abraham, in the other Isaac. Some commentators, as Kalisch (*Gen.* 500), looking to the fact that there are two large wells at *Bir es Seba*, propose to consider the two transactions as distinct, and as belonging the one to the one well, the other to the other. Others see in the two narratives merely two versions of the circumstances under which this renowned well was first dug. And certainly in the analogy of the early history of other nations, and in the very close correspondence between the details of the two accounts, there is much to support this. The various plays on the meaning of the name שבע, interpreting it as "seven"—as an "oath"—as "abundance"[a]—as "a lion"[b]— are all so many direct testimonies to the remote date and archaic form of this most venerable of names, and to the fact that the narratives of the early history of the Hebrews are under the control of the same laws which regulate the early history of other nations. [G.]

SHEBA'M (שִׁבָּם, *i.e.* Sebâm: Σεβαμά: *Saban*). One of the towns in the pastoral district on the east of Jordan—the "land of Jazer and the land of Gilead"—demanded, and finally ceded to the tribes of Reuben and Gad (Num. xxxii. 3, only). It is named between Elealeh and Nebo, and is probably the same which in a subsequent verse of the chapter, and on later occasions, appears in the altered forms of SHIBMAH and SIBMAH. The change from Sebam to Sibmah, is perhaps due to the difference between the Amorite or Moabite and Hebrew languages. [G.]

SHEBANI'AH (שְׁבַנְיָה: Σεχενία; Alex. Σαχανία in Neh. ix., Σαβανία in Neh. x.: *Sabania, Sebnia* in Neh. ix., *Sebenia* in Neh. x.).

1. A Levite in the time of Ezra, one of those who stood upon the steps of the Levites and sang the psalm of thanksgiving and confession, which is one of the last efforts of Hebrew psalmody (Neh. ix. 4, 5). He sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 10). In the LXX. of Neh. ix. 4 he is made the son of Sherebiah.

2. (Σεβανί in Neh. x., Σεχενία in Neh. xii. 14: *Sebenia.*) A priest, or priestly family, who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 4, xii. 14). Called SHECHANIAH in Neh. xii. 3.

3. (Σεβανιά: *Sabania.*) Another Levite who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 12).

4. (שְׁבַנְיָהוּ: Σομνία; Alex. Σωβενία: *Sebenias.*) One of the priests appointed by David to blow with the trumpets before the ark of God (1 Chr. xv. 24). [W. A. W.]

SHEB'ARIM (הַשְּׁבָרִים, with the def. article: συντέριψαν: *Sabarim*). A place named in Josh. vii. 5 only, as one of the points in the flight from Ai. The root of the word has the force of "dividing" or "breaking," and it is therefore suggested that the name was attached to a spot where there were fissures or rents in the soil, gradually deepening till they ended in a sheer descent or precipice to the ravine by which the Israelites had come from Gilgal —"the going down" (הַמּוֹרָד; see verse 5 and the margin of the A. V.). The ground around the site of Ai, on any hypothesis of its locality, was very much of this character. No trace of the name has, however, been yet remarked.

Keil (*Josua*, ad loc.) interprets Shebarim by "stone quarries;" but this does not appear to be supported by other commentators or by lexicographers. The ancient interpreters usually discard it as a proper name, and render it "till they were broken up," &c. [G.]

SHEB'ER (שֶׁבֶר: Σαβέρ; Alex. Σεβέρ: *Saber*). Son of Caleb ben-Hezron by his concubine Maachah (1 Chr. ii. 48).

SHEB'NA (שְׁבְנָא: Σομνάς: *Sobnas*). A person of high position in Hezekiah's court, holding at one time the office of prefect of the palace (Is. xxii. 15), but subsequently the subordinate office of secretary (Is. xxxvi. 3; 2 K. xix. 2). This change appears to have been effected by Isaiah's interposition; for Shebna had incurred the prophet's extreme displeasure, partly on account of his pride (Is. xxii. 16), his luxury (ver. 18), and his tyranny (as implied in the title of "father" bestowed on his successor, ver. 21), and partly (as appears from his successor being termed a "servant of Jehovah," ver. 20) on account of his belonging to the political party which was opposed to the theocracy, and in

[a] This is Jerome's (*Quaest. in Genesim* and *Vulgate*); as if the word was שִׁבְעָה, as in Ez. xvi. 49.

[b] The modern Arabic *Bir es-Seba'*

favour of the Egyptian alliance. From the omission of the usual notice of his father's name, it has been conjectured that he was a *novus homo*. [W. L. B.]

SHEB'UEL (שְׁבוּאֵל: Σουβαήλ: *Subuel, Subaël*). 1. A descendant of Gershom (1 Chr. xxiii. xxvi. 24), who was ruler of the treasures of the house of God; called also SHUBAEL (1 Chr. xxiv. 20). The Targum of 1 Chr. xxvi. 24 has a strange piece of confusion: "And Shebuel, that is, Jonathan the son of Gershom the son of Moses, returned to the fear of Jehovah, and when David saw that he was skilful in money matters he appointed him chief over the treasures." He is the last descendant of Moses of whom there is any trace.

2. One of the fourteen sons of Heman the minstrel (1 Chr. xxv. 4); called also SHUBAEL (1 Chr. xxv. 20), which was the reading of the LXX. and Vulgate. He was chief of the thirteenth band of twelve in the Temple choir.

SHECANI'AH (שְׁכַנְיָהוּ: Σεχενίας: *Sechenia*). 1. The tenth in order of the priests who were appointed by lot in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 11).

2. (Σεχονίας: *Sechenias*.) A priest in the reign of Hezekiah, one of those appointed in the cities of the priests to distribute to their brethren their daily portion for their service (2 Chr. xxxi. 15).

SHECHANI'AH (שְׁכַנְיָה: Σεχενίας: *Sechenias*). 1. A descendant of Zerubbabel of the line royal of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 21, 22).

2. (Ζαχαρίας.) Some descendants of Shechaniah appear to have returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 3). He is called SECHENIAS in 1 Esd. viii. 29.

3. (Σεχενίας.) The sons of Shechaniah were another family who returned with Ezra, three hundred strong, with the son of Jahaziel at their head (Ezr. viii. 5). In this verse some name appears to have been omitted. The LXX. has "of the sons of Zathoe, Sechenias the son of Aziel," and in this it is followed by 1 Esd. viii. 32, "of the sons of Zathoe, Sechenias the son of Jezelus." Perhaps the reading should be: "of the sons of Zattu, Shechaniah, the son of Jahaziel."

4. The son of Jehiel of the sons of Elam, who proposed to Ezra to put an end to the foreign marriages which had been contracted after the return from Babylon (Ezr. x. 2).

5. The father of Shemaiah the keeper of the east gate of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 29).

6. The son of Arah, and father-in-law to Tobiah the Ammonite (Neh. vi. 18).

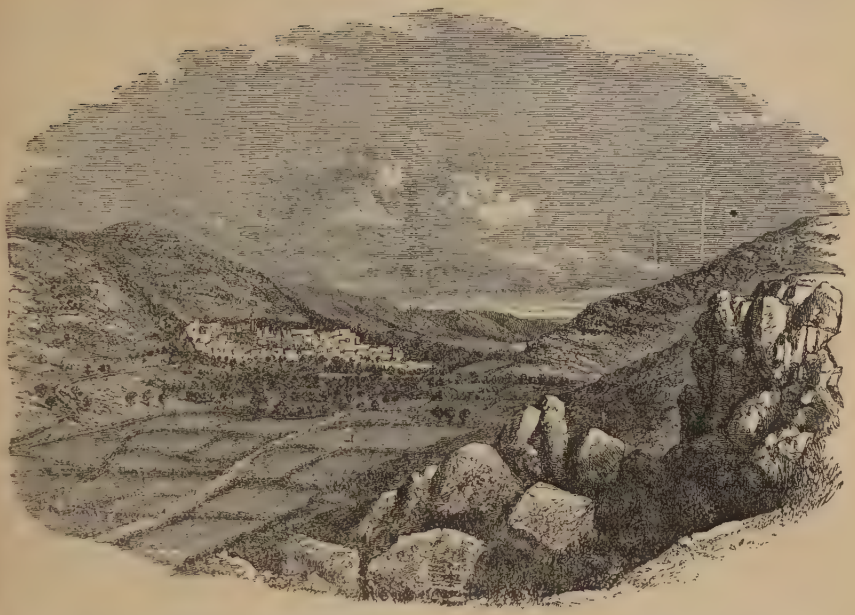
7. (Σεχενία: *Sebenias*.) The head of a priestly family who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 3). He is also called SHEBANIAH, and SHECANIAH, and was tenth in order of the priests in the reign of David.

SHECH'EM (שְׁכֶם, "shoulder," "ridge," like *dorsum* in Latin: Συχέμ in most passages, but also ἡ Σίκιμα in 1 K. xii. 25, and τὰ Σίκιμα, as in Josh. xxiv. 32, the form used by Josephus and Eusebius, with still other variations: *Sichem*). There may be some doubt respecting the origin of the name. It has been made a question whether the place was so called from Shechem, the son of Hamor, head of their tribe in the time of Jacob (Gen xxxiii. 18, sq.), or whether he received his name from the city. The import of the name favours, certainly, the latter supposition, since the position of the place on the "saddle" or "shoulder" of the heights which divide the waters there that flow to the Mediterranean on the west and the Jordan on the east, would naturally originate such a name; and the name, having been thus introduced, would be likely to appear again and again in the family of the hereditary rulers of the city or region. The name, too, if first given to the city in the time of Hamor, would have been taken, according to historical analogy, from the father rather than the son. Some interpret Gen. xxiii. 18, 19 as showing that Shechem in that passage may have been called also Shalem. But this opinion has no support except from that passage; and the meaning even there more naturally is, that Jacob came *in safety* to Shechem (שָׁלֵם, as an adjective, *safe*; comp. Gen. xviii. 21); or (as recognised in the Eng. Bible) that Shalem belonged to Shechem as a dependent tributary village. [SHALEM.] The name is also given in the Auth. Version in the form of SICHEM, and SYCHEM, to which, as well as SYCHAR, the reader is referred.

The etymology of the Hebrew word *shecêm* indicates, at the outset, that the place was situated on some mountain or hill-side; and that presumption agrees with Josh. xx. 7, which places it in Mount Ephraim (see, also, 1 K. xii. 25), and with Judg. ix. 9, which represents it as under the summit of Gerizim, which belonged to the Ephraim range. The other Biblical intimations in regard to its situation are only indirect. They are worth noticing, though no great stress be laid on them. Thus, for example, Shechem must have been not far from Shiloh, since Shiloh is said (Judg. xxi. 1) to be a little to the east of "the highway" which led from Bethel to Shechem. Again, if Shalem in Gen. xxxiii. 18 be a proper name, as our version assumes, and identical with the present *Salîm* on the left of the plain of the *Mukhna*, then Shechem, which is said to be east of *Shalim*, must have been among the hills on the opposite side. Further, Shechem, as we learn from Joseph's history (Gen. xxxvii. 12, &c.), must have been near Dothan; and, assuming Dothan to be the place of that name a few miles north-east of *Nâbulus*, Shechem must have been among the same mountains, not far distant. So, too, as the Sychar in John iv. 5 was probably the ancient Shechem, that town must have been near Mount Gerizim, to which the Samaritan woman pointed or glanced as she stood by the well at its foot.

But the historical and traditional data which exist outside of the Bible are abundant and decisive. Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, §44) describes Shechem as between Gerizim and Ebal: τῆς Σικίμων πόλεως μεταξὺ δυοῖν ὀροῖν, Γαριζαίου μὲν τοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν κειμένου, τοῦ δ' ἐκ λαιῶν Γιβάλου προσαγορευομένου. The present *Nâbulus* is a corruption merely of Neapolis; and Neapolis succeeded the more ancient Shechem. All the early writers who touch on the topography of Palestine, testify to this identity of the two. Josephus usually retains the old name, but has Neapolis in *B. J.* iv. 8, §1.

[a] From the foot of the mountains on either side of the town can be discerned on the one hand the range beyond Jordan Valley, and on the other the blue waters of the Mediterranean. The latter appears in the illustration to this article.



The Valley and Town of *Nâbus*, the ancient Shechem, from the South-western flank of Mount Ebal, looking Westward. The mountain on the left is Gerizim. The Mediterranean is discernible in the distance. From a sketch by W. Tipping, Esq.

Epiphanius says (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 1055): ἐν Σικίμοις, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἐν τῇ νυνὶ Νεάπολει. Jerome says in the *Epit. Paulae*: "Transivit Sichem, quae nunc Neapolis appellatur." The city received its new name (Νεάπολις = *Nâbulus*) from Vespasian, and on coins still extant (Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* iii. 433) is called Flavia Neapolis. It had been laid waste, in all probability, during the Jewish war; and the overthrow had been so complete that, contrary to what is generally true in such instances, of the substitution of a foreign name for the native one, the original appellation of Shechem never regained its currency among the people of the country. Its situation accounts for another name which it bore among the natives, while it was known chiefly as Neapolis to foreigners. It is nearly midway between Judaea and Galilee; and, it being customary to make four stages of the journey between those provinces, the second day's halt occurs most conveniently at this place. Being *thus* a "thoroughfare" (= מַעֲבַרְתָּא) on this important route, it was called[b] also Μαβορθά or Μαβαρθά, as Josephus states (*B. J.* iv. 8, §1). He says there that Vespasian marched from Ammaûs, διὰ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ παρὰ τὴν Νεάπολιν καλουμένην, Μαβορθὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. Pliny (*H. N.* v. 13) writes the same name "Mamortha." Others would restrict the term somewhat, and understand it rather of the "pass" or "gorge" through the mountains where the town was situated (Ritter's *Erdkunde, Pal.* 846).

The ancient town, in its most flourishing age, may have filled a wider circuit than its modern representative. It could easily have extended further up the side of Gerizim, and eastward nearer to the opening into the valley from the plain. But any great change in this respect, certainly the idea of an altogether different position, the natural conditions of the locality render doubtful. That the suburbs of the town, in the age of Christ, approached nearer than at present to the entrance into the valley between Gerizim and Ebal, may be inferred from the implied vicinity of Jacob's well to Sychar, in John's narrative (iv. 1, sq.). The impression made there on the reader is, that the people could be readily seen as they came forth from the town to repair to Jesus at the well, whereas *Nâbulus* is more than a mile distant, and not visible from that point. The present inhabitants have a belief or tradition that Shechem occupied a portion of the valley on the east beyond the limits of the modern town; and certain travellers speak of ruins there, which they regard as evidence of the same fact. The statement of Eusebius that Sychar lay east of Neapolis, may be explained by the circumstance, that the part of Neapolis in that quarter had fallen into such a state of ruin when he lived, as to be mistaken for the site of a separate town (see Reland's *Palaest.* 1004). The portion of the town on the edge of the plain was more exposed than that in the recess of the valley, and, in the natural course of things, would be destroyed first, or be left to desertion and decay. Josephus says that more than ten thousand Samaritans (inhabitants of Shechem are meant) were destroyed by the Romans on one occasion (*B. J.* iii. 7, §32). The population, therefore, must have been much greater than *Nâbulus* with its present dimensions would contain.

[b] This happy conjecture, in explanation of a name which baffled even the ingenious Reland, is due to Olshausen (Ritter as above).

The situation of the town is one of surpassing beauty. "The land of Syria," said Mohammed, "is beloved by Allah beyond all lands, and the part of Syria which He loveth most is the district of Jerusalem, and the place which He loveth most in the district of Jerusalem is the mountain of Nâblus" (*Fundgr. des Orients*, ii. 139). Its appearance has called forth the admiration of all travellers who have any sensibility to the charms of nature. It lies in a sheltered valley, protected by Gerizim on the south, and Ebal on the north. The feet of these mountains, where they rise from the town, are not more than five hundred yards apart. The bottom of the valley is about 1800 feet above the level of the sea, and the top of Gerizim 800 feet higher still. Those who have been at Heidelberg will assent to O. von Richter's remark, that the scenery, as viewed from the foot of the hills, is not unlike that of the beautiful German town. The site of the present city, which we believe to have been also that of the Hebrew city, occurs exactly on the water-summit; and streams issuing from the numerous springs there, flow down the opposite slopes of the valley, spreading verdure and fertility in every direction. Travellers vie with each other in the language which they employ to describe the scene that bursts here so suddenly upon them on arriving in spring or early summer at this paradise of the Holy Land. The somewhat sterile aspect of the adjacent mountains becomes itself a foil, as it were, to set off the effect of the verdant fields and orchards which fill up the valley. "There is nothing finer in all Palestine," says Dr. Clarke, "than a view of *Nâbulus* from the heights around it. As the traveller descends towards it from the hills, it appears luxuriantly embosomed in the most delightful and fragrant bowers, half concealed by rich gardens and by stately trees collected into groves, all around the bold and beautiful valley in which it stands." "The whole valley," says Dr. Robinson, "was filled with gardens of vegetables, and orchards of all kinds of fruits, watered by fountains, which burst forth in various parts and flow westwards in refreshing streams. It came upon us suddenly like a scene of fairy enchantment. We saw nothing to compare with it in all Palestine. Here, beneath the shadow of an immense mulberry-tree, by the side of a purling rill, we pitched our tent for the remainder of the day and the night. . . . We rose early, awakened by the songs of nightingales and other birds, of which the gardens around us were full." "There is no wilderness here," says Van de Velde (i. 386), "there are no wild thickets, yet there is always verdure, always shade, not of the oak, the terebinth, and the caroub-tree, but of the olive-grove, so soft in colour, so picturesque in form, that, for its sake, we can willingly dispense with all other wood. There is a singularity about the vale of Shechem, and that is the peculiar colouring which objects assume in it. You know that wherever there is water the air becomes charged with watery particles, and that distant objects beheld through that medium seem to be enveloped in a pale blue or gray mist, such as contributes not a little to give a charm to the landscape. But it is precisely those atmospheric tints that we miss so much in Palestine. Fiery tints are to be seen both in the morning and the evening, and glittering violet or purple coloured hues where the light falls next to the long, deep shadows; but there is an absence of colouring, and of that charming dusky hue in which objects assume such softly blended forms, and in which also the transition in colour from the foreground to the farthest distance loses the hardness of outline peculiar to the perfect transparency of an eastern sky. It is otherwise in the vale of Shechem, at least in the morning and the evening. Here the exhalations remain hovering among the branches and leaves of the olive-trees, and hence that lovely bluish haze. The valley is far from broad, not exceeding in some places a few hundred feet. This you find generally enclosed on all sides; here, likewise, the vapours are condensed. And so you advance under the shade of the foliage, along the living waters, and charmed by the melody of a host of singing birds—for they, too, know where to find their best quarters—while the perspective fades away and is lost in the damp, vapoury atmosphere." Apart entirely from the historic interest of the place, such are the natural attractions of this favourite resort of the patriarchs of old, such the beauty of the scenery, and the indescribable air of tranquillity and repose which hangs over the scene, that the traveller, anxious as he may be to hasten forward in his journey, feels that he would gladly linger, and could pass here days and weeks without impatience.

The allusions to Shechem in the Bible are numerous, and show how important the place was in Jewish history. Abraham, on his first migration to the Land of Promise, pitched his tent and built an altar under the [c] Oak (or Terebinth) of Moreh at Shechem. "The Canaanite was then in the land;" and it is evident that the region, if not the city, was already in possession of the aboriginal race (see Gen. xii. 6). Some have inferred from the expression, "place of Shechem," (מְקוֹם שְׁכֶם), that it was not inhabited as a city in the time of Abraham. But we have the same expression used of cities or towns in other instances (Gen. xviii. 24, xix. 12, xxix. 22); and it may have been interchanged here, without any difference of meaning, with the phrase, "city of Shechem," which occurs in xxxiii. 18. A position affording such natural advantages would hardly fail to be occupied, as soon as any population existed in the country. The narrative shows incontestably that at the time of Jacob's arrival here, after his sojourn in Mesopotamia (Gen. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv.), Shechem was a Hivite city, of which Hamor, the father of Shechem, was the head-man. It was at this time that the patriarch purchased from that chieftain "the parcel of the field," which he subsequently bequeathed, as a special patrimony, to his son Joseph (Gen. xliii. 22; Josh. xxiv. 32; John iv. 5). The field lay undoubtedly on the rich plain of the *Mukhna*, and its value was the greater on account of the well which Jacob had dug there, so as not to be dependent on his neighbours for a supply of water. The defilement of Dinah, Jacob's daughter, and the capture of Shechem and massacre of all

[c] The rendering "plains of Moreh" in the Auth. Vers. is incorrect. The Samaritan Pentateuch translates אֵלָה in Gen. xxxv. 4 "bow" or "arch;" and on the basis of that error the Samaritans at *Nâbulus* show a structure of that sort under an acclivity of Gerizim, which they say was the spot where Jacob buried the Mesopotamian idols.

the male inhabitants by Simeon and Levi, are events that belong to this period (Gen. xxxiv. 1 sq.). As this bloody act, which Jacob so entirely condemned (Gen. xxxiv. 30) and reprobated with his dying breath (Gen. xlix. 5-7), is ascribed to two persons, some urge that as evidence of the very insignificant character of the town at the time of that transaction. But the argument is by no means decisive. Those sons of Jacob were already at the head of households of their own, and may have had the support, in that achievement, of their numerous slaves and retainers. We speak, in like manner, of a commander as taking this or that city, when we mean that it was done under his leadership. The oak under which Abraham had worshipped, survived to Jacob's time; and the latter, as he was about to remove to Bethel, collected the images and amulets which some of his family had brought with them from Padan-aram, and buried them "under the oak which was by Shechem" (Gen. xxxv. 1-4). The "oak of the monument" (if we adopt that rendering of אֵלוֹן מְצֵבָה in Judg. ix. 6), where the Shechemites made Abimelech king, marked, perhaps, the veneration with which the Hebrews looked back to these earliest footsteps (the *incunabula gentis*) of the patriarchs in the Holy Land.[a] During Jacob's sojourn at Hebron, his sons, in the course of their pastoral wanderings, drove their flocks to Shechem, and at Dothan, in that neighbourhood, Joseph, who had been sent to look after their welfare, was seized and sold to the Ishmaelites (Gen. xxxvii. 12, 28). In the distribution of the land after its conquest by the Hebrews, Shechem fell to the lot of Ephraim (Josh. xx. 7), but was assigned to the Levites, and became a city of refuge (Josh. xxi. 20, 21). It acquired new importance as the scene of the renewed promulgation of the Law, when its blessings were heard from Gerizim and its curses from Ebal, and the people bowed their heads and acknowledged Jehovah as their king and ruler (Deut. xxvii. 11; and Josh. ix. 33-35). It was here Joshua assembled the people, shortly before his death, and delivered to them his last counsels (Josh. xxiv. 1, 25). After the death of Gideon, Abimelech, his bastard son, induced the Shechemites to revolt from the Hebrew commonwealth and elect him as king (Judg. ix.). It was to denounce this act of usurpation and treason that Jotham delivered his parable of the trees to the men of Shechem from the top of Gerizim, as recorded at length in Judg. ix. 22 sq. The picturesque traits of the allegory, as Prof. Stanley suggests (*S. & P.* 236; *Jewish Church*, 348), are strikingly appropriate to the diversified foliage of the region. In revenge for his expulsion, after a reign of three years, Abimelech destroyed the city, and, as an emblem of the fate to which he would consign it, sowed the ground with salt (Judg. ix. 34-45). It was soon restored, however, for we are told in 1 K. xii. that all Israel assembled at Shechem, and Rehoboam, Solomon's successor, went thither to be inaugurated as king. Its central position made it convenient for such assemblies; its history was fraught with recollections which would give the sanctions of religion as well as of patriotism to the vows of sovereign and people. The new king's obstinacy made him insensible to such influences. Here, at this same place, the ten tribes renounced the house of David, and transferred their allegiance to Jeroboam (1 K. xii. 16), under whom Shechem became for a time the capital of his kingdom. We come next to the epoch of the exile. The people of Shechem doubtless shared the fate of the other inhabitants, and were, most of them at least, carried into captivity (2 K. xvii. 5, 6, xviii. 9 sq.). But Shalmaneser, the conqueror, sent colonies from Babylonia to occupy the place of the exiles (2 K. xvii. 24). It would seem that there was another influx of strangers, at a later period, under Esar-haddon (Ezr. iv. 2). The "certain men from Shechem," mentioned in Jer. xli. 5, who were slain on their way to Jerusalem, were possibly Cuthites, *i. e.* Babylonian immigrants who had become proselytes or worshippers of Jehovah (see Hitzig, *Der Proph. Jer.* p. 331). These Babylonian settlers in the land, intermixed no doubt to some extent with the old inhabitants, were the Samaritans, who erected at length a rival temple on Gerizim (B.C. 300), and between whom and the Jews a bitter hostility existed for so many ages (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 1, §1, xiii. 3, §4). The Son of Sirach (l. 26) says, that "a foolish people," *i. e.* the Samaritans, "dwelt at Shechem" (τὰ Σίκιμα). From its vicinity to their place of worship, it became the principal city of the Samaritans, a rank which it maintained at least till the destruction of their temple, about B.C. 129, a period of nearly two hundred years (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9, §1; *B. J.* i. 2, 6). It is unnecessary to pursue this sketch further. From the time of the origin of the Samaritans, the history of Shechem blends itself with that of this people and of their sacred mount, Gerizim; and the reader will find the proper information on this part of the subject under those heads (see Herzog, *Real-Encyk.* xiii. 362.) [SAMARIA, SAMARITAN PENT.]

As intimated already, Shechem reappears in the New Testament. It is the Sychar of John iv. 5, near which the Saviour conversed with the Samaritan woman at Jacob's Well. Συχάρ, as the place is termed there (Συχάρ in *Rec. Text* is incorrect), found only in that passage, was, no doubt, current among the Jews in the age of Christ, and was either a term of reproach (שֶׁקֶר, "a lie") with reference to the Samaritan faith and worship, or, possibly, a provincial mispronunciation of that period (see Lücke's *Comm. üb. Johan.* i. 577). The Saviour, with His disciples, remained two days at Sychar on His journey from Judaea to Galilee. He preached the Word there, and many of the people believed on Him (John iv. 39, 40). In Acts vii. 16, Stephen reminds his hearers that certain of the patriarchs (meaning Joseph, as we see in Josh. xxiv. 32, and following, perhaps, some tradition as to Jacob's other sons) were buried at Sychem. Jerome, who lived so long hardly more than a day's journey from Shechem, says that the tombs of the twelve

[a] Here again the Auth. Vers., which renders "the plain of the pillar," is certainly wrong. It will not answer to insist on the explanation suggested in the text of the article. The Hebrew expression may refer to "the stone" which Joshua erected at Shechem as a witness of the covenant between God and His people (Josh. xxiv. 26), or may mean "the oak of the garrison," *i. e.* the one where a military post was established. (See Gesen. *Heb. Lex.* s. v.) [PILLAR, PLAIN OF, THE, p. 877 *a*.]

patriarchs were to be seen[e] there in his day. The anonymous[f] city in Acts viii. 5, where Philip preached with such effect, may have been Sychem, though many would refer that narrative to Samaria, the capital of the province. It is interesting to remember that Justin Martyr, who follows so soon after the age of the Apostles, was born at Shechem.

It only remains to add a few words relating more especially to *Nâbulus*, the heir, under a different name, of the site and honours of the ancient Shechem. It would be inexcusable not to avail ourselves here of some recent observations of Dr. Rosen, in the *Zeitschr. der D. M. Gesellschaft* for 1860 (pp. 622-639). He has inserted in that journal a careful plan of *Nâbulus* and the environs, with various accompanying remarks. The population consists of about five thousand, among whom are five hundred Greek Christians, one hundred and fifty Samaritans, and a few Jews. The enmity between the Samaritans and Jews is as inveterate still, as it was in the days of Christ. The Mohammedans, of course, make up the bulk of the population. The main street follows the line of the valley from east to west, and contains a well-stocked bazaar. Most of the other streets cross this: here are the smaller shops and the workstands of the artisans. Most of the streets are narrow and dark, as the houses hang over them on arches, very much as in the closest parts of Cairo. The houses are of stone, and of the most ordinary style, with the exception of those of the wealthy sheikhs of Samaria who live here. There are no public buildings of any note. The *Keniseh* or synagogue of the Samaritans is a small edifice, in the interior of which there is nothing remarkable, unless it be an alcove, screened by a curtain, in which their sacred writings are kept. The structure may be three or four centuries old. A description and sketch plan of it is given in Mr. Grove's paper *On the modern Samaritans* in *Vacation Tourists* for 1861. *Nâbulus* has five mosks, two of which, according to a tradition in which Mohammedans, Christians, and Samaritans agree, were originally churches. One of them, it is said, was dedicated to John the Baptist; its eastern portal, still well preserved, shows the European taste of its founders. The domes of the houses and the minarets, as they show themselves above the sea of luxuriant vegetation which surrounds them, present a striking view to the traveller approaching from the east or the west.

Dr. Rosen says that the inhabitants boast of the existence of not less than eighty springs of water within and around the city. He gives the names of twenty-seven of the principal of them. One of the most remarkable among them is *'Ain el-Kerun*, which rises in the town under a vaulted dome, to which a long flight of steps leads down, from which the abundant water is conveyed by canals to two of the mosks and many of the private houses, and after that serves to water the gardens on the north side of the city. The various streams derived from this and other fountains, after being distributed thus among the gardens, fall at length into a single channel and turn a mill, kept going summer and winter. Of the fountains out of the city, three only belong to the eastern water-shed. One of them, *'Ain Balâta*, close to the hamlet of that name, rises in a partly subterranean chamber supported by three pillars, hardly a stone's throw from Jacob's Well, and is so large, that Dr. Rosen observed small fish in it. Another, *'Ain 'Askar*, issues from an arched passage which leads into the base of Ebal, and flows thence into a tank enclosed by hewn stone, the workmanship of which, as well as the archway, indicates an ancient origin. The third, *'Ain Defna*, which comes from the same mountain, reminds us, by its name (Δάφνη), of the time when Shechem was called Neapolis. Some of the gardens are watered from the fountains, while others have a soil so moist as not to need such irrigation. The olive, as in the days when Jotham delivered his famous parable, is still the principal tree. Figs, almonds, walnuts, mulberries, grapes, oranges, apricots, pomegranates, are abundant. The valley of the Nile itself hardly surpasses *Nâbulus* in the production of vegetables of every sort.

Being, as it is, the gateway of the trade between *Jaffa* and *Beirût* on the one side, and the trans-Jordanic districts on the other, and the centre also of a province so rich in wool, grain, and oil, *Nâbulus* becomes, necessarily, the seat of an active commerce, and of a comparative luxury to be found in very few of the inland Oriental cities. It produces, in its own manufactories, many of the coarser woollen fabrics, delicate silk goods, cloth of camel's hair, and especially soap, of which last commodity large quantities, after supplying the immediate country, are sent to Egypt and other parts of the East. The ashes and other sediments thrown out of the city, as the result of the soap manufacture, have grown to the size of hills, and give to the environs of the town a peculiar aspect.

Rosen, during his stay at *Nâbulus*, examined anew the Samaritan inscriptions found there, supposed to be among the oldest written monuments in Palestine. He has furnished, as Professor Rödiger admits, the best copy of them that has been taken (see a fac-simile in *Zeitschrift*, as above, p. 621). The inscriptions on stone-tablets, distinguished in his account as No. 1 and No. 2, belonged originally to a Samaritan synagogue which stood just out of the city, near the Samaritan quarter, of which synagogue a few remains only are now left. They are thought to be as old at least as the age of Justinian, who (A.D. 529) destroyed so many of the Samaritan places of worship. Some, with less reason, think they may have been saved from the temple on Gerizim, having been transferred afterwards to a later synagogue. One of the tablets is now inserted in the wall of a minaret; the other was discovered not long ago in a heap of rubbish not far from it. The inscriptions consist of brief extracts from the Samaritan Pentateuch, probably valuable as palaeographic documents.

Similar slabs are to be found built into the walls of several of the sanctuaries in the neighbourhood of *Nâbulus*; as at the tombs of Eleazar, Phinehas, and Ithamar at *Awertah*.

This account would be incomplete without some mention of the two spots in the neighbourhood of

[e] Probably at the *Rejel el Amûd*, a *wely* at the foot of Gerizim, east of the city, which is still believed to contain the remains of forty eminent Jewish saints (Rosen, as above). Dr. Stanley appears to have been the first to notice the possible connexion between the name *Amûd*, "pillar," attached to this *wely*, as well as to one on the west end of Ebal, and the old Hebrew locality the "oak of the Pillar."

[f] The Auth. Vers. inaccurately adds the article. It is simply "a city of Samaria."

Nâbulus which bear the names of the Well of Jacob and the Tomb of Joseph. Of these the former is the more remarkable. It lies about a mile and a half east of the city, close to the lower road, and just beyond the wretched hamlet of *Balâta*. Among the Mohammedans and Samaritans it is known as *Bîr el-Yakûb*, or *'Ain-Yakûb*; the Christians sometimes call it *Bîr es-Samariyeh*—"the well of the Samaritan woman." "A low spur projects from the base of Gerizim in a north-eastern direction, between the plain and the opening of the valley. On the point of this spur is a little mound of shapeless ruins, with several fragments of granite columns. Beside these is the well. Formerly there was a square hole opening into a carefully-built vaulted chamber, about 10 feet square, in the floor of which was the true mouth of the well. Now a portion of the vault has fallen in and completely covered up the mouth, so that nothing can be seen above but a shallow pit half filled with stones and rubbish. The well is deep—75 ft.[a] when last measured—and there was probably a considerable accumulation of rubbish at the bottom. Sometimes it contains a few feet of water, but at others it is quite dry. It is entirely excavated in the solid rock, perfectly round, 9 ft. in diameter, with the sides hewn smooth and regular" (Porter, *Handbook*, 340). "It has every claim to be considered the original well, sunk deep into the rocky ground by 'our father Jacob.'" This at least was the tradition of the place in the last days of the Jewish people (John iv. 6, 12). And its position adds probability to the conclusion, indicating, as has been well observed, that it was there dug by one who could not trust to the springs so near in the adjacent vale—the springs of *'Ain Balâta* and *'Ain Defneh*—which still belonged to the Canaanites. Of all the special localities of our Lord's life, this is almost the only one absolutely undisputed. "The tradition, in which by a singular coincidence Jews and Samaritans, Christians and Mohammedans, all agree, goes back," says Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 284), "at least to the time of Eusebius, in the early part of the 4th century. That writer indeed speaks only of the sepulchre; but the Bourdeaux Pilgrim in A.D. 333, mentions also the well; and neither of these writers has any allusion to a church. But Jerome in *Epitaphium Paulae*, which is referred to A.D. 404, makes her visit the church erected at the side of Mount Gerizim around the well of Jacob, where our Lord met the Samaritan woman. The church would seem therefore to have been built during the 4th century; though not by Helena, as is reported in modern times. It was visited and is mentioned, as around the well, by Antoninus Martyr near the close of the 6th century; by Arculfus a century later, who describes it as built in the form of a cross; and again by St. Willibald in the 8th century. Yet Saewulf about A.D. 1103, and Phocas in 1185, who speak of the well, make no mention of the church; whence we may conclude that the latter had been destroyed before the period of the crusades. Brocardus speaks of ruins around the well, blocks of marble and columns, which he held to be the ruins of a town, the ancient Thebez; they were probably those of the church, to which he makes no allusion. Other travellers, both of that age and later, speak of the church only as destroyed, and the well as already deserted. Before the days of Eusebius, there seems to be no historical testimony to show the identity of this well with that which our Saviour visited; and the proof must therefore rest, so far as it can be made out at all, on circumstantial evidence. I am not aware of anything, in the nature of the case, that goes to contradict the common tradition; but, on the other hand, I see much in the circumstances, tending to confirm the supposition that this is actually the spot where our Lord held his conversation with the Samaritan woman. Jesus was journeying from Jerusalem to Galilee, and rested at the well, while 'his disciples were gone away into the city to buy meat.' The well therefore lay apparently before the city, and at some distance from it. In passing along the eastern plain, Jesus had halted at the well, and sent his disciples to the city situated in the narrow valley, intending on their return to proceed along the plain on his way to Galilee, without himself visiting the city. All this corresponds exactly to the present character of the ground. The well too was Jacob's well, of high antiquity, a known and venerated spot; which, after having already lived for so many ages in tradition, would not be likely to be forgotten in the two and a half centuries, intervening between St. John and Eusebius."

It is understood that the well, and the site around it, have been lately purchased by the Russian Church, not, it is to be hoped, with the intention of erecting a church over it, and thus for ever destroying the reality and the sentiment of the place.

The second of the spots alluded to is the Tomb of Joseph. It lies about a quarter of a mile north of the well, exactly in the centre of the opening of the valley between Gerizim and Ebal. It is a small square enclosure of high whitewashed walls, surrounding a tomb of the ordinary kind, but with the peculiarity that it is placed diagonally to the walls, instead of parallel, as usual. A rough pillar used as an altar, and black with the traces of fire, is at the head, and another at the foot of the tomb. In the left-hand corner as you enter is a vine, whose branches "run over the wall," recalling exactly the metaphor of Jacob's blessing (Gen. xlix. 22). In the walls are two slabs with Hebrew inscriptions,[b] and the interior is almost covered with the names of pilgrims in Hebrew, Arabic, and Samaritan. Beyond this there is nothing to remark in the structure itself. It purports to cover the tomb of Joseph, buried there in the "parcel of ground" which his father bequeathed especially to him his favourite son, and in which his bones were deposited after the conquest of the country was completed (Josh. xxiv. 32).

The local tradition of the Tomb, like that of the well, is as old as the beginning of the 4th cent. Both Eusebius (*Onomast.* Συχέμ) and the Bourdeaux Pilgrim mention its existence. So do Benjamin of Tudela (1160-79), and Maundeville (1322), and so—to pass over intermediate travellers—does Maundrell (1697). All that is wanting in these accounts is to fix the tomb which they mention to the present spot. But this is difficult—Maundrell describes it as on his right hand, in leaving Nâblus for Jerusalem; "just without the city"—a small

[a] The well is fast filling up with the stones thrown in by travellers and others. At Maundrell's visit (1697) it was 105 ft. deep, and the same measurement is given by Dr. Robinson as having been taken in May 1838. But, five years later, when Dr. Wilson recovered Mr A. Bonar's Bible from it, the depth had decreased to "exactly 75" (Wilson's *Lands*, ii. 57). Maundrell (March 24) found 18 ft. of water standing in the well. It appears now to be always dry.

[b] One of these is given by Dr. Wilson (*Lands*, &c., ii. 62).

mosk, "built over the sepulchre of Joseph" (March 25). Some time after passing it he arrives at the well. This description is quite inapplicable to the tomb just described, but perfectly suits the Wely at the north-east foot of Gerizim, which also bears (among the Moslems) the name of Joseph. And when the expressions of the two oldest authorities[i] cited above are examined, it will be seen that they are quite as suitable, if not more so, to this latter spot as to the tomb on the open plain. On the other hand, the Jewish travellers,[k] from hap-Parchi (cir. 1320) downwards, specify the tomb as in the immediate neighbourhood of the village *el-Balâta*.[m]

In this conflict of testimony, and in the absence of any information on the date and nature of the Moslem[n] tomb, it is impossible to come to a definite conclusion. There is some force, and that in favour of the received site, in the remarks of a learned and intelligent Jewish traveller (Loewe, in *Allg. Zeitung des Judenthums*, Leipzig, 1839, No. 50) on the peculiar form and nature of the ground surrounding the tomb near the well: the more so because they are suggested by the natural features of the spot, as reflected in the curiously minute, the almost technical language, of the ancient record, and not based on any mere traditional or artificial considerations. "The thought," says he, "forced itself upon me, how impossible it is to understand the details of the Bible without examining them on the spot. This place is called in the Scripture, neither *emek* ('valley') nor *shefela* ('plain'), but by the individual name of *Chelkat has-Sade*; and in the whole of Palestine there is not such another plot to be found,—a dead level, without the least hollow or swelling in a circuit of two hours. In addition to this it is the loveliest and most fertile spot I have ever seen." [H. B. H.]

SHEC'HEM. The names of three persons in the annals of Israel.

1. (שְׁכֶם: Συχέμ: *Sichem*). The son of Hamor the chieftain of the Hivite settlement of Shechem at the time of Jacob's arrival (Gen. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 2-26; Josh. xxiv. 32; Judg. ix. 28).

2. (שֶׁכֶם: Συχέμ: *Sechem*). A man of Manasseh, of the clan of Gilead, and head of the family of the Shechemites (Num. xxvi. 31). His family are again mentioned as the Beni-Shechem (Josh. xvii. 2).

3. (שֶׁכֶם: Συχέμ: *Sechem*). In the lists of 1 Chr. another Shechem is named amongst the Gileadites as a son of Shemida, the younger brother of the foregoing (vii. 19). It must have been the recollection of one of these two Gileadites which led Cyril of Alexandria into his strange fancy (quoted by Reland, *Pal.* 1007, from his Comm. on Hosea) of placing the city of Shechem on the eastern side of the Jordan. [G.]

SHECH'EMITES, THE (הַשִּׁכְמִי: Συχεμεί: *Sechemitae*). The family of Shechem, son of Gilead one of the minor clans of the Eastern Manasseh (Num. xxvi. 31; comp. Josh. xvii. 2).

SHECHI'NAH (in Chaldee and neo-Hebrew, שְׁכִינָה, *majestas Dei, praesentia Dei, Spiritus Sanctus*, Buxtorf, from שָׁכַן and שָׁכֵן, "to rest" "settle," "dwell," whence מִשְׁכָּן, "a tent," the Tabernacle; comp. σκηνή). This term is not found in the Bible. It was used by the later Jews, and borrowed by Christians from them, to express the visible majesty of the Divine Presence, especially when resting, or dwelling, between the Cherubim on the mercy-seat in the Tabernacle, and in the temple of Solomon; but not in Zerubbabel's temple, for it was one of the five particulars which the Jews reckon to have been wanting in the second temple[a] (Castell, *Lexic.* s. v.; Prideaux, *Connect.* i. p. 138). The use of the term is first found in the Targums, where it forms a frequent periphrasis for God, considered as *dwelling* amongst the children of Israel, and is thus used, especially by Onkelos, to avoid ascribing corporeity[b] to God Himself, as Castell tells us, and may be compared to the analogous periphrasis so frequent in the Targum of Jonathan "the Word of the Lord." Many Christian writers have thought that this threefold expression for the Deity—the Lord, the word of the Lord, and the Shechinah—indicates the knowledge of a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, and accordingly, following some Rabbinical writers, identify the Shechinah with the Holy Spirit. Others, however, deny this (Calmet's *Dict. of the Bib.*; Joh. Saubert, *On the Logos*, § xix. in *Critic. Sacr.*; Glass. *Philolog. Sacr.* lib. v. 1, vii. &c.).

Without stopping to discuss this question, it will most conduce to give an accurate knowledge of the use of the term Shechinah by the Jews themselves, if we produce a few of the most striking passages in the Targums where it occurs. In Ex. xxv. 8, where the Hebrew has "Let them make me a sanctuary that I may *dwell* (וְאֶשְׁכְּנָה) among them," Onkelos has, "I will make my Shechinah to dwell among them." In xxix. 45, 46, for the Hebrew "I will *dwell* among the children of Israel," Onkelos has, "I will make my Shechinah to dwell, &c." In Ps. lxxiv. 2, for "this Mount Zion wherein thou hast dwelt," the Targum has "wherein thy Shechinah hath dwelt." In the description of the dedication of Solomon's Temple (1 K. viii. 12, 13), the Targum of Jonathan runs thus: "The Lord is pleased to make His Shechinah dwell in Jerusalem. I have built the house of the sanctuary for the house of thy Shechinah for ever," where it should be noticed that in ver. 13 the Hebrew זְבֻל, is not used, but יְשַׁב. And in 1 K. vi. 13, for the Heb. "I will dwell among the children of Israel," Jonathan has "I will make my Shechinah dwell,

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[i] Eusebius:—ἐν προαστείοις Νέας πόλεως, ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τάφος δείκνυται τοῦ Ἰωσήφ.

Bourdeaux Pilgrim:—"Ad pedem montis locus est cui nomen est Sechim: ibi positum est monumentum ubi positus est Joseph. Inde passus mille . . . ubi puteum," &c.

[k] Benjamin of Tudela (cir. 1165) says, "The Samaritans are in possession of the tomb of Joseph the righteous;" but does not define its position.

[m] See the Itineraries entitled *Jichus hat-tsadikim* (A.D. 1581), and *Jichus ha-Aboth* (1537), in Carmoly's *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte.*

[n] It appears from a note in Prof. Stanley's *Sinai & Pal.* 241, that a later Joseph is also commemorated in this sanctuary.

[a] Dr. Bernard, in his notes on Josephus, tries to prove that these five things were all in the second Temple because Josephus says the Urim and Thummim were See Wotton's *Traditions*, &c., p. xl.

[b] See, *e. g.*, Ps. lxix. 17 and Kalisch on Ex xxiv 10.

tic." In Is. vi. 5 he has the combination,[c] "the glory of the Shechinah of the King of ages, the Lord of Hosts;" and in the next verse he paraphrases "from off the altar," by "from before His Shechinah on the throne of glory in the lofty heavens that are above the altar." Compare also Num. v. 3, xxxv. 34; Ps. lxviii. 17, 18, cxxxv. 21; Is. xxxiii. 5, lvii. 15; Joel iii. 17, 21, and numerous other passages. On the other hand, it should be noticed that the Targums never render "the cloud" or "the glory" by Shechinah, but by עֲנָנָא and יְקָרָא, and that even in such passages as Ex. xxiv. 16, 17; Num. ix. 17, 18, 22, x. 12, neither the mention of the cloud, nor the constant use of the verb שְׁכַן[d] in the Hebrew provoke any reference to the Shechinah. Hence, as regards the use of the word *Shechinah* in the Targums, it may be defined as a periphrasis for God whenever He is said to dwell on Zion, amongst Israel, or between the Cherubims, and so on, in order, as before said, to avoid the slightest approach to materialism. Far most frequently this term is introduced when the verb שָׁכַן occurs in the Heb. text; but occasionally, as in some of the above cited instances, where it does not, but where the Paraphrast wished to interpose an abstraction, corresponding to *Presence*, to break the bolder anthropopathy of the Hebrew writer.

Our view of the Targumistic notion of the Shechinah would not be complete if we did not add, that though, as we have seen, the Jews reckoned the Shechinah among the marks of the Divine favour which were wanting to the second Temple, they manifestly expected the return of the Shechinah in the days of the Messiah. Thus Hagg. i. 8, "build the house, and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the Lord," is paraphrased by Jonathan, "I will cause my Shechinah to dwell in it in glory." Zech. ii. 10, "Lo I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord," is paraphrased "I will be revealed, and will cause my Shechinah to dwell in the midst of thee;" and viii. 3, "I am returned unto Zion, and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem," is paraphrased "I will make my Shechinah dwell in the midst of Jerusalem;" and lastly, in Ezek. xliii. 7, 9, in the vision of the return of the Glory of God to the Temple, Jonathan paraphrases thus, "Son of man, this is the place of the house of the throne of my glory, and this is the place of the house of the dwelling of my Shechinah, where I will make my Shechinah dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever. . . . Now let them cast away their idols . . . and I will make my Shechinah dwell in the midst of them for ever." Compare Is. iv. 5, where the return of the pillar of cloud by day, and fire by night is foretold, as to take place in the days of the Messiah.

As regards the visible manifestation of the Divine Presence dwelling amongst the Israelites, to which the term Shechinah has attached itself, the idea which the different accounts in Scripture convey is that of a most brilliant and glorious light,[e] enveloped in a cloud, and usually concealed by the cloud, so that the cloud itself was for the most part alone visible; but on particular occasions the glory[f] appeared. Thus at the Exodus, "the Lord went before" the Israelites "by day in a pillar of cloud . . . and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light." And again we read, that this pillar "was a cloud and darkness" to the Egyptians, "but it gave light by night" to the Israelites. But in the morning watch "the Lord looked unto the host of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, and troubled the host of the Egyptians:" *i. e.* as Philo (quoted by Patrick) explains it, "the fiery appearance of the Deity shone forth from the cloud," and by its amazing brightness confounded them. So too in the Pirke Eliezer it is said, "The Blessed God appeared in His glory upon the sea, and it fled back;" with which Patrick compares Ps. lxxvii. 16, "The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee; they were afraid:" where the Targum has, "They saw thy Shechinah in the midst of the waters." In Ex. xix. 9, "the Lord said to Moses, Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud," and accordingly in ver. 16, we read that "a thick cloud" rested "upon the mount," and in ver. 18, that "Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire." And this is further explained, Ex. xxiv. 16, where we read that "the glory of the Lord abode upon Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it (*i. e.* as Aben Ezra explains it, the glory) six days." But upon the seventh day, when the Lord called "unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud," there was a breaking forth of the glory through the cloud, for "the sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel," ver. 17. So again when God as it were took possession of the tabernacle at its first completion (Ex. xl. 34, 35), "the cloud covered the tent of the congregation (externally), and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle (within), and Moses was not able to enter into the tent of the congregation" (rather, of *meeting*); just as at the dedication of Solomon's Temple (1 K. viii. 10, 11), "the cloud filled the house of the Lord, so that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud, for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of the Lord." In the tabernacle, however, as in the Temple, this was only a temporary state of things; for throughout the Books of Leviticus and Numbers we find Moses constantly entering into the tabernacle. And when he did so, the cloud which rested over it externally, dark by day, and luminous at night (Num. ix. 15, 16), came down and stood at the door of the tabernacle, and the Lord talked with Moses inside, "face to face, as a man talketh with his friend" (Ex. xxxiii. 7-11). It was on such occasions that Moses "heard the voice of one speaking unto him from off the mercy-seat that was upon the ark of testimony, from between the two cherubims" (Num. vii. 89), in accordance with Ex. xxv. 22; Lev. xvi. 2. But it does not appear that the glory was habitually seen either by Moses or the people. Occasionally, however, it flashed forth from the cloud which concealed it; as Ex. xvi. 7, 10; Lev. ix. 6, 23, when "the glory of the Lord appeared unto all the people," according to a previous promise; or as Num. xiv. 10, xvi. 19, 42, xx. 6, suddenly, to strike terror in the people in their rebellion. The

[c] In Ps. lxviii. 17 (16, A. V.), the Targum has "the Word of the Lord has desired to place His Shechinah upon Zion."

[d] Always (as far as I have observed) rendered by the Chaldee שְׁרֵי.

[e] The Arabic expression, corresponding to the *Shechinah* of the Targums, is a word signifying *light*.

[f] In Hebrew, "כְּבוֹד יי; in Chaldee, "יְקָר יי.

last occasion on which the glory of the Lord appeared was that mentioned in Num. xx. 6, when they were in Kadesh in the 40th year of the Exodus, and murmured for want of water; and the last express mention of the cloud as visibly present over the tabernacle is in Deut. xxxi. 15, just before the death of Moses. The cloud had not been mentioned before since the second year of the Exodus (Num. x. 11, 34, xii. 5, 10); but as the description in Num. x. 15-23; Ex. xl. 38, relates to the whole time of their wanderings in the wilderness, we may conclude that at all events the cloud visibly accompanied them through all the migrations mentioned in Num. xxxiii., till they reached the plains of Moab, and till Moses died. From this time we have no mention whatever in the history either of the cloud, or of the glory, or of the voice from between the cherubim, till the dedication of Solomon's Temple. But since it is certain that the Ark was still the special symbol of God's presence and power (Josh. iii., iv., vi.; 1 Sam. iv.; Ps. lxviii. 1 sqq.; compared with Num. x. 35; Ps. cxxxii. 8, lxxx. 1, xcix. 1), and since such passages as 1 Sam. iv. 4, 21, 22; 2 Sam. vi. 2; Ps. xcix. 7; 2 K. xix. 15, seem to imply the continued manifestation of God's Presence in the cloud between the cherubims, and that Lev. xvi. 2 seemed to promise so much, and that more general expressions, such as Ps. ix. 11, cxxxii. 7, 8, 13, 14, lxxvi. 2; Is. viii. 18, &c., thus acquire much more point, we may perhaps conclude that the cloud did continue, though with shorter or longer interruptions, to dwell between "the cherubims of glory shadowing the mercy-seat," until the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar. [OLIVES, MOUNT OF, p. 629, *a*.]

The allusions in the N. T. to the Shechinah are not unfrequent. Thus in the account of the Nativity, the words, "Lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them" (Luke ii. 9), followed by the apparition of "the multitude of the Heavenly host," recall the appearance of the Divine glory on Sinai, when "He shined forth from Paran, and came with ten thousands of saints" (Deut. xxxiii. 2; comp. Ps. lxviii. 17; Acts vii. 53; Heb. ii. 2; Ezek. xliii. 2). The "God of glory" (Acts vii. 2, 55), "the cherubims of glory" (Heb. ix. 5), "the glory" (Rom. ix. 4), and other like passages, are distinct references to the manifestations of the glory in the O. T. When we read in John i. 14, that "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (*ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν*), and we beheld his glory;" or in 2 Cor. xii. 9, "that the power of Christ may rest upon me[g] (*ἐπισκηνώσῃ ἐπ' ἐμέ*); or in Rev. xxi. 3, "Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them" (*ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . καὶ σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν*) we have not only references to the Shechinah, but are distinctly taught to connect it with the incarnation and future coming of Messiah, as type with antitype. Nor can it be doubted that the constant connexion of the second advent with a cloud, or clouds, and attendant angels, points in the same direction (Matt. xxvi. 64; Luke xxi. 27; Acts i. 9, 11; 2 Thess. i. 7, 8; Rev. i. 7).

It should also be specially noticed that the attendance of angels is usually associated with the Shechinah. These are most frequently called (Ex x., xi.) cherubim; but sometimes, as in Is. vi., seraphim (comp. Rev. iv. 7, 8). In Ex. xiv. 19, "the angel of God" is spoken of in connexion with the cloud, and in Deut. xxxiii. 2, the descent upon Sinai is described as being "with ten thousands of saints" (comp. Ps. lxviii. 17; Zech. xiv. 5). The predominant association, however, is with the cherubim, of which the golden cherubim on the mercy-seat were the representation. And this gives force to the interpretation that has been put upon Gen. iii. 24,[h] as being the earliest notice of the Shechinah, under the symbol of a pointed flame, dwelling between the cherubim, and constituting that local Presence of the Lord from which Cain went forth, and before which the worship of Adam and succeeding patriarchs was performed (see Hale's *Chronol.* ii. 94; Smith's *Sacr. Annal.* i. 173, 176-7). Parkhurst went so far as to imagine a tabernacle containing the cherubim and the glory all the time from Adam to Moses (Heb. *Lex.* p. 623). It is, however, pretty certain that the various appearances to Abraham, and that to Moses in the bush, were manifestations of the Divine Majesty similar to those later ones to which the term Shechinah is applied (see especially Acts vii. 2). For further information the reader is referred, besides the works quoted above, to the articles CLOUD, ARK, CHERUB, to Winer, *Realwb. Cherubim*; to Bishop Patrick's *Commentary*; to Buxtorf, *Hist. Arc. Foed.* cap. xi.; and to Lowman, *On the Shechinah*. [A. C. H.]

SHED'EUR (שְׁדֵיאוּר: Σεδιούρ: Alex. Ἐδιούρ in Num. i. 5, ii. 10: *Sedeür*). The father of Elizur, chief of the tribe of Reuben at the time of the Exodus (Num. i. 5, ii. 10, vii. 30, 35, x. 18). It has been conjectured (*Zeitschr. d. Deut. Morg. Ges.* xv. 809) that the name is compounded of Shaddai.

SHEEP. The well-known domestic animal which from the earliest period has contributed to the wants of mankind. Sheep were an important part of the possessions of the ancient Hebrews and of Eastern nations generally. The first mention of sheep occurs in Gen. iv. 2. The following are the principal Biblical allusions to these animals. They were used in the sacrificial offerings, both the adult animal (Ex. xx. 24; 1 K. viii. 63; 2 Chr. xxix. 33) and the lamb, כֶּבֶשׂ, *i. e.* "a male from one to three years old," but young lambs of the first year were more generally used in the offerings (see Ex. xxix. 38; Lev. ix. 3, xii. 6; Num. xxviii. 9, &c.). No lamb under eight days old was allowed to be killed (Lev. xxii. 27). A very young lamb was called טָלֶה, *tâleh* (see 1 Sam. vii. 9; Is. lxv. 25). Sheep and lambs formed an important article of food (1 Sam. xxv. 18; 1 K. i. 19, iv. 23; Ps. xliv. 11, &c.). The wool was used as clothing (Lev. xiii. 47; Deut. xxii. 11; Prov. xxxi. 13; Job xxxi. 20, &c.) [WOOL.] Trumpets may have been made of the horns of rams (Josh. vi. 4), though the rendering of the A. V. in this passage is generally thought to be incorrect. "Rams'

[g] This expression of St. Paul's has a singular resemblance to the Rabbinical saying, that of eighty pupils of Hillel the elder, thirty were worthy that *the Shechinah should rest upon them;* and of these Jonathan (author of the Targum) was the first (Wolf. *Bib Heb.* ii. 1159).

[h] "He drove out the man, and stationed his Shechinah of old between the two cherubim" (Jerusal. Targum); וַיַּשְׁכֵּן אֶת־הַכְּרֻבִים (Heb. Bib.). See Patrick *On Gen* iii. 24.

skins dyed red" were used as a covering for the tabernacle (Ex. xxv. 5). Sheep and lambs were sometimes paid as tribute (2 K. iii. 4). It is very striking to notice the immense numbers of sheep that were reared in Palestine in Biblical times: see for instance 1 Chr. v. 21; 2 Chr. xv. 11, xxx. 24; 2 K. iii. 4; Job xlii. 12. Especial mention is made of the sheep of Bozrah (Mic. ii. 12; Is. xxxiv. 6) in the land of Edom, a district well suited for pasturing sheep. "Bashan and Gilead" are also mentioned as pastures (Mic. vii. 14). "Large parts of Carmel, Bashan, and Gilead," says Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 205), "are at their proper seasons alive with countless flocks" (see also p. 331). "The flocks of Kedar" and "the rams of Nebaioth," two sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13) that settled in Arabia, are referred to in Is. lx. 7. Sheep-shearing is alluded to Gen. xxxi. 19, xxxviii. 13; Deut. xv. 19; 1 Sam. xxv. 4; Is. liii. 7, &c. Sheep-dogs were employed in Biblical times, as is evident from Job xxx. 1, "the dogs of my flock." From the manner in which they are spoken of by the patriarch it is clear, as Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 202) well observes, that the Oriental shepherd-dogs were very different animals from the sheep-dogs of our own land. The existing breed are described as being "a mean, sinister, ill-conditioned generation, which are kept at a distance, kicked about, and half-starved, with nothing noble or attractive about them." They were, however, without doubt useful to the shepherds, more especially at night, in keeping off the wild beasts that prowled about the hills and valleys (comp. Theoc. *Id.* v. 106). Shepherds in Palestine and the East generally go before their flocks, which they induce to follow by calling to them (comp. John x. 4; Ps. lxxvii. 20, lxxx. 1), though they also drove them (Gen. xxxiii. 13). [SHEPHERD.] It was usual amongst the ancient Jews to give names to sheep and goats, as in England we do to our dairy cattle (see John x. 3). This practice prevailed amongst the ancient Greeks (see Theoc. *Id.* v. 103):—

Οὐκ ἀπὸ τᾶς δρυὸς οὗτος ὁ Κώναρος, ἃ τε Κυναίθα;

The following quotation from Hartley's *Researches in Greece and the Levant*, p. 321, is so strikingly illustrative of the allusions in John x. 1-16, that we cannot do better than quote it: "Having had my attention directed last night to the words in John x. 3, I asked my man if it was usual in Greece to give names to the sheep. He informed me that it was, and that the sheep obeyed the shepherd when he called them by their names. This morning I had an opportunity of verifying the truth of this remark. Passing by a flock of sheep, I asked the shepherd the same question which I had put to the servant, and he gave me the same answer. I then bade him call one of his sheep. He did so, and it instantly left its pasturage and its companions and ran up to the hands of the shepherd with signs of pleasure and with a prompt obedience which I had never before observed in any other animal. It is also true in this country that 'a stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him.' The shepherd told me that many of his sheep were still wild, that they had not yet learned their names, but that by teaching them they would all learn them." See also Thomson (p. 203):—"The shepherd calls sharply from time to time to remind the sheep of his presence; they know his voice and follow on; but if a stranger call they stop short, lift up their heads in alarm, and if it is repeated they turn and flee, because they know not the voice of a stranger."

Broad-tailed Sheep.

The common sheep of Syria and Palestine are the broad-tail (*Ovis laticaudatus*), and a variety of the common sheep of this country (*Ovis aries*) called the *Bidowcen* according to Russell (*Aleppo*, ii. p. 147). The broad-tailed kind has long been reared in Syria. Aristotle, who lived more than 2000 years ago, expressly mentions Syrian sheep with tails a cubit wide. This or another variety of the species is also noticed by Herodotus (iii. 113) as occurring in Arabia. The fat tail of the sheep is probably alluded to in Lev. iii. 9, vii. 3, &c., as the fat and the whole rump that was to be taken off hard by the back-bone, and was to be consumed on the altar. The cooks in Syria use this mass of fat instead of Arab butter, which is often rancid (see Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 97).

The whole passage in Gen. xxx. which bears on the subject of Jacob's stratagem with Laban's sheep is involved in considerable perplexity, and Jacob's conduct in this matter has been severely and uncompromisingly condemned by some writers. We touch upon the question briefly in its zoological bearing. It is altogether impossible to account for the complete success which attended Jacob's device of setting peeled rods before the ewes and she-goats as they came to drink in the watering troughs, on *natural grounds*. The Greek fathers for the most part ascribe the result to the direct operation of the Deity, whereas Jerome and the Latin fathers regard it as a mere natural operation of the imagination, adducing as illustrations in point various devices that have been resorted to by the ancients in the cases of mares, asses, &c. (see Oppian, *Cyneg.* i. 327, 357; Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 10, and the passages from Quintilian, Hippocrates, and Galen, as cited by Jerome, Grotius, and Bochart). Even granting the general truth of these instances, and acknowledging the curious effect which peculiar sights by the power of the imagination do occasionally produce in the fetus of many animals, yet we must agree with the Greek fathers and ascribe the production of Jacob's spotted sheep and goats to Divine agency. The whole question has been carefully considered by Nitzschmann (*De*

Coryle Jacobi, in *Thes. Nov. Theol. Phil.* i. 202-206), from whom we quote the following passage: "Fatemur itaque, cum Vossio aliisque piis viris, *illam pecudum imaginationem tantum fuisse causam adjuvantem*, ac plus in hoc negotio divinae tribuendum esse virtuti, quae suo concursu sic debilem causae secundae vim adauxit ut quod ea sola secundum naturam praestare non valeret id divina benedictione supra naturam praestaret;" and then Nitschmann cites the passage in Gen. xxxi. 5-13, where Jacob expressly states that his success was due to Divine interference; for it is hard to believe that Jacob is here uttering nothing but a tissue of falsehoods, which appears to be the opinion of Kalisch (*Hist. and Crit. Comment.* Gen. xxx. and xxxi.), who represents the patriarch as "unblushingly executing frauds suggested by his fertile invention, and then abusing the authority of God in covering or justifying them." We are aware that a still graver difficulty in the minds of some persons remains, if the above explanation be adopted; but we have no other alternative, for, as Patrick has observed, "let any shepherd now try this device, and he will not find it do what it did then by a Divine operation."[a] The greater difficulty alluded to is the supposing that God would have directly interfered to help Jacob to act fraudulently towards his uncle. But are we quite sure that there was any *fraud* fairly called such in the matter? Had Jacob not been thus aided, he might have remained the dupe of Laban's niggardly conduct all his days. He had served his money-loving uncle faithfully for fourteen years; Laban confesses his cattle had increased considerably under Jacob's management; but all the return he got was unfair treatment and a constant desire on the part of Laban to strike a hard bargain with him (Gen. xxxi. 7). God vouchsafed to deliver Jacob out of the hands of his hard master, and to punish Laban for his cruelty, which He did by pointing out to Jacob how he could secure to himself large flocks and abundant cattle. God was only helping Jacob to obtain that which justly belonged to him, but which Laban's rapacity refused to grant. "Were it lawful," says Stackhouse, "for any private person to make reprisals, the injurious treatment Jacob had received from Laban, both in imposing a wife upon him and prolonging his servitude without wages, was enough to give him both the provocation and the privilege to do so. God Almighty, however, was pleased to take the determination of the whole matter into his own hands." This seems to us the best way of understanding this disputed subject.[b]

The following Hebrew words occur as the names of sheep:—צֹאן, צָאן, צֶה, or צֵנָה, a collective noun to denote "a flock of sheep or goats," to which is opposed the noun of unity, שֶׂה, "a sheep" or "a goat," joined to a masc. where "rams" or "he-goats" are signified, and with a fem. when "ewes" or "she-goats" are meant, though even in this case sometimes to a masc. (as in Gen. xxxi. 10): אַיִל, "a ram;" רָחֵל, "a ewe;" כֶּבֶשׂ or כֶּשֶׂב, "a lamb," or rather "a sheep of a year old or above," opposed to טָלֶה, "a sucking or very young lamb;" כַּר is another term applied to a lamb as it *skips* (כָּרַר) in the pastures.

As the sheep is an emblem of meekness, patience and submission, it is expressly mentioned as typifying these qualities in the person of our Blessed Lord (Is. liii. 7; Acts viii. 32, &c.). The relation that exists between Christ, "the chief Shepherd," and His members, is beautifully compared to that which in the East is so strikingly exhibited by the shepherds to their flocks (see Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 203). [W. H.]

SHEEPGATE, THE (שַׁעַר הַצֹּאן: ἡ πύλη ἡ προβατική: *porta gregis*). One of the gates of Jerusalem as rebuilt by Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 1, 32; xii. 39). It stood between the tower of Meah and the chamber of the corner (iii. 32, 1) or gate of the guard-house (xii. 39, A. V. "prison-gate"). The latter seems to have been at the angle formed by the junction of the wall of the city of David with that of the city of Jerusalem proper, having the sheep-gate on the north of it. (See the diagram in p. 1027, vol. i.) According to the view taken in the article JERUSALEM, the city of David occupied a space on the mount Moriah about coinciding with that between the south wall of the platform of the Dome of the Rock and the south wall of the *Haram es Sherîf*. The position of the sheep-gate may therefore have been on or near that of the *Bab el-Kattânîn*. Bertheau (*Exeg. Handbuch*, on Nehemiah, 144) is right in placing it on the east side of the city and on the north of the corner; but is wrong in placing it at the present St. Stephen's Gate, since no wall existed nearly so far to the east as that, till after the death of Christ. [JERUSALEM.]

The pool which was near the sheep-gate (John v. 2; A. V. inaccurately "*market*") was probably the present *Hammâm esh Shefa*. [G.]

SHEEP-MARKET, THE (John v. 2). The word "market" is an interpolation of our translators, possibly after Luther, who has *Schafhaus*. The words of the original are ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ, to which should probably be supplied not market, but gate, πυλῇ, as in the LXX. version of the passages in Nehemiah quoted in the foregoing article. The Vulgate connects the προβατική with the κολυμβήθρα, and reads *Probatica piscina*; while the Syriac omits all mention of the sheep, and names only a "place of baptism." [G.]

SHEHARIAH (שְׁחַרְיָה: Σααρίας; Alex. Σααρία: *Soharia*). A Benjamite, son of Jeroham (1 Chr. viii. 26).

[a] None of the instances cited by Jerome and others are exact parallels with that in question. The quotations adduced, with the exception of those which speak of painted images set before Spartan women *inter concipiendum*, refer to cases in which *living* animals themselves, and not reflections of inanimate objects, were the cause of some marked peculiarity in the fetus. Rosenmüller, however (*Schol. in loc.*), cites Eastfeer (*De Re ovaria*, German version, p. 17, 30, 45, 46, 47) as a writer by whom the contrary opinion is confirmed. We have been unable to gain access to this work.

[b] We have considered this perplexing question in accordance with the *generally* received opinion that whole account is the work of one and the same author; at the same time we must allow that there is strong probability that those portions of the narrative which relate to Jacob's stratagem with the "peeled rods," are attributable, not to the *Elohistic* or ancient source, but to the supplementary *Jehovistic* writer.

SHEKEL. In a former article [MONEY] a full account has been given of the coins called shekels, which are found with inscriptions in the Samaritan[a] character; so that the present article will only contain notices of a few particulars relating to the Jewish coinage which did not fall within the plan of the former.

It may, in the first place, be desirable to mention, that although some shekels are found with Hebrew letters instead of Samaritan, these are undoubtedly all forgeries. It is the more needful to make this statement, as in some books of high reputation, *e. g.* Walton's *Polyglot*, these shekels are engraved as if they were genuine. It is hardly necessary to suggest the reasons which may have led to this series of forgeries. But the difference between the two is not confined to the letters only; the Hebrew shekels are much larger and thinner than the Samaritan, so that a person might distinguish them merely by the touch, even under a covering.

Our attention is, in the next place, directed to the early notices of these shekels in Rabbinical writers. It might be supposed that in the Mishna, where one of the treatises bears the title of "*Shekalim*," or *Shekels*, we should find some information on the subject. But this treatise, being devoted to the consideration of the laws relating to the payment of the half-shekel for the Temple, is of course useless for our purpose.

Some references are given to the works of Rashi and Maimonides (contemporary writers of the 12th century) for information relative to shekels and the forms of Hebrew letters in ancient times; but the most important Rabbinical quotation given by Bayer is that from *Ramban*, i. e. *Rabbi-Moses-Bar-Nachman*, who lived about the commencement of the 13th century. He describes a shekel which he had seen, and of which the *Cuthæans* read the inscription with ease. The explanation which they gave of the inscription was, on one side: *Shekel ha-Shekalim*, "the shekel of shekels," and on the other "Jerusalem the Holy." The former was doubtless a misinterpretation of the usual inscription "the shekel of Israel;" but the latter corresponds with the inscription on our shekels (Bayer, *De Numis.* p. 11). In the 16th century R. Azarias de Rossi states that R. Moses Basula had arranged a Cuthaean, *i. e.* Samaritan, alphabet from coins, and R. Moses Alaskar (of whom little is known) is quoted by Bayer as having read in some Samaritan coins, "in such a year of the consolation of Israel, in such a year of such a king." And the same R. Azarias de Rossi (or de Adumim, as he is called by Bartolocci, *Bibl. Rabb.* vol. iv. p. 158), in his מאור עינים, "The Light of the Eyes" (not *Fons Oculorum*, as Bayer translates it, which would require מעין, not מאור), discusses the Transfluvial or Samaritan letters, and describes *a shekel of Israel* which he had seen. But the most important passage of all is that in which this writer quotes the description of a shekel seen by Ramban at St. Jean d'Acre, A.D. 1210. He gives the inscriptions as above, "the Shekel of Shekels," and "Jerusalem the Holy:" but he also determines the weight, which he makes about *half an ounce*.

We find, therefore, that in early times shekels were known to the Jewish Rabbis with Samaritan inscriptions, corresponding with those now found (except in one point, which is probably an error), and corresponding with them in weight. These are important considerations in tracing the history of this coinage, and we pass on now to the earliest mention of these shekels by Christian writers. We believe that W. Postell is the first Christian writer who saw and described a shekel. He was a Parisian traveller who visited Jerusalem early in the 16th century. In a curious work published by him in 1538, entitled *Alphabetum Duodecim Linguarum*, the following passage occurs. After stating that the Samaritan alphabet was the original form of the Hebrew, he proceeds thus:—

"I draw this inference from silver coins of great antiquity, which I found among the Jews. They set such store by them that I could not get one of them (not otherwise worth a quincunx) for two gold pieces. The Jews say they are of the *time of Solomon*, and they added that, hating the Samaritans as they do, worse than dogs, and never speaking to them, nothing endears these coins so much to them as the consideration that these characters were once in their common usage, nature, as it were, yearning after the things of old. They say that at Jerusalem, now called *Chus* or *Chussembarich*, in the masonry and in the deepest part of the ruins, these coins are dug up daily."[b]

Postell gives a very bad woodcut of one of these shekels, but the inscription is correct. He was unable to explain the letters over the vase, which soon became the subject of a discussion among the learned men of Europe, which lasted for nearly two centuries. Their attempts to explain them are enumerated by Bayer in his Treatise *De Numis Hebraeo-Samaritanis*, which may be considered as the first work which placed the explanation of these coins on a satisfactory basis. But it would obviously be useless here to record so many unsuccessful guesses as Bayer enumerates. The work of Bayer, although some of the authors nearly solved the problem, called forth an antagonist in Professor Tychsen of Rostock, a learned Orientalist of that period. Several publications passed between them which it is unnecessary to enumerate, as Tychsen gave a summary of his objections in a small pamphlet, entitled O. G. Tychsen, *De Numis Hebraicis Diatribe, qua simul ad Nuperas ill. F. P. Bayerii Objectiones respondetur* (Rostochii, 1791). His first position is — That either (1) all the coins, whether with Hebrew or Samaritan inscriptions, are false, or (2) if any are genuine, they belong to Barcoceba—p. 6. This he modifies slightly in a subsequent part of the treatise, p. 52-53, where he states it to be his conclusion (1) that the Jews had no coined money before the time of our Saviour; (2) that during the rebellion of *Barcoceba* (or *Barcoziba*), Samaritan money was coined either by the Samaritans to please the Jews, or by the Jews to please the Samaritans, and that the Samaritan letters were used in order to make

[a] The character nearly resembles that of Samaritan MSS., although it is not quite identical with it. The Hebrew and Samaritan alphabets appear to be divergent representatives of some older form, as may be inferred from several of the letters. Thus the *Beth* and several other letters are evidently identical in their origin. And the ש (*Shin*) of the Hebrew alphabet is the same as that of the Samaritan; for if we make the two middle strokes of the Samaritan letter coalesce, it takes the Hebrew form.

[b] Postell appears to have arranged his Samaritan alphabet from these coins.

the coins desirable as amulets! and (3) that the coins attributed to Simon Maccabaeus belong to this period. Tychsen has quoted some curious passages,[c] but his arguments are wholly untenable. In the first place, no *numismatist* can doubt the genuineness of the shekels attributed to Simon Maccabaeus, or believe that they belong to the same epoch as the coins of Barcoceba. But as Tychsen never saw a shekel, he was not a competent judge. There is another consideration, which, if further demonstration were needed, would supply a very strong argument. These coins were first made known to Europe through Postell, who does not appear to have been aware of the description given of them in Rabbinical writers. The correspondence of the newly-found coins with the earlier description is almost demonstrative. But they bear such undoubted marks of genuineness, that no judge of ancient coins could doubt them for a moment. On the contrary, to a practical eye, those with *Hebrew* inscriptions bear undoubted marks of spuriousness.[d]

Among the symbols found on this series of coins is one which is considered to represent that which was called *Lulab* by the Jews. This term was applied (see Maimon. on the section of the Mishna called *Rosh Hashanah*, or *Commencement of the Year*, ch. vii. 1, and the Mishna itself in *Succah*, סוכה, or *Booths*, ch. iii. 1, both of which passages are quoted by Bayer, *De Num.* p. 129) to the branches of the three trees mentioned in Lev. xxiii. 40, which are thought to be the Palm, the Myrtle, and the Willow. These, which were to be carried by the Israelites at the Feast of Tabernacles, were usually accompanied by the fruit of the Citron, which is also found in this representation. Sometimes two of these *Lulabs* are found together. At least such is the explanation given by some authorities of the symbols called in the article MONEY by the name of *Sheaves*. The subject is involved in much difficulty and obscurity, and we speak therefore with some hesitation and diffidence, especially as experienced numismatists differ in their explanations. This explanation is, however, adopted by Bayer (*De Num.* p. 128, 219, &c.), and by Cavedoni (*Bibl. Num.* p. 31-32 of the German translation, who adds references to 1 Macc. iv. 59; John x. 22), as he considers that the *Lulab* was in use at the Feast of the Dedication on the 25th day of the 9th month as well as at that of Tabernacles. He also refers to 2 Macc. i. 18, x. 6, 7, where the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles is described, and the branches carried by the worshippers are specified.

The symbol on the Reverse of the shekels, representing a twig with three buds, appears to bear more resemblance to the buds of the pomegranate than to any other plant.

The following list is given by Cavedoni (p. 11 of the German translation) as an enumeration of *all* the coins which can be attributed with any certainty to Simon Maccabaeus.

I. Shekels of three years, with the inscription *Shekel Israel* on the Obverse with a Vase, over which appears (1) an *Aleph*; (2) the letter *Shin* with a *Beth*; (3) the letter *Shin* with a *Gimel*.

R. On the Reverse is the twig with three buds, and the inscription *Jerusalem Kedushah* or *Hakkedushah*.[e]

II. The same as the above, only half the weight, which is indicated by the word חצי, *Chătsi*, "a half." These occur only in the first and *second* years.

The above are silver.

III. שנת ארבע חצי, *Shĕnath Arb'a Chătsi*. The fourth year—a half. A Citron between two *Lulabs*.

R. לגאלת ציון, *Legeullath Tsion*, "Of the Liberation of Zion." A Palm-tree between two baskets of fruit

IV. שנת ארבע רביע, *Shĕnath Arb'a, Rebi'a*. The fourth year—a fourth. Two *Lulabs*.

R. לגאלת ציון—as before. Citron-fruit.

V. שנת ארבע, *Shĕnath Arb'a*. The fourth year. *Lulab* between two Citrons.

R. לגאלת ציון, *Legeullath Tsion*, as before.

The Vase as on the shekel and half-shekel.

These are of copper.

The other coins which belong to this series have been sufficiently illustrated in the article MONEY.

In the course of 1862 a work of considerable importance was published at Breslau by Dr. M. A. Levy, entitled *Geschichte der Jüdischen Münzen*.[f] It appears likely to be useful in the elucidation of the questions relating to the Jewish coinage which have been touched upon in the present volume. There are one or two points on which it is desirable to state the views of the author, especially as he quotes coins which have only become known lately. Some coins have been described in the *Revue Numismatique* (1860, p. 260 *seq.*), to which the name of Eleazar coins has been given. A coin was published some time ago by De Saulcy which is supposed by that author to be a counterfeit coin. It is scarcely legible, but it appears to contain the name Eleazar on one side, and that of Simon on the other. During the troubles which preceded the final destruction of Jerusalem, Eleazar (the son of Simon), who was a priest, and Simon Ben Giora, were at the head of large factions. It is suggested by Dr. Levy that

[c] He quotes, *e. g.*, the following passage from the Jerusalem Talmud: מטבע שמרי (שמרי) בגון בן בוזיבא אינו מחלך (מחלל); "Revolution (Samaritan) money, like that of Ben Coziba, does not defile." The meaning of this is not very obvious, nor does Tychsen's explanation appear quite satisfactory. He adds, "does not defile, if used as an amulet." We should rather inquire whether the expression may not have some relation to that of "defiling the hands," as applied to the canonical books of the O. T. See Ginsburg, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, p. 3. The word for polluting is different, but the expressions may be analogous. But, on the other hand, these coins are often perforated, which gives countenance to the notion that they were used as amulets. The passage is from the division of the Jerusalem Talmud entitled מעשר שני, *Maaser Sheni*, or "The Second Tithe."

[d] The statement here made will not be disputed by any practical numismatist. It is made on the authority of the late Mr. T. Burgon, of the British Museum, whose knowledge and skill in these questions was known throughout Europe.

[e] The spelling varies with the year. The shekel of the *first* year has only ירושלם קדושה; while those of the *second* and *third* years have the fuller form, ירושלים הקדושה. The י of the Jerusalem is important as showing that both modes of spelling were in use at the same time.

[f] From the time of its publication, it was not available for the article MONEY; but I am indebted to the author of that article for calling my attention to this book. I was, however, unable to procure it until the article SHEKEL was in type.—H. J. R.

money may have been struck which bore the names of both these leaders; but it seems scarcely probable, as they do not appear to have acted in concert. But a copper coin has been published in the *Revue Numismatique* which undoubtedly bears the inscription of "Eleazar the priest." Its types are—

I. A vase with one handle and the inscription אלעזר הכוהן, "Eleazar the priest," in Samaritan letters.

R. A bunch of grapes with the inscription שנתא חת לגאלת ישראל, "year one of the redemption of Israel."

Some silver coins also, first published by Reichardt, bear the same inscription on the obverse, under a palm-tree, but the letters run from left to right. The reverse bears the same type and inscription as the copper coins.

These coins are attributed, as well as some that bear the name of Simon or Simeon, to the period of this first rebellion, by Dr. Levy. It is, however, quite clear that *some* of the coins bearing similar inscriptions belong to the period of Bar-cocab's rebellion (or *Barcoceba's*, as the name is often spelt) under Hadrian, because they are stamped upon denarii of Trajan, his predecessor. The work of Dr. Levy will be found very useful as collecting together notices of all these coins, and throwing out very useful suggestions as to their attribution; but we must still look to further researches and fresh collections of these coins for full satisfaction on many points.[8] The attribution of the shekels and half-shekels to Simon Maccabaeus may be considered as well established, and several of the other coins described in the article MONEY offer no grounds for hesitation or doubt. But still this series is very much isolated from other classes of coins, and the nature of the work hardly corresponds in some cases with the periods to which we are constrained from the existing evidence to attribute the coins. We must therefore still look for further light from future inquiries. Drawings of shekels are given in the article MONEY. [H. J. R.]

SHE'LAH (שֶׁלָה: Σηλώμ: *Sela*). **1.** The youngest son of Judah by the daughter of Shuah the Canaanite, and ancestor of the family of the SHELANITES (Gen. xxxviii. 5, 11, 14, 26, xlvi. 12; Num. xxvi. 20; 1 Chr. ii. 3, iv. 21). Some of his descendants are enumerated in a remarkable passage, 1 Chr. iv. 21-23.

2. (שֶׁלַח: Σαλά: *Sale*.) The proper form of the name of SALAH the son of Arphaxad (1 Chr. i. 18, 24).

SHE'LANITES, THE (הַשִּׁלֹנִי: ὁ Σηλωνί: *Selaïtae*). The descendants of SHELAH 1 (Num. xxvi. 20).

SHELEMI'AH (שֶׁלֶמְיָה: Σελεμία: Alex. Σελεμίας: *Salmias*). **1.** One of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife in the time of Ezra (Ezr. x. 39). Called SELEMIAS in 1 Esd. ix. 34.

2. (Σελεμίας; Alex. Σεεμία: *Selemias*.) The father of Hananiah (Neh. iii. 30), who assisted in restoring the wall of Jerusalem. If this Hananiah be the same as is mentioned in Neh. xii. 8, Shelemiah was one of the priests who made the sacred perfumes and incense.

3. A priest in the time of Nehemiah, who was made one of the treasurers over the treasuries of the Levitical tithes (Neh. xiii. 13).

4. The father of Jehucal, or Jucal, in the time of Zedekiah (Jer. xxxvii. 3).

5. The father of Irijah, the captain of the ward who arrested Jeremiah (Jer. xxxvii. 13). In Jer. xxxviii. 1, his name appears in the lengthened form, like the following.

6. (שְׁלֶמְיָהוּ: Σελεμία.) The same as MESHELEMIAH and SHALLUM 8 (1 Chr. xxvi. 14).

7. (*Selemiaü*.) Another of the sons of Bani who had married a foreign wife in the time of Ezra (Ezr. x. 41).

8. (Σελεμίας; Alex. Σαλαμίας: *Selemia*.) Ancestor of Jehudi in the time of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxvi. 14).

9. (Om. in LXX.) Son of Abdeel; one of those who received the orders of Jehoiakim to take Baruch and Jeremiah (Jer. xxxvi. 26).

SHELEPH (שֶׁלֶף: Σαλέφ; Alex. Σαλέφ; *Saleph*), Gen. x. 26; 1 Chr. i. 20. The second in order of the sons of Joktan. The tribe which sprang from him has been satisfactorily identified, both in modern and classical times; as well as the district of the Yemen named after him. It has been shown in other articles [ARABIA; JOKTAN, &c.] that the evidence of Joktan's colonization of Southern Arabia is indisputably proved, and that it has received the assent of critics. Sheleph is found where we should expect to meet with him, in the district (*Mikhláf*, as the ancient divisions of the Yemen are called by the Arabs) of Sulaf (سلف *Marásid*, s. v.), which appears to be the same as Niebuhr's Sälfie (*Descr.* p. 215), written in his map Selfia. He gives the Arabic سلفيه, with the vowels probably Sulafeeyeh. Niebuhr says of it, "grande étendue de pays gouvernée par sept *Schechs*:" it is situate in N. lat. 14° 30′, and about 60 miles nearly south of San'à.

Besides this geographical trace of Sheleph, we have the tribe of Shelif or Shulaf, of which the first notice appeared in the *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xi. 153, by Dr. Osiander, and to which we are indebted for the following information. Yákoot in the *Moajam*, s. v., says, "Es-Selif or Es-Sulaf they are two ancient tribes of the tribes of Yemen; Hishám Ibn-Mohammed says they are the children of Yuktán Joktan; and Yuktán was the son of Eber the son of Salah the son of Arphaxad the son of Shem the son of Noah . . . . And a district in El-Yemen is named after the Sulaf." El-Kalkasander (in the British Museum library) says, "El-Sulaf, called also Beni-s-Silfán, a tribe of the descendants of Kahtán (Joktan). . . . The name of their father has remained with them, and they are called Es-Sulaf: they are children of Es-Sulaf son of Yuktán who is Kahtán. . . . Es-Sulaf originally signifies one of the little ones of the partridge, and Es-Silfan is its plural: the tribe was named after that on account of translation." Yákoot

[8] The passage from the Jerusalem Talmud, quoted in a former note, is considered by Dr. Levy (p. 127), and a different explanation given. The word translated by Tychsen "to pollute," is translated by him "*to pay*" or "*redeem* the tithe," which seems better.

also says (s. v. *Muntabik*) that El-Muntabik was an idol belonging to Es-Sulaf. Finally, according to the *Kámoos* (and the *Lubb-el-Lubáb*, cited in the *Marásid*, s. v.), Sulaf was a branch-tribe of Dhu-l-Kilá'a; [a Himyerite family or tribe (Caussin, *Essai* i. 113), not to be confounded with the later king, or Tubbaa of that name].

This identification is conclusively satisfactory, especially when we recollect that Hazarmaveth (Hadramawt), Sheba (Seba), and other Joktanite names are in the immediate neighbourhood. It is strengthened, if further evidence were required, by the classical mention of the Σαλαπηνοί, Salapeni, also written Ἀλαπηνοί, Alapeni (Ptol. vi. 7). Bochart puts forward this people, with rare brevity. The more recent researches in Arabic MSS. have, as we have shown, confirmed in this instance his theory; for we do not lay much stress on the point that Ptolemy's Salapeni are placed by him in N. lat. 22°. [E. S. P.]

SHE'LESH (שֶׁלֶשׁ: Σελλής: *Selles*). One of the sons of Helem the brother of Shamer (1 Chr. vii. 35).

SHEL'OMI (שְׁלֹמִי: Σελεμί: *Salomi*). Father of Ahihud, the prince of the tribe of Asher (Num. xxxiv. 27).

SHEL'OMITH (שְׁלֹמִית: Σαλωμείθ: *Salumith*). 1. The daughter of Dibri of the tribe of Dan (Lev. xxiv. 11). She had married an Egyptian, and their son was stoned for blasphemy.

2. (Σαλωμεθί: *Salomith*.) The daughter of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. iii. 19).

3. (Σαλωμώθ; Alex. Σαλουμώθ.) Chief of the Izharites, one of the four families of the sons of Kohath (1 Chr. xxiii. 18). He is called SHELOMOTH in 1 Chr. xxiv. 22.

4. (שְׁלֻמוֹת; *Keri* שְׁלֻמִית in 1 Chr. xxvi. 25; שְׁלֻמוֹת in 1 Chr. xxvi. 26; שְׁלֻמִית in 1 Chr. xxvi. 28: *Selemith*). A descendant of Eliezer the son of Moses, who with his brethren had charge of the treasures dedicated for the Temple in the reign of David.

5. (שְׁלֻמוֹת: *Keri* שְׁלֻמִית: Σαλωμίθ; Alex. Σαλωμείθ: *Salomith*). A Gershonite, son of Shimei (1 Chr. xxiii. 9). "Shimei" is probably a mistake, as Shelomith and his brothers are afterwards described as chief of the fathers of Laadan, who was the brother of Shimei, and the sons of Shimei are then enumerated.

6. (שְׁלֹמִית: Σελιμούθ; Alex. Σαλειμούθ: *Selomith*). According to the present text, the sons of Shelomith, with the son of Josiphiah at their head, returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 10). There appears, however, to be an omission, which may be supplied from the LXX., and the true reading is probably, "Of the sons of Bani, Shelomith the son of Josiphiah." See also 1 Esdr. viii. 36, where he is called "ASSALIMOTH son of Josaphias."

SHEL'OMOTH (שְׁלֹמוֹת: Σαλωμώθ: *Salemoth*). The same as SHELOMITH 3 (1 Chr. xxiv. 22).

SHELU'MIEL (שְׁלֻמִיאֵל: Σαλαμιήλ: *Salamiel*). The son of Zurishaddai, and prince of the tribe of Simeon at the time of the Exodus. He had 59,300 men under him (Num. i. 6, ii. 12, vii. 36, 41, x. 19). In Judith (viii. 1) he is called SAMAEL.

SHEM (שֵׁם: Σήμ: *Sem*). The eldest son of Noah, born (Gen. v. 32) when his father had attained the age of 500 years. He was 98 years old, married, and childless, at the time of the Flood. After it, he, with his father, brothers, sisters-in-law, and wife, received the blessing of God (ix. 1), and entered into the covenant. Two years afterwards he became the father of Arphaxad (xi. 10), and other children were born to him subsequently. With the help of his brother Japheth, he covered the nakedness of their father, which Canaan and Ham did not care to hide. In the prophecy of Noah which is connected with this incident (ix. 25-27), the first blessing falls on Shem. He died at the age of 600 years.

Assuming that the years ascribed to the patriarchs in the present copies of the Hebrew Bible are correct, it appears that Methuselah, who in his first 243 years was contemporary with Adam, had still nearly 100 years of his long life to run after Shem was born. And when Shem died, Abraham was 148 years old, and Isaac had been 9 years married. There are, therefore, but two links—Methuselah and Shem—between Adam and Isaac. So that the early records of the Creation and the Fall of Man, which came down to Isaac, would challenge (apart from their inspiration) the same confidence which is readily yielded to a tale that reaches the hearer through two well-known persons between himself and the original chief actor in the events related.

There is no chronological improbability in that ancient Jewish tradition which brings Shem and Abraham into personal conference. [MELCHIZEDEK.]

A mistake in translating x. 21, which is admitted into the Septuagint, and is followed by the A. V. and Luther, has suggested the supposition that Shem was younger than Japheth (see A. Pfeiffer *Opera*, p. 30). There can be, however, no doubt (see Rosenmüller, *in loc.*, with whom Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1433, seems to agree) that the translation ought to be, according to grammatical rule, "the elder brother of Japheth." In the six places (v. 32, vi. 10, vii. 13, ix. 18, x. 1; 1 Chr. i. 4) where the three sons of Noah are named together, precedence is uniformly assigned to Shem. In ch. x. the descendants of Ham and Japheth are enumerated first, possibly because the sacred historian, regarding the Shemitic people as his proper subject, took the earliest opportunity to disencumber his narrative of a digression. The verse v. 32 compared with xi. 10 may be fairly understood to mean that the three sons of Noah were born after their father had attained the age of 500 years; but it cannot be reasonably inferred from thence either that Shem was the second son, or that they were all born in one year.

The portion of the earth occupied by the descendants of Shem (x. 21-31) intersects the portions of Japheth and Ham, and stretches in an uninterrupted line from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean. Beginning as its north-western extremity with Lydia (according to all ancient authorities, though doubted by Michaelis; see Gesen. *Thes.* p. 745), it includes Syria (Aram), Chaldaea (Arphaxad), parts of Assyria (Asshur), of Persia (Elam), and of the Arabian Peninsula (Joktan). The various questions connected with the disper

sion of the Shemitic people are discussed in the article SHEMITIC LANGUAGES.

The servitude of Canaan under Shem, predicted by Noah (ix. 26), was fulfilled primarily in the subjugation of the people of Palestine (Josh. xxiii. 4, and 2 Chr. viii. 7, 8). It is doubtful whether in verse 27 God or Japheth is mentioned as the dweller in the tents of Shem: in the former sense the verse may refer to the special presence of God with the Jews, and to the descent of Christ from them; or, in the latter sense, to the occupation of Palestine and adjacent countries by the Romans, and (spiritually understood) to the accession of the Gentiles to the Church of God (Eph. iii. 6). See A. Pfeifferi *Opera*, p. 40; Newton, *On the Prophecies*, Diss. i. [W. T. B.]

SHEM'A (שְׁמַע: Σαλμάα; Alex. Σαμαα: *Same*). One of the towns of Judah. It lay in the region of the south, and is named between AMAM and MOLADAH (Josh. xv. 26). In the list of the towns of Simeon selected from those in the south of Judah, Sheba takes the place of Shema, probably by an error of transcription or a change of pronunciation. The genealogical lists of 1 Chr. (ii. 43, 4) inform us that Shema originally proceeded from Hebron, and in its turn colonized Maon. [G.]

SHEM'A (שְׁמַע: Σαμά: *Samma*). **1.** A Reubenite, ancestor of Bela (1 Chr. v. 8).

2. (*Suma.*) Son of Elpaal, and one of the heads of the fathers of the inhabitants of Aijalon who drove out the inhabitants of Gath (1 Chr. viii. 13). Probably the same as SHIMHI.

3. (Σαμαΐας: *Semeïa.*) One of those who stood at Ezra's right hand when he read the Law to the people (Neh. viii. 4). Called SAMMUS, 1 Esdr. ix. 43.

SHEM'AAH (שְׁמַעְיָה: Ἀσμά; FA. Ἀμά: *Samaa*). A Benjamite of Gibeah, and father of Ahiezer and Joash, two warriors of their tribe who joined David at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 3). His name is written with the article, and is properly "Hashemaah." The margin of A.V. gives "Hasmaah."

SHEMAI'AH (שְׁמַעְיָה: Σαμαΐας: *Semeïas*).

1. A prophet in the reign of Rehoboam. When the king had assembled 180,000 men of Benjamin and Judah to reconquer the northern kingdom after its revolt, Shemaiah was commissioned to charge them to return to their homes, and not to war against their brethren (1 K. xii. 22; 2 Chr. xi. 2). His second and last appearance upon the stage was upon the occasion of the invasion of Judah and siege of Jerusalem by Shishak king of Egypt. His message was then one of comfort, to assure the princes of Judah that the punishment of their idolatry should not come by the hand of Shishak (2 Chr. xii. 5, 7). This event is in the order of narrative subsequent to the first, but from some circumstances it would seem to have occurred before the disruption of the two kingdoms. Compare xii. 1, where the people of Rehoboam are called "Israel," and xii. 5, 6 where the princes are called indifferently "of Judah" and "of Israel." He wrote a chronicle containing the events of Rehoboam's reign (2 Chr. xii. 15). In 1 Chr. xi. 2 his name is given in the lengthened form שְׁמַעְיָהוּ

2. (Σαμαΐα: *Semeïa, Semaïa.*) The son of Shechaniah, among the descendants of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. iii. 22). He was keeper of the east gate of the city, and assisted Nehemiah in restoring the wall (Neh. iii. 29). Lord A. Hervey (*Geneal.* p. 107) proposes to omit the words at the beginning of 1 Chr. ii. 22 as spurious, and to consider Shemaiah identical with SHIMEI 5, the brother of Zerubbabel.

3. (Σαμαιάς: *Samaïa.*) Ancestor of Ziza, a prince of the tribe of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 37). Perhaps the same as SHIMEI 6.

4. (Σεμεΐ: *Samia.*) Son of Joel a Reubenite; perhaps the same as SHEMA (1 Chr. v. 4). See JOEL 5.

5. (Σαμαΐα: *Semeïa.*) Son of Hasshub, a Merarite Levite who lived in Jerusalem after the Captivity (1 Chr. ix. 14; Neh. xi. 15), and had oversight of the outward business of the house of God.

6. (Σαμία.) Father of Obadiah, or Abda, a Levite who returned to Jerusalem after the Captivity (1 Chr. ix. 16). He is elsewhere called SHAMMUA (Neh. xi. 17).

7. (Σεμεΐ, Σεμαΐα; Alex. Ὀσμαΐα, Σεμεία: *Semeïas.*) Son of Elizaphan, and chief of his house in the reign of David (1 Chr. xv. 8, 11). He took part in the ceremonial with which the king brought the Ark from the house of Obed-edom.

8. (Σαμαΐας; Alex. Σαμμαΐας.) A Levite, son of Nethaneel, and also a scribe in the time of David. He registered the divisions of the priests by lot into twenty-four orders (1 Chr. xxiv. 6).

9. (Σαμαΐας; Alex. Σαμεΐας.) The eldest son of Obed-edom the Gittite. He and his brethren and his sons were gatekeepers of the Temple (1 Chr. xxvi. 4, 6, 7).

10. (Alex. Σαμείας.) A descendant of Jeduthun the singer who lived in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 14). He assisted in the purification of the Temple and the reformation of the service, and with Uzziel represented his family on that occasion.

11. (Σαμαΐα; Alex. Σαμαεία: *Samaïas.*) One of the sons of Adonikam who returned in the second caravan with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 13). Called SAMAIAS in 1 Esdr. viii. 39.

12. (Σεμεΐας: *Semeïas.*) One of the "heads" whom Ezra sent for to his camp by the river of Ahava, for the purpose of obtaining Levites and ministers for the Temple from "the place Casiphia" (Ezr. viii. 16). Called MASMAN in 1 Esdr. vii. 43.

13. (Σαμαΐα: *Semeïa.*) A priest of the family of Harim, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's bidding (Ezr. x. 21). He is called SAMEIUS in 1 Esdr. ix. 21.

14. (Σαμαΐας: *Semeïas.*) A layman of Israel, son of another Harim, who also had married a foreigner (Ezr. x. 31). Called SABBEUS in 1 Esdr. ix. 32.

15. (Σεμεΐ.) Son of Delaiah the son of Mehetabeel, a prophet in the time of Nehemiah, who was bribed by Sanballat and his confederates to frighten the Jews from their task of rebuilding the wall, and to put Nehemiah in fear (Neh. vi. 10). In his assumed terror he appears to have shut up his house and to have proposed that all should retire into the Temple and close the doors.

16. (Σαμαΐα, Σεμΐας; Alex. Σεμεΐας in Neh. xii.: *Semeia.*) The head of a priestly house who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 8). His family went up with Zerubbabel, and were represented in the time of Joiakim by Jehonathan (Neh. xii. 6, 18). Probably the same who is mentioned again in Neh. xii. 35.

17. (Σαμαΐας; Alex. Σααμαΐας.) One of the princes of Judah who went in procession with Ezra

in the right hand of the two thanksgiving companies who celebrated the solemn dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 34).

18. (Σαμαΐα.) One of the choir who took part in the procession with which the dedication of the new wall of Jerusalem by Ezra was accompanied (Neh. xii. 36). He appears to have been a Gershonite Levite, and descendant of Asaph, for reasons which are given under MATTANIAH 2.

19. (Om. in Vat. MS.; Alex. Σεμεΐας.) A priest who blew a trumpet on the same occasion (Neh. xii. 42).

20. (Σαμαΐας: *Semeias.*) Shemaiah the Nehelamite, a false prophet in the time of Jeremiah. He prophesied to the people of the Captivity in the name of Jehovah, and attempted to counteract the influence of Jeremiah's advice that they should settle quietly in the land of their exile, build houses, plant vineyards, and wait patiently for the period of their return at the end of seventy years. His animosity to Jeremiah exhibited itself in the more active form of a letter to the high-priest Zephaniah, urging him to exercise the functions of his office, and lay the prophet in prison and in the stocks. The letter was read by Zephaniah to Jeremiah, who instantly pronounced the message of doom against Shemaiah for his presumption, that he should have none of his family to dwell among the people, and that himself should not live to see their return from captivity (Jer. xxix. 24-32). His name is written in ver. 24 in the lengthened form שְׁמַעְיָהוּ.

21. (Σαμαΐας.) A Levite in the third year of Jehoshaphat, who was sent with other Levites, accompanied by two priests and some of the princes of Judah, to teach the people the book of the Law (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

22. (Σεμεΐ: *Semeïas.*) One of the Levites in the reign of Hezekiah, who were placed in the cities of the priests to distribute the tithes among their brethren (2 Chr. xxxi. 15).

23. (Σαμαΐας.) A Levite in the reign of Josiah, who assisted at the solemn passover (2 Chr. xxxv. 9). He is called the brother of Conaniah, and in 2 Chr. xxxi. 12 we find Cononiah and Shimei his brother mentioned in the reign of Hezekiah as chief Levites; but if Cononiah and Conaniah are the names of persons and not of families, they cannot be identical, nor can Shemaiah be the same as Shimei, who lived at least eighty-five years before him.

24. (*Semei.*) The father of Urijah of Kirjath-jearim (Jer. xxvi. 20).

25. (Σελεμίας; FA. Σεδεκίας: *Semeias.*) The father of Delaiah (Jer. xxxvi. 12). [W. A. W.]

SHEMARI'AH (שְׁמַרְיָהוּ: Σαμαρΐα; Alex. Σαμαρία: *Samaria*). 1. One of the Benjamite warriors, "helpers of the battle," who came to David at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 5).

2. (שְׁמַרְיָה: Σαμαρία: *Samarias*). One of the family of Harim, a layman of Israel, who put away his foreign wife in the time of Ezra (Ezr. x. 32).

3. (*Semeria.*) One of the family of Bani, under the same circumstances as the preceding (Ezr. x. 41).

SHEME'BER (שְׁמֶאֱבֶר: Συμοβόρ: *Semeber*). King of Zeboïm, and ally of the king of Sodom when he was attacked by the north-eastern invaders under Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 2). The Sam. Text and Version give "Shemebel."

SHEMER (שֶׁמֶר: Σεμήρ: *Somer*). The owner of the hill on which the city of Samaria was built (1 K. xvi. 24), and after whom it was called *Shomeron* by its founder Omri, who bought the site for two silver talents. We should rather have expected that the name of the city would have been *Shimron*, from *Shemer*; for *Shomeron* would have been the name given after an owner *Shomer*. This latter form, which occurs 1 Chr. vii. 32, appears to be that adopted by the Vulgate and Syriac, who read *Somer* and *Shomir* respectively; but the Vat. MS. of the LXX. retains the present form "Shemer," and changes the name of the city to Σεμερών or Σεμηρών. [W. A. W.]

SHEM'IDA (שְׁמִידָע: Συμαέρ, Συμαρίμ; Alex. Σεμιραέ in Josh.: *Semida*). A son of Gilead, and ancestor of the family of the Shemidaites (Num. xxvi. 32; Josh. xvii. 2). Called SHEMIDAH in the A. V. of 1 Chr. vii. 19.

SHEM'IDAH (שְׁמִידָע: Σεμιρά: *Semida*). The same as Shemida the son of Gilead (1 Chr. vii. 19).

SHEMIDA'ITES, THE (הַשְּׁמִידָעִי: ὁ Συμαερί: *Semidaïtae*). The descendants of Shemida the son of Gilead (Num. xxvi. 32). They obtained their lot among the male children of Manasseh (Josh. xvii. 2).

SHEM'INITH (הַשְּׁמִינִית). The title of Ps. vi. contains a direction to the leader of the stringed instruments of the Temple choir concerning the manner in which the Psalm was to be sung. "To the chief Musician on Neginoth upon Sheminith," or "the eighth," as the margin of the A. V. has it. A similar direction is found in the title of Ps. xii. The LXX. in both passages renders ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης, and the Vulgate *pro octavâ*. The Geneva Version gives "upon the eighth tune." Referring to 1 Chr. xv. 21, we find certain Levites were appointed by David to play "with harps on the Sheminith," which the Vulgate renders as above, and the LXX. by ἀμασενίθ, which is merely a corruption of the Hebrew. The Geneva Version explains in the margin, "which was the eighth tune, over the which he that was the most excellent had charge." As we know nothing whatever of the music of the Hebrews, all conjectures as to the meaning of their musical terms are necessarily vague and contradictory. With respect to Sheminith, most Rabbinical writers, as Rashi and Aben Ezra, follow the Targum on the Psalms in regarding it as a harp with eight strings; but this has no foundation, and depends upon a misconstruction of 1 Chr. xv. 21. Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v. נצח) says it denotes the *bass*, in opposition to Alamoth (1 Chr. xv. 20), which signifies the *treble*. But as the meaning of Alamoth itself is very obscure, we cannot make use of it for determining the meaning of a term which, though distinct from, is not necessarily contrasted with it. Others, with the author of *Shilte Haggibborim*, interpret "the *sheminith*" as the *octave*; but there is no evidence that the ancient Hebrews were acquainted with the octave as understood by ourselves. On comparing the manner in which the word occurs in the titles of the two Psalms already mentioned, with the position of the terms Aijeleth Shahar, Gittith, Jonath-elem-rechokim, &c., in other Psalms, which are generally regarded as indicating the melody to be employed by the singers

it seems most probable that Sheminith is of the same kind, and denotes a certain air known as the eighth, or a certain key in which the Psalm was to be sung. Maurer (*Comm. in Ps.* vi.) regards Sheminith as an instrument of deep tone like the violoncello, while Alamoth he compares with the violin; and such also appears to be the view taken by Junius and Tremellius. It is impossible in such a case to do more than point to the most probable conjecture. [W. A. W.]

SHEMI'RAMOTH (שְׁמִירָמוֹת: Σεμιραμώθ; Alex. Σεμιραμώθ, 1 Chr. xv. 18; FA. Σεμειραμώθ, 1 Chr. xv. 18, 20, Σαμαριμώθ, 1 Chr. xvi. 5: *Semiramoth*). 1. A Levite of the second degree, appointed to play with a psaltery "on Alamoth," in the choir formed by David. He was in the division which Asaph led with cymbals (1 Chr. xv. 18, 20, xvi. 5).

2. (Σεμιραμώθ.) A Levite in the reign of Jehoshaphat, who was sent with others through the cities of Judah to teach the book of the Law to the people (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

SHEMITIC LANGUAGES and WRITING. INTRODUCTION, §§1-5.—1. The expressions, "Shemitic family," and "Shemitic languages," are based, as is well known, on a reference to Gen. x. 21 seqq. [See SHEM.] Subsequently, the obvious inaccuracy of the expression has led to an attempt to substitute others, such as Western Asiatic, or Syro-Arabic—this last a happily chosen designation, as bringing at once before us the two geographical extremes of this family of languages. But the earlier, though incorrect one, has maintained its ground: and for purposes of convenience we shall continue to use it.[a]

2. It is impossible to lay down with accuracy the boundaries of the area, occupied by the tribes employing so-called Shemitic dialects. Various disturbing causes led to fluctuations, especially (as on the Northern side) in the neighbourhood of restless *Aryan* tribes. For general purposes, the highlands of Armenia may be taken as the Northern boundary—the river Tigris and the ranges beyond it as the Eastern—and the Red Sea, the Levant, and certain portions of Asia Minor as the Western. Within these limits lies the proper home of the Shemitic family, which has exercised so mighty an influence on the history of the world. The area named may seem small, in comparison with the wider regions occupied by the Aryan stock. But its geographical position in respect of so much of the old world—its two noble rivers, alike facilitating foreign and internal intercourse—the extent of seaboard and desert, presenting long lines of protection against foreign invasion—have proved eminently favourable to the undisturbed growth and development of this family of languages, as well as investing some branches (at certain periods of their history) with very considerable influence abroad.[b]

3. Varieties of the great Shemitic language-family are to be found in use in the following localities within the area named. In those ordinarily known as Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Assyria, there prevailed Aramaic dialects of different kinds, *e. g.* Biblical Chaldaic—that of the Targums and of the Syriac versions of Scripture—to which may be added other varieties of the same stock—such as that of the Palmyrene inscriptions—and of different Sabian fragments. Along the Mediterranean seaboard, and among the tribes settled in Canaan, must be placed the home of the language of the canonical books of the Old Testament, among which were interspersed some relics of that of the Phoenicians. In the south, amid the seclusion of Arabia, was preserved the dialect destined at a subsequent period so widely to surpass its sisters in the extent of territory over which it is spoken. A variety allied to this last, is found to have been domiciliated for a long time in Abyssinia.

In addition to the singular tenacity and exclusiveness of the Shemitic character, as tending to preserve unaltered the main features of their language, we may allow a good deal for the tolerably uniform climate of their geographical locations. But (as compared with variations from the parent stock in the Japhetian family), in the case of the Shemitic, the adherence to the original type is very remarkable. Turn where we will, from whatever causes springing, the same tenacity is discernible—whether we look to the simple pastoral tribes of the wilderness—the fierce and rapacious inhabitants of mountain regions—the craftsmen of cities, the tillers of the soil, or the traffickers in distant marts and havens.[c]

The following table is taken from Professor M. Müller's late volume *On the Science of Language* (p. 381)—a volume equally remarkable for research, fidelity, and graphic description:—

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE SHEMITIC FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

Living Languages.	*Dead Languages.*	*Classes.*	
Dialects of Arabic	Ethiopic	Arabic, or Southern.	Shemitic Family.
Amharic	Himyaritic Inscriptions		
The Jews	Biblical Hebrew	Hebraic, or Middle.	
	Samaritan Pentateuch		
	Carthaginian-Phoenician Inscriptions		
Neo-Syriac	Chaldee, Masora, Talmud, Targum, Biblical Chaldee	Aramaic, or Northern.	
	Syriac (Peshito, 2nd cent. A.D.)		
	Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylon and Nineveh		

Few enquiries would be more interesting, were sufficiently trustworthy means at hand, than that into the *original* Shemitic dialect, and as to whether or not the Aramaic was—not only in the first instance, but more long and widely than we ordinarily suppose—the principal means of intercommunication among all tribes of Shemitic origin, with the exception perhaps of those of the Arabian peninsula. The

[a] "La dénomination de sémitiques ne peut avoir d'inconvénient, du moment qu'on la prend comme une simple appellation conventionnelle et que l'on s'est expliqué sur ce qu'elle renferme de profondément inexact" (Renan, *Hist. Gen. des Langues Sémitiques*, i. 2). English scholars have lately adopted, from the French, the form "Semitic;" but there is no reason why *we* should abandon the Hebrew sound because the French find the pronunciation difficult.

[b] Bertheau, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, v. 609. 613; Fürst, *Lehrgebäude der Aramäischen Idiome*, §1.

[c] Scholz, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, Cöln, 1833, 21-26 Fürst, *Lehrgeb.* §§1, 20, 22.

historical books of the Old Testament show plainly, that between the occupation of Canaan, and the victories of Nebuchadnezzar, many causes led to the extension of the Aramaic, to the restriction of pure Hebrew. But there is much that is probable in the notion held by more than one scholar, that the spoken dialect of the Shemitic tribes external to Arabia (in the earliest periods of their history) closely resembled, or was in fact a better variety of Aramaic. This notion is corroborated by the traces still discernible in the Scriptures of Aramaisms, where the language (as in poetical fragments) would seem to have been preserved in a form most nearly resembling its original one:[d] and also from the resemblances which may be detected between the Aramaic and the earliest monument of Arabic speech—the Himyaritic fragments.[e]

4. The history of the Shemitic people tells us of various movements undertaken by them, but supplies no remarkable instances of their *assimilating*. Though carrying with them their language, institutions, and habits, they are not found to have struck root, but remained strangers and exotics in several instances, passing away without traces of their occupancy. So late as the times of Augustine, a dialect, derived from the old Phoenician settlers, was spoken in some of the more remote districts of Roman Africa. But no traces remained of the power, or arts of the former lords of sea and land, from whom these fragments were inherited. Equally striking is the absence of results, from the occupation of a vast aggregate of countries by the victorious armies of Islam. The centuries since elapsed prove in the clearest manner, that the vocation of the Arab branch of the Shemitic family was not to leaven the nations whom their first onset laid prostrate. They brought nothing with them but their own stern, subjective, unsocial religion. They borrowed many intellectual treasures from the conquered nations, yet were these never fully engrafted upon the alien Shemitic nature, but remained, under the most favourable circumstances, only external adjuncts and ornaments. And the same inveterate isolation still characterizes tribes of the race, when on new soil.

5. The peculiar elements of the Shemitic character will be found to have exercised considerable influence on their literature. Indeed, accordance is seldom more close, than in the case of the Shemitic race (where not checked by external causes) between the generic type of thought, and its outward expression. Like other languages, this one is mainly resolvable into monosyllabic primitives. These, as far as they may be traced by research and analysis, carry us back to the early times, when the broad line of separation, to which we have been so long accustomed, was not yet drawn between the Japhetian and the Shemitic languages. Instances of this will be brought forward in the sequel, but subsequent researches have amply confirmed the substance of Halhed's prediction of the ultimate recognition of the affinities between Sanscrit (= the Indo-German family) and Arabic (= the Shemitic) "in the main groundwork of language, in monosyllables, in the names of numbers, and the appellations of such things, as would be first discriminated on the immediate dawn of civilization."[f]

These monosyllabic primitives may still be traced in particles, and words least exposed to the ordinary causes of variation. But differences are observable in the principal parts of speech—the verb and the noun. Secondary notions, and those of relation, are grouped round the primary ones of meaning in a single word, susceptible of various internal changes according to the particular requirement. Hence, in the Shemitic family, the prominence of *formation*, and that mainly internal (or contained *within* the root form). By such instrumentality are expressed the differences between noun and verb, adjective and substantive. This mechanism, within certain limits, invests the Shemitic languages with considerable freshness and sharpness; but, as will be seen in the sequel, this language-family does not (for higher purposes) possess distinct powers of expression equal to those possessed by the Japhetian family. Another leading peculiarity of this branch of languages, is the absence (save in the case of proper names) of compound words—to which the sister family is indebted for so much life and variety. In the Shemitic family—agglutination, not logical sequence—independent roots, not compound appropriate derivations from the same root, are used to express respectively a train of thought, or different modifications of a particular notion. Logical sequence is replaced by simple material sequence.

Both language-families are full of life; but the life of the Japhetian is organic—of the Shemitic, an aggregate of units. The one looks around to be taught, and pauses to gather up its lessons into form and shape: the other contains a lore within itself, and pours out its thoughts and fancies as they arise.[g]

§§ 6-13.—Hebrew Language.—Period of Growth.

6. The Hebrew language is a branch of the so-called Shemitic family, extending over a large portion of South-Western Asia. The development and culture of this latter will be found to have been considerably influenced by the situation or fortunes of its different districts. In the north (or Aram, under which designation are comprehended Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia), and under a climate partially cold and ungenial—in the close proximity of tribes of a different origin, not unfrequently masters by conquest—the Shemitic dialect became in places harsher, and its general character less pure and distinct. Towards the south, opposite causes contributed to maintain the language in its purity. In Arabia, preserved by many causes from foreign invasion, the language maintained more euphony and delicacy, and exhibited greater variety of

[d] "Un autre fait, non moins digne de remarque, c'est l'analogie frappante qu'ont toutes ces irrégularités provinciales avec l'Araméen. Il semble que, même avant la captivité, le patois populaire se rapprochait beaucoup de cette langue, en sorte qu'il nous est maintenant impossible de séparer bien nettement, dans le style de certains écrits, ce qui appartient au dialecte populaire, ou au patois du royaume d'Israël, ou à l'influence des temps de la captivité." "Il est à remarquer, du reste, que les langues sémitiques diffèrent moins dans la bouche du peuple que dans les livres" (Renan i. 141 142; and also Fürst, *Lehrgeb.* §§ 3, 4, 3, 11).

[e] Hoffmann, *Gramm. Syr.* p. 5-6; Scholz, i p. 41, 2, p. 8-9; Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude* (1817), p. 134-6; Fürst, *Lehrgeb.* §§4, 14; Rawlinson, *Journal of Asiatic Society*, xv. 233.

[f] Halhed's *Grammar of the Bengal Language*, 1778, quoted in Delitzsch, *Jesurun*, p. 113; Fürst, *Lehrgeb.* Zweiter Haupttheil.

[g] Ewald, *Gramm. d. A. T.* 1833, 4-8 Bertheau, in Herzog, v. 611, 12; Reuss, *Ibid.* 598, 600, Franck, *Études Orientales*, 38%.

words and construction. A reference to the map will serve to explain this—lying as did Judæa between Aram and Arabia, and chiefly inhabited by the Hebrew race, with the exception of Canaanite and Phœnician tribes. Of the language of these last few distinctive remains have hitherto been brought to light.[h] But its general resemblance to that of the Terachite settlers is beyond all doubt, both in the case of the Hamite tribes, and of the Philistine tribes, another branch of the same stock.

Originally, the language of the Hebrews presented more affinities with the Aramaic, in accordance with their own family accounts, which bring the Patriarchs from the N.E.,—more directly from northern Mesopotamia. In consequence of vicinity, as was to be anticipated, many features of resemblance to the Arabic may be traced; but subsequently, the Hebrew language will be found to have followed an independent course of growth and development.

7. Two questions, in direct connexion with the early movements of the ancestors of the subsequent Hebrew nation, have been discussed with great earnestness by many writers—the first bearing on the causes which set the Terachite family in motion towards the south and west; the second, on the origin and language of the tribes in possession of Canaan at the arrival of Abraham.

In Gen. x. and xi. we are told of five sons of Shem—Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram. The last of these (or rather the peoples descended from him) will be considered subsequently. The fourth has been supposed to be either the progenitor (or the collective appellation) of the tribes which originally occupied Canaan and the so-called Shemitic regions to the south. Of the remaining three, the tribes descended from Elam and called by his name were probably subjugated at an early period, for in Gen. xiv. mention is made of the headship of an anti-Terachite league being vested in the king of Elam, Chedorlaomer, whose name points to a Cushite origin. Whether Shemitic occupation was succeeded at once (in the case of Elam[i]) by Aryan, or whether a Cushite (Hamite) domination intervened, cannot now be decided. But in the case of the second, Asshur, there can be little doubt, on the showing of Scripture (Gen. x. 11), that his descendants were disturbed in their home by the advance of the clearly traceable Cushite stream of population flowing upwards on a return course through Arabia, where plain marks are to be found of its presence.[k] When we bear in mind the strongly marked differences existing between the Shemitic and Cushite (=Hamite) races in habits and thought,[m] and the manifestation of God's wrath left on record, we can well understand an uneasiness and a desire of removal among the Shemitic population of the plains by the river. Scripture only tells us that, led in a way which they knew not, chosen Shemitic wanderers of the lineage of Arphaxad set forth on the journey fraught with such enduring consequences to the history of the world, as recorded in Scripture, in its second stage of progress. There is at least nothing unreasonable in the thought, that the movement of Terah from Ur of the Chaldees (if modern scholarship is right in the locality selected) was caused by Divine suggestion, acting on a mind ill at ease in the neighbourhood of Cushite thought and habits. It may be that the active cause of the movement recorded in Gen. xi. 31 was a renewed manifestation of the One True God, the influences of which were to be stamped on all that was of Israel, and not least palpably on its language in its purity and proper development. The leading particulars of that memorable journey are preserved to us in Scripture, which is also distinct upon the fact, that the new comers and the earlier settlers in Canaan found no difficulty in conversing. Indeed, neither at the first entrance of Terachites, nor at the return of their descendants after their long sojourn in Egypt, does there appear to have been any difficulty in this respect in the case of any of the numerous tribes of either Shemitic or Hamitic origin of which mention is made in Scripture. But, as was to be expected, very great difference of opinion is to be found, and very much learned discussion has taken place, as to whether the Terachites adopted the language of the earlier settlers, or established their own in its place. The latter alternative is hardly probable, although for a long time, and among the earlier writers on Biblical subjects, it was maintained with great earnestness—Walton, for example, holding the advanced knowledge and civilization of the Terachite immigration in all important particulars. It may be doubted, with a writer of the present day,[n] whether this is a sound line of reasoning, and whether "this contrast between the inferiority of the chosen people in all secular advantages, and their pre-eminence in religious privileges," is not "an argument which cannot be too strongly insisted on by a Christian advocate." The whole history of the Jewish people anterior to the advent of Christ would seem to indicate that any great early amount of civilization, being built necessarily on closer intercourse with the surrounding peoples, would have tended to retard rather than promote the object for which that people was chosen. The probability is, that a great original similarity existing between the dialects of the actual possessors of the country in their various localities, and that of the immigrants, the latter were less likely to impart than to borrow from their more advanced neighbours.

On what grounds is the undoubted similarity of the dialect of the Terachites, to that of the occupants at the time of their immigration, to be explained? Of the origin of its earliest occupants, known to us in the sacred records by the mysterious and boding names of Nephilim, Zamzummim, and the like, and of whose probable Titanic size traces have been brought to light by recent travellers, history records nothing certain. Some assert that no reliable traces of Shemitic language

[h] "The name of their country, פְּלֶשֶׁת = the land of immigration,—points to the fact that the Philistines did not reach the line of coast from the interior at all events" (*Quart. Rev.* lxxviii. 172).

[i] The word Elam is simply the pronunciation, according to the organs of Western Asia, of Iran = Airyama = Airjana. Renan, i. 41, on the authority of Burnouf and M. Müller; J. G. Müller, *R. E.* xiv. 233; Rawlinson, *Journal of Asiatic Society*, xv 222.

[k] Renan, i. 34, 312, 315; Spiegel, in Herzog, x. 365-6.

[m] Compare Gen. xi. 5 with Gen. xviii. 20, and note 1, Rawlinson, *J. A. S.* xv. 231. Does the cuneiform orthography Bab-Il = "the gate of God," point to the act of Titanic audacity recorded in Gen.? and is the punishment recorded in the confusion expressed in a Shemitic word of kindred sound? Quatremère, *Mélanges d'Histoire*, 113, 164.

[n] Bishop of St. Davids' *Letter to the Rev. R. Williams D.D.*, p. 65.

are to be found north of Mount Taurus, and claim for the early inhabitants of Asia Minor a Japhetian origin. Others affirm the descent of these early tribes from Lud, the fourth son of Shem, and their migration from "Lydia to Arabia Petraea and the southern borders of Palestine."[o] But these must have disappeared at an early period, no mention being made of them in Gen. x., and their remains being only alluded to in references to the tribes which, under a well-known designation, we find in occupation of Palestine on the return from Egypt.

8. Another view is that put forward by our countryman Rawlinson, and shared by other scholars. "Either from ancient monuments, or from tradition, or from the dialects now spoken by their descendants, we are authorised to infer that at some very remote period, before the rise of the Shemitic or Arian nations, a great Scythic" (=Hamitic) "population must have overspread Europe, Asia, and Africa, speaking languages all more or less dissimilar in their vocabulary, but possessing in common certain organic characteristics of grammar and construction."[p]

And this statement would appear, in its leading features, to be historically sound. As was to be anticipated, both from its importance and from its extreme obscurity, few subjects connected with Biblical antiquities have been more warmly discussed than the origin of the Canaanitish occupants of Palestine. Looking to the authoritative records (Gen. ix. 18, x. 6, 15-20) there would seem to be no reason for doubt as to the Hamitic origin of these tribes.[q] Nor can the singular accordances discernible between the language of these Canaanitish (=Hamitic) occupants, and the Shemitic family be justly pleaded in bar of this view of the origin of the former. "If we examine the invaluable ethnography of the Book of Genesis we shall find that, while Ham is the brother of Shem, and therefore a relationship between his descendants and the Shemitic nations fully recognised, the Hamites are described as those who previously occupied the different countries into which the Aramaean race afterwards forced their way. Thus Scripture (Gen. x. seqq.) attributes to the race of Ham not only the aboriginal population of Canaan, with its wealthy and civilised communities on the coast, but also the mighty empires of Babylon and Nineveh, the rich kingdoms of Sheba and Havilah in Arabia Felix, and the wonderful realm of Egypt. There is every reason to believe—indeed in some cases the proof amounts to demonstration—that all these Hamitic nations spoke languages which differed only dialectically from those of the Syro-Arabic family."[r]

9. Connected with this subject of the relationship discernible among the early Noachidae is that of the origin and extension of the art of writing among the Shemites, the branch with which we are at present concerned. Our limits preclude a discussion upon the many theories by which the student is still bewildered: the question would seem to be, in the case of the Terachite branch of the Shemitic stock, did they acquire the art of writing from the Phoenicians, or Egyptians, or Assyrians—or was it evolved from given elements among themselves?

But while the truth with respect to the origin of Shemitic writing is as yet involved in obscurity, there can be no doubt that an indelible influence was exercised by Egypt upon the Terachite branch in this particular. The language of Egypt cannot be considered as a bar to this theory, for, in the opinion of most who have studied the subject, the Egyptian language may claim an Asiatic, and indeed a Shemitic origin. Nor can the changes wrought be justly attributed to the Hyksos, instead of the Egyptians. These people, when scattered after their long sojourn, doubtless carried with them many traces and results of the superior culture of Egypt; but there is no evidence to show that they can be considered in any way as instructors of the Terachites. The claim, so long acquiesced in, of the Phoenicians in this respect, has been set aside on distinct grounds. What was the precise amount of cultivation, in respect of the art of writing, possessed by the Terachites at the immigration or at their removal to Egypt, we cannot now tell—probably but limited, when estimated by their social position. But the Exodus found them possessed of that priceless treasure, the germ of the alphabet of the civilised world, built on a pure Shemitic basis, but modified by Egyptian culture. "There can be no doubt that the phonetic signs are subsequent to the objective and determinative hieroglyphics, and showing as they do a much higher power of abstraction, they must be considered as infinitely more valuable contributions to the art of writing. But the Egyptians have conferred a still greater boon on the world, if their hieroglyphics were to any extent the origin of the Shemitic, which has formed the basis of almost every known system of letters. The long continuance of a pictorial and figurative system of writing among the Egyptians, and their low, and, after all, imperfect syllabarium, must be referred to the same source as their pictorial and figurative representation of their idea of the Deity; just as, on the contrary, the early adoption by the people of Israel of an alphabet properly so called must be regarded as one among many proofs which they gave of their powers of abstraction, and consequently of their fitness for a more spiritual worship."[s]

10. Between the dialects of Aram and Arabia, that of the Terachites occupied a middle place—superior to the first, as being the language in which are preserved to us the inspired outpourings of so many great prophets and poets—wise, learned, and eloquent—and different from the second (which does not appear in history until a comparatively recent period) in its antique simplicity and majesty.

The dialect, which we are now considering, has been ordinarily designated as that of the Hebrews, rather than of the Israelites, apparently for the following reasons. The appellation Hebrew is of old standing, but has no reference to the history of the

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[o] Renan, i. 45, 107; Arnold, in Herzog, viii. 310, 11; Graham, *Cambridge Essays*, 1858.

[p] Rawlinson, *J. of A. S.* xv. 230, 232.

[q] "All the Canaanites were, I am satisfied, Scyths; and the inhabitants of Syria retained their distinctive ethnic character until quite a late period of history. According to the inscriptions, the Khetta or Hittites were the dominant Scythian race from the earliest times." Rawlinson, *J. A. S.* xv. 230.

[r] *Quarterly Rev.* lxxviii. 173. See a quotation in *J. A. S.* xv. 238, on the corruption of manners flowing from the advanced civilization of the Hamites.

[s] *Q. R.* lxxviii. 156; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 472-474; Hoffmann, *Gramm. Syriac.* pp. 60-62; Leyrer, Herzog, xiv. 358, 359; Lepsius, *Zwei Abhandlungen*, 39, 40, 56, 65 J. G. Müller, in Herzog, xiv. 232; Rawlinson, *J. A. S.* xv. 222, 226, 230; Saalschütz, *Zur Geschichte d. Buchstabenschrift*, §§6, 17, 18; Vaihinger, in Herzog, xi. 302.

people, as connected with its glories or eminence, while that of Israel is bound up with its historical grandeur. The people is addressed as *Israel* by their priests and prophets, on solemn occasions, while by foreigners they are designated as Hebrews (Gen. xl. 15), and indeed by some of their own early writers, where no point is raised in connection with their religion (Gen. xliii. 32; Ex. xxi. 2; 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 7, xiv. 21). It was long assumed that their designation (עִבְרִים = *οἱ περάται*) had reference to Eber, the ancestor of Abraham. More probably it should be regarded as designating all the Shemitic-speaking tribes, which had migrated to the south from the other side of the Euphrates; and in that case, might have been applied by the earlier inhabitants of Canaan. But in either case, the term "Hebrews" would comprise all the descendants of Abraham, and their language therefore should be designated as the Hebrew, in accordance with the more usual name of the people. "The language of Canaan" is used instead (Is. xix. 18), but in this passage the country of Canaan is contrasted with that of Egypt. The expression "the Jews' language" (Is. xxxvi. 11, 13) applies merely to the dialect of the kingdom of Judah, in all probability, more widely used after the fall of Samaria.

11. Many causes, all obvious and intelligible, combine to make difficult, if not impossible, any formal or detached account of the Hebrew language, anterior to its assuming a written shape. But various reasons occur to render difficult, even within this latter period, such a reliable history of the Hebrew language as befits the exceeding interest of the subject. In the first place, very little has come down to us, of what appears to have been an extensive and diversified literature. Where the facts requisite for a judgment are so limited, any attempt of the kind is likely to mislead, as being built on speculations, erecting into characteristics of an entire period what may be simply the peculiarities of the author, or incidental to his subject or style. Again, attempts at a philological history of the Hebrew language will be much impeded by the fact—that the chronological order of the extant Scriptures is not in all instances clear—and that the history of the Hebrew nation from its settlement to the 7th century B.C. is without changes or progress of the marked and prominent nature required for a satisfactory critical judgment. Unlike languages of the Japhetian stock, such as the Greek or German, the Hebrew language, like all her Shemitic sisters, is firm and hard as from a mould—not susceptible of change. In addition to these characteristics of their language, the people by whom it was spoken were of a retired and exclusive cast, and, for a long time, exempt from foreign sway. The dialects also of the few conterminous tribes, with whom they had any intercourse, were allied closely with their own.

The extant remains of Hebrew literature are destitute of any important changes in language, during the period from Moses to the Captivity. A certain and intelligible amount of progress, but no considerable or remarkable difference (according to one school), is really observable in the language of the Pentateuch, the Books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, the Kings, the Psalms, or the prophecies of Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, Joel, Micah, Nanum, Habakkuk, and Jeremiah—widely separated from each other by time as are many of these writings. Grammars and lexicons are confidently referred to, as supplying abundant evidence of unchanged materials and fashioning; and foreign words, when occurring, are easily to be recognized under their Shemitic dress, or their introduction as easily to be explained.

At the first sight, and to modern judgment, much of this appears strange, and possibly untenable. But an explanation of the difficulty is sought in the unbroken residence of the Hebrew people, without removal or molestation—a feature of history not unexpected or surprising in the case of a people, preserved by Providence simply as the guardians of a sacred deposit of truth, not yet ripe for publication. An additional illustration of the immunity from change, is to be drawn from the history of the other branches of the Shemitic stock. The Aramaic dialect, as used by various writers for eleven hundred years, although inferior to the Hebrew in many respects, is almost without change, and not essentially different from the language of Daniel and Ezra. And the Arabic language, subsequently to its second birth, in connexion with Mahometanism, will be found to present the same phenomena.

12. Moreover, is it altogether a wild conjecture, to assume as not impossible, the formation of a sacred language among the chosen people, at so marked a period of their history as that of Moses? Every argument leads to a belief, that the popular dialect of the Hebrews from a very early period was deeply tinged with Aramaic, and that it continued so. But there is surely nothing unlikely or inconsistent in the notion that he who was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" should have been taught to introduce a sacred language, akin, but superior to the every-day dialect of his people—the property of the rulers, and which subsequent writers should be guided to copy. Such a language would be the sacred and learned one—that of the few,—and no clearer proof of the limited hold exercised by this classical Hebrew on the ordinary language of the people can be required than its rapid withdrawal, after the Captivity, before a language composed of dialects hitherto disregarded, but still living in popular use. It has been well said that "literary dialects, or what are commonly called classical languages, pay for their temporary greatness by inevitable decay." "If later in history we meet with a new body of stationary language forming or formed, we may be sure that its tributaries were those rivulets which for a time were almost lost to our sight."[t]

13. A few remarks may not be out of place here with reference to some leading linguistic peculiarities in different books of the O. T. For ordinary purposes the old division into the golden and silver ages is sufficient. A detailed list of peculiarities observable in the Pentateuch (without, however, destroying its close similarity to other O. T. writings) is given by Scholz, divided under lexical, grammatical, and syntactical heads. With the style of the Pentateuch (as might be expected) that of Joshua very closely corresponds. The feeling of hostility to the neighbouring peoples of mixed de-

[t] M. Müller, *Science of Language*, 57-59: a most instructive passage. Forster, *Voice of Israel*, 77. "Vieles auch, was uns jetzt zum ersten mal in den Denkmälern der macedonischen Weltzeit begegnet, mag wohl älter sevn, aber damals zuerst aus dem Dunkel der Volkssprache, die ja überall reicher ist als die der classischen Legitimität." Reuss, in Herzog, v. 707

scent, so prevalent at the time of the restoration, makes strongly against the asserted late origin of the Book of Ruth, in which it cannot be traced. But (with which we are at present concerned) the style points to an earlier date, the asserted Aramaisms being probably relics of the popular dialect.[u] The same linguistic peculiarities are observable (among other merits of style) in the Books of Samuel.[x]

The Books of Job and Ecclesiastes contain many asserted Aramaisms, which have been pleaded in support of a late origin of these two poems. In the case of the first, it is argued (on the other side) that these peculiarities are not to be considered so much poetical ornaments as ordinary expressions and usages of the early Hebrew language, affected necessarily to a certain extent by intercourse with neighbouring tribes. And the asserted want of study and polish, in the diction of this book, leads to the same conclusion. As respects the Book of Ecclesiastes the case is more obscure, as in many instances the peculiarities of style seem rather referable to the secondary Hebrew of a late period of Hebrew history, than to an Aramaic origin. But our acquaintance with Hebrew literature is too limited to allow the formation of a positive opinion on the subject, in opposition to that of ecclesiastical antiquity.[y] In addition to roughnesses of diction, growing probably out of the same cause—close intercourse with the people—so-called Aramaisms are to be found in the remains of Jonah and Hosea, and expressions closely allied in those of Amos.[z] This is not the case in the writings of Nahum, Zephaniah, and Habakkuk, and in the still later ones of the minor prophets; the treasures of past times, which filled their hearts, served as models of style.[a]

As with respect to the Book of Ecclesiastes (at the hands of modern critics), so, in the case of Ezekiel, Jewish critics have sought to assign its peculiarities of style and expression to a secondary Hebrew origin.[b] But the references above given may serve to aid the consideration of a most interesting question, as to the extent to which Aramaic elements entered into the ordinary dialect of the Hebrew people, from early times to the Captivity.

The peculiarities of language in Daniel belong to another field of inquiry; and under impartial consideration more difficulties may be found to disappear, as in the case of those with regard to the asserted Greek words. The language and subject-matter of Daniel (especially the latter), in the opinion of scholars, led Ezra and Nehemiah to place this book elsewhere than among the prophetical writings. To their minds, the apocalyptic character of the book might seem to assign it rather to the Hagiographa than the roll of prophecy, properly so called. Inquiries, with respect to the closing of the canon, tend to shake the comparatively recent date which it has been so customary to assign to this book.[c]

With these exceptions (if so to be considered) few traces of dialects are discernible in the small remains still extant, for the most part composed in Judah and Jerusalem. The dialects of the northern districts probably were influenced by their Aramaic neighbours; and local expressions are to be detected in Judg. v. and xii. 6. At a later period Philistine dialects are alluded to (Neh. xiii. 23, 24), and that of Galilee (Matt. xxvi. 73).

As has been remarked, the Aramaic elements above alluded to, are most plainly observable in the remains of some of the less educated writers. The general style of Hebrew prose literature is plain and simple, but lively and pictorial, and rising with the subject, at times, to considerable elevation. But the strength of the Hebrew language lies in its poetical and prophetical remains. For simple and historical narrative, ordinary words and formations sufficed. But the requisite elevation of poetical composition, and the necessity (growing out of the general use of parallelism) for enlarging the supply of striking words and expressions at command, led to the introduction of many expressions which we do not commonly find in Hebrew prose literature.[d] For the origin[e] and existence of these we must look especially to the Aramaic, from which expressions were borrowed, whose force and peculiarities might give an additional ornament and point not otherwise attainable. Closely resembling that of the poetical books, in its general character, is the style of the prophetical writings, but, as might be anticipated, more oratorical, and running into longer sentences. Nor should it be forgotten, by the side of so much that is uniform in language and construction throughout so long a period, that diversities of individual dispositions and standing are strongly marked, in the instances of several writers. But from the earliest period of the existence of a literature among the Hebrew people to B.C. 600, the Hebrew language continued singularly exempt from change, in all leading and general features, and in the general laws of its expressions, forms, and combinations.

From that period the Hebrew dialect will be found to give way before the Aramaic, in what has been preserved to us of its literature, although, as is not unfrequently the case, some later writers copy, with almost regretful accuracy, the classical and consecrated language of a brighter period.

§§14-19. Aramaic Language.—Scholastic Period.

14. The language ordinarily called Aramaic is a dialect of the great Shemitic family, deriving its name from the district over which it was spoken, Aram = the high or hill country (as Canaan = the low country). But the name is applied, both by Biblical and other writers, in a wider and a more restricted sense. The designation—Aram—was imperfectly known to the Greeks and Romans, by whom the country was called Syria, an abbreviation of Assyria, according to Herodotus (vii. 63).[f] In general practice Aram was divided into Eastern

[u] Scholz, *Einl.* 313, and note; Nägelsbach, in Herzog, xiii. 188.

[x] Nägelsbach, *ibid.* 412.

[y] Scholz, *Einl.* iii. 65-67, 180, 181; Ewald, *Hiob*, 65.

[z] Scholz, *ibid.* 581, 537, 549.

[a] Scholz, *ibid.* 595, 600, 606; Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. t. 2, §215.

[b] Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, 162.

[c] See also Rawlinson, *J. A. S.* xv. 247; Delitzsch, in Herzog, iii. 274; Vaihinger, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1857, 93-99.

[d] "L'importance du verset dans le style des Sémites est la meilleure preuve du manque absolu de construction intérieure qui caractérise leur phrase. Le verset n'a rien de commun avec la période grecque et latine, puisqu'il n'offre pas une suite de membres dépendants les uns des autres: c'est une coupe à peu près arbitraire dans une série de propositions séparées par des virgules." Renan, i. 21.

[e] Reuss, in Herzog, v. 606-8; Bleek, *Einleitung*, 80-9.

[f] Other derivations are given and refuted by Quatremère, *Mélanges d'Histoire*, 122.

and Western. The dialects of these two districts were severally called Cnaldaic and Syriac—designations not happily chosen, but, as in the case of Shemitic, of too long currency to be changed without great inconvenience. No traces remain of the numerous dialects which must have existed in so large an aggregate of many very populous districts. Nothing can be more erroneous, than the application of the word "Chaldaic" to the East Aramaic dialect. It seems probable that the Chaldaeans were a people of Japhetian extraction, who probably took the name of the Shemitic tribe whom they dislodged before their connexion with Babylon, so long, so varied, and so full of interest. But it would be an error to attribute to these conquerors any great or early amount of cultivation. The origin of the peculiar and advanced civilization to be traced in the basin of Mesopotamia must be assigned to another cause — the influences of Cushite immigration. The colossal scientific and industrial characteristics of Assyrian civilization are not reasonably deducible from Japhetian influences—that race, in those early times, having evinced no remarkable tendency for construction or the study of the applied sciences. Accordingly, it would seem not unreasonable to place on the two rivers a population of Cushite (Hamite) accomplishments, if not origin, subsequent to the Shemitic occupation, which established its own language as the ordinary one of these districts; and thirdly, a body of warriors and influential men —of Japhetian origin—the true Chaldeans, whose name has been applied to a Shemitic district and dialect.[g]

The eastern boundary of the Shemitic languages is obscure; but this much may be safely assumed, that this family had its earliest settlement on the upper basin of the Tigris, from which extensions were doubtless made to the south. And (as has been before said) history points to another stream, flowing northward (at a subsequent but equally ante-historic period), of Cushite population, with its distinctive accomplishments. These settlements would seem to comprise the wide extent of country extending from the ranges bounding the watershed of the Tigris to the N. and E., to the plains in the S. and W. towards the lower course of the "great river," = Assyria (to a great extent), Mesopotamia and Babylonia, with its southern district, Chaldea. There are few more interesting linguistic questions, than the nature of the vernacular language of this last-named region, at the period of the Jewish deportation by Nebuchadnezzar. It was, mainly and incontestably, Shemitic; but by the side of it an Aryan one, chiefly official, is said to be discernible. [CHALDEA; CHALDEANS.] The passages ordinarily relied on (Dan. i. 4, ii. 4) are not very conclusive in support of this latter theory, which derives more aid from the fact, that many proper names of ordinary occurrence (Belshazzar, Merodach-Baladan, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, Nebo, Nebuchadnezzar) are certainly not Shemitic. As little, perhaps, are they Aryan—but in any case they may be naturalised relics of the Assyrian supremacy.

The same question has been raised as to the Shemitic or Aryan origin of the vernacular language of Assyria—*i. e.* the country to the E. of the Euphrates. As in the case of Babylonia, the language appears to have been, ordinarily, that of a blended Shemitic and Cushite population—and a similar difficulty to be connected with the ordinary proper names—Nibchaz, Pul, Salmanassar, Sardanapalus, Sennacherib, Tartak, and Tiglath-Pileser. Is. xxxiii. 19, and Jer. v. 15, have been referred to as establishing the difference of the vernacular language of Assyria from the Shemitic. Our knowledge of the so-called Cushite stock in the basins of the two rivers is but limited; but in any case a strong Shemitic if not Cushite element is so clearly discernible in many old local and proper names, as to make an Aryan or other vernacular language unlikely, although incorporations may be found to have taken place, from some other language, probably that of a conquering race.

Until recently, the literature of these wide districts was a blank. Yet "there must have been a Babylonian literature, as the wisdom of the Chaldeans had acquired a reputation, which could hardly have been sustained without a literature. If we are ever to recover a knowledge of that ancient Babylonian literature, it must be from the cuneiform inscriptions lately brought home from Babylon and Nineveh. They are clearly written in a Shemitic language" (M. Müller, *S. of L.* 263). As has been before remarked [BABYLONIA, §16] the civilization of Assyria was derived from Babylonia in its leading features—Assyrian art, however, being progressive, and marked by local features, such as the substitution of alabaster for bricks as a material for sculpture. With regard to the dialects used for the class of inscriptions with which we are concerned, namely, the Assyrian—as distinguished from the Zend (or Persian) and Tartar (?) families of cuneiform memorials—the opinion of scholars is all but unanimous—Lassen, Burnouf (as far as he pronounces an opinion), Layard, Spiegel, all agree with the great authority above cited. Renan differs, unwillingly, from them.

From what source, then, does it seem most probable that future scholars will find this peculiar form of writing deducible? One of the latest writers on the subject, Oppert, divides the family, instead of three, into two large classes—the Aryan or Old Persian, and another large class containing various subdivisions of which the Assyrian forms one. The character itself he asserts to be neither Aryan nor Shemitic in its origin, but ancient Central Asiatic, and applied with difficulty, as extraneous and exotic, to the languages of totally different races. But it is quite as likely that the true origin may be found in an exactly different direction—the S.W.—for this peculiar system of characters, which, besides occupying the great river basins of which we have spoken, may be traced westward as far as Beyrout and Cyprus, and eastward, although less plainly, to Bactra. Scholars, including Oppert, incline to the judgment, that (as Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic writers all show) from a Cushite stock (Gen. x. 8-12) there grew up Babylon and Nineveh, and other great homes of civilization, extending from the level plains of Chaldaea far away to the N. and E. of Assyria. In these districts, far anterior to the deportation of the Jews, but down to that period, flourished the schools of learning, that gave birth to results, material and intellectual, stamped with affinity to those of Egypt. It may well be, that in the progress of discovery, from Shemitic—Cushite records —akin to the Himyaritic and Ethiopic—scholars may carry back these researches to Shemitic — Cushite imitations of kindred writing from southern lands. Already the notion has obtained currency

[g] Renan, p. 211. Quatremère, *Mélanges d'Histoire*, pp. 98 190, and especially 113-164.

that the so-called primitive Shemitic alphabet, of Assyrian or Babylonian origin, is transitional, built on the older formal and syllabic one, preserved in cuneiform remains. To this fact we shall in the sequel recur—passing now to the condition of the Aramaic language at the time of the Captivity. Little weight can be attributed to the argument, that the ancient literature of the district being called "Chaldean," an Aryan origin is implied. The word "Chaldean" naturally drove out "Babylonian," after the establishment of Chaldean ascendancy, in the latter country; but as in the case of Greece and Rome, intellectual ascendancy held its ground after the loss of material power and rule.[h]

15. Without entering into the discussions respecting the exact propriety of the expressions, it will be sufficient to follow the ordinary division of the Aramaic into the Chaldaic or Eastern, and the Western or Syriac dialects.

The term "Chaldaic" is now (like "Shemitic") firmly established, but Babylonian would appear more suitable. We know that it was a spoken language at the time of the Captivity.

A valuable outline of the different ages and styles observable in the Aramaic branch of the Shemitic family has been given by both Delitzsch and Fürst, which (with some additions) is here reproduced for the reader.[i]

(1.) The earliest extant fragments are the well-known ones to be found at Dan. ii. 4–vii. 28; Ezr. iv. 8–vi. 18; vii. 12-26. Affinities are to be traced, without difficulty, between these fragments, which differ again in some very marked particulars from the earliest Targums.[k]

To those who in the course of travel have observed the ease, almost the unconsciousness—with which persons, living on the confines of cognate dialects, pass from the use of one to another—or who are aware, how close is the connexion, and how very slight the difference between conterminous dialectical varieties of one common stock, there can be nothing strange in this juxtaposition of Hebrew and Aramaic portions. The prophet Daniel, we may be sure, cherished with true Israelite affection the holy language of his early home, while his high official position must have involved a thorough acquaintance not only with the ordinary Babylonish-Aramaic, but with the Chaldaic (properly so called). Accordingly, we may understand how the prophet might pass without remark from the use of one dialect to the other. Again, in the case of Ezra, although writing at a later period, when the holy language had again been adopted as a standard of style and means of expression by Jewish writers,—there is nothing difficult to be understood in his incorporating with his own composition accounts written by an eye-witness in Aramaic, of events which took place before his own arrival.[m]

(2.) The Syro-Chaldaic originals of several of the Apocryphal books are lost; many Hebraisms were engrafted on the Aramaic as spoken by the Jews, but the dialect of the earlier Targums contains a perceptibly smaller amount of such admixture than later compilations.

(3.) The language of the Gemaras is extremely composite—that of the Jerusalem Gemara being less pure than that of Babylon. Still lower in the scale, according to the same authority, are those of the fast-expiring Samaritan dialect, and that of Galilee.

(4.) The curious book Zohar—an adaptation of Aramaic expressions to Judaizing Gnosticism—among its foreign additions contains very many from the Arabic, indicative (according to Delitzsch) of a Spanish origin.

(5.) The Masora, brief and symbolical, is chiefly remarkable for what may be called vernacular peculiarities.

(6.) The Christian or ecclesiastical Aramaic is that ordinarily known as Syriac—the language of early Christianity, as Hebrew and Arabic, respectively, of the Jewish religion and Mahometanism.

The above classification may be useful as a guide to the two great divisions of the Aramaic dialect with which a Biblical student is directly concerned. For that, ordinarily called the Samaritan, contains very little calculated to afford illustration among its scanty remains; and future discoveries in that branch of pagan Aramaic known as the dialect of the Nabathaeans, Mendaïtes, or Zabians of Mesopotamia (not the Sabeans of Southern Arabia), can only exercise a remote or secondary influence on the study of Aramaic as connected with the Scriptures.

The following sketch of the three leading varieties of the West-Aramaic dialect, is built on the account given by Fürst.[n]

a. What is known of the condition of Galilee corroborates the disparaging statements given by the Talmudists of the sub-dialect (for it is no more) of this district. Close and constant communication with the tribes to the north, and a large admixture of heathens among the inhabitants would necessarily contribute to this. The dialect of Galilee appears to have been marked by confusion of letters—א and ה, כ with ק (as in various European dialects)—and aphaeresis of the guttural—a habit of connecting words otherwise separate (also not uncommon in rude dialects)—carelessness about vowel-sounds,—and the substitution of ך final for ה.

b. The Samaritan dialect appears to have been a compound of the vulgar Hebrew with Aramaic, as might have been anticipated from the elements of which the population was composed, remains of the "Ephraimite" occupiers, and Aramaic immigrants. A confusion of the mute letters, and also of the gutturals, with a predilection for the letter ע, has been noticed.

c. The dialect called that of Jerusalem or Judea, between which and the purer one of the Babylonish Jews so many invidious distinctions have been drawn, seems to have been variable, from frequent changes among the inhabitants—and also to have contained a large amount of words different from those in use in Babylonia—besides being somewhat incorrect, in its orthography.

Each dialect, it will be seen, was directly influ-

[h] Lepsius, *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 58. Quatremère, *Études Historiques*, as quoted above. Renan, 56-79. Herzog's *Real-Enc.*, vol. i. *Babel, Babylonien* (Ruetschi).—vol. ii. *Chaldäa* (Arnold).—vol. x. *Ninive* (Spiegel), 363, 379, 381. Bleek, *Einl. i. d. A. T.* 43-48.

[i] Delitzsch, *Jesurun*, pp. 65-70; Fürst, *Lehrgeb.* §19.

[k] Hengstenberg, *Daniel*, pp. 302-306.

[m] Hengstenberg, *ibid.* 298. Hence in our own time Latin and Welsh, and Latin and Saxon passages, are to be found in the same juxtaposition in chartularies and historical records; but the instances are more apposite (given in Delitzsch, *Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum*, 256, seqq.) of the simultaneous use of Hebrew, Rabbinic, and Arabic, among Jewish writers after the so-called revival of literature under Mahometan influence.

[n] *Lehrgeb.* §§ 15-19.

enced by the circumstances—physical or social—of its locality. For instance, in the remote and unlettered Galilee, peculiarities and words could not fail to be engrafted from the neighbouring tribes. The bitter hatred which existed between the Samaritans and the Jews, effectually precluded the admission of any leavening influences from the latter source. A dialect originally impure—the Samaritan became in course of time largely interspersed with Aramaic words. That of Judea, alone being spoken by Jews to whom nationality was most precious, was preserved in tolerable immunity from corresponding degradation, until overpowered by Greek and Roman heathenism.

The small amount of real difference between the two branches of Aramaic has been often urged as an argument for making any division superfluous. But it has been well observed by Fürst,[o] that each is animated by a very different spirit. The chief relics of Chaldaic, or Eastern Aramaic—the Targums—are filled with traditional faith in the varied pages of Jewish history: they combine much of the better Pharisaism—nourished as it was on lively conceptions of hallowed, national lore, with warm, earnest, longings for the kingdom of the Messiah. Western Aramaic, or Syriac literature, on the other hand, is essentially Christian, with a new terminology especially framed for its necessities. Accordingly, the tendency and linguistic character of the first is essentially Hebrew, that of the second Hellenic. One is full of Hebraisms, the other of Hellenisms.

16. Perhaps few lines of demarcation are traced with greater difficulty, than those by which one age of a language is separated from another. This is remarkably the case in respect of the cessation of the Hebrew, and the ascendancy of the Aramaic, or, as it may be put, in respect of the date at which the period of growth terminates, and that of exposition and scholasticism begins, in the literature of the chosen people.

Much unnecessary discussion has been roused with respect to the introduction of interpretation. Not only in any missionary station among the heathen, but in Europe at the Reformation, we can find substantially the germ of Targums. During the 16th century, in the eastern districts of the present kingdom of Prussia, the desire to bring the Gospel home to the humbler classes, hitherto but little touched by its doctrines, opened a new field of activity among the non-German inhabitants of those provinces, at that time a very numerous body. Assistants were appointed, under the name of Tolken (interpreters), who rendered the sermon, sentence by sentence, into the vernacular old Prussian dialect.[p] Just so in Palestine, on the return, an eager desire to bring their own Scriptures within the reach of the people, led to measures such as that described in Nehemiah viii. 8, a passage of difficult interpretation. It is possible, that the apparent vagueness of this passage may represent the two methods, which would be naturally adopted for such different purposes, as rendering Biblical Hebrew intelligible to the common people, who only spoke a dialect of Aramaic—and supplying a commentary after such deliberate reading.

Of the several Targums which are preserved, the dates, style, character, and value are exceedingly different. An account of them is given under VERSIONS (CHALDAIC).

17. In the scholastic period, of which we now treat, the schools of the prophets were succeeded by "houses of enquiry," —בָּתֵּי מִדְרָשׁ. For with Vitringa, in preference to Rabbinical writers, we prefer considering the first named institutions as pastoral and devotional seminaries, if not monastic retreats—rather than schools of law and dialectics, as some would explain them. It was not until the scholastic period that all Jewish studies were so employed. Two ways only of extending the blessings hence derivable, seem to have presented themselves to the national mind, by commentary—תַּרְגּוּם and enquiry —דִּרְשׁ. In the first of these —Targumic literature, but limited openings occurred for critical studies; in the second, still fewer.[q] The vast storehouse of Hebrew thought reaching through so many centuries—known by the name of the Talmud—and the collections of a similar nature called the Midrashim, extending in the case of the first, dimly but tangibly, from the period of the Captivity to the times of Rabbi Asher—the closer of the Talmud (A.D. 426), contain comparatively few accessions to linguistic knowledge. The terms by which serious or philosophical inquiry is described, with the names of its subordinate branches—Halacha (rule)—Hagada (what is said or preached)—Tosiphta (addition)—Boraitha (statements not in the Mishna)—Mechilta (measure, form) — the successive designations of learned dignitaries—Sopherim (scribes)—Chacamim (sages)—Tannaim (=Shonim, teachers)—Amoraim (speakers)—Seburaim (disputants)—Geonim (eminences)—all bear reference to the study and exposition of the rules and bearing of the Mosaic law, with none, or very little to the critical study of their own prized language—the vehicle of the law. The two component parts of the Talmud, the Mishna and the Gemara—republication and final explanation—are conceived in the same spirit. The style and composite nature of these works belong to the history of Rabbinical literature.

18. Of the other main division of the Aramaic language — the Western or Syriac dialect — the earliest existing document is the Peshito version of the Scriptures, which not improbably belongs to the middle of the second century. Various subdialects probably existed within the wide area over which this Western one was current: but there are no means now attainable for pursuing the inquiry —what we know of the Palmyrene being only derivable from inscriptions ranging from A.D. 49 to the middle of the third century. The Syriac dialect is thickly studded with foreign words, Arabic, Persian, Greek, and Latin, especially with the third. A comparison of this dialect with the Eastern branch will show that they are closely allied in all the most important peculiarities of grammar and syn-

o *Lehrgeb.* § 14.

p Ranke, *D. G. im Zeitalter d. Reformation*, b. iv. cap. v. p. 476; Barthélemy St. Hilaire, *Le Bouddha et sa Religion*, Paris, 1860, p. 385. "Ordinairement on ne récite que le texte Pâli tout seul, et alors le peuple n'en comprend pas un mot; mais quelquefois aussi, quand le texte Pâli a été récité, un prêtre en donne une interprétation en Singhalais pour le vulgaire."

q Vitringa, *De Synagogâ*, 1696, p. 1, cap. v. vi. vii., p. 11, cap. v.-viii.—no scholar should be without this storehouse of learning; Cassel, in Herzog, ix. 526-529; Franck, *Études Orientales*, 127; Oehler, in Herzog, xii. 215, 225; Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, cap. 10. This last volume is most valuable as a guiding summary in a little known and bewildering field.

lax, as well as in their store of original words—the true standard in linguistic researches.

A few lines may be here allowable on the fortunes of a dialect which (as will be shown hereafter) has been so conspicuous an instrument in extending a knowledge of the truths originally given, and so long preserved in the sacred language of the Hebrews. Subsequently to the fall of Jerusalem its chief seat of learning and literature was at Edessa—from A.D. 440, at Nisibis. Before the 8th and 9th centuries its decline had commenced, in spite of the protests made by James of Edessa in favour of its own classical writers. But, as of old the Hebrew language had given way to the Aramaic, so in her turn, the Western Aramaic was driven out by the advances of the Arabic during the 10th and 11th centuries. Somewhat later it may be said to have died out—its last writer of mark, Barhebraeus (or Abulpharagius) composing in Arabic as well as Syriac.[r]

19. The Chaldaic paraphrases of Scripture are exceedingly valuable for the light which they throw on Jewish manners and customs, and the meaning of passages otherwise obscure, as likewise for many happy renderings of the original text. But they are valuable also on higher reasons—the Christian interpretation put by their authors on controverted passages. Their testimony is of the greatest value, as showing that Messianic interpretations of many important passages must have been current among the Jews of the period. Walton, alluding to Jewish attempts to evade their own orthodox traditions, says that "many such passages," *i. e.* of the later and evasive kind, "might be produced which find no sanction among the Jews. Those very passages, which were applied by their own teachers to the Messiah, and are incapable of any other fair application save to Him in whom they all centre, are not unfrequently warped into meanings irreconcileable alike with the truth, and the judgment of their own most valued writers."[s]

A comparative estimate is not yet attainable, as to what in Targumic literature is the pure expression and development of the Jewish mind, and what is of foreign growth. But, as has been said, the Targums and kindred writings are of considerable dogmatical and exegetical value; and a similar good work has been effected by means of the cognate dialect, Western Aramaic or Syriac. From the 3rd to the 9th century, Syriac was to a great part of Asia—what in their spheres Hellenic Greek and mediaeval Latin have respectively been—the one ecclesiastical language of the district named. Between the literally preserved records of Holy Scripture, as delivered to the Terachites in the infancy of the world, and the understandings and hearts of Aryan peoples, who were intended to share in those treasures fully and to their latest posterity, some connecting medium was necessary. This was supplied by the dialect in question—neither so specific, nor so clear, nor so sharply subjective as the pure Hebrew, but for those very reasons (while in itself essentially Shemitic) open to impressions and thoughts as well as words from without, and therefore well calculated to act as the pioneer and introducer of Biblical thoughts and Biblical truths among minds, to whom these treasures would otherwise long have remained obscure and unintelligible

[r] Bleek, *Einleitung*, 51-57.

[s] Walton, *Prol.* xii. 18, 19. See also Delitzsch, *Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum*, p. 173, seqq. (in respect of Christian anticipations in the Targums and Synagogal devotional poetry), and also p. 190, note (in respect of moderate tone of Talmud); Oehler, in Herzog, ix. 431-441; and Westcott, *Introduction*, 110-115.

§§20-24. Arabic Language.—Period of Revival.

20. The early population of Arabia, its antiquities and peculiarities, have been described under Arabia.[t] We find Arabia occupied by a confluence of tribes, the leading one of undoubted Ishmaelitish descent—the others of the seed or lineage of Abraham, and blended by alliance, language, neighbourhood, and habits. Before these any aboriginal inhabitants must have disappeared, as the Canaanitish nations before their brethren, the children of the greater promise—as the Edomites and Ishmaelites were of a lesser, but equally certain one.

We have seen [Arabia] that the peninsula of Arabia lay in the track of Cushite civilization, in its supposed return-course towards the north-east. As in the basin of Mesopotamia, so in Arabia it has left traces of its constructive tendencies, and predilections for grand and colossal undertakings. Modern research has brought to light in addition many valuable remains, full of philological interest. There may now be found abundant illustration of the relationship of the Himyaritic with the early Shemitic before adverted to; and the language of the Ehkili (or Mahrah), on which so much light has recently been thrown, presents us with the singular phenomenon, not merely of a specimen of what the Himyaritic (or language of Yemen) must have been before its expulsion by the Koreishite, but of a dialect less Arabic than Hebrew, and possessing close affinity with the Ghez, or Ethiopian.[u]

21. The affinity of the Ghez (Cush? the sacred language of Ethiopia) with the Shemitic has been long remarked. Walton supposes its introduction to have been consequent on that of Christianity. But the tradition is probably correct, according to which Ethiopia was colonized from S. W. Arabia, and according to which this language should be considered a relic of the Himyaritic. In the O. T., Cush, in addition to Ethiopia in Africa, comprises S. Arabia (Gen. x. 7, 8; 2 Chr. xiv. 9; xxi. 16; Hab. iii. 7), and by many the stream of Hamite civilization is supposed to have flowed in a northerly course from that point into Egypt. In its lexical peculiarities, the Ghez is said to resemble the Aramaic, in its grammatical the Arabic. The alphabet is very curious, differing from Shemitic alphabets in the number, order, and name and form of the letters, by the direction of the writing, and especially by the form of vowel notation. This is extremely singular. Each consonant contains a short *a*—the vowels are expressed by additions to the consonants. The alphabet is, by this means, converted into a "syllabarium" of 202 signs. Various points of resemblance have been traced between this alphabet and the Samaritan; but recent discoveries establish its kindred (almost its identity) with that of the Himyaritic inscriptions. The language and character of which we have spoken briefly, have now been succeeded for general purposes by the Amharic—probably in the first instance a kindred

[t] Comp. for the early history of the Arabic language the recent work by Freytag (Bonn, 1861), alike remarkable for interest and research, *Einleitung in das Studium der Arabischen Sprache bis Mohammed und zum Theil später*

[u] Renan, i. 302-317

dialect with the Ghez, but now altered by subsequent extraneous additions.[x]

22. Internal evidence demonstrates, that the Arabic language, at the time when it first appears on the field of history, was being gradually developed in its remote and barren peninsular home. Not to dwell on its broken (or internal) plurals, and its system of cases, there are peculiarities in the earliest extant remains, which evince progress made in the cultivation of the language, at a date long anterior to the period of which we speak.

A well-known legend speaks of the present Arabic language as being a fusion of different dialects, effected by the tribe of Koreish settled round Mecca, and the reputed wardens of the Caaba. In any case, the paramount purity of the Koreishite dialect is asserted by Arabic writers on grammar, in whose judgment the quality of the spoken dialects appears to have declined, in proportion to their distance from Mecca. It is also asserted, that the stores of the Koreishite dialect were increased by a sort of philological eclecticism—all striking elegancies of construction or expression, observable in the dialects of the many different tribes visiting Mecca, being engrafted upon the one in question.[y] But the recognition of the Koran, as the ultimate standard in linguistic as in religious matters, established in Arabic judgment the superior purity of the Koreishite dialect.

That the Arabs possessed a literature anterior to the birth of Mohammed, and expressed in a language marked with many grammatical peculiarities, is beyond doubt. There is no satisfactory proof of the assertion, that all early Arabic literature was destroyed by the jealous disciples of Islam. "Of old, the Arab gloried in nothing but his sword, his hospitality, and his fluent speech."[z] The last gift, if we may judge from what has been preserved to us of the history of those early times, seems to have been held in especial honour. A zealous purism, strange as it sounds amid the rude and uneducated children of the desert, seems, as in later times, to have kept almost Masoretic watch over the exactitude of the transmission of these early outpourings.[a]

Even in our own times, scholars have seemed unwilling altogether to abandon the legend—how at the fair of Ocâdh ("the mart of proud rivalry"[b]) goods and traffic—wants and profit—were alike neglected, while bards contended amid their listening countrymen, anxious for such a verdict as should entitle their lays to a place among the Moallakat, the *ἀναθήματα* of the Caaba, or national temple at Mecca. But the appearance of Mohammed put an end for a season to commerce and bardic contests; nor was it until the work of conquest was done, that the faithful resumed the pursuits of peace. And enough remains to show that poetry was not alone cultivated among the ante-Mohammedan Arabians. "Seeds of moral truth appear to have been embodied in sentences and aphorisms, a form of instruction peculiarly congenial to the temper of Orientals, and proverbially cultivated by the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula."[c] Poetry and romance, as might be expected from the degree of Arab civilization, would seem to have been the chief objects of attention.

Against these views it has been urged, that although of such compositions as the Moallakat, and others less generally known, the substance may be considered as undoubtedly very ancient, and illustrative accordingly of manners and customs—yet the same antiquity, according to competent judges, cannot reasonably be assigned to their present form. Granting (what is borne out from analogy and from references in the Hebrew Scriptures) the existence of philosophical compositions among the Arabs at an early period, still no traces of these remain. The earliest reliable relics of Arabic literature are only fragments, to be found in what has come down to us of pre-Islamite compositions. And, as has been said already, various arguments have been put forward against the probability of the present form of these remains being their original one. Their obscurities, it is contended, are less those of age than of individual style, while their uniformity of language is at variance with the demonstrably late cultivation and ascendancy of the Koreishite dialect. Another, and not a feeble argument, is the utter absence of allusion to the early religion of the Arabs. Most just is Renan's remark that, sceptical or voluptuaries as were most of their poets, still such a silence would be inexplicable, but on the supposition of a systematic removal of all traces of former paganism. No great *critical* value, accordingly, can fairly be assigned to any Arabic remains anterior to the publication of the Koran.[d]

It is not within the scope of this sketch to touch upon the theological teaching of the Koran, its objects, sources, merits, or deficiencies. But its style is very peculiar. Assuming that it represents the best forms of the Koreishite dialect about the middle of the 7th century, we may say of the Koran, that its linguistic approached its religious supremacy. The Koran may be characterized as marking the transition from versification to prose, from poetry to eloquence. Mohammed himself has adverted to his want of poetical skill—a blemish which required explanation in the judgment of his countrymen—but of the effect of his forcible language and powers of address (we can hardly call it oratory) there can be no doubt. The Koran itself contains distinct traces of the change (to which allusion has been made) then in progress in Arabic literature. The balance of proof inclines to the conclusion, that the Suras of the Koran, which are placed last in order, are earliest in point of composition—outpourings bearing some faint resemblance to those of Hebrew prophecy.[e]

23. It would lead to discussions foreign to the present subject, were we to attempt to follow the thoughts respecting the future, suggested by the almost universal prevalence of the Arabic idiom over so wide a portion of the globe. A comparison of some leading features of the Arabic language, with its two sisters, is reserved for the next division of this sketch. With regard to its value in illustration two different judgments obtain. According to one, all the lexical riches and grammatical

x Walton, *Prol.* ii. 585; Jones, *Comm.* 1774, p. 18; Lepsius, *Zwei Abh.* 78, 79; Renan, i. 317-330; Prichard, *Physical Hist. of Mankind*, ii. 169, quoted by Forster.

y Pococke (ed. White, Oxford), 157-158.

z Pococke, 166-168.

a Umbreit in *Theologische Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1841, pp. 223, 224; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 24, 25.

b Fresnel, 1re *Lettre sur les Arabes*, p. 36.

c Forster, ii. 298, 319.

d Renan, *Lang. Sém.* l. iv. c. 11, a lucid summary of recent researches on this subject.

e Renan, 358-360; Umbreit, *Stud. u. Krit* 1841 23 seqq.

varieties of the Shemitic family are to be found combined in the Arabic. What elsewhere is imperfect or exceptional is here said to be fully developed—forms elsewhere rare or anomalous, are here found in regular use. Great faults of style cannot be denied, but its superiority in lexical riches and grammatical precision and variety is incontestable. Without this means of illustration, the position of the Hebrew student may be likened to that of the geologist, who should have nothing whereon to found a judgment, beyond the scattered and imperfect remains of some few primeval creatures. But the Arabic, it is maintained, for purposes of illustration, is to the Hebrew precisely what, to such an inquirer, would be the discovery of an imbedded multitude of kindred creatures in all their fulness and completeness—even more, for the Arabic (it is urged)—as a means of comparison and illustration—is a living breathing reality.

24. Another school maintains very different opinions with respect to the value of Arabic in illustration. The comparatively recent date (in their present form at least) and limited amount of Arabic remains are pleaded against its claims, as a standard of reference in respect of the Hebrew. Its verbal copiousness, elaborate mechanism, subtlety of thought, wide and diversified fields of literature, cannot be called in question. But it is urged (and colourably) that its riches are not all pure metal, and that no great attention to etymology has been evinced by native writers on the language. Nor should the follies and perversions of scholasticism (in the case of Rabbinical writers) blind us to the superior purity of the spirit by which the Hebrew language is animated, and the reflected influences, for elevation of tone and character, from the subjects on which it was so long exclusively employed. "My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass." No more fitting description of the spirit and power of the holy language can be found than these words of the Lawgiver's last address to his people. The Arabic language, on the other hand, is first, that of wandering robbers and herdsmen, destitute of religion, or filled with second-hand superstitions; in its more cultivated state, that of a self-satisfied, luxurious, licentious people, the vehicle of a borrowed philosophy, and a dogmatism of the most wearisome and captious kind.[f]

Undoubtedly schools such as that of Albert Schultens (d. 1730) have unduly exalted the value of Arabic in illustration; but in what may be designated as the field of lower criticism its importance cannot be disputed. The total extent of the canonical writings of the Old Testament is so very limited as in this respect to make the assistance of the Arabic at once welcome, trustworthy, and copious. Nor can the proposed substitute be accepted without demur—the later Hebrew, which has found an advocate so learned and able as Delitzsch.[g] That its claims and usefulness have been undeservedly overlooked few will dispute or deny; but it would seem to be recent, uncertain, and heterogeneous, to a degree which lays it open to many objections taken by the admirers of the Arabic, as a trustworthy means of illustration.

§§25-33. Structure of the Shemitic Languages.

25. The question, as to whether any large amount of primitives in the Shemitic languages is fairly deducible from imitation of sounds, has been answered very differently by high authorities. Gesenius thought instances of onomatopoeia very rare in extant remains, although probably more numerous at an early period. Hoffmann's judgment is the same, in respect of Western Aramaic. On the other hand, Renan qualifies his admission of the identity of numerous Shemitic and Japhetian primitives by a suggestion, that these, for the most part, may be assigned to biliteral words, originating in the imitation of the simplest and most obvious sounds. Scholz also has an interesting passage in which he maintains the same proposition with considerable force, and attempts to follow, in some particular cases, the analogy between the simple original sign and its distant derivatives. But on a careful examination, it is not unlikely that, although many are lost, or overlaid, or no longer as appreciable by our organs as by the keener ones of earlier races, yet the truth is, as the case has been put by a great living comparative philologist—"The 400 or 500 roots which remain as the constituent elements in different families of languages are not interjections, nor are they imitations. They are *phonetic* types, produced by a power inherent in human nature."[h]

26. The deeply curious inquiry, as to the extent of affinity still discernible between Shemitic and Japhetian roots, belongs to another article. [Tongues.] Nothing in the Scripture which bears upon the subject, can be fairly pleaded against such an affinity being possible. A literal belief of Biblical records does not at all call upon us to suppose an entire abrogation, by Divine interference, of all existing elements of what must have been the common language of the early Noachidae.[i] That such resemblance is not dimly to be traced cannot be denied—although the means used for establishing instances, by Delitzsch and the analytical school, cannot be admitted without great reserve.[k] But in treating the Shemitic languages in connexion with Scripture, it is most prudent to turn away from this tempting field of inquiry to the consideration of the simple elements—the primitives—the true base of every language, in that these rather than the mechanism of grammar, are to be regarded as exponents of internal spirit and character. It is not denied, that these apparently inorganic bodies may very frequently be found resolvable into constituent parts, and that kindred instances may be easily found in conterminous Japhetian dialects.[m]

27. Humboldt has named two very remarkable points of difference between the Japhetian and Shemitic language-families—the latter of which he also, for the second reason about to be named, assigns to the number of those which have deviated

[f] Delitzsch, *Jesurun*, 76-89.

[g] Ibid., pp. 89-108.

[h] Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, pp. 183-185; Hoffmann, *Gr. Syr.* 7; Renan, 449, 454; Scholz, *Einl.* I. 31, 32, 37; M. Müller, *Sc. of Lang.* 358, 369, 370.

[i] Walton, *Prol.* (ed. Wrangham), i. 121. "Hoc rationi minime consentaneum est, ut Deus in illo loco linguam primam servaret, ubi linguarum diversitatem immiserat, ne coepto opere progrederentur. Probabilius itaque est, linguas alias in eos Deum infudisse, qui ibi commorati sunt, ne se mutuo intelligerent, et ab insana structura desisterent." M. Müller, *Sc. of Lang.* 269.

[k] Comparative tables are to be found in Delitzsch, *Jesurun*, p. 111; Renan, 451-454; Scholz, i. 37.

[m] Merian, *Principes de l'Étude Comparative des Langues*, Paris, 1828, pp. 10, 14, 19, 20.

from the regular course of development. The first peculiarity is the triliteral root (as the language is at present known)—the second the expression of significations by consonants, and *relations* by vowels—both forming part of the flexions within words, so remarkable in the Shemitic family. Widely different from the Japhetian primitive, a fully formed and independent word—the Shemitic one (even in its present triliteral state) appears to have consisted of three separate articulations, aided by an indefinite sound like the Shĕva of the Hebrews, and to have varied in the shades of its meaning according to the vowels assigned to it. In the opinion of the same scholar, the prevalent triliteral root was substituted for an earlier or biliteral, as being found impracticable and obscure in use.[n]

Traces of this survive in the rudest, or Aramaic, branch, where what is pronounced as one syllable, in the Hebrew forms two, and in the more elaborate Arabic three—*e. g.* ktal, katal, katala. It is needless to say, that much has been written on the question of this peculiarity being original or secondary. A writer among ourselves has thus stated the case:—"An uniform root-formation by three letters or two syllables developed itself out of the original monosyllabic state by the addition of a third letter. This tendency to enlargement presents itself in the Indo-Germanic also: but there is this difference, that in the latter monosyllabic roots remain besides those that have been enlarged, while in the other they have almost disappeared."[o] In this judgment most will agree. Many now triliteral root-words (especially those expressive of the primary relations of life) were at first biliteral only. Thus אב is not really from אבה, nor אם from אמם. In many cases a third (assumed) root-letter has been obviously added by repetition, or by the use of a weak or moveable letter, or by prefixing the letter Nun. Additional instances may be found in connexion with the biliterals טב, דך, and נר, and many others. Illustrations may also be drawn from another quarter nearer home—in the Japhetian languages of Europe. Fear is variously expressed by φρέω or φρίσσω, *pavere*, *peur*, *paura*, *pavor* (Span.), *fear*, *furcht*, *frykt* (Scandin.), and *braw* (Old Celtic). In all these cognate words, the common rudimentary idea is expressed by the same two sounds, the third corresponding with the various non-essential additions, by which apparent triliteral uniformity is secured in Shemitic dialects. Again, in the Shemitic family many primitives may be found, having the same two letters in common in the first and second places, with a different one in the third, yet all expressive of different modifications of the same idea, as 1. גר and its family; 2. דח = גח, &c.; 3. פר = ברר, &c.; 4. קץ = בצץ, &c.—each with a similar train of cognate words, containing the same two consonants of the biliteral form, but with a third active consonant added.[p]

28. We now approach a question of great interest. Was the art of writing invented by Moses and his contemporaries, or from what source did the Hebrew nation acquire it? It can hardly be doubted, that the art of writing was known to the Israelites in the time of Moses. An art, such as that of writing, is neither acquired nor invented at once. No trustworthy evidence can be alleged of such an exception to the ordinary course. The writing on the two tables of the law (Ex. xxiv. 4)—the list of stations attributed to the hand of Moses himself (Num. xxxiii. 2)—the prohibition of printing on the body (Lev. xix. 28)—the writing of "the curses in a book" by the priest, in the trial of jealousy (Num. v. 23)—the description of the land (literally, the writing) required by Joshua (Josh. xviii. 6)—all point to the probability of the art of writing being an accomplishment already possessed by the Hebrews at that period. So complex a system, as alphabetic writing, could hardly have been invented in the haste and excitement of the desert pilgrimage.

Great difference of opinion has prevailed, as to which of the Shemitic peoples may justly claim the invention of letters. As has been said, the award to the Phoenicians, so long unchallenged, is now practically set aside. The so-called Phoenician alphabet bears no distinctive traces of a Phoenician origin. None of the selected objects, whose initial letters were to rule the sounds of the several phonetic characters, are in keeping with the habits and occupations of the Phoenicians. On the contrary, while no references to the sea and commerce are to be found, the majority of the objects selected are such as would suggest themselves to an inland and nomadic people, *e. g.* Aleph = an ox, Gimel = a camel, Teth = a snake, Lamed = an ox-goad.

A more probable theory would seem that, which represents letters as having passed from the Egyptians to the Phoenicians and Hebrews. Either people may have acquired this accomplishment from the same source, at the same time and independently—or one may have preceded the other, and subsequently imparted the acquisition. Either case is quite possible on the assumption, that the Egyptian alphabet consisted of only such characters as were equivalent to those used by the Hebrews and Phoenicians—that is, that the multiplicity of signs, which is found to exist in the Egyptian alphabet, was only introduced at a later period. But the contrary would seem to be the case—namely, that the Egyptian alphabet existed at a very early period in its present form. And it is hardly likely that two tribes would separately have made the same selection from a larger amount of signs than they required. But as the Hebrew and Phoenician alphabets do correspond, and (as has been said) the character is less Phoenician than Hebrew—the latter people would seem to have been the first possessors of this accomplishment, and to have imparted it subsequently to the Phoenicians.

The theory (now almost passed into a general belief) of an early uniform language overspreading the range of countries comprehended in Gen. x. serves to illustrate this question. There can be no doubt as to the fact of the Hamite occupants of Egypt having migrated thither from Asia; nor (on this hypothesis) can there be any difficulty in admitting, in a certain degree, the correspondence of their written character with the Hebrew. That changes should subsequently have been introduced in the Egyptian characters, is perfectly intelligible, when their advances in civilization are considered—so different from the nomadic, unlettered condition of the Hebrew people. On such a primary,

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[n] Humboldt, *Uber die Verschiedenheit d. menschlichen Sprachbaues*, 307-311.

[o] Davidson, *Biblical Criticism*, i. 11.

[p] Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 181; Renan, *Lang. Sém.* p. 100, 412, 450. M. Müller, *Sc. of Lang.* 371.

generic agreement as this between the advanced language of Egypt, and that of the Hebrews—inferior from necessary causes at the time, the mighty intellect of Moses, divinely guided for such a task (as has been before suggested), would find little difficulty in grafting improvements. The theory that the Hyksos built a syllabic alphabet on the Egyptian, is full of difficulties.[q]

According to the elaborate analysis of Lepsius, the original alphabet of the language-family, of which the Shemitic formed a part, stood as follows:

Weak Gutturals.	*Labials.*	*Gutturals.*	*Dentals.*	
Aleph = A .	Beth +	Gimel +	Daleth =	Media
He = E + i .	Vav +	Heth +	Teth =	Aspirates
Ghain = O + u	Pe +	Kuph +	Tau =	Tenues

As the processes of enunciation became more delicate, the liquids Lamed, Mem, Nun, were apparently interposed as the *third* row, with the original S, Samech, from which were derived Zain, Tsaddi, and Shin—Caph (soft *k*), from its limited functions, is apparently of later growth; and the separate existence of Resh, in many languages, is demonstrably of comparatively recent date, as distinguished from the kindred sound Lamed. In this manner (according to Lepsius), and by such Shemite equivalents, may be traced the progress of the parent alphabet. In the one letter yet to be mentioned—Yod—as in Kuph and Lamed, the same scholar finds remains of the ancient vowel strokes, which carry us back to the early syllabaria, whose existence he maintains, with great force and learning.

Apparently, in the case of all Indo-Germanic and Shemitic alphabets, a parent alphabet may be traced, in which each letter possessed a combined vowel and consonant sound—each in fact forming a distinct, well understood syllable. It is curious to mark the different processes, by which (in the instances given by Lepsius), these early syllabaria have been affected by the course of enunciation in different families. What has been said above (§ 21), may serve to show how far the system is still in force in the Ethiopic. In the Indo-Germanic languages of Europe, where a strong tendency existed to draw a line of demarcation between vowels and consonants, the primary syllables aleph, he, gho = *a*, *i*, *u*, were soon stripped of their weak guttural (or consonant) element, to be treated simply as the vowel sounds named, in combination with the more obvious consonant sounds. A very similar course was followed by the Shemitic family, the vowel element being in most letters disregarded; but the guttural one in the breath-syllables was apparently too congenial, and too firmly fixed to allow of these being converted (as in the case of the Indo-Germanic family) into simple vowels. Aleph, the weakest, for that reason forms the exception. As apparently containing (like the Dêvanâgari) traces of its people's syllabarium, as well for its majestic forms, befitting Babylonian learning, Lepsius with others attributes a very high antiquity to the square Hebrew character. But this is difficult to be maintained.[r]

29. Passing from the growth of the alphabet, to the history of the formation of their written characters among the three leading branches of the Shemitic family, that of the Hebrews has been thus sketched. "In its oldest, though not its original state, it exists in Phoenician monuments, both stones and coins. It consists of 22 letters, written from right to left, and is characterized generally by stiff straight down strokes, without regularity and beauty, and by closed heads round or pointed. We have also a twofold memorial of it, viz., the inscriptions on Jewish coins, struck under the Maccabean princes, where it is evident that its characters resemble the Phoenician, and the Samaritan character, in which the Pentateuch of the Samaritans is written."[s] This latter differs from the first named, merely by a few freer and finer strokes. The development of the written character in the Aramaic branch of the Shemitic family illustrates the passage from the stiff early character, spoken of above, to the more fully formed angular one of later times in the case of the Hebrew family, and in that of the Arabic, to the Cufic and Neshki. Aramaic writing may be divided into two principal families—1. ancient Aramaic, and 2. Syriac, more properly so called. Of the first, the most early specimen extant is the well-known Carpentras stone, preserved at that place in France, since the end of the 17th century.[t] Its date is very doubtful, but anterior to those of the inscriptions from Palmyra, which extend from A.D. 49 to the 3rd century. The first very closely resembles the Phoenician character—the tops of the letters being but slightly opened; in the second, these are more fully opened, and many horizontal strokes of union added, showing its cursive character. From these remains may be fairly deduced the transitional nature of the written character of the period preceding the invention (or according to others the revival) of the square character.

Hupfeld, Fürst, and all leading writers on the subject, concur in designating this last as a gradual development from the sources mentioned above. A reference to these authors will show, how confused were even Jewish notions at an early period as to its origin, from the different explanations of the word אַשּׁוּרִית (Assyriaca), substituted by the Rabbins for מְרֻבָּע ("square"), by which this character was distinguished from their own—כְּתַב עָגוּל—"round writing," as it was called. But assuming with Hupfeld and Fürst, the presence of two active principles—a wish to write quickly, and to write pictorially—the growth of the square Hebrew character from the old Phoenician is easily discernible through the Carpentras and Palmyrene relics. "Thus we find in it the points of the letters blunted off, the horizontal union-strokes enlarged, figures that had been divided rounded and closed, the position and length of many cross lines altered, and final letters introduced agreeably to tachygraphy. On the other hand, the caligraphical principle is seen in the extraordinary uniformity and symmetry of the letters, their separation from one another, and in the peculiar taste which adorns them with a stiff and angular form."[u]

Few important changes are to be found from the period of Ezra, until the close of the 5th century of our era. During this period, the written character of the text (as well as the text itself) was

[q] "Sont-ce les Hyksos, ainsi que le suppose M. Ewald, qui firent passer l'écriture égyptienne de l'état phonétique à l'état syllabique ou alphabétique, comme les Japonais et les Coréens l'ont fait pour l'écriture Chinoise" (Renan, p. 112); Saalschütz, *Zur Geschichte der Buchstabenschrift*, Königsberg 1838 §§ 16, 17, 18. Comp. also Leyrer in Herzog, xiv. 9.

[r] Lepsius, *Zwei Abhandlungen*, 9-29.

[s] Davidson, *Biblical Criticism*, i. 23.

[t] A copy of it is given in Fürst, *Lehrgeb.* 23.

[u] Davidson, *Biblic. Criticism*, i. 29; Hoffmann, *Gramm Syriaca*, §6, 1-6; and Fürst, *Lehrg.* i. §§ 22-27.

settled as at present, and likewise, to a great extent, the reading and divisions of the text. During this period, the groundwork of very much contained in the subsequent Masora was laid, but as yet only in an unwritten, traditional shape. The old character gave way to the square, or Assyrian character—not at once and by the authority of Ezra, but (as has been proved with much clearness) by gradual transitions.[x] The square character is, demonstrably, not an exact copy of any existing Aramaic style, but grew by degrees out of the earlier one, although greatly modified by Aramaic influence. No exact date can be assigned to the actual change, which probably was very gradual; but that the new character had become generally adopted by the first century of our era, may be inferred from the Gospels (Matt. v. 18). It is, moreover, alluded to in the Mishna as the Assyrian character, and by Origen as settled by long usage, and was obviously well-known to Jerome and the Talmudists. The latter writers, aided powerfully by the ceremonious (not to say superstitious) tone engendered among the Jews by the fall of Jerusalem, secured the exclusive use of its square character for sacred purposes. All that external care and scrupulous veneration could accomplish for the exact transmission of the received text, in the consecrated character, was secured. It is true that much of a secondary, much of an erroneous kind was included among the objects of this devout veneration; but in the absence of sound principles of criticism, not only in those early, but many subsequent generations, this is the less to be deplored. The character called Rabbinic is best described as an attempt at Hebrew cursive writing.

The history of the characters, ordinarily used in the Syriac (or Western) branch of the Aramaic family, is blended with that of those used in Judea. Like the square characters, they were derived from the old Phoenician, but passed through some intermediate stages. The first variety is that known by the name of Estrangelo—a heavy cumbrous character said to be derived from the Greek adj. στρογγύλος, but more probably from two Arabic words signifying the writing of the Gospel. It is to be found in use in the very oldest documents. Concurrently with this, are traces of the existence of a smaller and more cursive character, very much resembling it. The character called the "double" (a large, hollow variety), is almost identical. There are also other varieties, slightly differing—the Nestorian for example—but that in ordinary use, is the Peshito = simple (or lineal according to some). Its origin is somewhat uncertain, but probably may be assigned to the 7th century of our era. It is a modification of the Estrangelo, sloped for writing, and in some measure altered by use. This variety of written characters in the Aramaic family is probably attributable to the fact, that literature was more extensively cultivated among them than among kindred tribes. Although not spared to us, an extensive literature probably existed among them anterior to the Christian era; and subsequently, for a long period, they were the sole imparters of knowledge and learning to Western Asia.

The history of the Arabic language has another peculiar feature, beyond its excessive purism, which has been alluded to, at first sight, so singular among the dwellers in the desert. Until a comparatively short time before the days of Mohammed, the art of writing appears to have been practically unknown. For the Himyarites guarded with jealous care their own peculiar character—the "musnad," or elevated;[y] in itself unfitted for general use. Possibly different tribes might have possessed approaches to written characters; but about the beginning of the 7th century, the heavy cumbrous Cufic character (so called from Cufa, the city where it was most early used) appears to have been generally adopted. It was said to have been invented by Muramar-Ibn Murrat, a native of Babylonian Irak. But the shapes and arrangement of the letters indicate their derivation from the Estrangelo; and the name assigned to their introducer—containing the title ordinarily borne by Syrian ecclesiastics—is also indicative of their real origin. But it is now only to be found in the documents of the early ages of Islamism.

The well-known division of "the people of the book" = Christians, who were educated, and "the common people" who could not read = the tribes round Mecca, and the summary way in which an authoritative text of the Koran was established (in the Caliphate of Othman), alike indicate a very rude state of society. It is generally asserted that Mohammed was unable to write: and this would at first sight appear to be borne out by his description of himself as an illiterate prophet. Modern writers, however, generally are averse to a literal interpretation of these and kindred statements. In any case, about the 10th century (the fourth of the Hegira), a smaller and more flowing character, the Nishki, was introduced by Ibn Moklah, which, with considerable alterations and improvements, is that ordinarily in present use.[z]

30. As in the Hebrew and Aramaic branches, so in the Arab branch of the Shemitic family, various causes rendered desirable the introduction of diacritical signs and vowel points, which took place towards the close of the 7th century of our era—not however without considerable opposition at the outset, from Shemitic dislike of innovation, and addition to the roll of instruction already complete in itself. But the system obtained general recognition after some modifications in deference to popular opinion, though not carried out with the fulness of the Masoretes.[a]

Ewald, with great probability, assumes the existence and adoption of certain attempts at vowel marks at a very early period, and is inclined to divide their history into three stages.

At first a simple mark or stroke, like the diacritical line in the Samaritan MSS., was adopted to mark unusual significations as דבר, "a pestilence," as distinguished from דבר, "to speak," or "a word." A further and more advanced stage, like the diacritical points of the Aramaic, was the employment (in order to express generally the difference of sounds) of a point *above* the line to express sounds of a high kind, like *a* and *o*—one *below* for feebler and lower ones like *i* and *e*—and a third in the centre of the letters for those of a harsher kind, as distinguished from the other two.[b]

[x] Leyrer, in Herzog, xiv. 12.

[y] Another etymology of this word is given by Lepsius, ⲙⲓⲙⲟ, from ⲓⲙ, "India."

[z] A much earlier existence is claimed for this character by Forster, *One Prim. Lang.* i. 167.

[a] Pococke, *Abulfeda*, ed. White; Walton, *Proll. D: Linguâ Arabicâ*, Leyrer, Herzog, xiv. 12.

[b] Ewald, *Grammatik* (1835), p. 62.

Originally, the number of *vowel sounds* among the Shemitic races (as distinguished from *vowel points*) was only three, and apparently used in combination with the consonants. Origen and Jerome were alike ignorant of vowel points, in the ordinary acceptation. Many readings in the LXX. indicate the want of some such system—a want to which some directions in the Talmud are said to refer. But until a later period, a regular system of punctuation remained unknown; and the number of vowel sounds limited. The case is thus put by Walton. "The modern points were not either from Adam, or affixed by Moses, or the Prophets that were before the captivity, nor after the captivity, devised either by Ezra, or by any other before the completing of the Talmud, but after five hundred years after Christ, invented by some learned Jews for the help of those who were ignorant of the Hebrew tongue." "We neither affirm that the vowels and accents were invented by the Masoretes, but that the Hebrew tongue did always consist of vowels and consonants. Aleph, Vau, and Yod were the vowels before the points were invented, as they were also in the Syriac, Arabic, and other Eastern tongues."[c]

We will add one more quotation from the same author, with reference to the alleged uncertainty introduced into the rendering of the text, by any doubts on the antiquity of the system of vowel-points, a question which divided the scholars of his day. "The Samaritan Pentateuch, Chaldean Paraphrase of the Pentateuch and Prophets, and the Syriac translation of the Bible, continued above a thousand years before they were pointed." "That the true reading might be preserved above a thousand years, is not against all reason, since we see the same done in the Samaritan, Syriac, and Chaldee, for a longer time; and the same may be said of the Arabic, though not for so long a time after the Alcoran was written."[d]

31. The reverence of the Jews, for their sacred writings, would have been outraged by any attempts to introduce an authoritative system of interpretation at variance with existing ones. To reduce the reading of the Scriptures to authoritative and intelligible uniformity was the object of the Masoretes, by means of a system of vowels and accents.

What would have suggested itself to scholars, not of Shemitic origin, was at utter variance with Hebrew notions, which looked upon the established written characters as sacred. No other plan was possible than the addition of different external marks. And, in fact, this plan was adopted by the three great divisions of the Shemitic family; probably being copied to a certain extent by the Hebrew and Arabic branches from the Syriac, among whom there existed schools of some repute during the first centuries of our era. Of the names of the inventors, or the exact time of their introduction, nothing can be stated with certainty. Their use probably began about the sixth century, and appears to have been completed about the tenth. The system has been carried out with far greater minuteness in the Hebrew, than in the two sister dialects. The Arabic grammarians did not proceed beyond three signs for *a*, *i*, *u*; the Syriac added *e* and *o*, which they represented by figures borrowed from the Greek alphabet, not very much altered. In both these cases all the vowels are, strictly speaking, to be considered as short; while the Hebrew has five long as well as five short, and a half-vowel, and other auxiliary signs. Connected with this is the system of accents, which is involved in the same obscurity of origin. But it bears rather on the relation of words and the members of sentences, than on the construction of individual words.

The chief agents in this laborious and peculiar undertaking were the compilers of the Masora, as it is called = "tradition," as distinguished from the word to be read. As the Talmud has its province of interpreting legal distinctions and regulations, under the sanction of the sacred text, and the Kabbala its peculiar function of dealing with theological and esoteric tradition, so the object of the Masora (מָסוֹרָה, "tradition"), and its compilers the Masoretes (or בַּעֲלֵי מָסוֹרָה, "masters of tradition"), was to deal critically, grammatically, and lexically, with a vast amount of tradition bearing on the text of Scripture, and to reduce this to a consistent form. Little is known with accuracy of the authors, or the growth of this remarkable collection. Tradition assigns the commencement (as usual) to Ezra and the great synagogue; but other authorities—Jewish and Christian—to the learned members of the school of Tiberias, about the beginning of the sixth century. These learned collections, comprising some very early fragments, were probably in progress until the eleventh century, and are divided into a greater and less Masora, the second a compendium of the former. "The masters of the Masora," in the well-known quotation of Elias Levita, "were innumerable, and followed each other in successive generations for many years; nor is the beginning of them known to us, nor the end thereof." Walton, who was by no means blind to its deficiencies, has left on record a very just judgment on the real merits of the Masora.[e] It is in truth a very striking and meritorious instance of the devotion of the Jewish mind to the text of Scripture—of the earnestness of its authors to add the only proof in their power of their zeal for its preservation and elucidation.[f]

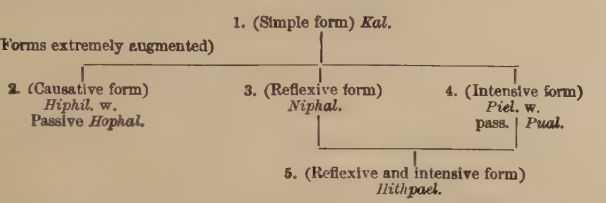
32. A comparison of the Shemitic languages, as known to us, presents them as very unevenly developed. In their present form the Arabic is undoubtedly the richest: but it would have been rivalled by the Hebrew had a career been vouchsafed equally long and favourable to this latter. The cramping and perverting conditions of its labours depressed the Rabbinic dialect (child of the old age of the Hebrew) into bewildering confusion in many instances, but there are many valuable signs of life about it. Ancient Hebrew, as has been truly said, possesses in the bud almost all the mechanisms which constitute the riches of the Arabic. In the preface to his great work (*Lehrgebäude*, p. vii.) Gesenius has pointed out various instances, which will repay the labour of comparison. It is true that to the Aramaic has been extended a longer duration than to the Hebrew; but for various causes its inferiority is remarkable, as regards its poverty—lexical and grammatical—its want of harmony and flexibility, and the consequent necessary frequency of periphrases and particles in aid.

A brief comparison of some leading grammatical

[c] Walton, *Considerator Considered*, ii. 229, 210.
[d] Walton, *ibid.* 222, 223.
[e] *Prol.* viii. 17.
[f] Arnold, in Herzog, ix. s. v.; Leyrer, in Herzog, x v. 15

and syntactical peculiarities, in the three main dialects of the Shemitic family, will not be out of place at the end of this sketch. To scholars it will necessarily appear meagre; but, brief as it is, it may not be without interest to the general reader. The root-forms with the consonants and vowels have been already considered.

Conjugations or their equivalent verb-forms.—The following is the tabulated form given by Ewald for the ordinary Hebrew verb:—


1. (Simple form) Kal.
(Forms extremely augmented)
2. (Causative form) Hiphil. w. Passive Hophal.
3. (Reflexive form) Niphal.
4. (Intensive form) Piel. w. pass. Pual.
5. (Reflexive and intensive form) Hithpael.

In the Aramaic the first, third, and fourth of these appear, with another (=Hithpael), all with passives, marked by a syllable prefixed. In the Arabic the verb-forms, at the lowest computation, are nine, but are ordinarily reckoned at thirteen, and sometimes fifteen. Of these, the ninth and eleventh forms are comparatively rare, and serve to express colours and defects. As may be seen from the table given, the third and fourth forms in Hebrew alone have passives.

Equivalents to Conjunctive Moods, &c.—One of the most remarkable features of the Arabic language is what is ordinarily described as the "futurum figuratum." As in almost all Shemitic grammars *imperfect* is now substituted for *future*, this may be explained, by stating that in Arabic there are four forms of the imperfect, strongly marked, by which the absence of moods is almost compensated. The germs of this mechanism are to be found in the common imperfect, the jussive, and the cohortative of the Hebrew, but not in the Aramaic. Again, a curious conditional and subjunctive usage (at first sight almost amounting to an inversion) applied to the perfect and imperfect tenses by the addition of a portion, or the whole, of the substantive verb is to be found in both Hebrew and Arabic, although very differently developed.

Nouns.—The dual number, very uncommon in the Syriac, is less so in Hebrew—chiefly limited, however, to really *dual* nouns—while in the Arabic its usage may be described as general. What is called the "status emphaticus," *i. e.* the rendering a word definite by appending the article, is found constantly recurring in the Aramaic (at some loss to clearness in the singular). This usage brings to mind the addition of the definite article as a postpositive in Swedish—*skib*, ship; *skibet*, the ship. In the Arabic it is lost in the inflexions of cases, while in the Hebrew it may be considered as unimportant. As regards nouns of abstraction, also, the Aramaic is fuller than the Hebrew; but in this last particular, as in the whole family of nouns, the Arabic is rich to excess. It is in this last only that we find not only a regular system of cases, and of comparison, but especially the numerous plural formations called broken or internal, which form so singular a part of the language. As regards their meaning, the broken plurals are totally different from the regular (or, as they are technically called, sound) plurals—the latter denoting several individuals of a genus, the former a number of individuals viewed collectively, the idea of individuality being wholly suppressed. Broken plurals accordingly are singulars with a collective meaning, and are closely akin to abstract nouns.[5]

33. To the scholar, as before remarked, this recapitulation of some leading peculiarities may appear unnecessary, while to those unacquainted with the Shemitic languages, it is feared, these instances must unavoidably appear like fragments or specimens, possibly new and peculiar, but conveying no very definite instruction. But in any case some of the chief grammatical features of the family have been enumerated—all, moreover, illustrative of the internal self-contained type so peculiarly Shemitic. In this respect—as with its formal, so with its syntactical peculiarities. Of one fertile parent of new words in the Japhetian language-family—the power of creating compound words—the Shemitic is destitute. Different meanings are, it is true, expressed by different primitives, but these stand necessarily divided by impassable barriers from each other; and we look in vain for the shades and gradations of meaning in a word in the Shemitic languages which give such copiousness and charm to the sister-family. It is so with regard to the whole range of privative and negative words. The prefixes of the other family, in conjunction with nouns, give far more life and clearness than do the collective verbals of the Shemitic. Even the pregnant and curiously jointed verb-forms, spreading out from the sharply defined root, with pronominal adjuncts of obvious meaning, and the aid of a delicate vowel-system, have an artificial appearance. The Japhetian, whose spiritual fulness would probably never have reached him, but that its substance was long preserved in these very forms, will gratefully acknowledge the wisdom of that Almighty Being who framed for the preservation of the knowledge of Himself—the One True God—so fitting a cradle as the language of the Old Testament. Of other families, the Japhetian was not ripe for such a trust. Of those allied with the Shemitic, the Aramaic was too coarse and indefinite, however widely and early spread, or useful at a later period as a means of extension and explanation, and (as has been before observed) the Arabic in its origin was essentially of the earth, earthy. The Japhetian cannot then but recognise the wisdom, cannot but thank the goodness of God, in thus giving and preserving His lessons concerning Himself in a form so fitting and so removed from treachery. He will do all this, but he will see at the same time in his own languages, so flexible, so varied, so logical, drawing man out of himself to bind him to his neighbour,

[5] Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, part i. p. 189. "Cette partie de la grammaire Arabe est celle où il règne le plus d'arbitraire, et où les règles générales sont sujettes à un plus grand nombre d'exceptions." De Sacy, i. 279 (ed. 1810).

means far more likely to spread the treasures of the holy language than even its general adoption. It is Humboldt who has said, in reference to the wonderful mechanism discernible in the consonant and vowel systems of the Shemitic languages—that, admitting all this, there is more energy and weight, more truth to nature, when the elements of language can be recognised independently and in order, than when fused in such a combination, however remarkable.

And from this rigid self-contained character the Shemitic language-family finds difficulty in departing. The more recent Syriac has added various auxiliary forms, and repeated pronouns, to the characteristic words by which the meaning is chiefly conveyed. But the general effect is cumbrous and confused, and brings to mind some features of the ordinary Welsh version of the Epistles. In Arabic, again, certain prefixes are found to be added for the sake of giving definiteness to portions of the verb, and prepositions more frequently employed. But the character of the language remains unaltered—the additions stand out as something distinct from the original elements of the sentence.

In what consists the most marked point of difference between the Indo-European family of languages and the Shemitic family as known to us? The first has lived two lives, as it were: in its case a period of synthesis and complexity has been succeeded by another of analysis and decomposition. The second family has been developed (if the word may be used) in one way only. No other instance of a language-family can probably be found cast in a mould equally unalterable. Compared with the living branches of the Indo-European family, those of the Shemitic may be almost designated as inorganic: they have not vegetated, have not grown; they have simply existed.[h] [T. J. O.]

SHEM'UEL (שְׁמוּאֵל: Σαλαμιήλ: *Samuel*). 1. Son of Ammihud, appointed from the tribe of Simeon to divide the land of Canaan among the tribes (Num. xxxiv. 20).

2. (Σαμουήλ.) SAMUEL the prophet (1 Chr. vi. 33).

3. Son of Tola, and one of the chiefs of the tribe of Issachar (1 Chr. vii. 2).

SHEN (הַשֵּׁן, with the def. article: τῆς παλαιᾶς: *Sen*). A place mentioned only in 1 Sam. vii. 12, defining the spot at which Samuel set up the stone Eben-ezer to commemorate the rout of the Philistines. The pursuit had extended to "below Beth-car," and the stone was erected "between the Mizpah and between the Shen." Nothing is known of it. The Targum has *Shinna*. The Peshito-Syriac and Arabic Versions render both Beth-car and Shen by *Beit-Jasan*, but the writer has not succeeded in identifying the name with any place in the lists of Dr. Robinson (1st edit. App. to vol. iii.) The LXX. read יָשָׁן *yâshân*, old. [G.]

SHEN'AZAR (שְׁנַאצַּר: Σανεσάρ: *Senneser*). Son of Salathiel, or Shealtiel (1 Chr. iii. 18). According to the Vulgate he is reckoned as a son of Jechoniah.

SHENI'R (שְׂנִיר, *i. e.* Senir; Sam. Vers. משעבר: Σανείρ: *Sanir*). This name occurs in Deut. iii. 9, Cant. iv. 8. It is an inaccurate equivalent for the Hebrew *Senir*, the Amorite name for Mount Hermon, and, like Shibmah (for Sibmah), has found its way into the Authorised Version without any apparent authority. The correct form is found in 1 Chr. v. 23 and Ez. xxvii. 5. [SENIR.] [G.]

SHEPHA'M (שִׁפְמ: Σεφαμάρ[a]: *Sephama*). A place mentioned only in the specification by Moses of the eastern boundary of the Promised Land (Num. xxxiv. 10, 11), the first landmark from Hatser-enan, at which the northern boundary terminated, and lying between it and Riblah. The ancient interpreters (Targ. Pseudojon.; Saadiah) render the name by Apameia[b]; but it seems uncertain whether by this they intend the Greek city of that name on the Orontes, 50 miles below Antioch, or whether they use it as a synonym of Banias or Dan, as Schwarz affirms (*Descr. Geogr.* 27). No trace of the name appears, however, in that direction. Mr. Porter would fix Hatser-enan at *Kuryetein*, 70 miles E.N.E. of Damascus, which would remove Shepham into a totally different region, in which there is equally little trace of it. The writer ventures to disagree with this and similar attempts to enlarge the bounds of the Holy Land to an extent for which, in his opinion, there is no warrant in Scripture. [G.]

SHEPHATHI'AH (שְׁפַטְיָה: Σαφατία: *Saphatia*). A Benjamite, father of MESHULLAM 6 (1 Chr. ix. 8). The name is properly SHEPHATIAH.

SHEPHATI'AH (שְׁפַטְיָה: Σαφατία; Alex. Σαφαθία, Σαφατίας: *Saphathia, Saphatias*). 1. The fifth son of David by his wife Abital (2 Sam. iii. 4; 1 Chr. iii. 3).

2. (Σαφατία: *Sephatia, Saphatia.*) The family of Shephatiah, 372 in number, returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 4; Neh. vii. 9). A second detachment of eighty, with Zebadiah at their head, came up with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 8). The name is written SAPHAT (1 Esdr. v. 9), and SAPHATIAS (1 Esdr. viii. 34).

3. (*Saphatia.*) The family of another Shephatiah were among the children of Solomon's servants, who came up with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 57; Neh. vii. 59).

4. A descendant of Perez, or Pharez, the son of Judah, and ancestor of Athaiah (Neh. xi. 4)

5. (Σαφατίας: *Saphatias.*) The son of Mattan; one of the princes of Judah who counselled Zedekiah to put Jeremiah in the dungeon (Jer. xxxviii. 1).

6. (שְׁפַטְיָהוּ: Σαφατίας; Alex. Σαφατία; FA. Ζαφατεία: *Saphatia.*) The Haruphite, or Hariphite, one of the Benjamite warriors who joined David in his retreat at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 5).

7. (Σαφατία: *Saphatias.*) Son of Maachah, and chief of the Simeonites in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 16).

8. (Σαφατιάς; Alex. Σαφατίας.) Son of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xxi. 2).

SHEPHERD (רֹעֶה; בּוֹקֵר, Am. vii. 14; נֹקֵד, Am. i. 1). In a nomadic state of society every

[h] Renan, i. 423-4.

[a] The *ar* at the end of the LXX. version of the name is partly due to the *ah* (particle of motion) which is affixed to it in the original of ver. 10, and partly derived from the commencement of Riblah, which follows it in ver. 11, and which they have given without its *r*, as Βηλα.

[b] אַפַּמְיָא: قامية: Sam. Vers. עמית.

man, from the sheikh down to the slave, is more or less a shepherd. As many regions in the East are adapted solely to pastoral pursuits, the institution of the nomad life, with its appliances of tents and camp equipage, was regarded as one of the most memorable inventions (Gen. iv. 20). The progenitors of the Jews in the patriarchal age were nomads, and their history is rich in scenes of pastoral life. The occupation of tending the flocks was undertaken, not only by the sons of wealthy chiefs (Gen. xxx. 29 ff., xxxvii. 12 ff.), but even by their daughters (Gen. xxix. 6 ff.; Ex. ii. 19). The Egyptian captivity did much to implant a love of settled abode, and consequently we find the tribes which still retained a taste for shepherd life selecting their own quarters apart from their brethren in the Transjordanic district (Num. xxxii. 1 ff.). Henceforward in Palestine Proper the shepherd held a subordinate position; the increase of agriculture involved the decrease of pasturage; and though large flocks were still maintained in certain parts, particularly on the borders of the wilderness of Judah, as about Carmel (1 Sam. xxv. 2), Bethlehem (1 Sam. xvi. 11; Luke ii. 8), Tekoah (Am. i. 1), and more to the south, at Gedor, (1 Chr. iv. 39), the nomad life was practically extinct, and the shepherd became one out of many classes of the labouring population. The completeness of the transition from the pastoral to the agricultural state is strongly exhibited in those passages which allude to the presence of the shepherd's tent as a token of desolation (*e. g.* Ez. xxv. 4; Zeph. ii. 6). The humble position of the shepherd at the same period is implied in the notices of David's wondrous elevation (2 Sam. vii. 8; Ps. lxxviii. 70), and again in the self-depreciating confession of Amos (vii. 14). The frequent and beautiful allusions to the shepherd's office in the poetical portions of the Bible (*e. g.* Ps. xxiii.; Is. xl. 11, xlix. 9, 10; Jer. xxiii. 3, 4; Ez. xxxiv. 11, 12, 23), rather bespeak a period when the shepherd had become an ideal character, such as the Roman poets painted the pastors of Arcadia.

The office of the Eastern shepherd, as described in the Bible, was attended with much hardship, and even danger. He was exposed to the extremes of heat and cold (Gen. xxxi. 40); his food frequently consisted of the precarious supplies afforded by nature, such as the fruit of the "sycomore," or Egyptian fig (Am. vii. 14), the "husks" of the carob-tree (Luke xv. 16), and perchance the locusts and wild honey which supported the Baptist (Matt. iii. 4); he had to encounter the attacks of wild beasts, occasionally of the larger species, such as lions, wolves, panthers, and bears (1 Sam. xvii. 34; Is. xxxi. 4; Jer. v. 6; Am. iii. 12); nor was he free from the risk of robbers or predatory hordes (Gen. xxxi. 39). To meet these various foes the shepherd's equipment consisted of the following articles:—a mantle, made probably of sheep's-skin with the fleece on, which he turned inside out in cold weather, as implied in the comparison in Jer. xliii. 12 (cf. Juv. xiv. 187); a scrip or wallet, containing a small amount of food (1 Sam. xvii. 40; Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 100); a sling, which is still the favourite weapon of the Bedouin shepherd (1 Sam. xvii. 40; Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 57); and, lastly, a staff, which served the double purpose of a weapon against foes, and a crook for the management of the flock (1 Sam. xvii. 40; Ps. xxiii. 4; Zech. xi. 7). If the shepherd was at a distance from his home, he was provided with a light tent (Cant. i. 8; Jer. xxxv. 7), the removal of which was easily effected (Is. xxxviii. 12). In certain localities, moreover, towers were erected for the double purpose of spying an enemy at a distance, and protecting the flock: such towers were erected by Uzziah and Jotham (2 Chr. xxvi. 10, xxvii. 4), while their existence in earlier times is testified by the name Migdal-Eder (Gen xxxv. 21, A. V. "tower of Edar;" Mic. iv. 8, A. V. "tower of the flock").

The routine of the shepherd's duties appears to have been as follows:—in the morning he led forth his flock from the fold (John x. 4), which he did by going before them and calling to them, as is still usual in the East; arrived at the pasturage, he watched the flock with the assistance of dogs (Job xxx. 1), and, should any sheep stray, he had to search for it until he found it (Ez. xxxiv. 12; Luke xv. 4); he supplied them with water, either at a running stream or at troughs attached to wells (Gen. xxix. 7, xxx. 38; Ex. ii. 16; Ps. xxiii. 2); at evening he brought them back to the fold, and reckoned them to see that none were missing, by passing them "under the rod" as they entered the door of the enclosure (Lev. xxvii. 32; Ez. xx. 37), checking each sheep as it passed, by a motion of the hand (Jer. xxxiii. 13); and, finally, he watched the entrance of the fold throughout the night, acting as porter (John x. 3). We need not assume that the same person was on duty both by night and by day; Jacob, indeed, asserts this of himself (Gen. xxxi. 40), but it would be more probable that the shepherds took it by turns, or that they kept watch for a portion only of the night, as may possibly be implied in the expression in Luke ii. 8, rendered in the A. V. "keeping watch," rather "keeping the watches" (*φυλάσσοντες φυλακάς*). The shepherd's office thus required great watchfulness, particularly by night (Luke ii. 8; cf. Nah. iii. 18). It also required tenderness towards the young and feeble (Is. xl. 11), particularly in driving them to and from the pasturage (Gen. xxxiii. 13). In large establishments there were various grades of shepherds, the highest being styled "rulers" (Gen. xlvii. 6), or "chief shepherds" (1 Pet. v. 4): in a royal household the title of *abbir*,[a] "mighty," was bestowed on the person who held the post (1 Sam. xxi. 7). Great responsibility attached to the office; for the chief shepherd had to make good all losses (Gen. xxxi. 39); at the same time he had a personal interest in the flock, inasmuch as he was not paid in money, but received a certain amount of the produce (Gen. xxx. 32; 1 Cor. ix. 7). The life of the shepherd was a monotonous one; he may perhaps have wiled away an hour in playing on some instrument (1 Sam. xvi. 18; Job xxi. 12, xxx. 31), as his modern representative still occasionally does (Wortabet's *Syria*, i. 234). He also had his periodical entertainments at the shearing-time, which was celebrated by a general gathering of the neighbourhood for festivities (Gen. xxxi. 19, xxxviii. 12; 2 Sam. xiii. 23); but, generally speaking, the life must have been but dull. Nor did it conduce to gentleness of manners; rival shepherds contended for the possession or the use of water with great acrimony (Gen. xxi. 25, xxvi. 20 ff.; Ex. ii. 17); nor perhaps is this a matter of surprise, as those who come late to a well frequently have to wait a long time until their turn comes (Burckhardt's *Syria*, p. 63).

The hatred of the Egyptians towards shepherds

[a] אַבִּיר.

(Gen. xlvi. 34) may have been mainly due to their contempt for the sheep itself, which appears to have been valued neither for food (Plutarch. *De Is.* 72), nor generally for sacrifice (Herod. ii. 42), the only district where they were offered being about the Natron lakes (Strab. xvii. p. 803). It may have been increased by the memory of the Shepherd invasion (Herod. ii. 128). Abundant confirmation of the fact of this hatred is supplied by the low position which all herdsmen held in the castes of Egypt, and by the caricatures of them in Egyptian paintings (Wilkinson, ii. 169).

The term "shepherd" is applied in a metaphorical sense to princes (Is. xliv. 28; Jer. ii. 8, iii. 15, xxii. 22; Ez. xxxiv. 2 &c.), prophets (Zech. xi. 5, 8, 16), teachers (Eccl. xii. 11), and to Jehovah himself (Gen. xlix. 24; Ps. xxiii. 1, lxxx. 1): to the same effect are the references to "feeding" in Gen. xlviii. 15; Ps. xxviii. 9; Hos. iv. 16. [W. L. B.]

SHEPHI' (שֵׁפִי: Σωφί; Alex. Σωφάρ: *Sephi*). Son of Shobal, of the sons of Seir (1 Chr. i. 40). Called also SHEPHO (Gen. xxxvi. 23); which Burrington concludes to be the true reading (*Geneal.* i. 49.

SHE'PHO (שֵׁפוֹ: Σωφάρ: *Sepho*). The same as SHEPHI (Gen. xxxvi. 23).

SHEPHU'PHAN (שְׁפוּפָן: Σεφουφάμ; Alex. Σωφάν: *Sephuphan*). One of the sons of Bela the firstborn of Benjamin (1 Chr. viii. 5). His name is also written SHEPHUPHAM (A. V. "Shupham," Num. xxvi. 39), SHUPPIM (1 Chr. vii. 12, 15), and MUPPIM (Gen. xlvi. 21). Lord A. Hervey conjectures that Shephuphan may have been a son of Benjamin, whose family was reckoned with those of Iri the son of Bela. [MUPPIM.]

SHE'RAH (שְׁאֵרָה, i.e. *Sheĕrâh*: Σαρά; Alex. Σααρά: *Sara*). Daughter of Ephraim (1 Chr. vii. 24), and foundress of the two Beth-horons, and of a town which was called after her UZZEN-SHERAH.

SHEREBI'AH (שֵׁרֵבְיָה: Σαραΐα, Ezr. viii. 24; Σαραβίας, Neh. viii. 7, ix. 4; Σαραβία, Neh. x. 12, xii. 8, 24; Alex. Σαραβία, Neh. viii. 7; Σαραβαΐα, Neh. x. 4: *Sarabias*, Ezr.; *Serebia*, Neh. viii. 7, x. 12, xii. 24; *Sarebias*, Neh. ix. 4; *Sarebia*, Neh. xii. 8). A Levite in the time of Ezra, of the family of Mahli the son of Merari (Ezr. viii. 18, 24). He was one of the first of the ministers of the Temple to join Ezra at the river of Ahava, and with Hashabiah and ten of their brethren[a] had the charge of the vessels and gifts which the king and his court, and the people of Israel had contributed for the service of the Temple. When Ezra read the Law to the people, Sherebiah was among the Levites who assisted him (Neh. viii. 7). He took part in the psalm of confession and thanksgiving which was sung at the solemn fast after the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh. ix. 4, 5), and signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 12). He is again mentioned as among the chief of the Levites who belonged to the choir (Neh. xii. 8, 24). In 1 Esdr. viii. 54 he is called ESEBRIAS.

SHER'ESH (שֶׁרֶשׁ in pause: Σοῦρος; Alex. Σόρος: *Sares*). Son of Machir the son of Manasseh by his wife Maachah (1 Chr. vii. 16).

SHERE'ZER (שַׂר־אֶצֶר: Σαρασάρ: *Sarasar*) Properly "Sharezer;" one of the messengers sent in the fourth year of Darius by the people who had returned from the Captivity to inquire concerning fasting in the fifth month (Zech. vii. 2). [See REGEMMELECH.]

SHE'SHACH (שֵׁשַׁךְ: *Sesach*) is a term which occurs only in Jeremiah (xxv. 26, li. 41), who evidently uses it as a synonym either for Babylon or for Babylonia. According to some commentators it represents "Babel" on a principle well known to the later Jews—the substitution of letters according to their position in the alphabet, counting *backwards* from the last letter, for those which hold the same numerical position, counting in the ordinary way. Thus ת represents א, ש represents ב, ר represents ג, and so on. It is the fact that in this way שֵׁשַׁךְ would represent בבל. It may well be doubted, however, if this fanciful practice is as old as Jeremiah. At any rate, this explanation does not seem to be so satisfactory as to make any other superfluous. Now Sir H. Rawlinson has observed that the name of the moon-god, which was identical, or nearly so, with that of the city of Abraham, Ur (or Hur), "might have been read in one of the ancient dialects of Babylon as *Shishaki*," and that consequently "a possible explanation is thus obtained of the Sheshach of Scripture" (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 616). Sheshach may stand for Ur, Ur itself, the old capital, being taken (as Babel, the new capital, was constantly) to represent the country. [G. R.]

SHESHA'I (שֵׁשַׁי: Σεσσί, Num. and Judg.; Σουσί, Josh.; Alex. Σεμεί, Σο ισαί, Γεθθί: *Sisai*, Num.; *Sesai*). One of the three sons of Anak who dwelt in Hebron (Num. xiii. 22) and were driven thence and slain by Caleb at the head of the children of Judah (Josh. xv. 14; Judg. i. 10).

SHESHA'N (שֵׁשָׁן: Σωσάν: *Sesan*). A descendant of Jerahmeel the son of Hezron, and representative of one of the chief families of Judah. In consequence of the failure of male issue, he gave his daughter in marriage to Jarha, his Egyptian slave, and through this union the line was perpetuated (1 Chr. ii. 31, 34, 35).

SHESHBAZ'ZAR (שֵׁשְׁבַּצַּר: Σασαβασάρ; Alex. Σασαβασσάρ: *Sassabasar*: of uncertain meaning and etymology). The Chaldean or Persian name given to Zerubbabel, in Ezr. i. 8, 11, v. 14, 16; 1 Esdr. ii. 12, 15, after the analogy of Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, Belteshazzar, and Esther. In like manner also Joseph received the name of Zaphnath-Paaneah, and we learn from Manetho, as quoted by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 28), that Moses' Egyptian name was Osarsiph. The change of name in the case of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah (2 K. xxiii. 34, xxiv. 17) may also be compared. That Sheshbazzar means Zerubbabel is proved by his being called the prince of Judah (הַנָּשִׂיא), and governor (פֶּחָה), the former term marking him as the head of the tribe in the Jewish sense (Num. vii. 2, 10, 11, &c.), and the latter as the Persian governor appointed by Cyrus, both which Zerubbabel was; and yet more distinctly, by the assertion (Ezr. v. 16) that "Sheshbazzar laid the foundation of the House of God which is in Jerusalem," compared with the promise to Zerubbabel (Zech. iv. 9), "The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house, his hands shall also finish it." It is also apparent

[a] They are called "priests;" but the term is used loosely, as in Josh. iii. 3.

from the mere comparison of Ezr. i. 11 with ii. 1, 2, and the whole history of the returned exiles. The Jewish tradition that Sheshbazzar is Daniel, is utterly without weight. [ZERUBBABEL.] [A. C. H.]

SHETH (שֵׁת: Σήθ: *Seth*). 1. The patriarch SETH (1 Chr. i. 1).

2. In the A. V. of Num. xxiv. 17, שֵׁת is rendered as a proper name, but there is reason to regard it as an appellative, and to translate, instead of "the sons of Sheth," "the sons of tumult," the wild warriors of Moab, for in the parallel passage, Jer. xlviii. 45, שְׁאוֹן, *shâôn*, "tumult," occupies the place of *shêth*. שֵׁת, *shêth*, is thus equivalent to שְׁאת, *shêth*, as in Lam. iii. 47. Ewald proposes, very unnecessarily, to read שֵׁת, *sêth* = שְׁאֵת, and to translate "the sons of haughtiness" (*Hochmuthssöhne*). Rashi takes the word as a proper name, and refers it to Seth the son of Adam, and this seems to have been the view taken by Onkelos, who renders "he shall rule all the sons of men." The Jerusalem Targum gives "all the sons of the East;" the Targum of Jonathan ben-Uzziel retains the Hebrew word Sheth, and explains it of the armies of Gog who were to set themselves in battle array against Israel. [W. A. W.]

SHETHA'R (שְׁתָר: Σαρσαθαῖος; Σαρεσθαῖος, Cod. Alex.: *Sethar*: "a star," Pers.). One of the seven princes of Persia and Media, who had access to the king's presence, and were the first men in the kingdom, in the third year of Xerxes (Esth. i. 14). Compare Ezr. vii. 14 and the ἑπτὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἐπίσημοι of Ctesias (14), and the statement of Herodotus with regard to the seven noble Persians who slew Smerdis, that it was granted to them as a privilege to have access to the king's presence at all times, without being sent for, except when he was with the women; and that the king might only take a wife from one of these seven families, iii. 84, and Gesen. s. v. [CARSHENA; ESTHER.] [A. C. H.]

SHETHA'R-BOZNA'I (שְׁתַר בּוֹזְנַי: Σαθαρβουζαναῖ—ης, Cod. Alex.: *Sthârbuzani*: "star of splendour"). A Persian officer of rank, having a command in the province "on this side the river" under Tatnai the satrap (פַּחַת), in the reign of Darius Hystaspis (Ezr. v. 3, 6, vi. 6, 13). He joined with Tatnai and the Apharsachites in trying to obstruct the progress of the Temple in the time of Zerubbabel, and in writing a letter to Darius, of which a copy is preserved in Ezr. v., in which they reported that "the house of the great God" in Judaea was being builded with great stones, and that the work was going on fast, on the alleged authority of a decree from Cyrus. They requested that search might be made in the rolls court whether such a decree was ever given, and asked for the king's pleasure in the matter. The decree was found at Egbatana, and a letter was sent to Tatnai and Shethar-boznai from Darius, ordering them no more to obstruct, but, on the contrary, to aid the elders of the Jews in rebuilding the Temple, by supplying them both with money and with beasts, corn, salt, wine, and oil, for the sacrifices. Shethar-boznai after the receipt of this decree offered no further obstruction to the Jews. The account of the Jewish prosperity in Ezr. vi. 14-22, would indicate that the Persian governors acted fully up to the spirit of their instructions from the king.

As regards the name Shethar-boznai, it seems to be certainly Persian. The first element of it appears as the name Shethar, one of the seven Persian princes in Esth. i. 14. It is perhaps also contained in the name Pharna-zathres (Herod. vii. 65); and the whole name is not unlike Sati-barzanes, a Persian in the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon (Ctesias, 57). If the names of the Persian officers mentioned in the Book of Ezra could be identified in any inscriptions or other records of the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, it would be of immense value in clearing up the difficulties of that book. [A. C. H.]

SHE'VA (שֵׁוְא, *Keri*; שָׁוְא, 2 Sam.: Σουσά, Alex. Ἰσούς: *Siva*). 1. The scribe or royal secretary of David (2 Sam. xx. 25). He is called elsewhere SERAIAH (2 Sam. viii. 17), SHISHA (1 K. iv. 3), and SHAVSHA (1 Chr. xvi. 18).

2. (Σαού; Alex. Σαούλ: *Sue.*) Son of Caleb ben-Hezron by his concubine Maachah, and founder or chief of Machbena and Gibea (1 Chr. ii. 49).

SHEW BREAD. (לחם פנים, or ל״ הפנים (Ex. xxv. 30, xxxv. 13, xxxix. 36, &c.), literally "bread of the face" or "faces." לחם אפים, Onk. ל״ המערכת, "bread set in order," 1 Chr. ix. 32, xxiii. 29, 2 Chr. xxix. 18, Neh. x. 34, מערכות. In Num. iv. 7, we find ל״ התמיד, "the perpetual bread." In 1 Sam. xxi. 4-6, it is called ל״ קדש, "holy bread." Syr. ܠܚܡ ܦܬܝܬ ܘܩܕܫ "bread of the Table of the Lord." The LXX. give us ἄρτοι ἐνώπιοι, Ex. xxv. 30; ἄρτοι τῆς προσφορᾶς, 1 K. vii. 48. N. T.: ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως, Matt. xii. 4, Luke vi. 4; ἡ προθέσις τῶν ἄρτων, Heb. ix. 2. The Vulg. *panes propositionis*. Wiclif, "loaves of proposition." Luther, *Schaubrode*; from which our subsequent English versions have adopted the title SHEW-BREAD.

Within the Ark it was directed that there should be a table of shittim wood, i. e. *acacia*, two cubits in length, a cubit in breadth, and a cubit and a half in height, overlaid with pure gold, and having "a golden crown to the border thereof round about," *i. e.* a border or list, in order, as we may suppose, to hinder that which was placed on it from by any accident falling off. The further description of this table will be found in Ex. xxv. 23-30, and a representation of it as it existed in the Herodian Temple forms an interesting feature in the bas-reliefs within the Arch of Titus. The accuracy of this may, as is obvious, be trusted. It exhibits one striking correspondence with the prescriptions in Exodus. We there find the following words: "and thou shalt make unto it a border of a handbreadth round about." In the sculpture of the Arch the hand of one of the slaves who is carrying the Table, and the border, are of about equal breadth.* This table is itself called שלחן הפנים, "the Table of the Faces," in Num. iv. 7, and שלחן הטהר, "the pure table" in Lev. xxiv. 6; and 2 Chr xiii. 11. This latter epithet is generally referred by commentators to the unalloyed gold with which so much of it was covered. It may, however, mean somewhat more than this, and bear something of the force which it has in Malachi i. 11.

* Taking, *i. e.*, the four fingers, when closed together, as the measure of a handbreadth, as we are instructed to do by a comparison of 1 K. vii. 26 and Jer. lii. 21.

It was thought by Philo and Clement of Alexandria that the Table was a symbol of the world, its four sides or legs typifying the four seasons. In the utter absence of any argument in their support, we may feel warranted in neglecting such fanciful conjectures, without calling in the aid of Bähr's arguments against them.

In 2 Chr. iv. 19 we have mention of "the tables whereon the shewbread was set," and at ver. 8 we read of Solomon making ten tables. This is probably explained by the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 3, §7), that the king made a number of tables, and one great golden one on which they placed the loaves of God. [See TEMPLE.]

The table of the second Temple was carried away by Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. i. 22), and a new one made at the refurnishing of the sanctuary under Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. iv. 49). Afterwards Ptolemy Philadelphus presented a magnificent table (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 2, §8, 9).

The Table stood in the sanctuary together with the seven-branched candlestick and the altar of incense. Every Sabbath twelve newly-baked loaves were put on it in two rows, six in each, and sprinkled with incense (the LXX. add *salt*), where they remained till the following Sabbath. Then they were replaced by twelve new ones, the incense was burned, and they were eaten by the priests in the Holy Place, out of which they might not be removed. Besides these, the Shewbread Table was adorned with dishes, spoons, bowls, &c., which were of pure gold (Ex. xxv. 29). These, however, were manifestly subsidiary to the loaves, the preparation, presentation, and subsequent treatment of which manifestly constituted the *ordinance* of the shewbread, whose probable purport and significance must now be considered.

The number of the loaves (twelve) is considered by Philo and Josephus to represent the twelve months. If there was such a reference, it must surely have been quite subordinate to that which is obvious at once. The twelve loaves plainly answer to the twelve tribes (compare Rev. xxii. 2). But, taking this for granted, we have still to ascertain the meaning of the rite, and there is none which is left in Scripture so wholly unexplained. Though it is mentioned, as we have seen, in other parts of the O. T. besides the Pentateuch, it is never more than mentioned. The narrative of David and his companions being permitted to eat the shewbread, does but illustrate the sanctity which was ascribed to it; and besides our Saviour's appeal to that narrative, the ordinance is only once referred to in the N. T. (Heb. ix. 2), and there it is merely named among the other appurtenances of the first sanctuary.

But although unexplained, it is referred to as one of the leading and most solemn appointments of the sanctuary. For example, the appeal of Abijam to the revolted tribes (2 Chr. xiii. 10, 11) runs thus—"but as for us, the LORD is our God, and we have not forsaken Him; and the priests, which minister unto the Lord, are the sons of Aaron, and the Levites wait upon their business; and they burn unto the Lord every morning and every evening burnt-sacrifices and sweet incense; the shewbread also set they in order upon the pure table," &c. &c.

In this absence of explanation of that which is yet regarded as so solemn, we have but to seek whether the names bestowed on and the rites connected with the shewbread will lead us to some apprehension of its meaning.

The first name we find given it is obviously the dominant one, לחם פנים, "bread or the face, or faces." This is explained by some of the Rabbis, even by Maimonides, as referring to the four sides of each loaf. It is difficult to believe that the title was given on a ground which in no way distinguished them from other loaves. Besides, it is applied in Num. iv. 7, simply to the Table, שלחן הפנים, not, as in the English version, the "table of shewbread," but the "shew table," the "table of the face, or faces."

We have used the words *face* or *faces*, for פנים, it needs scarcely be said, exists only in the plural, and is therefore applied equally to the face of one person and of many. In connexion with this meaning, it continually bears the secondary one of *presence*. It would be superfluous to cite any of the countless passages in which it does so. But whose face or presence is denoted? That of the people? The rite of the shewbread, according to some, was performed in acknowledgment of God's being the giver of all our bread and sustenance, and the loaves lay always on the Table as a memorial and monitor of this. But against this, besides other reasons, there is the powerful objection that the shewbread was unseen by the people; it lay in the sanctuary, and was eaten there by the priests alone. So that the first condition of symbolic instruction was wanting to the rite, had this been its meaning.

The פנים, therefore, or Presence, is that not of the people but of God. The ἄρτοι ἐνώπιοι and the ἄρτοι τῆς προσφορᾶς of the LXX. seem to indicate as much. To say nothing of 1 Sam. xxi. 6, where the words לי הפנים המוסרים מלפני יהוה seem decisive of the whole question. But in what sense? Spencer and others consider it bread offered to God as was the Minchah, a symbolical meal for God somewhat answering to a heathen *Lectisternium*. But it is not easy to find this meaning in the recorded appointments. The incense is no doubt to be burnt on the appointed altar, but the bread, on the Sabbath following that of its presentation, is to be eaten in the Holy Place by the priests. There remains, then, the view which has been brought out with such singular force and beauty by Bähr—a view broad and clear in itself, and not disturbed by those fanciful theories of numbers which tend to abate confidence in some parts of his admirable *Symbolik*.

He remarks, and justly, that the phrase פנים is applied solely to the table and the bread, not to the other furniture of the sanctuary, the altar of incense, or the golden candlestick. There is something therefore peculiar to the former which is denoted by the title. Taking הפנים as equivalent to the *Presence* (*of God* subaud.), he views the application of it to the table and the bread as analogous to its application to the angel, מלאך פנים (Is. lxiii. 9, compared with Ex. xxxiii. 14, 15; Deut. iv. 37). Of the Angel of God's Presence it is said that God's "Name is in Him" (Ex. xxiii. 20). The Presence and the Name may therefore be taken as equivalent. Both, in reference to their context, indicate the manifestation of God to His creatures. "The Name of God," he remarks, "is Himself, but that, in so far as He reveals Himself, the face is that wherein the being of a man proclaims itself, and makes known its individual personality. Hence, as Name stands for He or Himself, so Face for *Person*: to see the Face, for, to see the Person. The Bread of the Face is therefore that

bread through which God is seen, that is, with the participation of which the seeing of God is bound up, or through the participation of which man attains the sight of God. Whence it follows that we have not to think of bread merely as such, as the means of nourishing the bodily life, but as spiritual food, as a means of appropriating and retaining that life which consists in seeing the face of God. Bread is therefore here a symbol, and stands, as it so generally does in all languages, both for life and life's nourishment; but by being entitled *the Bread of the Face* it becomes a symbol of a life higher than the physical; it is, since it lies on the table placed in the symbolic heaven, heavenly bread; they who eat of it and satisfy themselves with it see the face of God" (Bähr, *Symbolik*, book i. c. 6, §2). It is to be remembered that the shewbread was "taken from the children of Israel by an everlasting covenant" (Lev. xxiv. 8), and may therefore be well expected to bear the most solemn meaning. Bähr proceeds to show very beautifully the connexion in Scripture between seeing God and being nourished by God, and points, as the coping-stone of his argument, to Christ being at once the perfect Image of God and the Bread of Life. The references to a table prepared for the righteous man, such as Ps. xxiii. 5, Luke xxii. 30, should also be considered. [F. G.]

SHIB'BOLETH (שִׁבֹּלֶת: *Sibboleth*), Judg. xii. 6. The Hebrew word which the Gileadites under Jephthah made use of at the passages of the Jordan, after a victory over the Ephraimites, to test the pronunciation of the sound *sh* by those who wished to cross over the river. The Ephraimites, it would appear, in their dialect substituted for *sh* the simple sound *s*; and the Gileadites, regarding every one who failed to pronounce *sh* as an Ephraimite and therefore an enemy, put him to death accordingly.

The word "Shibboleth," which has now a second life in the English language in a new signification, has two meanings in Hebrew: 1st, an ear of corn; 2ndly, a stream or flood: and it was, perhaps, in the latter sense that this particular word suggested itself to the Gileadites, the Jordan being a rapid river. The word, in the latter sense, is used twice in the 69th Psalm, in verses 2 and 15, where the translation of the A. V. is "the *floods* overflow me," and "let not the water-*flood* overflow me." If in English the word retained its original meaning, the latter passage might be translated "Let not a shibboleth of waters drown me." There is no mystery in this particular word. Any word beginning with the sound *sh* would have answered equally well as a test.

Before the introduction of vowel points (which took place not earlier than the 6th century A.D.) there was nothing in Hebrew to distinguish the letters Shin and Sin, so it could not be known by the eye in reading when *h* was to be sounded after *s*, just as now in English there is nothing to show that it should be sounded in the words *sugar*, *Asia*, *Persia*; or in German, according to the most common pronunciation, after *s* in the words *Sprache Spiel*, *Sturm*, *Stiefel*, and a large class of similar words. It is to be noted that the sound *sh* is unknown to the Greek language, as the English *th* is unknown to so many modern languages. Hence in the Septuagint proper names commence simply with *s*, which in Hebrew commence with *sh*; and one result has been that, through the Septuagint and the Vulgate, some of these names, such as Samuel, Samson, Simeon, and Solomon, having become[a] naturalized in the Greek form in the English language, have been retained in this form in the English version of the O. T. Hence, likewise, it is a singularity of the Septuagint version that, in the passage in Judg. xii. 6, the translator could not introduce the word "Shibboleth," and has substituted one of its translations, *στάχυς*, "an ear of corn," which tells the original story by analogy. It is not impossible that this word may have been ingeniously preferred to any Greek word signifying "stream," or "flood," from its first letters being rather harsh-sounding, independently of its containing a guttural. [E. T.]

SHIB'MAH (שִׂבְמָה, *i. e.* Sibmah: Σεβαμᾶ: *Sabama*). One of the places on the east of Jordan which were taken possession of and rebuilt by the tribe of Reuben (Num. xxxii. 38). It is probably the same with Shebam (*i. e.* Sebam) named in the list at the beginning of the chapter, and is certainly identical with Sibmah, so celebrated at a later date for its vines. Indeed, the two names are precisely the same in Hebrew, though our translators have chosen to introduce a difference. Sibmah, and not Shibmah, is the accurate representative of the Hebrew original. [G.]

SHIC'RON (שִׁכְרוֹן: Σοκχώθ; Alex. Ἀκκαρωνα: *Sechrona*). One of the landmarks at the western end of the north boundary of Judah (Josh. xv. 11, only). It lay between Ekron (*Akir*) and Jabneel (*Yebna*), the port at which the boundary ran to the sea. No trace of the name has been discovered between these two places, which are barely four miles apart. The Alex. LXX. (with an unusual independence of the Hebrew text) has evidently taken Shicron as a repetition of Ekron, but the two names are too essentially different to allow of this, which is not supported by any other version. The Targum gives it Shicaron, and with this agrees Eusebius (*Onom.* Σαχωραν), though no knowledge of the locality of the place is to be gained from his notice. [G.]

SHIELD (צִנָּה; מָגֵן; שֶׁלֶט; סֹחֵרָה). The three first of the Hebrew terms quoted have been already noticed under the head of ARMS, where it is stated that the *tzinnâh* was a large oblong shield or target, covering the whole body; that the *mâgên* was a small round or oval shield; and that the term *shelet* is of doubtful import, applying to some ornamental piece of armour. To these we may add *sochêrâh*, a poetical term occurring only in Ps. xci. 4. The ordinary shield consisted of a framework of wood covered with leather; it thus admitted of being burnt (Ez. xxxix. 9). The *mâgên* was frequently cased with metal, either brass or copper; its appearance in this case resembled gold,[b] when the sun shone on it (1 Macc. vi. 39), and to this, rather than to the practice of smearing blood on the

[a] In proper names not naturalized in English through the LXX, the Hebrew form is retained, as in Mephibosheth, Ishbosheth. The latter name is melted down in the LXX. to Ἰεβοσέθ; as, with the é fermé, the French have softened many Latin words beginning with *st*, such as Studium=Étude, Strenae=Étrennes, &c. &c.

[b] In the passage quoted, the shields carried by the soldiers of Antiochus are said to have been actually of gold. This, however, must have been a mistake, as even silver shields were very rare (Diod. Sic. xvii. 57).

shield, we may refer the redness noticed by Nahum (ii. 3). The surface of the shield was kept bright by the application of oil, as implied in Is. xxi. 5; hence Saul's shield is described as "not anointed with oil" *i. e.* dusty and gory (2 Sam. i. 21). Oil would be as useful for the metal as for the leather shield. In order to preserve it from the effects of weather, the shield was kept covered, except in actual conflict (Is. xxii. 6; comp. Caes. *B. G.* ii. 21; Cic. *Nat. Deor.* ii. 14). The shield was worn on the left arm, to which it was attached by a strap. It was used not only in the field, but also in besieging towns, when it served for the protection of the head, the combined shields of the besiegers forming a kind of *testudo* (Ez. xxvi. 8). Shields of state were covered with beaten gold. Solomon made such for use in religious processions (1 K. x. 16, 17); when these were carried off, they were replaced by shields of brass, which, as being less valuable, were kept in the guard-room (1 K. xiv. 27), while the former had been suspended in the palace for ornament. A large golden shield was sent as a present to the Romans, when the treaty with them was renewed by Simon Maccabaeus (1 Macc. xiv. 24, xv. 18); it was intended as a token of alliance (*σύμβολον τῆς συμμαχίας*, Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 8, §5), but whether any symbolic significance was attached to the shield in particular as being the weapon of protection, is uncertain. Other instances of a similar present occur (Suet. *Calig.* 16), as well as of complimentary presents of a different kind on the part of allies (Cic. *Verr.* 2 Act. iv. 29, §67). Shields were suspended about public buildings for ornamental purposes (1 K. x. 17; 1 Macc. iv. 57, vi. 2); this was particularly the case with the shields (assuming *shelet* to have this meaning) which David took from Hadadezer (2 Sam. viii. 7; Cant. iv. 4), and which were afterwards turned to practical account (2 K. xi. 10; 2 Chr. xxiii. 9): the Gammadim similarly suspended them about their towers (Ez. xxvii. 11; see GAMMADIMS). In the metaphorical language of the Bible the shield generally represents the protection of God (*e.g.* Ps. iii. 3, xxviii. 7); but in Ps. xlvii. 9 it is applied to earthly rulers, and in Eph. vi. 16, to faith. [W. L. B.]

SHIGGAI'ON (שִׁגָּיוֹן: Ψαλμός: *Psalmus*), Ps. vii. 1. A particular kind of Psalm; the specific character of which is now not known.

In the singular number the word occurs nowhere in Hebrew, except in the inscription of the 7th Psalm, and there seems to be nothing peculiar in that psalm to distinguish it from numerous others, in which the author gives utterance to his feelings against his enemies, and implores the assistance of Jehovah against them; so that the contents of the psalm justify no conclusive inference as to the meaning of the word. In the inscription to the Ode of the Prophet Habakkuk iii. 1, the word occurs in the plural number; but the phrase in which it stands "*'al shigyônôth*" is deemed almost unanimously, as it would seem, by modern Hebrew scholars to mean "after the manner of the Shiggaion," and to be merely a direction as to the kind of musical measures by which the ode was to be accompanied. This being so, the ode is no real help in ascertaining the meaning of Shiggaion; for the ode itself is not so called, though it is directed to be sung according to the measures of the shiggaion. And, indeed, if it were called a shiggaion, the difficulty would not be diminished; for, independently of the inscription, no one would have ever thought that the ode and the psalm belonged to the same species of sacred poem; and even since their possible similarity has been suggested, no one has definitely pointed out in what that similarity consists, so as to justify a distinct classification. In this state of uncertainty it is natural to endeavour to form a conjecture as to the meaning of shiggaion from its etymology; but unfortunately there are no less than three rival etymologies, each with plausible claims to attention. Gesenius and Fürst, *s. v.*, concur in deriving it from שָׁגָה (the Piel of שָׁגַג), in the sense of magnifying or extolling with praises; and they justify this derivation by kindred Syriac words. Shiggaion would thus mean a hymn or psalm; but its specific meaning, if it has any, as applicable to the 7th Psalm, would continue unknown. Ewald, *Die Poetischen Bücher des alten Bundes*, i. 29; Rödiger, *s. v.* in his continuation of Gesenius's *Thesaurus*; and Delitzsch, *Commentar über den Psalter*, i. 51, derive it from שָׁגָה, in the sense of reeling, as from wine, and consider the word to be somewhat equivalent to a dithyrambus; while De Wette, *Die Psalmen*, p. 34; Lee, *s. v.*; and Hitzig, *Die Zwölf kleinen Propheten*, p. 26, interpret the word as a psalm of lamentation, or a psalm in distress, as derived from Arabic. Hupfeld, on the other hand, *Die Psalmen*, i. 109, 199, conjectures that shiggaion is identical with higgaion Ps. ix. 16, in the sense of poem or song, from הָגָה, to meditate or compose; but even so, no information would be conveyed as to the specific nature of the poem.

As to the inscription of Habakkuk's ode, "*'al shigyônôth*," the translation of the LXX. is *μετὰ ᾠδῆς*, which conveys no definite meaning. The Vulgate translates "pro ignorantiis," as if the word had been *shegâyôth*, transgressions through ignorance (Lev. iv. 2, 27; Num. xv. 27; Eccl. v. 6), or *shegîôth* (Ps. xix. 13), which seems to have nearly the same meaning. Perhaps the Vulgate was influenced by the Targum of Jonathan, where *shigyônôth* seems to be translated כשלותא. In the A. V. of Hab. iii. 1, the rendering is "upon shigionoth," as if shigionoth were some musical instrument. But under any circumstances *'al* (עַל) must not be translated "upon" in the sense of playing upon an instrument. Of this use there is not a single undoubted example in prose, although playing on musical instruments is frequently referred to; and in poetry, although there is one passage, Ps. xcii. 3, where the word *might* be so translated, it might equally well be rendered there "to the accompaniment of" the musical instruments therein specified—and this translation is preferable. It seems likewise a mistake that *'al* is translated "upon" when preceding the supposed musical instruments, Gittith, Machalath, Neginath, Nechîlôth, Shûshan, Shôshannîm (Ps. viii. 1, lxxxi. 1, lxxxiv. 1, liii. 1, lxxxviii. 1, lxi. 1, v. 1, lx. 1, xlv. 1, lxix. 1, lxxx. 1). Indeed, all these words are regarded by Ewald (*Poet. Büch.* i. 177) as meaning musical keys, and by Fürst (*ss. vv.*) as meaning musical bands. Whatever may be thought of the proposed substitutes, it is very singular, if those six words signify musical instruments, that not one of them should be mentioned elsewhere in the whole Bible. [E. T.]

SHI'HON (שִׁיאוֹן, *i. e.* Shion: Σιωνᾶ: *Seon*), A town of Issachar, named only in Josh. xix. 19

It occurs between Haphraim and Anaharath. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.*) mention it as then existing "near Mount Tabor." The only name at all resembling it at present in that neighbourhood is the *Chirbet Schi'in* of Dr. Schulz (Zimmermann's *Map of Galilee*, 1861) 1½ mile N.W. of *Deburieh*. This is probably the place mentioned by Schwarz (166) as "*Sain* between *Duberieh* and *Jafa*." The identification is, however, very uncertain, since *Schi'in* appears to contain the *Ain*, while the Hebrew name does not.

The redundant *h* in the A. V. is an error of the recent editions. In that of 1611 the name is Shion. [G.]

SHI'HOR OF EGYPT (שִׁיחוֹר מִצְרַיִם: ὄρια Αἰγύπτου: *Sihor Aegypti*, 1 Chr. xiii. 5) is spoken of as one limit of the kingdom of Israel in David's time, the entering in of Hamath being the other. It must correspond to "Shihor," "the Shihor which [is] before Egypt" (Josh. xiii. 2, 3), A. V. "Sihor," sometimes, at least, a name of the Nile, occurring in other passages, one of which (where it has the article) is parallel to this. The use of the article indicates that the word is or has been an appellative, rather the former if we judge only from the complete phrase. It must also be remembered that Shihor Mizraim is used interchangeably with Nahal Mizraim, and that the name SHIHOR-LIBNATH, in the north of Palestine, unless derived from the Egyptians or the Phoenician colonists of Egypt, as we are disposed to think possible, from the connection of that country with the ancient manufacture of glass, shows that the word Shihor is not restricted to a great river. It would appear therefore that Shihor of Egypt and "the Shihor which [is] before Egypt" might designate the stream of the Wâdi-l-'Areesh: Shihor alone would still be the Nile. On the other hand, both Shihor, and even Nahal, alone, are names of the Nile, while Nahal Mizraim is used interchangeably with the river (נהר, not נחל) of Mizraim. We therefore are disposed to hold that all the names designate the Nile. The fitness of the name Shihor to the Nile must be remembered. [NILE; RIVER OF EGYPT; SIHOR.] [R. S. P.]

SHI'HOR-LIB'NATH (שִׁיחוֹר לִבְנָת: τὸ Σειὼν καὶ Λαβανάθ; Alex. Σειωρ κ. Λ.: *Sichor et Labanath*). Named only in Josh. xix. 26 as one of the landmarks of the boundary of Asher. Nothing is known of it. By the ancient translators and commentators (as Peshito-Syriac, and Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon*) the names are taken as belonging to two distinct places. But modern commentators, beginning perhaps with Masius, have inclined to consider Shihor as identical with the name of the Nile, and Shihor-Libnath to be a river. Led by the meaning of Libnath as "white," they interpret the Shihor-Libnath as the glass river, which they then naturally identify with the Belus[a] of Pliny (*N. H.* v. 19), the present *Nahr Naman*, which drains part of the plain of *Akka*, and enters the Mediterranean a short distance below that city. It is a pity to disturb a theory at once so ingenious and so consistent, and supported by the great name of Michaelis (*Suppl.* No. 2462), but it is surely very far-fetched. There is nothing to indicate that Shihor-Libnath is a stream at all, except the agreement of the first portion of the name with a rare word used for the Nile—a river which can have nothing in common with an insignificant streamlet like the *Naman*. And even if it be a river, the position of the *Naman* is unsuitable, since, as far as can be gathered from the very obscure list in which the name occurs, Shihor-Libnath was the south pivot of the territory of Asher, below Mount Carmel. Reland's conjecture of the Crocodeilon river, probably, the *Moieh et Temseh*, close to *Kaisariyeh*, is too far south. [G.]

[a] It is singular, too, that Josephus should state that there was a monument of *Memnon* standing close to the Belus (*B. J.* ii. 10, §2).

SHIL'HI (שַׁלְחִי: Σαλαΐ, Σαλί; Alex. Σαλαλά, Σαλεί: *Salai, Salahi*). The father of Azubah, Jehoshaphat's mother (1 K. xxii. 42; 2 Chr. xx. 31).

SHIL'HIM (שִׁלְחִים: Σαλή; Alex. Σελεείμ: *Silim*). One of the cities in the southern portion of the tribe of Judah. Its place in the list is between Lebaoth and Ain, or Ain-Rimmon (Josh. xv. 32), and it is not elsewhere mentioned. It is not even named by Eusebius and Jerome. No trace of it has yet been discovered. In the list of Simeon's cities in Josh. xix. SHARUHEN (ver. 6) occupies the place of Shilhim, and in 1 Chr. iv. 31 this is still further changed to SHAARAIM. It is difficult to say if these are mere corruptions, or denote any actual variations of name.

The juxtaposition of Shilhim and Ain has led to the conjecture that they are identical with the Salim and Aenon of St. John the Baptist; but their position in the south of Judah, so remote from the scene of St. John's labours and the other events of the Gospel history, seems to forbid this. [G.]

SHIL'LEM (שַׁלֻּם: Σολλήμ, Σελλήμ; Alex. Συλλήμ in Gen.: *Sallem, Sellem*). Son of Naphtali, and ancestor of the family of the Shillemites (Gen. xlvi. 24; Num. xxvi. 49). The same as SHALLUM 7.

SHIL'LEMITES, THE (הַשַּׁלֻּמִי: ὁ Σελλημί: *Sellemitae*). The descendants of Shillem the son of Naphtali (Num. xxvi. 49).

SHILO'AH, THE WATERS OF (מֵי הַשִּׁלֹחַ: τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Σειλωάμ; Alex. Σιλωαμ: Saad. عين سلوان,[b] *Ain Selwân*: *aquas Siloe*). A certain soft-flowing stream employed by the prophet Isaiah (viii. 6) to point his comparison between the quiet confidence in Jehovah which he was urging on the people, and the overwhelming violence of the king of Assyria, for whose alliance they were clamouring.

There is no reason to doubt that the waters in question were the same which are better known under their later name of SILOAM—the only perennial spring of Jerusalem. Objection has been taken to the fact that the "waters of Siloam" run with an irregular intermittent action, and therefore could hardly be appealed to as flowing "softly." But the testimony of careful investigators (Rob. *B. R.* i. 341, 2; Barclay, *City*, 516) establishes the fact that the disturbance only takes place, at the oftenest, two or three times a day, say three to four hours out of the twenty-four, the flow being "perfectly quiescent" during the rest of the time. In summer the disturbance only occurs once in two or three days. Such interruptions to the quiet flow

[b] The Targum Jonathan, Peshito, and Arabic Versions of 1 K. . 33, read Shiloah for the Gihon of the Hebrew

of the stream would therefore not interfere with the contrast enforced in the prophet's metaphor.

The form of the name employed by Isaiah is midway between the *has-Shelach* of Nehemiah (A. V. SILOAH) and the Siloam of the N. T. A similar change is noticed under SHILONI.

The spring and pool of SILOAM are treated of under that head. [G.]

SHI'LOH (שִׁילֹה: τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ: *qui mittendus est*). In the A. V. of the Bible, Shiloh is once used as the name of a person, in a very difficult passage, in the 10th verse of the 49th chapter of Genesis. Supposing that the translation is correct, the meaning of the word is Peaceable, or Pacific, and the allusion is either to Solomon, whose name has a similar signification, or to the expected Messiah, who in Is. ix. 6 is expressly called the Prince of Peace. This was once the translation of Gesenius, though he afterwards saw reason to abandon it (see his *Lexicon*, s. v.), and it is at present the translation of Hengstenberg in his *Christologie des Alten Testaments*, p. 69, and of the Grand Rabbin Wogue, in his Translation of Genesis, a work which is approved and recommended by the Grand Rabbins of France (*Le Pentateuque, ou les Cinq Livres de Moise*, Paris, 1860). Both these writers regard the passage as a Messianic prophecy, and it is so accepted by the writer of the article MESSIAH in this work (p. 340).

But, on the other hand, if the original Hebrew text is correct as it stands, there are three objections to this translation, which, taken collectively, seem fatal to it. 1st. The word Shiloh occurs nowhere else in Hebrew as the name or appellation of a person. 2ndly. The only other Hebrew word, apparently, of the same form, is Giloh (Josh. xv. 51; 2 Sam. xv. 12); and this is the name of a city, and not of a person. 3rdly. By translating the word as it is translated everywhere else in the Bible, viz. as the name of the city in Ephraim where the Ark of the Covenant remained during such a long period, a sufficiently good meaning is given to the passage without any violence to the Hebrew language, and, indeed, with a precise grammatical parallel elsewhere (compare וַיִּבֹא שִׁלֹה, 1 Sam. iv. 12). The simple translation is, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, till he shall go to Shiloh." And, in this case, the allusion would be to the primacy of Judah in war (Judg. i. 1, 2, xx. 18; Num. ii. 3, x. 14), which was to continue until the Promised Land was conquered, and the Ark of the Covenant was solemnly deposited at Shiloh. Some Jewish writers had previously maintained that Shiloh, the city of Ephraim, was referred to in this passage; and Servetus had propounded the same opinion in a fanciful dissertation, in which he attributed a double meaning to the words (*De Trinitate*, lib. ii. p. 61, ed. of 1553 A.D.). But the above translation and explanation, as proposed and defended on critical grounds of reasonable validity, was first suggested in modern days by Teller (*Notae Criticae et Exegeticae in Gen.* xlix., *Deut.* xxxiii., *Ex.* xv., *Judg.* v., Halae et Helmstadii, 1766), and it has since, with modifications, found favour with numerous learned men belonging to various schools of theology, such as Eichhorn, Hitzig, Tuch, Bleek, Ewald, Delitzsch, Rödiger, Kalisch, Luzzatto, and Davidson.

The objections to this interpretation are set forth at length by Hengstenberg (*l. c.*), and the reasons in its favour, with an account of the various interpretations which have been suggested by others, are well given by Davidson (*Introduction to the Old Testament*, i. 199-210). Supposing always that the existing text is correct, the reasons in favour of Teller's interpretation seem much to preponderate. It may be observed that the main obstacle to interpreting the word Shiloh in its simple and obvious meaning seems to arise from an imaginative view of the prophecy respecting the Twelve Tribes, which finds in it more than is justified by a sober examination of it. Thus Hengstenberg says:—"The temporal limit which is here placed to the pre-eminence of Judah would be in glaring contradiction to verses 8 and 9, in which Judah, without any temporal limitation, is raised to be the Lion of God." But the allusion to a lion is simply the following:—"Judah is a lion's whelp: from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?" Now, bearing in mind the general colouring of Oriental imagery, there is nothing in this passage which makes a reference to the city Shiloh improbable. Again, Hengstenberg says that the visions of Jacob never go into what is special, but always have regard to the future as a whole and on a great scale (*im ganzen und grossen*). If this is so, it is nevertheless compatible with the following geographical statement respecting Zebulun:—"Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and he shall be for an haven of ships, and his border shall be unto Zidon." It is likewise compatible with prophecies respecting some of the other tribes, which to any one who examined Jacob's blessing minutely with lofty expectations would be disappointing. Thus of Benjamin, within whose territory the glorious Temple of Solomon was afterwards built, it is merely said, "Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil." Of Gad it is said, "A troop shall overcome him, but he shall overcome at the last." Of Asher, "Out of Asher his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties." And of Naphtali, "Naphtali is a hind let loose; he giveth goodly words" (vv. 19, 20, 21, 27). Indeed the difference (except in the blessing of Joseph, in whose territory Shiloh was situated) between the reality of the prophecies and the demands of an imaginative mind, explains, perhaps, the strange statement of St. Isidore of Pelusium, quoted by Teller, that, when Jacob was about to announce to his sons the future mystery of the Incarnation, he was restrained by the finger of God; silence was enjoined him: and he was seized with loss of memory. See the letter of St. Isidore, Lib. i. Epist. 365, in *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum*, vii. 570.

2. The next best translation of Shiloh is perhaps that of "Rest." The passage would then run thus: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah . . . till rest come, and the nations obey him"—and the reference would be to the Messiah, who was to spring from the tribe of Judah. This translation deserves respectful consideration, as having been ultimately adopted by Gesenius. It was preferred by Vater, and is defended by Knobel in the *Exegetisches Handbuch*, Gen. xlix. 10. There is one objection less to it than to the use of Shiloh as a person, and it is not without some probability. Still it remains subject to the objection that Shiloh occurs nowhere else in the Bible except as the name of a city, and that by translating the word here as the name of a city a reasonably good meaning may be given to the passage.

3. A third explanation of Shiloh, on the assumption that it is not the name of a person, is a translation by various learned Jews, apparently countenanced by the Targum of Jonathan, that *Shiloh* merely means "his son," *i. e.* the son of Judah (in the sense of the Messiah), from a supposed word *Shil*, "a son." There is, however, no such word in known Hebrew, and as a plea for its possible existence reference is made to an Arabic word, *shalil*, with the same signification. This meaning of "his son" owes, perhaps, its principal interest to its having been substantially adopted by two such theologians as Luther and Calvin. (See the Commentaries of each on Gen. xlix. 10.) Luther connected the word with schilyah in Deut. xxviii. 57, but this would not now be deemed permissible.

The translation, then, of Shiloh as the name of a city is to be regarded as the soundest, if the present Hebrew text is correct. It is proper, however, to bear in mind the possibility of there being some error in that text. When Jerome translated the word "qui missus est," we may be certain that he did not read it as Shiloh, but as some form of שלח, "to send," as if the word ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος might have been used in Greek. We may likewise be certain that the translator in the Septuagint did not read the word as it stands in our Bibles. He read it as שֶׁלּוֹ = שֶׁלָּה, precisely corresponding to אֲשֶׁר לוֹ, and translated it well by the phrase τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ; so that the meaning would be, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah . . . till the things reserved for him come." It is most probable that Ezekiel read the word in the same way when he wrote the words עַד־בּא אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ הַמִּשְׁפָּט (Ez. xxi. 32, in the A. V. verse 27); and it seems likely, though not certain, that the author[a] of the Paraphrase of Jacob's last words in the Targum of Onkelos followed the reading of Ezekiel and the Septuagint, substituting the word מַלְכוּתָא for the מִשְׁפָּט of Ezekiel. It is not meant by these remarks that שָׁלָה is more likely to have been correct than Shiloh, though one main argument against שָׁלָה, that שָׁ occurs nowhere else in the Pentateuch as an equivalent to אשר, is inconclusive, as it occurs in the Song of Deborah, which, on any hypothesis, must be regarded as a poem of great antiquity. But the fact that there were different readings, in former times, of this very difficult passage, necessarily tends to suggest the possibility that the correct reading may have been lost.

Whatever interpretation of the present reading may be adopted, the one which must be pronounced entitled to the least consideration is that which supposes the prophecy relates to the birth of Christ as occurring in the reign of Herod just before Judaea became a Roman province. There is no such interpretation in the Bible, and however ancient this mode of regarding the passage may be, it must submit to the ordeal of a dispassionate scrutiny. In the first place, it is impossible reasonably to regard the dependent rule of King Herod the Idumaean as an instance of the sceptre being still borne by Judah. In order to appreciate the precise position of Herod, it may be enough to quote the unsuspicious testimony of Jerome, who, in his Commentaries on Matthew, lib. iii. c. 22, writes as follows:—"Caesar Augustus Herodem filium Antipatris alienigenam et proselytum regem Judaeis constituerat, *qui tributis praeesset, et Romano pareret imperio.*" Secondly, it must be remembered that about 588 years before Christ, Jerusalem had been taken, its Temple destroyed, and its inhabitants led away into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Chaldees, and during the next fifty years the Jews were subjects of the Chaldaean Empire. Afterwards, during a period of somewhat above 200 years, from the taking of Babylon by Cyrus to the defeat of Darius by Alexander the Great at Arbela, Judaea was a province of the Persian Empire. Subsequently, during a period of 163 years, from the death of Alexander to the rising of the Maccabees, the Jews were ruled by the successors of Alexander. Hence for a period of more than 400 years from the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar the Jews were deprived of their independence; and, as a plain undeniable matter of fact, the sceptre had already departed from Judah. Without pursuing this subject farther through the rule of the Maccabees (a family of the tribe of Levi, and not of the tribe of Judah) down to the capture of Jerusalem and the conquest of Palestine by Pompey (B.C. 63), it is sufficient to observe that a supposed fulfilment of a prophecy which ignores the dependent state of Judaea during 400 years after the destruction of the first Temple cannot be regarded as based upon sound principles of interpretation. [E. T.]

SHI'LOH, as the name of a place, stands in Hebrew as שִׁלֹה (Josh. xviii. 1-10), שִׁלוֹ (1 Sam. i. 24, iii. 21; Judg. xxi. 19), שִׁילֹה (1 K. ii. 27), שִׁילוֹ (Judg. xxi. 21; Jer. vii. 12), and perhaps also שִׁילֹנִי, whence the gentile שִׁילֹנִי (1 K. xi. 29, xii. 15); in the Sept. as Σηλώ, Σηλώμ, Σολώ, Συλώ (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 7, §7; 11, §1; and Σιλώ, Σιλοῦν, v. 1, §19; ii. 9, §12); and in the Vulg. as *Silo*, and more rarely *Selo*. The name was derived probably from שָׁלָה, שָׁלַו, "to rest," and represented the idea that the nation attained at this place to a state of rest, or that the Lord Himself would here rest among His people. TAANATH-SHILOH may be another name of the same place, or of a different place near it, through which it was customary to pass on the way to Shiloh (as the obscure etymology may indicate). [TAANATH-SHILOH.] (See also Kurtz's *Gesch. des A. Bund.* ii. p. 569).

The principal conditions for identifying with confidence the site of a place mentioned in the Bible, are: (1) that the modern name should bear a proper resemblance to the ancient one; (2) that its situation accord with the geographical notices of the Scriptures; and (3) that the statements of early writers and travellers point to a coincident conclusion. Shiloh affords a striking instance of the combination of these testimonies. The description in Judg. xxi. 19 is singularly explicit. Shiloh, it is said there, is "on the north side of Bethel, on the east side of the highway that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of

[a] This writer, however, was so fanciful, that no reliance can be placed on his judgment on any point where it was possible for him to go wrong. Thus his paraphrase of the prophecy respecting Benjamin is: "The shechinah shall abide in the land of Benjamin; and in his possession a sanctuary shall be built. Morning and evening the priests shall offer oblations; and in the evening they shall divide the residue of their portion."

Lebonah." In agreement with this the traveller at the present day (the writer quotes here his own note-book), going north from Jerusalem, lodges the first night at *Beitîn*, the ancient Bethel; the next day, at the distance of a few hours, turns aside to the right, in order to visit *Seilûn*, the Arabic for Shiloh; and then passing through the narrow Wady, which brings him to the main road, leaves *el-Lebbân*, the Lebonah of Scripture, on the left, as he pursues "the highway" to *Nâblus*, the ancient Shechem. [SHECHEM.] Its present name is sufficiently like the more familiar Hebrew name, while it is identical with *Shilon* (see above), on which it is evidently founded. Again, Jerome (*ad Zeph.* i. 14), and Eusebius (*Onomast.* art. "Silo") certainly have Seilûn in view when they speak of the situation of Shiloh with reference to Neapolis or *Nâblus*. It discovers a strange oversight of the data which control the question, that some of the older travellers have placed Shiloh at *Neby Samwil*, about two hours north-west of Jerusalem.

Shiloh was one of the earliest and most sacred of the Hebrew sanctuaries. The ark of the covenant, which had been kept at Gilgal, during the progress of the Conquest (Josh. xviii. 1 sq.) was removed thence on the subjugation of the country, and kept at Shiloh from the last days of Joshua to the time of Samuel (Josh. xviii. 10; Judg. xviii. 31; 1 Sam. iv. 3). It was here the Hebrew conqueror divided among the tribes the portion of the west Jordan-region, which had not been already allotted (Josh. xviii. 10, xix. 51). In this distribution, or an earlier one, Shiloh fell within the limits of Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 5). The seizure here of the "daughters of Shiloh" by the Benjamites, is recorded as an event which preserved one of the tribes from extinction (Judg. xxi. 19-23). The annual "feast of the Lord" was observed at Shiloh, and on one of these occasions, the men lay in wait in the vineyards, and when the women went forth "to dance in dances," the men took them captive and carried them home as wives. Here Eli judged Israel, and at last died of grief on hearing that the ark of the Lord was taken by the enemy (1 Sam. iv. 12-18). The story of Hannah and her vow, which belongs to our recollections of Shiloh, transmits to us a characteristic incident in the life of the Hebrews (1 Sam. i. 1 &c.); Samuel, the child of her prayers and hopes, was here brought up in the sanctuary, and called to the prophetic office (1 Sam. ii. 26, iii. 1). The ungodly conduct of the sons of Eli occasioned the loss of the ark of the covenant, which had been carried into battle against the Philistines, and Shiloh from that time sank into insignificance. It stands forth in the Jewish history as a striking example of the Divine indignation. "Go ye now," says the prophet, "unto my place which which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first, and see what I did to it, for the wickedness of my people Israel" (Jer. vii. 12). Some have inferred from Judg. xviii. 31 (comp. Ps. lxxviii. 60 sq.) that a permanent structure or temple had been built for the tabernacle at Shiloh, and that it continued there (as it were *sine numine*) for a long time after the tabernacle was removed to other places. But the language in 2 Sam. vii. 6 is too explicit to admit of that conclusion. God says there to David through the mouth of Nathan the prophet, "I have not dwelt in any house since the time that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day, but have walked in a tent and in a tabernacle." So in 1 K. iii. 2, it is said expressly that no "house" had been built for the worship of God till the erection of Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem. It must be in a spiritual sense, therefore, that the tabernacle is called a "house" or "temple" in those passages which refer to Shiloh. God is said to dwell where He is pleased to manifest his presence or is worshipped; and the place thus honoured becomes His abode or temple, whether it be a tent or a structure of wood or stone, or even the sanctuary of the heart alone. Ahijah the prophet had his abode at Shiloh in the time of Jeroboam I., and was visited there by the messengers of Jeroboam's wife to ascertain the issue of the sickness of their child (1 K. xi. 29, xii. 15, xiv. 1, &c.). The people there after the time of the exile (Jer. xli. 5) appear to have been Cuthites (2 K. xvii. 30) who had adopted some of the forms of Jewish worship. (See Hitzig, *Zu Jerem.* p. 331.) Jerome, who surveyed the ruins in the 4th century, says: "Vix ruinarum parva vestigia, vix altaris fundamenta monstrantur."

The contour of the region, as the traveller views it on the ground, indicates very closely where the ancient town must have stood. A Tell, or moderate hill, rises from an uneven plain, surrounded by other higher hills, except a narrow valley on the south, which hill would naturally be chosen as the principal site of the town. The tabernacle may have been pitched on this eminence, where it would be a conspicuous object on every side. The ruins found there at present are very inconsiderable. They consist chiefly of the remains of a comparatively modern village, with which some large stones and fragments of columns are intermixed, evidently from much earlier times. Near a ruined mosk flourishes an immense oak, the branches of which the winds of centuries have swayed. Just beyond the precincts of the hill stands a dilapidated edifice, which combines some of the architectural properties of a fortress and a church. Three columns with Corinthian capitals lie prostrate on the floor. An amphora between two chaplets, perhaps a work of Roman sculpture, adorns a stone over the doorway. The natives call this ruin the "Mosk of *Seilûn*."[a] At the distance of about fifteen minutes from the main site, is a fountain, which is approached through a narrow dale. Its water is abundant, and, according to a practice very common in the East, flows first into a pool or well, and thence into a larger reservoir, from which flocks and herds are watered. This fountain, which would be so natural a resort for a festal party, may have been the place where the "daughters of Shiloh" were dancing, when they were surprised and borne off by their captors. In this vicinity are rock-hewn sepulchres, in which the bodies of some of the unfortunate house of Eli may have been laid to rest. There was a Jewish tradition (Asher's *Benj. of Tud.* ii. 435) that Eli and his sons were buried here.

It is certainly true, as some travellers remark, that the scenery of Shiloh is not specially attractive; it presents no feature of grandeur or beauty adapted to impress the mind, and awaken thoughts in harmony with the memories of the place. At the same time, it deserves to be mentioned that, for the objects to which Shiloh was devoted, it was not unwisely chosen. It was secluded, and therefore favourable to acts of worship and religious study, in which

[a] This is on the authority of Dr. Robinson. Dr. Wilson understood it was called "Mosk of the Sixty" (*Sitûn*) (*Lands of the Bible*, ii. 294).

the youth of scholars and devotees, like Samuel, was to be spent. Yearly festivals were celebrated there, and brought together assemblages which would need the supplies of water and pasturage so easily obtained in such a place. Terraces are still visible on the sides of the rocky hills, which show that every foot and inch of the soil once teemed with verdure and fertility. The ceremonies of such occasions consisted largely of processions and dances, and the place afforded ample scope for such movements. The surrounding hills served as an amphitheatre, whence the spectators could look, and have the entire scene under their eyes. The position too, in times of sudden danger, admitted of an easy defence, as it was a hill itself, and the neighbouring hills could be turned into bulwarks. To its other advantages we should add that of its central position for the Hebrews on the west of the Jordan. An air of oppressive stillness hangs now over all the scene, and adds force to the reflection that truly the "oracles" so long consulted there "are dumb;" they had fulfilled their purpose, and given place to "a more sure word of prophecy." A visit to Shiloh requires a détour of several miles from the ordinary track, and it has been less frequently described than other more accessible places. (The reader may consult Reland's *Palaestina*, 1016; Bachiene's *Beschreibung*, ii. §582; Raumer's *Palaest.* 201; Ritter's *Erdk.* xv. 631 sq.; Robinson's *Bib. Res.* ii. 269-276; Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 294; Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* p. 231-3; Porter's *Handb. of Syria*, ii. 328; and Herzog's *Real-Encyk.* xiv. 369.) [H. B. H.]

SHILO'NI (הַשִּׁלֹנִי, *i. e.* "the Shilonite:" τοῦ Δηλωνέ: *Silonites*). This word occurs in the A. V. only in Neh. xi. 5, where it should be rendered—as it is in other cases—"the Shilonite," that is, the descendant of Shelah the youngest son of Judah. The passage is giving an account (like 1 Chr. ix. 3-6) of the families of Judah who lived in Jerusalem at the date to which it refers, and (like that) it divides them into the great houses of Pharez and Shelah.

The change of Shelani to Shiloni is the same which seems to have occurred in the name of Siloam—Shelach in Nehemiah, and Shiloach in Isaiah. [G.]

SHI'LONITE, THE (הַשִּׁילֹנִי: in Chron., הַשִּׁלֹנִי and הַשִּׁלוֹנִי: ὁ Σηλωνείτης; Alex. Σηλωνιτης: *Silonites*); that is, the native or resident of Shiloh:—a title ascribed only to Ahijah, the prophet who foretold to Jeroboam the disruption of the northern and southern kingdoms (1 K. xi. 29, xii. 15, xv. 29; 2 Chr. ix. 29, x. 15). Its connexion with Shiloh is fixed by 1 K. xiv. 2, 4, which shows that that sacred spot was still the residence of the prophet. The word is therefore entirely distinct from that examined in the following article and under SHILONI. [G.]

SHI'LONITES, THE (הַשִּׁילֹנִי: τῶν Σηλωνεί: *Silonî*) are mentioned among the descendants of Judah dwelling in Jerusalem at a date difficult to fix (1 Chr. ix. 5). They are doubtless the members of the house of SHELAH, who in the Pentateuch are more accurately designated SHELANITES. This is supported by the reading of the Targum Joseph on the passage—"the tribe of Shelah," and is allowed by Gesenius The word occurs again in Neh. u., a document which exhibits a certain correspondence with 1 Chr. ix. It is identical in the original except a slight contraction, but in the A. V it is given as SHILONI.

SHIL'SHAH (שִׁלְשָׁה: Σαλισά: Alex. Σαλεισά: *Salusa*). Son of Zophah of the tribe of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 37).

SHIM'EA (שִׁמְעָא: Σαμαά: *Simmaa*). **1.** Son of David by Bathsheba (1 Chr. iii. 5). Called also SHAMMUA, and SHAMMUAH.

2. (Alex. Σαμά.) A Merarite Levite (1 Chr. vi. 30 [15]).

3. (*Samaa.*) A Gershonite Levite, ancestor of Asaph the minstrel (1 Chr. vi. 39 [24]).

4. (Alex. Σαμαάς.) The brother of David (1 Chr. xx. 7), elsewhere called SHAMMAH, SHIMMA, and SHIMEAH.

SHIM'EAH (שִׁמְעִי; *Keri*, שִׁמְעָא: Σεμεί, Alex. Σεμεεί: *Samaa*). **1.** Brother of David, and father of Jonathan and Jonadab (2 Sam. xxi. 21): called also SHAMMAH, SHIMEA, and SHIMMA. In 2 Sam. xiii. 3, 32, his name is written שִׁמְעָה (Σαμαά; Alex. Σαμά in ver. 32: *Samma*).

2. (שִׁמְאָה: Σαμαά; Alex. Σαμεά: *Samaa*). A descendant of Jehiel the father or founder of Gibeon (1 Chr. viii. 32).

SHIM'EAM (שִׁמְאָם: Σαμαά; Alex. Σαμά. *Samaan*). A descendant of Jehiel, the founder or prince of Gibeon (1 Chr. ix. 38). Called SHIMEAH in 1 Chr. viii. 32.

SHIM'EATH (שִׁמְעָת: Ἰεμουάθ, Σαμαάθ; Alex. Σαμάθ in Chr.: *Semaath, Semmaath*). An Ammonitess, mother of Jozachar, or Zabad, one of the murderers of King Joash (2 K. xii. 21 [22]; 2 Chr. xxiv. 26).

SHIM'EI (שִׁמְעִי: Σεμεί: *Semei*). **1.** Son of Gershom the son of Levi (Num. iii. 18; 1 Chr. vi. 17, 29, xxiii. 7, 9, 10; Zech. xii. 13); called SHIMI in Ex. vi. 17. In 1 Chr. vi. 29, according to the present text, he is called the son of Libni, and both are reckoned as sons of Merari, but there is reason to suppose that there is something omitted in this verse. [See LIBNI 2; MAHLI 1.] [W. A. W.]

2. (Alex. Σεμεεί.) Shimei the son of Gera, a Benjamite of the house of Saul, who lived at Bahurim. His residence there agrees with the other notices of the place, as if a marked spot on the way to and from the Jordan Valley to Jerusalem, and just within the border of Benjamin [BAHURIM.] He may have received the unfortunate Phaltiel after his separation from Michal (2 Sam. iii. 16).

When David and his suite were seen descending the long defile, on his flight from Absalom (2 Sam. xvi. 5-13), the whole feeling of the clan of Benjamin burst forth without restraint in the person of Shimei. His house apparently was separated from the road by a deep valley, yet not so far as that anything that he did or said could not be distinctly heard. He ran along the ridge, cursing, throwing stones at the King and his companions, and when he came to a patch of dust on the dry hill-side, taking it up, and throwing it over them. Abishai was so irritated, that, but for David's remonstrance, he would have darted across the ravine (2 Sam. xvi. 9) and torn or cut off his head. The whole conversation is remarkable, as showing what may almost be called

the slang terms of abuse prevalent in the two rival courts. The cant name for David in Shimei's mouth was "the man of blood," twice emphatically repeated: "Come out, come out, thou man of blood"—"A man of blood art thou" (2 Sam. xvi. 7, 8). It seems to have been derived from the slaughter of the sons of Saul (2 Sam. xxi.), or generally perhaps from David's predatory, warlike life (comp. 1 Chr. xxii. 8). The cant name for a Benjamite in Abishai's mouth was "a dead dog" (2 Sam. xvi. 9; compare Abner's expression, "Am I a dog's head," 2 Sam. iii. 8). "Man of Belial" also appears to have been a favourite term on both sides (2 Sam. xvi. 7, xx. 1). The royal party passed on; Shimei following them with his stones and curses as long as they were in sight.

The next meeting was very different. The king was now returning from his successful campaign. Just as he was crossing the Jordan, in the ferry-boat or on the bridge (2 Sam. xix. 18; LXX. *διαβαίνοντος*; Jos. *Ant.* vii. 2, §4, *ἐπὶ τὴν γεφύραν*), the first person to welcome him on the western, or perhaps even on the eastern side, was Shimei, who may have seen him approaching from the heights above. He threw himself at David's feet in abject penitence. "He was the first," he said, "of all the house of *Joseph*," thus indicating the close political alliance between Benjamin and Ephraim. Another altercation ensued between David and Abishai, which ended in David's guaranteeing Shimei's life with an oath (2 Sam. xix. 18-23), in consideration of the general jubilee and amnesty of the return.

But the king's suspicions were not set to rest by this submission; and on his deathbed he recalls the whole scene to the recollection of his son Solomon. Shimei's head was now white with age (1 K. ii. 9), and he was living in the favour of the court at Jerusalem (ib. 8). Solomon gave him notice that from henceforth he must consider himself confined to the walls of Jerusalem on pain of death. The Kidron, which divided him from the road to his old residence at Bahurim, was not to be crossed. He was to build a house in Jerusalem (1 K. ii. 36, 37). For three years the engagement was kept. At the end of that time, for the purpose of capturing two slaves who had escaped to Gath, he went out on his ass, and made his journey successfully (ib. ii. 40). On his return, the king took him at his word, and he was slain by Benaiah (ib. ii. 41-46). In the sacred historian, and still more in Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 1, §5), great stress is laid on Shimei's having broken his oath to remain at home; so that his death is regarded as a judgment, not only for his previous treason, but for his recent sacrilege. [A. P. S.]

3. One of the adherents of Solomon at the time of Adonijah's usurpation (1 K. i. 8). Unless he is the same as Shimei the son of Elah (1 K. iv. 18), Solomon's commissariat officer, or with Shimeah, or Shammah, David's brother, as Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 266) suggests, it is impossible to identify him. From the mention which is made of "the mighty men" in the same verse, one might be tempted to conclude that Shimei is the same with Shammah the Hararite (2 Sam. xxiii. 11); for the difference in the Hebrew names of Shimei and Shammah is not greater than that between those of Shimeah and Shammah, which are both applied to David's brother.

4. Solomon's commissariat officer in Benjamin (1 K. iv. 18); son of Elah.

5. Son of Pedaiah, and brother of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. iii. 19).

6. A Simeonite, son of Zacchur (1 Chr. iv. 26, 27). He had sixteen sons and six daughters. Perhaps the same as SHEMAIAH 3.

7. (Alex. Σεμεΐν.) Son of Joel, a Reubenite (1 Chr. v. 4). Perhaps the same as SHEMA 1.

8. A Gershonite Levite, son of Jahath (1 Chr. vi. 42).

9. (Σεμεΐα; Alex. Σεμεΐ: *Semeias.*) Son of Jeduthun, and chief of the tenth division of the singers (1 Chr. xxv. 17). His name is omitted from the list of the sons of Jeduthun in ver. 3, but is evidently wanted there.

10. (Σεμεΐ: *Semeias.*) The Ramathite who was over David's vineyards (1 Chr. xxvii. 27). In the Vat. MS. of the LXX. he is described as *ὁ ἐκ Ῥαμά*.

11. (Alex. Σαμεΐας: *Semei.*) A Levite of the sons of Heman, who took part in the purification of the Temple under Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 14).

12. The brother of Cononiah the Levite in the reign of Hezekiah, who had charge of the offerings, the tithes, and the dedicated things (2 Chr. xxxi. 12, 13). Perhaps the same as the preceding.

13. (Σαμού; FA. Σαμούδ.) A Levite in the time of Ezra who had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 23). Called also SEMIS.

14. (Σεμεΐ; FA. Σεμεεί.) One of the family of Hashum, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 33). Called SEMEI in 1 Esdr. ix. 33.

15. A son of Bani, who had also married a foreign wife and put her away (Ezr. x. 38). Called SAMIS in 1 Esdr. ix. 34.

16. (Σεμεΐας; Alex. Σαμεείας.) Son of Kish a Benjamite, and ancestor of Mordecai (Esth. ii. 5). [W. A. W.]

SHIM'EON (שִׁמְעוֹן: Σεμεών: *Simeon*). A layman of Israel, of the family of Harim, who had married a foreign wife and divorced her in the time of Ezra (Ezr. x. 31). The name is the same as SIMEON.

SHIM'HI (שִׁמְעִי: Σαμαΐθ; Alex. Σαμαΐ: *Semei*). A Benjamite, apparently the same as SHEMA the son of Elpaal (1 Chr. viii. 21). The name is the same as SHIMEI.

SHIM'I (שִׁמְעִי: Σεμεΐ: *Semei* = SHIMEI 1, Ex. vi. 17).

SHIM'ITES, THE (הַשִּׁמְעִי: *ὁ* Σεμεΐ: *Semeïtica*, sc. *familia*). The descendants of Shimei the son of Gershom (Num. iii. 21). They are again mentioned in Zech. xii. 13, where the LXX. have Συμεών.

SHIM'MA (שִׁמְעָא: Σαμαά; Alex. Σαμαΐα *Simmaa*). The third son of Jesse, and brother of David (1 Chr. ii. 13). He is called also SHAMMAH, SHIMEA, and SHIMEAH. Josephus calls him Σάμαλος (*Ant.* vi. 8, §1), and Σαμᾶ (*Ant.* vii. 12, §2).

SHI'MON (שִׁימוֹן: Σεμών; Alex. Σεμειών: *Simon*). The four sons of Shimon are enumerated in an obscure genealogy of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 20). There is no trace of the name elsewhere in the Hebrew, but in the Alex. MS. of the LXX. there is mention made of "Someion the father of Joman" in 1 Chr. iv. 19, which was possibly the same as Shimon.

SHIM'RATH (שִׁמְרָת: Σαμαράθ: *Samarath*) A Benjamite, of the sons of Shimhi (1 Chr. viii. 21).

SHIM'RI (שִׁמְרִי: Σεμρί: Alex. Σαμαρίας: *Semri*). 1. A Simeonite, son of Shemaiah (1 Chr. iv. 37).

2. (Σαμερί; Alex. Σαμαρί: *Samri*.) The father of Jediael, one of David's guard (1 Chr. xi. 45).

3. (Ζαμβρί; Alex. Σαμβρί.) A Kohathite Levite in the reign of Hezekiah, of the sons of Elizaphan (2 Chr. xxix. 13). He assisted in the purification of the Temple.

SHIM'RITH (שִׁמְרִית: Σαμαρήθ: Alex. Σαμαρίθ: *Semarith*). A Moabitess, mother of Jehozabad, one of the assassins of King Joash (2 Chr. xxiv. 26). In 2 K. xii. 21, she is called SHOMER. The Peshito-Syriac gives *Neturuth*, which appears to be a kind of attempt to translate the name.

SHIM'ROM (שִׁמְרוֹן: Σεμερών; Alex. Σαμράμ: *Simeron*). SHIMRON the son of Issachar (1 Chr. vii. 1). The name is correctly given "Shimron" in the A. V. of 1611.

SHIM'RON (שִׁמְרוֹן: Συμεών; Alex. Σομερων, Σεμρων: *Semeron, Semron*). A city of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15). It is previously named in the list of the places whose kings were called by Jabin, king of Hazor, to his assistance against Joshua (xi. 1). Its full appellation was perhaps SHIMRON-MERON. Schwarz (172) proposes to identify it with the Simonias of Josephus (*Vita*, §24), now *Simînîyeh*, a village a few miles W. of Nazareth, which is mentioned in the well known list of the Talmud (*Jerus. Megillah*, cap. 1) as the ancient Shimron. This has in its favour its proximity to Bethlehem (comp. xix. 15). The Vat. LXX., like the Talmud, omits the r in the name. [G.]

SHIM'RON (שִׁמְרֹן: in Gen. Ζαμβράμ; in Num. Σαμαράμ; Alex. Αμβραν: *Simron, Semron*). The fourth son of Issachar according to the lists of Genesis (xlvi. 13) and Numbers (xxvi. 24), and the head of the family of the SHIMRONITES. In the catalogues of Chronicles his name is given as SHIMROM. [G.]

SHIM'RONITES, THE (הַשִּׁמְרֹנִי: ὁ Σαμαρανεί; Alex. ο Αμβραμι: *Semronitae*). The family of SHIMRON, son of Issachar (Num. xxvi. 24).

SHIM'RON-ME'RON (שִׁמְרוֹן מְרֹאן; the *Keri* omits the א: Συμέων . . . Μαμρώθ; Alex. Σαμρων . . [a] Φασγα . . Μαρων: *Simeron Maron*). The king of Shimron-meron is mentioned as one of the thirty-one kings vanquished by Joshua (Josh. xii. 20). It is probably (though not certainly) the complete name of the place elsewhere called SHIMRON. Both are mentioned in proximity to Achshaph (xi. 1, xii. 20). It will be observed that the LXX. treat the two words as belonging to two distinct places, and it is certainly worth notice that Madon —in Hebrew so easily substituted for Meron, and in fact so read by the LXX., Peshito, and Arabic—occurs next to Shimron in Josh. xi. 1.

There are two claimants to identity with Shimron-meron. The old Jewish traveller hap-Parchi fixes it at two hours east of Engannim (*Jenîn*), south of the mountains of Gilboa, at a village called in his day *Dar Meron* (Asher's *Benjamin*, ii. 434). No modern traveller appears to have explored that district, and it is consequently a blank on the maps. The other is the village of *Simunîyeh*, west of Nazareth, which the Talmud asserts to be the same with Shimron. [G.]

SHIMSHA'I (שִׁמְשַׁי: Σαμψά; Alex. Ζαισαί: *Samsai*). The scribe or secretary of Rehum, who was a kind of satrap of the conquered province of Judea, and of the colony at Samaria, supported by the Persian court (Ezr. iv. 8, 9, 17, 23). He was apparently an Aramean, for the letter which he wrote to Artaxerxes was in Syriac (Ezr. iv. 7), and the form of his name is in favour of this supposition. In 1 Esdr. ii. he is called SEMELLIUS, and by Josephus Σεμέλιος (*Ant.* xi. 2, §1). The Samaritans were jealous of the return of the Jews, and for a long time plotted against them without effect. They appear ultimately, however, to have prejudiced the royal officers, and to have prevailed upon them to address to the king a letter which set forth the turbulent character of the Jews and the dangerous character of their undertaking, the effect of which was that the rebuilding of the Temple ceased for a time.

SHIN'AB (שִׁנְאָב: Σενναάρ: *Sennaab*). The king of Admah in the time of Abraham: one of the five kings attacked by the invading army of Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 2). Josephus (*Ant.* i. 9) calls him Σεναβάρης.

SHI'NAR (שִׁנְעָר: Σεναάρ, Σενναάρ: *Sennaar*) seems to have been the ancient name of the great alluvial tract through which the Tigris and Euphrates pass before reaching the sea—the tract known in later times as Chaldaea or Babylonia. It was a plain country, where brick had to be used for stone, and slime (mud?) for mortar (Gen. xi. 3). Among its cities were Babel (Babylon), Erech or Orech (Orchoë), Calneh or Calno (probably *Niffer*), and Accad, the site of which is unknown. These notices are quite enough to fix the situation. It may, however, be remarked further, that the LXX. render the word by "Babylonia" (Βαβυλωνία) in one place (Is. xi. 11), and by "the land of Babylon" (γῆ Βαβυλῶνος) in another (Zech. v. 11).

The native inscriptions contain no trace of the term, which seems to be purely Jewish, and unknown to any other people. At least it is extremely doubtful whether there is really any connexion between Shinár and Singara or *Sinjar*. Singara was the name of a town in Central Mesopotamia, well known to the Romans (Dion Cass. lxviii. 22; Amm. Marc. xviii. 5, &c.), and still existing (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 249). It is from this place that the mountains which run across Mesopotamia from Mosul to Rakkeh receive their title of "the Sinjar range" (Σιγγάρας ὄρος, Ptol. v. 18). As this name first appears in *central* Mesopotamia, to which the term Shinar is never applied, about the time of the Antonines, it is very unlikely that it can represent the old Shinar, which ceased practically to be a geographic title soon after the time of Moses.[b]

It may be suspected that Shinar was the name by which the Hebrews originally knew the lower Mesopotamian country, where they so long dwelt, and which Abraham brought with him from "Ur of the Chaldees" (*Mugheir*). Possibly it means "the country of the Two Rivers," being derived from שְׁנֵי, "two" and *'ar*, which was used in Babylonia, as well as *nahr* or *nâhâr* (נָהָר), for "a river."

[a] This addition, especially in the Alex. MS.—usually so close to the Hebrew—is remarkable. There is nothing in the original text to suggest it.

[b] In Isaiah and Zechariah, Shinar, *once* used by each writer, is an *archaism*.

(Compare the "Ar-malchar" of Pliny, *H. N.* vi. 26, and "Ar-macales" of Abydenus, Fr. 9, with the Naar-malcha of Ammianus, xxiv. 6, called Ναρμάχα by Isidore, p. 5, which is translated as "the Royal River;" and compare again the "Narragam" of Pliny, *H. N.* vi. 30, with the "Aracanus" of Abydenus, *l. s. c.*) [G. R.]

SHIP. No one writer in the whole range of Greek and Roman literature has supplied us (it may be doubted whether all put together have supplied us) with so much information concerning the merchant-ships of the ancients as St. Luke in the narrative of St. Paul's voyage to Rome (Acts xxvii. xxviii.). In illustrating the Biblical side of this question, it will be best to arrange in order the various particulars which we learn from this narrative, and to use them as a basis for elucidating whatever else occurs, in reference to the subject, in the Gospels and other parts of the N. T., in the O. T. and the Apocrypha. As regards the earlier Scriptures, the Septuagintal thread will be followed. This will be the easiest way to secure the mutual illustration of the Old and New Testaments in regard to this subject. The merchant-ships of various dates in the Levant did not differ in any essential principle; and the Greek of Alexandria contains the nautical phraseology which supplies our best linguistic information. Two preliminary remarks may be made at the outset.

As regards St. Paul's voyage, it is important to remember that he accomplished it in three ships: first the Adramyttian vessel [ADRAMYTTIUM] which took him from CAESAREA to MYRA, and which was probably a coasting vessel of no great size (xxvii. 1-6); secondly, the large Alexandrian corn-ship, in which he was wrecked on the coast of Malta (xxvii. 6–xxviii. 1) [MELITA]; and thirdly, another large Alexandrian corn-ship, in which he sailed from Malta by SYRACUSE and RHEGIUM to PUTEOLI (xxviii. 11-13).

Again, the word employed by St. Luke, of each of these ships, is, with one single exception, when he uses *ναῦς* (xxvii. 41), the generic term *πλοῖον* (xxvii. 2, 6, 10, 15, 22, 30, 37, 38, 39, 44, xxviii. 11). The same general usage prevails throughout. Elsewhere in the Acts (xx. 13, 38, xxi. 2, 3, 6) we have *πλοῖον*. So in St. James (iii. 4) and in the Revelations (viii. 9, xviii. 17, 19). In the Gospels we have *πλοῖον* (*passim*) or *πλοιάριον* (Mark iv. 36; John xxi. 8). In the LXX. we find *πλοῖον* used twenty-eight times, and *ναῦς* nine times. Both words generally correspond to the Hebrew אֳנִי or אֳנִיָּה. In Jon. i. 5, *πλοῖον* is used to represent the Heb. סְפִינָה *sĕphînâh*, which, from its etymology, appears to mean a vessel covered with a deck or with hatches, in opposition to an open boat. The senses in which *σκάφος* (2 Macc. xii. 3, 6) and *σκάφη* (Acts xxvii. 16, 32) are employed we shall notice as we proceed. The use of *τριήρης* is limited to a single passage in the Apocrypha (2 Macc. iv. 20).

(1.) *Size of Ancient Ships.*—The narrative which we take as our chief guide affords a good standard for estimating this. The ship in which St. Paul was wrecked had 276 persons on board (Acts xxvii. 37), besides a cargo (*φορτίον*) of wheat (ib. 10, 38); and all these passengers seem to have been taken on to Puteoli in another ship (xxviii. 11) which had its own crew and its own cargo: nor is there a trace of any difficulty in the matter, though the emergency was unexpected. Now in English transport-ships, prepared for carrying troops, it is a common estimate to allow a ton and a half per man: thus we see that it would be a mistake to suppose that these Alexandrian corn-ships were very much smaller than modern trading vessels. What is here stated is quite in harmony with other instances. The ship in which Josephus was wrecked (*Vit.* c. 3), in the same part of the Levant, had 600 souls on board. The Alexandrian corn-ship described by Lucian (*Navig. s. vota*) as driven into the Piraeus by stress of weather, and as exciting general attention from its great size, would appear (from a consideration of the measurements, which are explicitly given) to have measured 1100 or 1200 tons. As to the ship of Ptolemy Philadelphus, described by Athenaeus (v. 204), this must have been much larger; but it would be no more fair to take that as a standard than to take the "Great Eastern" as a type of a modern steamer. On the whole, if we say that an ancient merchant-ship might range from 500 to 1000 tons, we are clearly within the mark.

(2.) *Steering Apparatus.*—Some commentators have fallen into strange perplexities from observing that in Acts xxvii. 40 (*τὰς ζευκτηρίας τῶν πηδαλίων* "the fastenings of the rudders") St. Luke uses *πηδάλιον* in the plural. One even suggests that the ship had one rudder fastened at the bow and another fastened at the stern. We may say of him, as a modern writer says in reference to a similar comment on a passage of Cicero, "It is hardly possible that he can have seen a ship." The sacred writer's use of *πηδάλια* is just like Pliny's use of *gubernacula* (*N. H.* xi. 37, 88), or Lucretius's of *guberna* (iv. 440). Ancient ships were in truth not steered at all by rudders fastened or hinged to the stern, but by means of two paddle-rudders, one on each quarter, acting in a rowlock or through a port-hole, as the vessel might be small or large.[a] This fact is made familiar to us in classical works of art, as on coins, and the sculptures of Trajan's Column. The same thing is true, not only of the Mediterranean, but of the early ships of the Northmen, as may be seen in the Bayeux tapestry. Traces of the "two rudders" are found in the time of Louis IX. The hinged rudder first appears on the coins of our King Edward III. There is nothing out of harmony with this early system of steering in Jam. iii. 4, where *πηδάλιον* occurs in the singular; for "the governor" or steersman (*ὁ εὐθύνων*) would only use one paddle-rudder at a time. In a case like that described in Acts xxvii. 40, where four anchors were let go at the stern, it would of course be necessary to lash or trice up both paddles, lest they should interfere with the ground tackle. When it became necessary to steer the ship again, and the anchor-ropes were cut, the lashings of the paddles would of course be unfastened.

(3.) *Build and Ornaments of the Hull.*—It is probable, from what has been said about the mode of steering (and indeed it is nearly evident from ancient works of art), that there was no very marked difference between the bow (*πρῴρα*, "foreship," ver. 30, "fore part," ver. 41) and the stern

[a] Dr. Wordsworth gives a very interesting illustration from Hippolytus, bishop of Portus (*de Antichr.* 9), where, in a detailed allegorical comparison of the Church to a ship, he says "her two rudders are the two Testaments, by which she steers her course."

(πρύμνα, "hinder part," ver. 41; see Mark iv. 38). The "hold" (κοίλη, "the *sides* of the ship," Jonah i. 5) would present no special peculiarities. One characteristic ornament (the γναύσικος, or *aplustre*), rising in a lofty curve at the stern or the bow, is familiar to us in works of art, but no allusion to it occurs in Scripture. Of two other customary ornaments, however, one is probably implied, and the second is distinctly mentioned in the account of St. Paul's voyage. That personification of ships, which seems to be instinctive, led the ancients to paint an eye on each side of the bow. Such is the custom still in the Mediterranean, and indeed our own sailors speak of "the eyes" of a ship. This gives vividness to the word ἀντοφθαλμεῖν, which is used (Acts xxvii. 15) where it is said that the vessel could not "bear up into" (literally "look at") the wind. This was the vessel in which St. Paul was wrecked. An ornament of that which took him on from Malta to Pozzuoli is more explicitly referred to. The "sign" of that ship (παράσημον, Acts xxviii. 11) was CASTOR AND POLLUX; and the symbols of these heroes (probably in the form represented in the coin engraved under that article) were doubtless painted or sculptured on each side of the bow, as was the case with the goddess Isis on Lucian's ship (ἡ πρώρα τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῆς νεὼς θεὸν ἔχουσα τὴν Ἶσιν ἑκατέρωθεν, *Navig.* c. 5).

(4.) *Undergirders.*—The imperfection of the build, and still more (see below, 6) the peculiarity of the rig, in ancient ships, resulted in a greater tendency than in our times to the starting of the planks, and consequently to leaking and foundering. We see this taking place alike in the voyages of Jonah, St. Paul, and Josephus; and the loss of the fleet of Aeneas in Virgil ("laxis laterum compagibus omnes," *Aen.* i. 122) may be adduced in illustration. Hence it was customary to take on board peculiar contrivances, suitably called "helps" (βοηθείαις, Acts xxvii. 17), as precautions against such dangers. These were simply cables or chains, which in case of necessity could be passed round the frame of the ship, at right angles to its length, and made tight. The process is in the English navy called *frapping*, and many instances could be given where it has been found necessary in modern experience. Ptolemy's great ship, in Athenaeus (*l. c.*), carried twelve of these undergirders (ὑποζώματα). Various allusions to the practice are to be found in the ordinary classical writers. See, for instance, Thucyd. i. 29; Plat. *Rep.* x. 3, 616; Hor. *Od.* i. 14, 6. But it is most to our purpose to refer to the inscriptions, containing a complete inventory of the Athenian navy, as published by Boeckh (*Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates*, Berl. 1840). The editor, however, is quite mistaken in supposing (pp. 133-138) that these undergirders were passed round the body of the ship from stem to stern.

(5.) *Anchors.*—It is probable that the ground tackle of Greek and Roman sailors was quite as good as our own. (On the taking of soundings, see below, 12.) Ancient anchors were similar in form (as may be seen on coins) to those which we use now, except that they were without flukes. Two allusions to anchoring are found in the N. T., one in a very impressive metaphor concerning Christian hope (Heb. vi. 19). A saying of Socrates, quoted here by Kypke (οὔτε ναῦν ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀγκυρίου οὔτε βίον ἐκ μιᾶς ἐλπίδος ὁρμίσασθαι), may serve to carry our thoughts to the other passage, which is part of the literal narrative of St. Paul's voyage at its most critical point. The ship in which he was sailing had four anchors on board, and these were all employed in the night, when the danger of falling on breakers was imminent. The sailors on this occasion anchored by the stern (ἐκ πρύμνης ῥίψαντες ἀγκύρας τέσσαρας, Acts xxvii. 29). In this there is nothing remarkable, if there has been time for due preparation. Our own ships of war anchored by the stern at Copenhagen and Algiers. It is clear, too, that this was the right course for the sailors with whom St. Paul was concerned, for their plan was to run the ship aground at daybreak. The only motives for surprise are that they should have been able so to anchor without preparation in a gale of wind, and that the anchors should have held on such a night. The answer to the first question thus suggested is that ancient ships, like their modern successors, the small craft among the Greek islands, were in the habit of anchoring by the stern, and therefore prepared for doing so. We have a proof of this in one of the paintings of Herculaneum, which illustrates another point already mentioned, viz. the necessity of tricing up the moveable rudders in case of anchoring by the stern (see ver. 40). The other question, which we have supposed to arise, relates rather to the holding-ground than to the mode of anchoring; and it is very interesting here to quote what an English sailing book says of St. Paul's Bay in Malta:—"While the cables hold, there is no danger, as the anchors will never start" (Purdy's *Sailing Directions*, p. 180).

(6.) *Masts, Sails, Ropes, and Yards.*—These were collectively called σκεύη or σκευή, or *gear* (τὰ δὲ σύμπαντα σκευὴ καλεῖται, Jul. Poll.). We find this word twice used for parts of the rigging in the narrative of the Acts (xxvii. 17, 19). The rig of an ancient ship was more simple and clumsy than that employed in modern times. Its great feature was one large mast, with one large square sail fastened to a yard of great length. Such was the rig also of the ships of the Northmen at a later period. Hence

Ancient ship. From a painting at Pompeii.

the strain upon the hull, and the danger of starting the planks, were greater than under the present system, which distributes the mechanical pressure more evenly over the whole ship. Not that there were never more masts than one, or more sails than one on the same mast, in an ancient merchantman. But these were repetitions, so to speak, of the same general unit of rig. In the account of St. Paul's shipwreck very explicit mention is made of the ἀρτεμών (xxvii. 40), which is undoubtedly the "foresail" (not "mainsail," as in the A. V.). Such a sail would be almost necessary in putting a large

ship about. On that occasion it was used in the process of running the vessel aground. Nor is it out of place here to quote a Crimean letter in the *Times* (Dec. 5, 1855):—"The 'Lord Raglan' (merchant-ship) is on shore, but taken there in a most sailorlike manner. Directly her captain found he could not save her, he cut away his mainmast and mizen, and *setting a topsail* on her foremast, *ran her ashore stem on.*" Such a mast may be seen, raking over the bow, in representations of ships in Roman coins. In the O. T. the mast (*ἱστός*) is mentioned (Is. xxxiii. 23); and from another prophet (Ez. xxvii. 5) we learn that cedar-wood from Lebanon was sometimes used for this part of ships. There is a third passage (Prov. xxiii. 34, רֹאשׁ חֹבֵל) where the top of a ship's mast is probably intended, though there is some slight doubt on the subject, and the LXX. take the phrase differently. Both ropes (*σχοινία*, Acts xxvii. 32) and sails (*ἱστία*) are mentioned in the above-quoted passage of Isaiah; and from Ezekiel (xxvii. 7) we learn that the latter were often made of Egyptian linen (if such is the meaning of *στρωμνή*). There the word *χαλάω* (which we find also in Acts xxvii. 17, 30) is used for lowering the sail from the yard. It is interesting here to notice that the word *ὑποστέλλομαι*, the technical term for furling a sail, is twice used by St. Paul, and that in an address delivered in a seaport in the course of a voyage (Acts xx. 20, 27). It is one of the very few cases in which the Apostle employs a nautical metaphor.

This seems the best place for noticing two other points of detail. Though we must not suppose that merchant-ships were habitually propelled by rowing, yet sweeps must sometimes have been employed. In Ez. xxvii. 29, oars (מָשׁוֹט) are distinctly mentioned; and it seems that oak-wood from Bashan was used in making them (*ἐκ τῆς Βασανίτιδος ἐποίησαν τὰς κώπας σου*, ib. 6). Again, in Is. xxxiii. 21, אֳנִי שַׁיִט literally means "a ship of oar," *i. e.* an oared vessel. Rowing, too, is probably implied in Jon. i. 13, where the LXX. have simply *παρεβιάζοντο*. The other feature of the ancient, as of the modern ship, is the flag or *σημεῖον* at the top of the mast (Is. *l. c.*, and xxx. 17). Here perhaps, as in some other respects, the early Egyptian paintings supply our best illustration.

(7.) *Rate of Sailing.*—St. Paul's voyages furnish excellent data for approximately estimating this; and they are quite in harmony with what we learn from other sources. We must notice here, however (what commentators sometimes curiously forget), that winds are variable. Thus the voyage between TROAS and PHILIPPI, accomplished on one occasion (Acts xvi. 11, 12) in two days, occupied on another occasion (Acts xx. 6) five days. Such a variation might be illustrated by what took place almost any week between Dublin and Holyhead before the application of steam to seafaring. With a fair wind an ancient ship would sail fully seven knots an hour. Two very good instances are again supplied by St. Paul's experience: in the voyages from Caesarea to Sidon (Acts xxvii. 2, 3), and from Rhegium to Puteoli (Acts xxviii. 13). The result given by comparing in these cases the measurements of time and distance corresponds with what we gather from Greek and Latin authors generally; *e. g.*, from Pliny's story of the fresh fig produced by Cato in the Roman senate before the third Punic war: "This fruit was gathered fresh at Carthage three days ago: that is the distance of the enemy from your walls" (Plin. *H. N.* xv. 20).

(8.) *Sailing before the wind, and near the wind.*—The rig which has been described is, like the rig of Chinese junks, peculiarly favourable to a quick run before the wind. We have in the N. T. (Acts xvi. 11, xxvii. 16) the technical term *εὐθυδρομέω* for voyages made under such advantageous conditions.[b] It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that ancient ships could not work to windward. Pliny distinctly says: "Iisdem ventis in contrarium navigatur prolatis pedibus" (*H. N.* ii. 48). The superior rig and build, however, of modern ships enable them to sail nearer to the wind than was the case in classical times. At one very critical point of St. Paul's voyage to Rome (Acts xxvii. 7) we are told that the ship could not hold on her course (which was W. by S., from Cnidus by the north side of Crete) against a violent wind (*μὴ προσεῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου*) blowing from the N.W., and that consequently she ran down to the east end of CRETE [SALMONE], and worked up under the shelter of the south side of the island (vers. 7, 8). [FAIR HAVENS.] Here the technical terms of our sailors have been employed, whose custom is to divide the whole circle of the compass-card into thirty-two equal parts, called points. A modern ship, if the weather is not very boisterous, will sail within six points of the wind. To an ancient vessel, of which the hull was more clumsy, and the yards could not be braced so tight, it would be safe to assign seven points as the limit. This will enable us, so far as we know the direction of the wind (and we can really ascertain it in each case very exactly), to lay down the tacks of the ships in which St. Paul sailed, beating against the wind, on the voyages from Philippi to Troas (*ἄχρις ἡμερῶν πέντε*, Acts xx. 6), from Sidon to Myra (*διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀνέμους εἶναι ἐναντίους*, xxvii. 3-5), from Myra to Cnidus (*ἐν ἱκαναῖς ἡμέραις βραδυπλοοῦντες*, xxvii. 6, 7), from Salmone to Fair Havens (*μόλις παραλεγόμενοι*, xxvii. 7, 8), and from Syracuse to Rhegium (*περιελθόντες*, xxviii. 12, 13).

(9.) *Lying-to.*—This topic arises naturally out of what has preceded, and it is so important in reference to the main questions connected with the shipwreck at Malta, that it is here made the subject of a separate section. A ship that could make progress on her proper course, in moderate weather, when sailing within seven points of the wind, would lie-to in a gale, with her length making about the same angle with the direction of the wind. This is done when the object is, not to make progress at all hazards, but to ride out a gale in safety; and this is what was done in St. Paul's ship when she was undergirded and the boat taken on board (Acts xxvii. 14-17) under the lee of CLAUDA. It is here that St. Luke uses the vivid term *ἀντοφθαλμεῖν*, mentioned above. Had the gale been less violent, the ship could easily have held on her course. To anchor was out of the question; and to have drifted before the wind would have been to run into the fatal Syrtis on the African coast. [QUICKSANDS.] Hence the vessel was *laid-to* ("close-hauled," as the sailors say) "on the starboard tack," *i. e.* with her right side towards the storm. The wind was E.N.E. [EUROCLYDON], the ship's bow would point N. by

[b] With this compare *τὸν ἐπ' εὐθείας δρόμον* in an interesting passage of Philo concerning the Alexandrian ships (*in Flacc. p.* 968 ed. Frankf. 1691).

W., the direction of drift (six points being added for "lee-way") would be W. by N., and the rate of drift about a mile and a half an hour. It is from these materials that we easily come to the conclusion that the shipwreck must have taken place on the coast of Malta. [ADRIA.]

(10.) *Ship's Boat.*—This is perhaps the best place for noticing separately the σκάφη, which appears prominently in the narrative of the voyage (Acts xxvii. 16, 32). Every large merchant-ship must have had one or more boats. It is evident that the Alexandrian corn-ship in which St. Paul was sailing from Fair Havens, and in which the sailors, apprehending no danger, hoped to reach PHENICE, had her boat towing behind. When the gale came, one of their first desires must have been to take the boat on board, and this was done under the lee of Clauda, when the ship was undergirded, and brought round to the wind for the purpose of lying-to; but it was done with difficulty, and it would seem that the passengers gave assistance in the task μόλις ἰσχύσαμεν περικρατεῖς γενέσθαι τῆς σκάφης, Acts xxvii. 16). The sea by this time must have been furiously rough, and the boat must have been filled with water. It is with this very boat that one of the most lively passages of the whole narrative is connected. When the ship was at anchor in the night before she was run aground, the sailors lowered the boat from the davits with the selfish desire of escaping, on which St. Paul spoke to the soldiers, and they cut the ropes (τὰ σχοινία) and the boat fell off (Acts xxvii. 30-32).

(11.) *Officers and Crew.*—In Acts xxvii. 11 we have both κυβερνήτης and ναύκληρος. The latter is the owner (in part or in whole) of the ship or the cargo, receiving also (possibly) the fares of the passengers. The former has the charge of the steering. The same word occurs also in Rev. xviii. 17; Prov. xxiii. 34; Ez. xxvii. 8, and is equivalent to πρωρεύς in Ez. xxvii. 29; Jon. i. 6. In James iii. 4 ὁ εὐθύνων, "the governor," is simply the steersman for the moment. The word for "shipmen" (Acts xxvii. 27, 30) and "sailors" (Rev. xviii. 17) is simply the usual term ναῦται. In the latter passage ὅμιλος occurs for the crew, but the text is doubtful. In Ez. xxvii. 8, 9, 26, 27, 29, 34, we have κωπηλάται for "those who handle the oar," and in the same chapter (ver. 29) ἐπιβάται, which may mean either passengers or mariners. The only other passages which need be noticed here are 1 K. ix. 27, and 2 Chr. viii. 18, in the account of Solomon's ships. The former has τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἄνδρες ναυτικοὶ ἐλαύνειν εἰδότες θάλασσαν; the latter, παῖδες εἰδότες θάλασσαν.

(12.) *Storms and Shipwrecks.*—The first century of the Christian era was a time of immense traffic in the Mediterranean; and there must have been many vessels lost there every year by shipwreck, and (perhaps) as many by foundering. This last danger would be much increased by the form of rig described above. Besides this, we must remember that the ancients had no compass, and very imperfect charts and instruments, if any at all; and though it would be a great mistake to suppose that they never ventured out of sight of land, yet, dependent as they were on the heavenly bodies, the danger was much greater than now in bad weather, when the sky was overcast, and "neither sun nor stars in many days appeared" (Acts xxvii. 20). Hence also the winter season was considered dangerous, and, if possible, avoided (ἤδη ἐπισφαλοῦς τοῦ πλοός, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν νηστείαν ἤδη παρεληλυθέναι, ib. 9). Certain coasts too were much dreaded, especially the African Syrtis (ib. 17). The danger indicated by breakers (ib. 29), and the fear of falling on rocks (τραχεῖς τόποι), are matters of course. St. Paul's experience seems to have been full of illustrations of all these perils. We learn from 2 Cor. xi. 25 that, *before* the voyage described in detail by St. Luke, he had been "three times wrecked," and further that he had once been "a night and a day in the deep" probably floating on a spar, as was the case with Josephus. These circumstances give peculiar force to his using the metaphor of a shipwreck (ἐναυάγησαν, 1 Tim. i. 19) in speaking of those who had apostatized from the faith. In connexion with this general subject we may notice the caution with which, on the voyage from Troas to Patara (Acts xx. 13-16, xxi. 1), the sailors anchored for the night during the period of dark moon, in the intricate passages between the islands and the main [MITYLENE; SAMOS; TROGYLLIUM], the evident acquaintance which, on the voyage to Rome, the sailors of the Adramyttian ship had with the currents on the coasts of Syria and Asia Minor (Acts xxvii. 2-5) [ADRAMYTTIUM], and the provision for taking soundings in case of danger, as clearly indicated in the narrative of the shipwreck at Malta, the measurements being apparently the same as those which are customary with us (βολίσαντες εὗρον ὀργυιὰς εἴκοσι· βραχὺ δὲ διαστήσαντες, καὶ πάλιν βολίσαντες, εὗρον ὀργυιὰς δεκαπέντε, Acts xxvii. 28).

(13.) *Boats on the Sea of Galilee.*—There is a melancholy interest in that passage of Dr. Robinson's *Researches* (iii. 253), in which he says, that on his approach to the Sea of Tiberias, he saw a single white sail. This was the sail of the one rickety boat which, as we learn from other travellers (see especially Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 401-404), alone remains on a scene represented to us in the Gospels and in Josephus as full of life from the multitude of its fishing-boats. In the narratives of the call of the disciples to be "fishers of men" (Matt. iv. 18-22; Mark i. 16-20; Luke v. 1-11), there is no special information concerning the characteristics of these boats. In the account of the storm and the miracle on the lake (Matt. viii. 23-27; Mark iv. 35-41; Luke viii. 22-25), it is for every reason instructive to compare the three narratives; and we should observe that Luke is more technical in his language than Matthew, and Mark than Luke. Thus, instead of σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ (Matt. viii. 24), we have κατέβη λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου εἰς τὴν λίμνην (Luke viii. 23), and again τῷ κλύδωνι τοῦ ὕδατος (ver. 24); and instead of ὥστε τὸ πλοῖον καλύπτεσθαι we have συνεπληροῦντο. In Mark (iv. 37) we have τὰ κύματα ἐπέβαλλεν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, ὥστε αὐτὸ ἤδη γεμίζεσθαι. This Evangelist also mentions the προσκεφάλαιον, or boatman's cushion,[e] on which our Blessed Saviour was sleeping ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ, and he uses the technical term ἐκόπασεν for the lulling of the storm. See more on this subject in Smith, *Dissertation on the Gospels* (Lond. 1853). We may turn now to St. John. In the account he gives of what followed the miracle of walking on the sea (vi. 16-25), πλοῖον and πλοιάριον seem to be used indifferently, and we have mention of other πλοιάρια. There

[e] The word in Pollux is ὑπηρέσιον, but Hesychius gives προσκεφάλαιον as the equivalent. See Kühn's note on Jul. Poll. *Onom.* i. p. 59. (Ed. Amstel. 1706.)

would of course be boats of various sizes on the lake. The reading, however, is doubtful.[d] Finally, in the solemn scene after the resurrection (John xxi. 1-8), we have the terms *αἰγιαλός* and *τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ πλοίου*, which should be noticed as technical. Here again *πλοῖον* and *πλοιάριον* appear to be synonymous. If we compare all these passages with Josephus, we easily come to the conclusion that, with the large population round the Lake of Tiberias, there must have been a vast number both of fishing-boats and pleasure-boats, and that boat-building must have been an active trade on its shores (see Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* p. 367). The term used by Josephus is sometimes *πλοῖον*, sometimes *σκάφος*. There are two passages in the Jewish historian to which we should carefully refer, one in which he describes his own taking of Tiberias by an expedition of boats from Tarichaea (*Vit.* 32, 33, *B. J.* ii. 21, §§8-10). Here he says that he collected all the boats on the lake, amounting to 230 in number, with four men in each. He states also incidentally that each boat had a "pilot" and an "anchor." The other passage describes the operations of Vespasian at a later period in the same neighbourhood (*B. J.* iii. 10, §§1, 5, 6, 9). These operations amounted to a regular Roman sea-fight; and large rafts (*σχεδίαι*) are mentioned besides the boats or *σκάφη*.

(14.) *Merchant-Ships in the Old Testament.*—The earliest passages where seafaring is alluded to in the O. T. are the following in order, Gen. xlix. 13, in the prophecy of Jacob concerning Zebulun (*κατοικήσει παρ' ὅρμον πλοίων*); Num. xxiv. 24, in Balaam's prophecy (where, however, ships are not mentioned in the LXX.[e]); Deut. xxviii. 68, in one of the warnings of Moses (*ἀποστρέψει σε Κύριος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐν πλοίοις*); Judg. v. 17, in Deborah's Song (*Δὰν εἰς τί παροικεῖ πλοίοις;*). Next after these it is natural to mention the illustrations and descriptions connected with this subject in Job (ix. 26, *ἢ καὶ ἐστι νανσὶν ἴχνος ὁδοῦ*); and in the Psalms (xlvii. [xlviii.] 7, *ἐν πνεύματι βιαίῳ συντρίψεις πλοῖα Θαρσίς*, ciii. [civ.] 26, *ἐκεῖ πλοῖα διαπορεύονται*, cvi. 23, *οἱ καταβαίνοντες εἰς θάλασσαν ἐν πλοίοις*). Prov. xxiii. 34 has already been quoted. To this add xxx. 19 (*τρίβους νήος ποντοπορούσης*), xxxi. 14 (*ναῦς ἐμπορευομένη μακρόθεν*). Solomon's own ships, which may have suggested some of these illustrations (1 K. ix. 26; 2 Chr. viii. 18, ix. 21), have previously been mentioned. We must notice the disastrous expedition of Jehoshaphat's ships from the same port of Eziongeber (1 K. xxii. 48, 49; 2 Chr. xx. 36, 37). The passages which remain are in the prophets. Some have been already adduced from Isaiah and Ezekiel. In the former prophet the general term "ships of Tarshish" is variously given in the LXX., *πλοῖον θαλάσσης*[g] (ii. 16), *πλοῖα Καρχηδόνος* (xxiii. 1, 14), *πλοῖα Θαρσίς* (lx. 9). For another allusion to seafaring see xliii. 14. The celebrated 27th chapter of Ezekiel ought to be carefully studied in all its detail; and in Jonah i. 3-16, the following technical phrases (besides what has been already adduced) should be noticed: *ναῦλον* (3), *συντριβῆναι* (4), *ἐκβολὴν ἐποιήσαντο τῶν σκευῶν, τοῦ κουφισθῆναι* (5), *κοπάσει ἡ θάλασσα* (11, 12). In Dan. xi. 40 (*συναχθήσεται Βασιλεὺς τοῦ Βορρᾶ ἐν ἅρμασι καὶ ἐν ἱππεῦσι καὶ ἐν ναυσὶ πολλαῖς*) we touch the subject of ships of war.

(15.) *Ships of War in the Apocrypha.*—Military operations both by land and water (*ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς*, 1 Macc. viii. 23, 32) are prominent subjects in the Books of Maccabees. Thus in the contract between Judas Maccabaeus and the Romans it is agreed (ib. 26, 28) that no supplies are to be afforded to the enemies of either, whether *σῖτος, ὅπλα, ἀργύριον*, or *πλοῖα*. In a later passage (xv. 3) we have more explicitly, in the letter of King Antiochus, *πλοῖα πολεμικά* (see v. 14), while in 2 Macc. iv. 20 (as observed above) the word *τριήρεις*, "galleys," occurs in the account of the proceedings of the infamous Jason. Here we must not forget the monument erected by Simon Maccabaeus on his father's grave, on which, with other ornaments and military symbols, were *πλοῖα ἐπιγεγλυμμένα, εἰς τὸ θεωρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πλεόντων τὴν θάλασσαν* (1 Macc. xiii. 29). Finally must be mentioned the *noyade* at Joppa when the resident Jews, with wives and children 200 in number, were induced to go into boats and were drowned (2 Macc. xii. 3, 4), with the vengeance taken by Judas (*τὸν μὲν λιμένα νύκτωρ ἐνέπρησε καὶ τὰ σκάφη κατέφλεξε*, ver. 6). It seems sufficient simply to enumerate the other passages in the Apocrypha where some allusion to sea-faring is made. They are the following: Wisd. v. 10, xiv. 1; Ecclus. xxxiii. 2, xliii. 24; 1 Esd. iv. 23.

(16.) *Nautical Terms.*—The great repertory of such terms, as used by those who spoke the Greek language, is the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux; and it may be useful to conclude this article by mentioning a few out of many which are found there, and also in the N. T. or LXX. First, to quote some which have been mentioned above. We find the following both in Pollux and the Scriptures: *σχοινία, σκευή, κλυδών, χειμών, φόρτιον, ἐκβολή, σύρτις, οὐδὲν ὑποστέλλεσθαι, οὐκ ἦν τὸν ἥλιον ἰδεῖν, σκάφη, σκάφος, ναῦλον, συντριβῆναι, ὀφθαλμὸς ὅπου καὶ τοὔνομα τῆς νεὼς ἐπιγράφουσι* (compared with Acts xxvii. 15, xxviii. 11), *τραχεῖς αἰγιαλοί* (compared with Acts xxvii. 29, 40). The following are some which have not been mentioned in this article:—*ἀνάγεσθαι* and *κατάγεσθαι* (*e. g.* Acts xxviii. 11, 12), *σανίδες* (Ezek. xxvii. 5), *τρόπις* (Wisd. v. 10), *ἀναβαίνω* (Jon. i. 3; Mark vi. 51), *γαλήνη* (Matt. viii. 26), *ἀμφίβληστρον* (Matt. iv. 18, Mark i. 16), *ἀποφορτίσασθαι* (Acts xxi. 4), *ὑποπνέω* (xxvii. 13), *τυφών* (*ἄνεμος τυφωνικός*, xxvii. 14), *ἀγκύρας κατατείνειν* (*ἀγκύρας ἐκτείνειν*, ib. 30), *ὑβριστὴς ἄνεμος* (*ὕβρεως*, 10, *ὕβριν*, 21), *προσοκέλλω* (*ἐποκέλλω*, ib. 41), *κολυμβᾷν* (ib. 42), *διαλυθείσης τῆς νεώς* (*ἡ πρύμνα ἐλύετο*, ib. 41). This is an imperfect list of the whole number; but it may serve to show how rich the N. T. and LXX. are in the nautical phraseology of the Greek Levant. To this must be added a notice of the peculiar variety and accuracy of St. Luke's ordinary phrases for sailing under different circumstances, *πλέω, ἀποπλέω, βραδυπλοέω, διαπλέω, ἐκπλέω, καταπλέω, ὑποπλέω, παραπλέω, εὐθυ-*

[d] So in Mark iv. 36, "little ships," the true reading appears to be *πλοῖα*, not *πλοιάρια*.

[e] So in Dan. xi. 30, where the same phrase "ships of Chittim" occurs, there is no strictly corresponding phrase in the LXX. The translators appear to have read וַיֵּצֵא for וְצִיִּים and צִיִּים in these passages respectively.

[f] The LXX. here read קָטֹן, *kâtôn*, "small," for קָדִים, *kâdîm*, "east."

[g] This is perhaps a mistake of the copyist, who transcribed from dictation, and mistook Θαρσίς for Θαλάσσης

βρομεω. ὑποτρέχω, παραλέγομαι, φέρομαι, διαφέρομαι, διαπεράω.

(17.) *Authorities.*—The preceding list of St. Luke's nautical verbs is from Mr. Smith's work on the *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul* (London, 1st ed. 1848, 2nd ed. 1856). No other book need be mentioned here, since it has for some time been recognised, both in England and on the Continent, as the standard work on ancient ships, and it contains a complete list of previous books on the subject. Reference, however, may be made to the memoranda of Admiral Penrose, incorporated in the notes to the 27th chap. of Conybeare and Howson's *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul* (London, 2nd ed. 1856). [J. S. H.].

SHIPHI (שִׁפְעִי: Σαφατ; Alex. Σεφείν: *Sepheï*). A Simeonite, father of Ziza, a prince of the tribe in the time of Hezekiah (1 Chr. iv. 37).

SHIPH'MITE, THE (הַשִּׁפְמִי: ὁ τοῦ Σεφνεί; Alex. ὁ τ. Σεφνι; *Saphonites*). Probably, though not certainly, the native of SHEPHAM. Zabdi, the officer in David's household who had charge of the wine-making (1 Chr. xxvii. 27), is the only person so distinguished. [G.]

SHIPH'RAH (שִׁפְרָה: Σεπφώρα: *Sephora*, Ex. i. 15). The name of one of the two midwives of the Hebrews who disobeyed the command of Pharaoh, the first oppressor, to kill the male children, and were therefore blessed (vers. 15-21). It is not certain that they were Hebrews: if they were, the name Shiphrah would signify "brightness" or "beauty." It has also an Egyptian sound, the last syllable resembling that of Potiphar, Poti-phra, and Hophra, in all which we recognize the word PH-RA, P-RA, "the sun," or "Pharaoh," in composition, when alone written in Heb. פַּרְעֹה: in these cases, however, the ע is usual, as we should expect from the Egyptian spelling. [PUAH.] [R. S. P.]

SHIPH'TAN (שִׁפְטָן: Σαβαθάν: *Sephthan*). Father of Kemuel, a prince of the tribe of Ephraim (Num. xxxiv. 24).

SHI'SHA (שִׁישָׁא: Σηβά; Alex. Σεισά: *Sisa*). Father of Elihoreph and Ahiah, the royal secretaries in the reign of Solomon (1 K. iv. 3). He is apparently the same as SHAVSHA, who held the same position under David.

SHI'SHAK (שִׁישַׁק[a]: Σουσακίμ: *Sesac*), king of Egypt, the Sheshenk I. of the monuments, first sovereign of the Bubastite xxiind dynasty. His name is thus written in hieroglyphics.

Chronology.—The reign of Shishak offers the first determined synchronisms of Egyptian and Hebrew history. Its chronology must therefore be examined. We first give a table with the Egyptian and Hebrew data for the chronology of the dynasty, continued as far as the time of Zerah, who was probably a successor of Shishak, in order to avoid repetition in treating of the latter. [ZERAH.]

TABLE OF FIRST SIX REIGNS OF DYNASTY XXII.

Egyptian Data.				Hebrew Data		
Manetho.		*Monuments.*		*Kings.*		*Events.*
Africanus.	Eusebius.	Order.	Highest Yr.	Judah. Yrs.	Israel. Yrs.	
				Solomon, 40 Years.		Jeroboam flees to Shishak.
1. Sesônchis . . 21	1. Sesônchôsis . 21	1. SHESHENK [I.]	XXI.	1. Reho'boam . 17	1. Jeroboam . 22	Shishak 20 (?) invades Judah, Rehoboam, 5.
2. Osorthôn . . 15	2. Osorthôn . . 15	2. USARKEN [I.]				
				2. Abijah . . . 3		
		3. TEKERUT [I.]		3. Asa 41		
3. 4. 5. Three others, 25 l. 29 ?		4. USARKEN [II.]	XXIII.		2. Nadab . . 2	
		5. SHESHENK [II.]			3. Baasha . . . 24	
					4. Elah 2	
					5. Zimri	
					6. Omri 12	
6. Takelôthus . 13	Takelôthus . . 13	6. TEKERUT [II.]	XIV.			

Respecting the Egyptian columns of this table, it is only necessary to observe that, as a date of the 23rd year of Usarken II. occurs on the monuments, it is reasonable to suppose that the sum of the third, fourth, and fifth reigns should be 29 years instead of 25, ΚΘ being easily changed to ΚΕ (Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, p. 85). We follow Lepsius's arrangement, our Tekerut I., for instance, being the same as his.

The synchronism of Shishak and Solomon, and that of Shishak and Rehoboam may be nearly fixed, as shown in article CHRONOLOGY, where a slight correction should be made in one of the data. We there mentioned, on the authority of Champollion, that an inscription bore the date of the 22nd year of Shishak (i. p. 327). Lepsius, however, states that it is of the 21st year, correcting Champollion, who had been followed by Bunsen and others (xxii *Aeg. Königsdyn.* p. 272 and note 1). It must, therefore, be supposed, that the invasion of Judah took place in the 20th, and not in the 21st

[a] The text in 1 K. xiv. 25 has שִׁישַׁק, but the *Kerî* proposes שישק.

rear of Shishak. The first year of Shishak would thus about correspond to the 26th of Solomon, and the 20th to the 5th of Rehoboam.

The synchronism of Zerah and Asa is more difficult to determine. It seems, from the narrative in Chronicles, that the battle between Asa and Zerah took place early in the reign of the king of Judah. It is mentioned before an event of the 15th year of his reign, and afterwards we read that "there was no [more] war unto the five and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa" (2 Chr. xv. 19). This is immediately followed by the account of Baasha's coming up against Judah "in the six and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa" (xvi. 1). The latter two dates may perhaps be reckoned from the division of the kingdom, unless we can read the 15th and 16th,[b] for Baasha began to reign in the 3rd year of Asa, and died, after a reign of 24 years, and was succeeded by Elah, in the 26th year of Asa. It seems, therefore, most probable that the war with Zerah took place early in Asa's reign, before his 15th year, and thus also early in the reign of Usarken II. The probable identification of Zerah is considered under that name [ZERAH.]

The chronological place of these synchronisms may be calculated on the Egyptian as well as the Biblical side. The Egyptian data enable us to calculate the accession of Shishak approximatively, reckoning downwards from the xixth dynasty, and upwards from the xxvith. The first 60 years of the Sothic Cycle commencing B.C. 1322[c] appear to have extended from the latter part of the reign of Rameses II. to a year after the 12th of Rameses III. The intervening reigns are Men-ptah 19, Sethee II. x, Seth-nekht x, which added to Rameses II. x and Rameses III. 12, probably represent little less than 50 years. The second 60 years of the same Cycle extended from the reign of one of the sons of Rameses III., Rameses VI., separated from his father by two reigns, certainly short, one of at least 5 years, to the reign of Rameses XI., the reigns intervening between Rameses VI. and XI. giving two dates, which make a sum of 18 years. We can thus very nearly fix the accession of the xxth dynasty. In the order of the kings we follow M. de Rougé (*Étude*, pp. 183, seqq.).

xix.	2. Rameses II.		
	3. Men-ptah . . .	19	1322
	4. Sethee II. . . .	x	|
	5. Seth-nekht . . .	x	1263
xx.	1. Rameses III. . . .	12 (14)	
	2. Rameses IV. . . .	(5)	
	3. Rameses V.		
	4. Rameses VI. . . .		
	5. Rameses VII. . . .		
	6. Rameses VIII. . . .		1262
	7. Rameses IX. . . .	(16)	|
	8. Rameses X. . . .	(2)	1203
	9. Rameses XI. . . .		

The commencement of the xxth dynasty would, on this evidence, fall about B.C. 1280. The duration of the dynasty, according to Manetho, was 178 (Eus.) or 135 (Afr.) years. The highest dates found give us a sum of 99 years, and the Sothic data and the circumstance that there were five if not six kings after Rameses XI., show that the length cannot have been less than 120 years. Manetho's numbers would bring us to B.C. 1102 or 1145, for the end of this dynasty. The monuments do not throw any clear light upon the chronology of the succeeding dynasty, the xxist: the only indications upon which we can found a conjecture are those of Manetho's lists, according to which it ruled for 130 years. This number, supposing that the dynasty overlapped neither the xxth nor the xxiind, would bring the commencement of the xxiind and accession of Shishak to B.C. 972 or 1015.

Reckoning upwards, the highest certain date is that of the accession of Psammitichus I., B.C. 664. He was preceded, probably with a short interval, by Tirhakah, whose accession was B.C. cir. 695.[d] The beginning of Tirhakah's dynasty, the xxvth, was probably 719. For the xxivth and xxiiird dynasties we have only the authority of Manetho's lists, in which they are allowed a sum of 95 (Afr. 6+89) or 88 (Eus. 44+44) years. This carries us up to B.C. 814 or 807, supposing that the dynasties, as here stated, were wholly consecutive. To the xxiind dynasty the lists allow 120 (Afr.) or 49 (Eus.) years. The latter sum may be discarded at once as merely that of the three reigns mentioned. The monuments show that the former needs correction, for the highest dates of the individual kings and the length of the reign of one of them, Sheshenk III., determined by the Apis tablets, oblige us to raise its sum to at least 166 years. This may be thus shown:—1. Sesônchis 21. (1 Sheshenk I. 21). 2. Osorthôn 15. (2. Usarken I.) 3, 4, 5. Three others, 25 (29?). (3. Tekerut I. 4. Usarken II. 23. 5. Sheshenk II.) 6. Takelôthis 13. (6. Tekerut II. 14.) 7, 8, 9. Three others, 42. (7. Sheshenk III. date 28 reign 51. 8. Peshee 2. 9. Sheshenk IV. 37). (21+15+29+13+51+1+36=166.) It seems impossible to trace the mistake that has occasioned the difference. The most reasonable conjectures seem to be either that the first letter of the sum of the reign of Sheshenk III. fell out in some copy of Manetho, and 51 thus was changed to 1, or that this reign fell out altogether, and that there was another king not mentioned on the monuments. The sum would thus be 166+x, or 169, which, added to our last number, place the accession of Sheshenk I. B.C. 980 or 983, or else seven years later than each of these dates.

The results thus obtained from approximative data are sufficiently near the Biblical date to make it certain that Sheshenk I. is the Shishak of Solomon and Rehoboam, and to confirm the Bible chronology.

The Biblical date of Sheshenk's conquest of Judah has been computed in a previous article to be B.C. cir. 969 [CHRONOLOGY, i. p. 327], and this having taken place in his 20th year, his accession would have been B.C. cir. 988. The progress of Assyrian discovery has, however, induced some writers to propose to shorten the chronology by taking 35 years as the length of Manasseh's reign, in which case all earlier dates would have to be lowered 20 years. It would be premature to express a positive

[b] The 25th and 26th are out of the question, unless the cessation of war referred to relate to that with Zerah, for it is said that Asa and Baasha warred against each other "all their days" (1 K. xv. 16, 32).

[c] We prefer the date B.C. 1322 to M. Biot's B.C. cir. 1300, for reasons we cannot here explain.

[d] In a previous article (CHRONOLOGY, i. 326 *a*) we dated the first year of Tirhakah's reign over Egypt B.C. 689. This date is founded upon an interpretation of an Apis-tablet, which is not certain. It concludes with the words "done" or "made in year 21?" which we formerly read, as had been previously done, "completing 21 years," referring the number to the life of the bull, not to the year of the king in which the tablet was executed or completed (See the text in Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, p. 95.)

opinion on this matter, but it must be remarked that, save only the taking of Samaria by Sargon, although this is a most important exception, the Assyrian chronology appears rather to favour the reduction, and that the Egyptian chronology, as it is found, does not seem readily reconcileable with the received dates, but to require some small reduction. The proposed reduction would place the accession of Sheshenk I. B.C. cir. 968, and this date is certainly more in accordance with those derived from the Egyptian data than the higher date, but these data are too approximative for us to lay any stress upon minute results from them. Dr. Hincks has drawn attention to what appears to be the record, already noticed by Brugsch, in an inscription of Lepsius's Tekerut II., of an eclipse of the moon on the 24th Mesori (4th Apr.) B.C. 945, in the 15th year of his father. The latter king must be Usarken I., if these data be correct, and the date of Sheshenk I.'s accession would be B.C. 980 or 981. But it does not seem certain that the king of the record must be Tekerut I. Nor, indeed, are we convinced that the eclipse was lunar. (See *Journ. Sac. Lit.* Jan. 1863; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. bl. 256, a).

History.—In order to render the following observations clear, it will be necessary to say a few words on the history of Egypt before the accession of Sheshenk I. On the decline of the Theban line or Rameses family (the xxth dynasty), two royal houses appear to have arisen. At Thebes, the high-priests of Amen, after a virtual usurpation, at last took the regal title, and in Lower Egypt a Tanite dynasty (Manetho's xxist) seems to have gained royal power. But it is possible that there was but one line between the xxth and xxiind dynasties, and that the high-priest kings belonged to the xxist. The origin of the royal line of which Sheshenk I. was the head is extremely obscure. Mr. Birch's discovery that several of the names of the family are Shemitic has led to the supposition that it was of Assyrian or Babylonian origin. Shishak, שִׁישַׁק, may be compared with Sheshak, שֵׁשַׁךְ, a name of Babylon (rashly thought to be for Babel by Athash), Usarken has been compared with Sargon, and Tekerut, with Tiglath in Tiglath-Pileser. If there were any doubt as to these identifications, some of which, as the second and third cited, are certainly conjectural, the name Namuret, Nimrod, which occurs as that of princes of this line, would afford conclusive evidence, and it is needless here to compare other names, though those occurring in the genealogies of the dynasty, given by Lepsius, well merit the attention of Semitic students (*xxii Aeg. Königsdyn.* and *Königsbuch*). It is worthy of notice that the name Nimrod, and the designation of Zerah (perhaps a king of this line, otherwise a general in its service), as "the Cushite," seem to indicate that the family sprang from a Cushite origin. They may possibly have been connected with the MASHUWASHA, a Shemitic nation, apparently of Libyans, for Tekerut II. as Prince is called "great chief of the MASHUWASHA," and also "great chief of the MATU," or mercenaries; but they can scarcely have been of this people. Whether eastern or western Cushites, there does not seem to be any evidence in favour of their having been Nigritians, and as there is no trace of any connexion between them and the xxvth dynasty of Ethiopians, they must rather be supposed to be of the eastern branch. Their names, when not Egyptian, are traceable to Shemitic roots, which is not the case, as far as we know, with the ancient kings of Ethiopia, whose civilization is the same as that of Egypt. We find these foreign Shemitic names in the family of the high-priest-king Her-har, three of whose sons are called, respectively, MASAHARATA, MASAKAHARATA, and MATEN-NEB, although the names of most of his other sons and those of his line appear to be Egyptian. This is not a parallel case to the preponderance of Shemitic names in the line of the xxiind dynasty, but it warns us against too positive a conclusion. M. de Rougé, instead of seeing in those names of the xxiind dynasty a Shemitic or Asiatic origin, is disposed to trace the line to that of the high-priest-kings. Manetho calls the xxiind a dynasty of Bubastites, and an ancestor of the priest-king dynasty bears the name Meree-bast, "beloved of Bubastis." Both lines used Shemitic names, and both held the high-priesthood of Amen (comp. *Étude sur une Stèle Égyptienne*, pp. 203, 204). This evidence does not seem to us conclusive, for policy may have induced the line of the xxiind dynasty to effect intermarriages with the family of the priest-kings, and to assume their functions. The occurrence of Shemitic names at an earlier time may indicate nothing more than Shemitic alliances, but those alliances might not improbably end in usurpation. Lepsius gives a genealogy of Sheshenk I. from the tablet of Har-p-sen from the Serapeum, which, if correct, decides the question (*xxii Königsdyn.* pp. 267-269). In this, Sheshenk I. is the son of a chief Namuret, whose ancestors, excepting his mother, who is called "royal mother," not as Lepsius gives it, "royal daughter" (*Étude*, &c., p. 203, note 2), are all untitled persons, and, all but the princess, bear foreign, apparently Shemitic names. But, as M. de Rougé observes, this genealogy cannot be conclusively made out from the tablet, though we think it more probable than he does (*Étude*, p. 203, and note 2).

Sheshenk I., on his accession, must have found the state weakened by internal strife and deprived of much of its foreign influence. In the time of the later kings of the Rameses family, two, if not three, sovereigns had a real or titular authority; but before the accession of Sheshenk it is probable that their lines had been united: certainly towards the close of the xxist dynasty a Pharaoh was powerful enough to lead an expedition into Palestine and capture Gezer (1 K. ix. 16). Sheshenk took as the title of his standard, "He who attains royalty by uniting the two regions [of Egypt]." (De Rougé, *Étude*, &c., p. 204; Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, xliv. 567 A a). He himself probably married the heiress of the Rameses family, while his son and successor Usarken appears to have taken to wife the daughter, and perhaps heiress, of the Tanite xxist dynasty. Probably it was not until late in his reign that he was able to carry on the foreign wars of the earlier king who captured Gezer. It is observable that we trace a change of dynasty in the policy that induced Sheshenk at the beginning of his reign to receive the fugitive Jeroboam (1 K. xi. 40). Although it was probably a constant practice for the kings of Egypt to show hospitality to fugitives of importance, Jeroboam would scarcely have been included in their class. Probably, it is expressly related that he fled to Shishak because he was well received as an enemy of Solomon.

We do not venture to lay any stress upon the LXX. additional portion of 1 K. xii., as the narrative there given seems irreconcileable with that of the

previous chapter, which agrees with the Mas. text. In the latter chapter Hadad (LXX. Ader) the Edomite flees from the slaughter of his people by Joab and David to Egypt, and marries the elder sister of Tahpenes (LXX. Thekemina), Pharaoh's queen, returning to Idumaea after the death of David and Joab. In the additional portion of the former chapter, Jeroboam—already said to have fled to Shishak (LXX. Susacim)—is married after Solomon's death to Anô, elder sister of Thekemina the queen. Between Hadad's return and Solomon's death, probably more than thirty years elapsed, certainly twenty. Besides, how are we to account for the two elder sisters? Moreover, Shishak's queen, his only or principal wife, is called KARAÄMA, which is remote from Tahpenes or Thekemina. [TAHPENES.]

The king of Egypt does not seem to have commenced hostilities during the powerful reign of Solomon. It was not until the division of the tribes, that, probably at the instigation of Jeroboam, he attacked Rehoboam. The following particulars of this war are related in the Bible: "In the fifth year of king Rehoboam, Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, because they had transgressed against the LORD, with twelve hundred chariots, and threescore thousand horsemen: and the people [were] without number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubim, the Sukkiim, and the Cushim. And he took the fenced cities which [pertained] to Judah, and came to Jerusalem" (2 Chr. xii. 2-4). Shishak did not pillage Jerusalem, but exacted all the treasures of his city from Rehoboam, and apparently made him tributary (5, 9-12, esp. 8). The narrative in Kings mentions only the invasion and the exaction (1 K. xiv. 25, 26). The strong cities of Rehoboam are thus enumerated in an earlier passage: "And Rehoboam dwelt in Jerusalem, and built cities for defence in Judah. He built even Beth-lehem, and Etam, and Tekoa, and Beth-zur, and Shoco, and Adullam, and Gath, and Mareshah, and Ziph, and Adoraim, and Lachish, and Azekah, and Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron, which [are] in Judah and in Benjamin fenced cities" (2 Chr. xi. 5-10).

Shishak has left a record of this expedition, sculptured on the wall of the great temple of El-Karnak. It is a list of the countries, cities, and tribes, conquered or ruled by him, or tributary to him. In this list Champollion recognized a name which he translated, as we shall see, incorrectly, "the kingdom of Judah," and was thus led to trace the names of certain cities of Palestine. The document has since been more carefully studied by Dr. Brugsch, and with less success by Dr. Blau. On account of its great importance as a geographical record, we give a full transcription of it.

There are two modes of transcribing Hebrew or cognate names written in hieroglyphics. They can either be rendered by the English letters to which the hieroglyphics correspond, or by the Hebrew letters for which they are known from other instances to be used. The former mode is perhaps more scientific; the latter is more useful for the present investigation. It is certain that the Egyptians employed one sign in preference for ה, and another for ח, but we cannot prove that these signs had any difference when used for native words, though in other cases it seems clear that there was such a difference. We give the list transcribed by both methods, the first as a check upon the second, for which we are indebted to M. de Rougé's comparative alphabet, by far the most satisfactory yet published, though in some parts it may be questioned (*Revue Archéologique*, N. S. xi. 351-354). These transcriptions occupy the first two columns of the table, the third contains Dr. Brugsch's identification, and the fourth, our own.*

THE GEOGRAPHICAL LIST OF SHESHENK I.

No.	Transcr. in Eng. Let^s.	Transcr. in Heb. Let^s.	Brugsch's Identification.	Our Identification.
13	ReBATA	לבאתא	Rabbith.	Rabbith?
14	TAANKAU	טאענכאו	Taanach.	Taanach.
15	SHeNeMA-AA	שׁנמעאא	Shunem.	Shunem.
16	BAT-SHeNRAÄ	באת שׁנראא	Beth-shan.	
17	ReHeBAÄ	לחבאא	Rehob.	Rehob.
18	HePURMAÄ	חפולמאא	Haphraim.	Haphraim.
19	ATeRMA	אדלמא	Adoraim.	Adoraim.
21	SHUATEE.	שׁואדי.		
22	MAHANMA	מעהאנמע	Mahanaim.	Mahanaim.
23	KeBAÄNA	קבענא	Gibeon.	Gibeon.
24	BAT-HUAReN	באת חואלן	Beth-horon.	Beth-horon.
25	KATMeT	קאדמת	Kedemoth.	Kedemoth.
26	AYUReN	איולן	Aijalon.	Aijalon.
27	MAKeTAU	מעכדאו	Megiddo.	Megiddo.
28	ATEERA	אדילא	. . . .	Edrei?
29	YUTeH-MARK	יודה מעלך	. . . .	Kingdom of Judah?
31	HAÄNeM	האאנם	. . . .	Anem?
32	AÄRANA	עראנא	Eglon.	
33	BARMA	באלמא	Bileam, Ibleam.	Bileam, Ibleam.

* The list of Shishak in the original hieroglyphics is published by Rosellini, *Monumenti Reali*, no. cxlviii.; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii. bl. 252; and Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* ii. taf. xxiv.; and commented upon by Brugsch (Id. pp. 56 seqq) and Dr. Blau (*Zeitschrift d Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellsch.* xv. pp. 233 seqq.).

No.	Transcr. in Eng. Let^{s}.	Transcr. in Heb. Let^{s}.	Brugsch's Identification.	Our Identification.
34	TATPeTeR	זאדפתל		
35	A. H. M.	א·ח·מ·		
36	BAT-AÄRMeT	באת עלמת	Alemeth.	Alemeth, Almon.
37	KAKAREE	קאקאלי	. . . .	Ha-kikkar (Circle of Jordan).
38	SHAUKA	שׁאוקא	Shoco.	Shoco.
39	BAT-TePU	באת טפו	Beth-Tappuah.	Beth-Tappuah.
40	ABARAÄ	אבאלאא	Abel.	
45	BAT-TAB..	באת זאב..		
53	NUPAR	נופאל		
54	. PeTSHAT	·פרשאת		
55	Pe-KeTeT?	פכטת?		
56	ATMAÄ	אדמאא	Edom.	Edom?
57	TARMEM	זאלמם	Zalmonah?	
58	...RR . A	...לל . א		
59	..RTAÄ	..לזאא	Tirzah?	
64	..APeN	..אפן		
65	PeAÄMAK	פעמעק		
66	AÄ-AÄTeMAA	עאאזמאא	Azem.	Azem, or Ezem?
67	ANARA	אנאלא		
68	PeHAKRAÄ	פחאקלאא	Hagarites.	Hagarites.
69	FeTYUSHAÄ	פתיושׁאא	. . . .	Letushim?
70	ARAHeReR	אראהלל		
71	PeHeKRAÄ	פחקלאא	Hagarites.	Hagarites.
72	MeRSARAMA	מרסאראמע	. . . .	Cf. Salma?
73	SHEBPeReT	שבלת	Shephelah?	Shephelah?
74	NeKBeREE	נגבלי		
75	SHeBPeRet	שבלת	Shephelah?	Shephelah?
76	WARAKEET	ואראכית		
77	PeHeKRAÄ	פחקלאא	Hagarites.	Hagarites.
78	NAÄBAYT	נעבאית	. . . .	Nebaioth.
79	AÄTeTMAA	עדדמאא	. . . .	Tema?
80	TePKeKA	זפקקא		
81	MA . A..	מע·א..		
82	TA....	טא ...		
83	KANAÄ	נאנאא	. . . .	Kenites?
84	PeNAKBU	פנאנבו	Negeb.	Negeb.
85	ATeM-*KeTeT*-HeT	עזמבטחחת?	. . . .	Azem, or Ezem.
86	TASHTNAU	טאשׁדנאו		
87	PeHKARA	פחקאלא	Hagarites.	Hagarites.
88	SHNAYAA	שׁנאיאא		
89	HAKA	האקא		
90	PeNAKBU	פנאנבו	Negeb.	Negeb.
91	WAHTURKA	ואהתולכא		
92	PeNAKBU	פנאגבו	Negeb.	Negeb.
93	ASH-HeTA	אשׁחתא		
94	PeHeKREE	פחנלי	Hagarites.	Hagarites.
95	HANEENYAU	האניניאו		
96	PeHeKRAU	פחנלאו	Hagarites.	Hagarites.
97	ARKAT	אלקאד		
98	MERTMAM	מרדמאם	. . . .	Duma?
99	HANANYEE	האנאניי		
100	MERTRA-AA	מרדראאא	. . . .	Cf. Eddara.
101	PeHeKeR	פחנל	Hagarites.	Hagarites.
102	TRUAN	תלואן		

No.	Transcr. in Eng. Let^{s}.	Transcr. in Heb. Let^{s}.	Brugsch's Identification.	Our Identification.
103	HEETBAÄ	חידבאא	. . . .	Adbeel?
104	SHeRNeRAM	שלנלאם		
105	HEETBAÄ	חידבאא	. . . .	Adbeel?
106	TEEWATEE	דיואתי		
107	HAKeRMA or HAReKMA	חאקלמע / חאלקמע	. . . .	Rekem (Petra)?
108	AÄRATAÄ	עלאראא	. . . .	Eldaah?
109	RABAT	לאבאת	Beth-lebaoth, Lebaoth.	Beth-lebaoth, Lebaoth? Rabbah?
110	AÄRATAÄY	עלאראי	Arad.	Eldaah?
111	NeBPTeBeT	נבטבת		
112	YURAHMA	יוראחמע	. . . .	Jerahmeelites?
116	MeREE . M	מרי · ם		
117	MeRTRA-AÄ	מרדראאא	. . .	Cf. Eddara?
118	PeBYAÄ	פביאא		
119	MAHKAÄ.	מעחנאא	. . . .	Maachah?
120	' ARYUK	· אריוך		
121	FeRTMA-AA	פרתמעאא		
122	MeRBARA	מרבארא		
123	BPAR-RATA	באלראזא		
124	BAT-A-AÄT	באת עת	Beth-anoth.	Beth-anoth, or Beth-anath?
125	SHeRHATAU	שרחאתאו	Sharuhen?	
126	ARMATeN	ארמעתן		
127	KeRNAÄ	גלנאא	Golan?	
128	MeRMA . .	מרמא . .		
129	. . RHeT	. . רחת		
130	. . . RAA	. . . ראא		
131	MA	מע		
132	AR	אל		
133	YURA . . .	יולא . . .		

The following identifications are so evident that it is not necessary to discuss them, and they may be made the basis of our whole investigation:—Nos. 14, 22, 24, 26, 27, 38, 39. It might appear at first sight that there was some geographical order, but a closer examination of these few names shows that this is not the case, and all that we can infer is, that the cities of each kingdom or nation are in general grouped together. The forms of the names show that irregularity of the vowels that characterizes the Egyptian language, as may be seen in the different modes in which a repeated name is written (Nos. 68, 71, 77, 87, 94, 96, 101). The consonants are used very nearly in accordance with the system upon which we have transcribed in the second column, save in the case of the Egyptian R, which seems to be indifferently used for ר and ל.

There are several similar geographical lists, dating for the most part during the period of the Empire, but they differ from this in presenting few, if any, repetitions, and only one of them contains names certainly the same as some in the present. They are lists of countries, cities, and tribes, forming the Egyptian Empire, and so far records of conquest that any cities previously taken by the Pharaoh to whose reign they belong are mentioned. The list which contains some of the names in Sheshenk's is of Thothmes III., sixth sovereign of the xviiith dynasty, and comprises many names of cities of Palestine mainly in the outskirts of the Israelite territory. It is important, in reference to this list, to state that Thothmes III., in his 23rd year, had fought a battle with confederate nations near Megiddo, whose territories the list enumerates. The narrative of the expedition fully establishes the identity of this and other towns in the list of Shishak. It is given in the document known as the Statistical Tablet of El-Karnak (Birch, "Annals of Thothmes III.," *Archaeologia*, 1853; De Rougé, *Rec. Arch.* N. S. xi. 347 seqq.; Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* ii. pp. 32 seqq.). The only general result of the comparison of the two lists is, that in the later one the Egyptian article is in two cases prefixed to foreign names, No. 56, NEKBU, of the list of Thothmes III., being the same as Nos. 84, 90, 92, PeNAKBU of the list of Shishak; and No. 105, AÄMeKU, of the former, being the same as No. 65, PeÄAMAK, of the latter.

We may now commence a detailed examination of the list of Shishak. No. 13 may correspond to Rabbith in Issachar. No. 14 is certainly Taanach, a Levitical city in the same tribe, noticed in the inscription of Thothmes commemorating the campaign above mentioned, in some connexion with the route to Megiddo: it is there written TAANAKA. No. 15 is probably Shunem, a town of Issachar: the form of the hieroglyphic name seems to indicate a dual (comp. Nos. 18, 19, 22), and it is remark

ible that Shunem has been thought to be originally a dual, שׁוּנַיִם for שׁוּנִים (Ges. *Thes.* s. v.). No. 16 is supposed by Dr. Brugsch to be Beth-shan; but the final letter of the Egyptian name is wanting in the Hebrew. It was a city of Manasseh, but in the tribe of Issachar. No. 17 is evidently Rehob, a Levitical city in Asher; and No. 18 Haphraim, a town in Issachar. No. 19 seems to be Adoraim, one of Rehoboam's strong cities, in the tribe of Judah: 'Adullam is out of the question, as it commences with ע, and is not a dual. No. 21 we cannot explain. No. 22 is Mahanaim, a Levitical city in Gad. No. 23 is Gibeon, a Levitical city in Benjamin. No. 24 is Beth-horon, which, though counted to Ephraim, was on the boundary of Benjamin. It was assigned to the Levites. The place consisted of two towns or villages, both of which we may suppose are here intended. No. 25 is evidently the Levitical city Kedemoth in Reuben, and No. 26, Aijalon, also Levitical, in Dan. No. 27 is the famous Megiddo, which in the Statistical Tablet of Thothmes III. is written MAKeTA, and in the same king's list MAKeTEE, but in the introductory title MAKeTA. It was a city of the western division of Manasseh. No. 28 may perhaps be Edrei, in trans-Jordanite Manasseh, though the sign usually employed for ע is wanting. No. 29 is the famous name which Champollion read "the kingdom of Judah." To this Dr. Brugsch objects, (1) that the name is out of place as following some names of towns in the kingdom of Judah as well as in that of Israel, and preceding others of both kingdoms; (2) that the supposed equivalent of kingdom (MARK, מעלך) does not satisfactorily represent the Hebrew מַלְכוּת, but corresponds to מֶלֶךְ; and (3) that the supposed construction is inadmissible. He proposes to read יהוד המלך as the name of a town, which he does not find in ancient Palestine. The position does not seem to us of much consequence, as the list is evidently irregular in its order, and the form might not be Hebrew, and neither Arabic nor Syriac requires the final letter. The kingdom of Judah cannot be discovered in the name without disregard of grammar; but if we are to read "Judah the king," to which Judah does the name point? There was no Jewish king of that name before Judas-Aristobulus. It seems useless to look for a city, although there was a place called Jehud in the tribe of Dan. The only suggestion we can propose is, that the second word is "kingdom," and was placed after the first in the manner of an Egyptian determinative. No. 31 may be compared with Anem in Issachar (עָנֵם), occurring, however, only in 1 Chr. vi. 73 (Heb. 58), but it is not certain that the Egyptian H ever represents ע. No. 32 has been identified by Dr. Brugsch with Eglon, but evidence as to its position shows that he is in error. In the Statistical Tablet of El-Karnak it is placed in a mountain-district apparently southward of Megiddo, a half-day's march from the plain of that city. There can be little doubt that M. de Rougé is correct in supposing that the Hebrew original signified an ascent (comp. עֲלִיָּה; *Rev. Arch.* p. 350). This name also occurs in the list of Thothmes (Id. p. 360); there differing only in having another character for the second letter. No. 33 has been identified by Dr. Brugsch with Bileam or Ibleam, a Levitical city in the western division of Manasseh. For No. 34 we can make no suggestion, and No. 35 is too much effaced for any conjecture to be hazarded. No. 36 Dr. Brugsch identifies with Alemeth, a Levitical city in Benjamin, also called Almon, the first being probably either the later or a correct form. [ALEMETH; ALMON.] No. 37 we think may be the Circle of Jordan, in the A. V. Plain of Jordan. No. 38 is Shoco, one of Rehoboam's strong cities, and 39, Beth-Tappuah, in the mountainous part of Judah. No. 40 has been supposed by Dr. Brugsch to be an Abel, and of the towns of that name he chooses Abel-shittim, the Abila of Josephus, in the Bible generally called Shittim. No. 45, though greatly effaced, is sufficiently preserved for us to conclude that it does not correspond to any known name in ancient Palestine beginning with Beth: the second part of the name commences with זאב, as though it were "the house of the wolf or Zeeb," which would agree with the south-eastern part of Palestine, or indicate, which is far less likely, a place named after the Midianitish prince Zeeb, or some chief of that name. No. 53 is uncertain in its third letter, which is indistinct, and we offer no conjecture. No. 54 commences with an erased sign, followed by one that is indistinct. No. 55 is doubtful as to reading: probably it is Pe-KETET. Pe can be the Egyptian article, as in the name of the Hagarites, the second sign in Egyptian signifies "little," and the remaining part corresponds to the Hebrew קְטַת, Kattath, "small," the name of a town in Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15), apparently the same as Kitron (Judg. i. 30). The word KET is found in ancient Egyptian with the sense "little" (comp. Copt. ⲕⲟⲧⲉ, De Rougé, *Étude*, p. 66). It seems, however, rare, and may be Shemitic. No. 56 is held by Dr. Brugsch to be Edom, and there is no objection to this identification but that we have no other names positively Edomite in the list. No. 57 Dr. Brugsch compares with Zalmonah, a station of the Israelites in the desert. If it be admissible to read the first letter as a Hebrew ט, this name does not seem remote from Telem and Telaim, which are probably the names of one place in the tribe of Judah. Nos. 58, 59, and 64 are not sufficiently preserved for us to venture upon any conjecture. No. 65 has been well supposed by Dr. Brugsch to be the Hebrew עֵמֶק, "a valley," with the Egyptian article prefixed, but what valley is intended it seems hopeless to conjecture: it may be a town named after a valley, like the Beth-emek mentioned in the account of the border of Asher (Josh. xix. 27). No. 66 has been reasonably identified by Dr. Brugsch with Azem, which was in the southernmost part of Judah, and is supposed to have been afterwards allotted to Simeon, in whose list an Ezem occurs. No. 85 reads ATeM-*KET*-HeT? the second part being the sign for "little" (comp. No. 55). This suggests that the use of the sign for "great" as the first character of the present name is not without significance, and that there was a great and little Azem or Ezem, perhaps distinguished in the Hebrew text by different orthography. No. 67 we cannot explain. No. 68 is unquestionably "the Hagarites," the Egyptian article being prefixed. The same name recurs Nos. 71, 77, 87, 94, 96, and 101. In the Bible we find the Hagarites to the east of Palestine, and in the classical writers they are placed along the north of Arabia. The Hagaranu or Hagar are mentioned as conquered by Sennacherib (Rawlinson's *Hdt.* i. p. 476; Oppert, *Sargonides*, p. 42). No. 69 FeTYUSHAÂ. seems

from the termination, to be a gentile name, and in form resembles Letushim, a Keturahite tribe. But this resemblance seems to be more than superficial, for Letushim, "the hammered or sharpened," comes from לָטַשׁ, "he hammered, forged," and פָּטַשׁ (unused) signifies "he bent or hammered." From the occurrence of this name near that of the Hagarites, this identification seems deserving of attention. No. 70 may perhaps be Aroer, but the correspondence of Hebrew and Egyptian scarcely allows this supposition. No. 72 commences with a sign that is frequently an initial in the rest of the list. If here syllabic, it must read MEB; if alphabetic, and its alphabetic use is possible at this period, M. In the terms used for Egyptian towns we find MER, written with the same sign, as the designation of the second town in a nome, therefore not a capital, but a town of importance. That this sign is here similarly employed seems certain from its being once followed by a geographical determinative (No. 122). We therefore read this name SARAMA, or, according to Lepsius, BARAMA. The final syllable seems to indicate a dual. We may compare the name Salma, which occurs in Ptolemy's list of the towns of Arabia Deserta, and his list of those of the interior.[f] No. 73, repeated at 75, has been compared by Dr. Brugsch with the Shephelah, or maritime plain of the Philistines. The word seems nearer to Shibboleth, "a stream," but it is unlikely that two places should have been so called, and the names among which it occurs favour the other explanation. No. 74 seems cognate to No. 87, though it is too different for us to venture upon supposing it to be another form of the same name. No. 76 has been compared by Dr. Brugsch with Berecah, "a pool," but it seems more probably the name of a tribe. No. 78 reads NAĂBAYT, and is unquestionably Nebaioth. There was a people or tribe of Nebaioth in Isaiah's time (Is. lx. 7), and this second occurrence of the name in the form of that of Ishmael's son is to be considered in reference to the supposed Chaldaean origin of the Nabathaeans. In Lepsius's copy the name is N. TAYT, the second character being unknown, and no doubt, as well as the third, incorrectly copied. The occurrence of the name immediately after that of the Hagarites is sufficient evidence in favour of Dr. Brugsch's reading, which in most cases of difference in this list is to be preferred to Lepsius's.[g] No. 79, AĂTeTMAĂ, may perhaps be compared with Tema the son of Ishmael, if we may read AATTeMAA. No. 80 we cannot explain. Nos. 81 and 82 are too much effaced for any conjecture. No. 83 we compare with the Kenites: here it is a tribe. No. 84 is also found in the list of Thothmes: here it has the Egyptian article, PeNAKBU; there it is written NeKBU (*Rev. Arch.* pp. 364, 365). It evidently corresponds to the Hebrew נֶגֶב, "the south," sometimes specially applied to the southern district of Palestine. No. 85 reads ATeM-*KeT*-HeT? The second part of the name is "little" (comp. No. 55). We have already shown that it is probably a "little" town, corresponding to the "great" town No. 66. But the final part of No. 85 remains unexplained. No. 86 we cannot explain. No. 87 differs from the other occurrences of the name of the Hagarites in being followed by the sign for MER: we therefore suppose it to be a city of this nation. No. 88 may be compared with Shen (1 Sam. vii. 12), which, however, may not be the name of a town or village, or with the two Ashnahs (Josh. xv. 33, 43). Nos. 89, 91, and 93 we cannot explain. No. 95 presents a name, repeated with slight variation in No. 99, which is evidently that of a tribe, but we cannot recognize it. No. 97 equally baffles us. No. 98 is a town TeMAM, possibly the town of Dumah in the north of Arabia or that in Judah. No. 100 is a town TRA-AĂ, which we may compare with Eddara in Arabia Deserta. No. 102 may mean a resting-place, from the root לוּן. No. 103, repeated at 105, is apparently the name of a tribe. It may be Adbeel, the name of a son of Ishmael, but the form is not close enough for us to offer this as more than a conjecture. Nos. 104 and 106 we cannot explain. No. 107 is either HAKeRMA or HAReKMA. It may be compared with Rekem or Arekeme, the old name of Petra according to Josephus (*A. J.* iv. 7), but the form is probably dual. No. 108 has been compared with Arad by Dr. Brugsch: it is a country or place, and the variation in No. 110 appears to be the name of the people. No. 109 may be Beth-lebaoth in Simeon, evidently the same as Lebaoth originally in Judah, or else Rabbah in Judah. No. 111 we cannot explain. No. 112 is most like the Jerahmeelites in the south of Judah. No. 116 is partly effaced. No. 117 is the same name as No. 100. No. 118 is probably the name of an unknown tribe. No. 119 may be Maachah, if the geographical direction is changed. No. 120 is partly effaced. No. 121 we cannot explain. No. 122 appears to be a town of BARA or BALA. No. 123 seems to read BAR-RATA, (בעל ראזא), but we know no place of that name. No. 124 reads BAT-AĂT, but there can be little doubt that it is really BAT-ANAT. In this case it might be either Beth-anath in Naphtali or Beth-anoth in Judah. No. 125 we cannot explain. No. 126 appears to commence with Aram, but the rest does not correspond to any distinctive word known to follow this name. No. 127 has been identified by Dr. Brugsch with Golan, a Levitical city in Bashan. The remaining names are more or less effaced.

It will be perceived that the list contains three classes of names mainly grouped together—(1) Levitical and Canaanite cities of Israel; (2) cities of Judah; and (3) Arab tribes to the south of Palestine. The occurrence together of Levitical cities was observed by Dr. Brugsch. It is evident that Jeroboam was not at once firmly established, and that the Levites especially held to Rehoboam. Therefore it may have been the policy of Jeroboam to employ Shishak to capture their cities. Other cities in his territory were perhaps still garrisoned by Rehoboam's forces, or held by the Canaanites, who may have somewhat recovered their independence at this period. The small number of cities identified in the actual territory of Reho-

[f] We were disposed to think that this might be Jerusalem, especially on account of the dual termination; but the impossibility of reading the first character ATUR or AUR (יאר), as an ideographic sign for "river," to say nothing of the doubt as to the second character, makes us reject this reading; and the position in the list is unsuitable. The Rev. D. Haigh has learnedly supported this view, at which he independently arrived, in a correspondence.

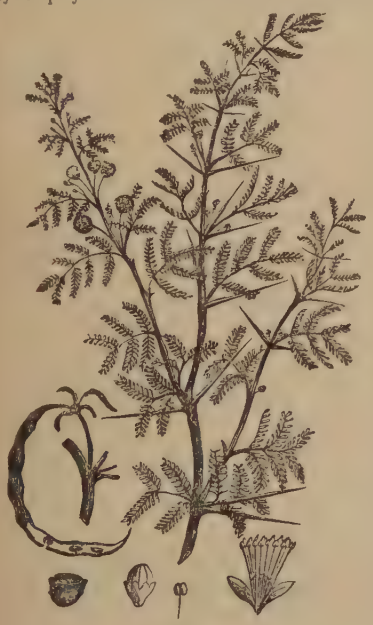
[g] Lepsius's copy presents many errors of carelessness.

beam is explained by the erasure of fourteen names of the part of the list where they occur. The identification of some names of Arab tribes is of great interest and historical value, though it is to be feared that further progress can scarcely be made in their part of the list.

The Pharaohs of the Empire passed through northern Palestine to push their conquests to the Euphrates and Mesopotamia. Shishak, probably unable to attack the Assyrians, attempted the subjugation of Palestine and the tracts of Arabia which border Egypt, knowing that the Arabs would interpose an effectual resistance to any invader of Egypt. He seems to have succeeded in consolidating his power in Arabia, and we accordingly find Zerah in alliance with the people of Gerar, if we may infer this from their sharing his overthrow. [R. S. P.]

SHITRA'I (שִׁטְרַי; *Keri*, שִׁרְטַי: Σατραΐ: *Setraï*). A Sharonite who was over David's herds that fed in Sharon (1 Chr. xxvii. 29).

SHITTAH-TREE, SHITTIM (שִׁטָּה, *shittâh*: ξύλον ἀσηπτον: *ligna setim, spina*) is without doubt correctly referred to some species of *Acacia*, of which three or four kinds occur in the Bible lands. The wood of this tree—perhaps the *A. Seyal* is more definitely signified—was extensively employed in the construction of the tabernacle, the boards and pillars of which were made of it; the ark of the covenant and the staves for carrying it, the table of shew-bread with its staves, the altar of burnt-offerings and the altar of incense with their respective staves were also constructed out of this wood (see Ex. xxv., xxvi., xxxvi., xxxvii., xxxviii.). In Is. xli. 19 the Acacia tree is mentioned with the "cedar, the myrtle, and the oil-tree," as one which God would plant in the wilderness. The Egyptian name of the *Acacia* is *sont*, *sant*, or *santh*: see Jablonski, *Opusc.* i. p. 261; Rossius, *Etymol. Aegyp.* p. 273; and Prosper Alpinus (*Plant. Aegypt.* p. 6), who thus speaks of this tree: "The acacia, which the Egyptians call *Sant*, grows in localities in Egypt remote from the sea; and large quantities of this tree are produced on the mountains of Sinai, overhanging the Red Sea. That this tree is, without doubt, the true acacia of the ancients, or the Egyptian thorn, is clear from several indications, especially from the fact that no other spinous tree occurs in Egypt which so well answers to the required characters. These trees grow to the size of a mulberry tree, and spread their branches aloft." "The wild acacia (*Mimosa Nilotica*), under the name of *Sûnt*," says Prof. Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 20), "everywhere represents the 'seneh or 'senna' of the Burning Bush." The Heb. term (שִׁטָּה) is, by Jablonski, Celsius, and many other authors, derived from the Egyptian word, the ב being dropped; and, from an Arabic MSS. cited by Celsius, it appears that the Arabic term also comes from the Egyptian, the true Arabic name for the acacia being *Karadh* (*Hierob.* i. p. 508).



Acacia Seyal.

The *Shittâh tree* of Scripture is by some writers thought to refer more especially to the *Acacia Seyal*, though perhaps the *Acacia Nilotica* and *A. Arabica* may be included under the term. The *A. Seyal* is very common in some parts of the peninsula of Sinai (M. Bové, *Voyage du Caire au Mont Sinaï*, *Ann. des Scienc. Nat.* 1834, i., sec. ser. p. 166; Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 20, 69, 298). These trees are more common in Arabia than in Palestine, though there is a valley on the west side of the Dead Sea, the *Wady Seyâl*, which derives its name from a few acacia trees there. The *Acacia Seyal*, like the *A. arabica*, yields the well-known substance called gum arabic which is obtained by incisions in the bark, but it is impossible to say whether the ancient Jews were acquainted with its use. From the tangled thickets into which the stem of this tree expands, Stanley well remarks that hence is to be traced the use of the plural form of the Heb. noun, *Shittîm*, the sing. number occurring but once only in the Bible.[a] Besides the *Acacia Seyal*, there is another species, the *A. tortilis*, common on Mt. Sinai. Although none of the above-named trees are sufficiently large to yield plants 10 cubits long by 1½ cubit wide, which we are told was the size of the boards that formed the tabernacle (Ex. xxxvi. 21), yet there is an acacia that grows near Cairo, viz. the *A. Serissa*, which would supply boards of the required size. There is, however, no evidence to show that this tree ever grew in the peninsula of Sinai. And though it would be unfair to draw any conclusion from such negative evidence, still it is probable that "the boards" (הַקְּרָשִׁים) were supplied by one of the other acacias. There is, however, no necessity to limit the meaning of the Hebrew קֶרֶשׁ (*keresh*) to "a *single* plank." In Ez. xxvii. 6 the same word, in the singular number, is applied in a collective sense to "the deck" of a ship (comp. our "on board"). The *keresh* of the tabernacle, therefore,

[a] Livingstone (*Trav. in S. Africa*, abridged ed., p. 77) thinks the *Acacia giraffa* (Camel-thorn) supplied the wood for the Tabernacle, &c. "It is," he adds, "an imperishable wood, while that which is usually supposed to be the Shittim (*Acacia Nilotica*) wants beauty and soon decays."

may denote "two or more boards joined together,' which, from being thus united, may have been expressed by a singular noun. These acacias, which are for the most part tropical plants, must not be confounded with the tree (*Robinia pseudo-acacia*) popularly known by this name in England, which is a North American plant, and belongs to a different genus and sub-order. The true acacias, most of which possess hard and durable wood (comp. Pliny, *H. N.* xiii. 19; Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 6. §1), belong to the order *Leguminosae*, sub-order *Mimoseae*. [W. H.]

SHIT'TIM (הַשִּׁטִּים, with the def. article: Σαττείν; in the Prophets, τὰ σχοῖνα: *Settim, Abel-settim*). The place of Israel's encampment between the conquest of the Transjordanic highlands and the passage of the Jordan (Num. xxxiii. 49, xxv. 1; Josh. ii. 1, iii. 1; Mic. vi. 5). Its full name appears to be given in the first of these passages—Abel has-Shittim—"the meadow, or moist place, of the acacias." It was "in the Arboth-Moab, by Jordan-Jericho:" such is the ancient formula repeated over and over again (Num. xxii. 1, xxvi. 3, xxxi. 12, xxxiii. 48, 49). That is to say, it was in the Arabah or Jordan Valley, opposite Jericho, at that part of the Arabah which belonged to and bore the name of Moab, where the streams which descend from the eastern mountains and force their winding way through the sandy soil of the plain, nourished a vast growth of the *Seyal*, *Sunt*, and *Sidr* trees, such as is nourished by the streams of the Wady Kelt and the Ain Sultán on the opposite side of the river.

It was in the shade and the tropical heat of these acacia-groves that the people were seduced to the licentious rites of Baal-Peor by the Midianites; but it was from the same spot that Moses sent forth the army, under the fierce Phinehas, which worked so fearful a retribution for that licence (xxxi. 1-12). It was from the camp at Shittim that Joshua sent out the spies across the river to Jericho (Josh. ii. 1).

The Nachal-Shittim, or *Wady-Sunt*, as it would now be called, of Joel (iii. 18), can hardly be the same spot as that described above, but there is nothing to give a clue to its position. [G.]

SHI'ZA (שִׁיזָא: Σαιζά; Alex. Ἐζά: *Siza*). A Reubenite, father of Adina, one of David's mighty men (1 Chr. xi. 42).

SHO'A (שׁוֹעַ: Σουέ; Alex. Σούδ: *tyranni*). A proper name which occurs only in Ez. xxiii. 23, in connexion with Pekod and Koa. The three apparently designate districts of Assyria with which the southern kingdom of Judah had been intimately connected, and which were to be arrayed against it for punishment. The Peshito-Syriac has *Lûd*, that is Lydia; while the Arabic of the London Polyglott has *Sût*, and *Lûd* occupies the place of Koa. Rashi remarks on the three words, "The interpreters say that they signify officers, princes, and rulers." This rendering must have been traditional at the time of Aquila (ἐπισκέπτης καὶ τύραννος καὶ κορυφαῖος) and Jerome (*nobiles tyranni et principes*). Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1208 *a*) maintains that the context requires the words to be taken as appellatives, and not as proper names; and Fürst, on the same ground, maintains the contrary (*Handwb.* s. v. קוֹעַ). Those who take Shoa as an appellative refer to the usage of the word in Job xxxiv. 19 (A. V. "rich") and Is. xxxii. 5 (A. V. "bountiful"), where it signifies rich, liberal, and stands in the latter passage in parallelism with נָדִיב, *nâdîb*, by which Kimchi explains it, and which is elsewhere rendered in the A. V. "prince" (Prov. xvii. 7) and "noble" (Prov. viii. 16). But a consideration of the latter part of the verse Ez. xxiii. 23, where the captains and rulers of the Assyrians are distinctly mentioned, and the fondness which Ezekiel elsewhere shows for playing upon the sound of proper names (as in xxvii. 10, xxx. 5), lead to the conclusion that in this case Pekod, Shoa, and Koa are proper names also; but nothing further can be said. The only name which has been found at all resembling Shoa is that of a town in Assyria mentioned by Pliny, "*Sue* in rupibus," near Gangamela, and west of the Orontes mountain chain. Bochart (*Phaleg*, iv. 9) derives Sue from the Chaldee שׁוּעָא, *shu'â*, a rock. [W. A. W.]

SHO'BAB (שׁוֹבָב: Σωβάβ; Alex. Σωβαδάν in Sam.: *Sobab*). 1. Son of David by Bathsheba (2 Sam. v. 14; 1 Chr. iii. 5, xiv. 4).

2. (Σουβάβ; Alex. Σωβάβ). Apparently the son of Caleb the son of Hezron by his wife Azubah (1 Chr. ii. 18). But the passage is corrupt.

SHO'BACH (שׁוֹבַךְ: Σωβακ; Alex. Χαβάχ, 2 Sam. x. 16: *Sobach*). The general of Hadarezer king of the Syrians of Zoba, who was in command of the army which was summoned from beyond the Euphrates against the Hebrews, after the defeat of the combined forces of Syria and the Ammonites before the gates of Rabbah. He was met by David in person, who crossed the Jordan and attacked him at Helam. The battle resulted in the total defeat of the Syrians. Shobach was wounded, and died on the field (2 Sam. x. 15-18). In 1 Chr. xix. 16, 18 he is called SHOPHACH, and by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 6, §3) Σάβεκος.

SHOBA'I (שֹׁבָי: Σωβαΐ, Σαβί; Alex. Σαβαΐ in Neh.: *Sohaï*, *Sobaï*). The children of Shobai were a family of the doorkeepers of the Temple, who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 42; Neh. vii. 45). Called SAMI in 1 Esdr. v. 28.

SHO'BAL (שׁוֹבָל: Σωβάλ: *Sobal*). 1. The second son of Seir the Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 20; 1 Chr. i. 38), and one of the "dukes" or phylarchs of the Horites (Gen. xxxvi. 29). [E. S. P.]

2. Son of Caleb the son of Hur, and founder or prince of Kirjath-jearim (1 Chr. ii. 50, 52).

3. (Σουβάλ.) In 1 Chr. iv. 1, 2, Shobal appears with Hur among the sons of Judah, and as the father of Reaiah. He is possibly the same as the preceding, in which case Reaiah may be identical with Haroeh, the two names in Hebrew being not very unlike.

SHO'BEK (שׁוֹבֵק: Σωβήκ: *Sobec*). One of the heads of the people who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 24).

SHO'BI (שׁוֹבִי: Οὐεσβί; Alex. Οὐεσβεί: *Sobi*). Son of Nahash of Rabbah of the children of Ammon (2 Sam. xvii. 27). He was one of the first to meet David at Mahanaim on his flight from Absalom, and to offer him the hospitality of a powerful and wealthy chief, for he was the son of David's old friend Nahash, and the bond between them was strong enough to survive on the one hand the insults of Hanun, and on the other the conquest and destruction of Rabbah. Josephus calls him Siphar (*Ant.* vii. 9, §8), "chief (δυνάστης) of the Ammonite country."

SHO'CO (שׂוֹכוֹ: τὴν Σοκχώθ; and so Alex.: *Socho*), 2 Chr. xi. 7. A variation of the name SOCCH, unnecessarily increased in the A. V. by the substitution of *Sh* for the *S* of the original.

SHO'CHO (שׂוֹכוֹ: τὴν Σωχώ: *Socho*), 2 Chr. xxviii. 18. One of the four varieties of the name SOCOH. In this case also the discrepancies in the A. V. are needlessly multiplied by *Sh* being substituted for *S* and *ch* for *c* of the original.

SHO'CHOH (שׂוֹכֹה: Σοκχώθ; Alex. οκχω and σοκχω: *Soccho*), 1 Sam. xvii. 1. This, like SHOCHO, SOCHOH, and SHOCO, is an incorrect variation of the name SOCOH.

SHO'HAM (שׁוֹהָם: Ἰσοάμ; Alex. Ἰσσοάμ: *Soam*). A Merarite Levite, son of Jaaziah (1 Chr. xxiv. 27).

SHOE. [SANDAL.]

SHO'MER (שׁוֹמֵר: Σωμήρ: *Somer*). **1.** A man of the tribe of Asher (1 Chr. vii. 32), who is also called Shamer (ver. 34).

2. The father of Jehozabad, who slew King Joash (2 K. xii. 21): in the parallel passage in 2 Chr. xxiv. 26, the name is converted into the feminine form Shimrith, who is further described as a Moabitess. This variation may have originated in the dubious gender of the preceding name Shimeath, which is also made feminine by the Chronicler. [W. L. B.]

SHO'PHACH (שׁוֹפָךְ: Σωφάθ; Alex. Σωφάχ, Σωβάχ: *Sophach*). SHOBACH, the general of Hadarezer (1 Chr. xix. 16, 18).

SHO'PHAN (שׁוֹפָן; Samar. שפים: τὴν Σοφάρ: *Sophan*). One of the fortified towns on the east of Jordan which were taken possession of and rebuilt by the tribe of Gad (Num. xxxii. 35). It is probably an affix to the second Atroth, to distinguish it from the former one, not an independent place. No name resembling it has yet been met with in that locality. [G.]

SHOSHAN'NIM. "To the chief musician upon Shoshannim" is a musical direction to the leader of the Temple-choir which occurs in Pss. xlv., lxix., and most probably indicates the melody "after" or "in the manner of" (עַל, *'al*, A. V. "upon") which the Psalms were to be sung. As "Shoshannim" literally signifies "lilies," it has been suggested that the word denotes lily-shaped instruments of music (Simonis, *Lex.* s. v.), perhaps cymbals, and this view appears to be adopted by De Wette (*Die Psalmen*, p. 34). Hengstenberg gives to it an enigmatical interpretation, as indicating "the subject or subjects treated, as *lilies* figuratively for *bride* in xlv.; the delightful consolations and deliverances experienced in lxix., etc." (Davidson, *Introd.* ii. 246); which Dr. Davidson very truly characterises as "a most improbable fancy." The LXX. and Vulgate have in both Psalms ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων and *pro iis qui immutabuntur* respectively, reading apparently עַל שְׁשַׁנִּים for עַל שֹׁשַׁנִּים. Ben Zeb (*Otsar Hashshor*. s. v.) regards it as an instrument of psalmody, and Junius and Tremellius, after Kimchi, render it "hexachorda," an instrument with six strings, referring it to the root *shêsh*, "six," and this is approved by Eichhorn in his edition of Simonis. [W. A. W.]

SHOSHAN'NIM-E'DUTH. In the title of Ps. lxxx. is found the direction "to the chief musician upon Shoshannim-eduth" (עַל שֹׁשַׁנִּים עֵדוּת), which appears, according to the most probable conjecture, to denote the melody or air "after" or "in the manner of" which the Psalm was to be sung. As the words now stand they signify "lilies, a testimony," and the two are separated by a large distinctive accent. In themselves they have no meaning in the present text, and must therefore be regarded as probably a fragment of the beginning of an older Psalm with which the choir were familiar. Ewald gives what he considers the original meaning—"'lilies,' that is, pure, innocent is 'the Law;'" but the words will not bear this interpretation, nor is it possible in their present position to assign to them any intelligible sense. For the conjectures of those who regard the words as the names of musical instruments, see the articles SHOSHANNIM, SHUSHAN-EDUTH. [W. A. W.]

SHU'A (שׁוּעַ: Σαύα: *Sue*). A Canaanite of Adullam, father of Judah's wife (1 Chr. ii. 3), who was hence called Bath-Shua. In the LXX. of Gen. xxxviii. 2, Shua is wrongly made to be the name of the daughter. [BATH-SHUA.]

SHU'AH (שׁוּחַ: Σωϊέ, Σωέ; Alex. Σωνέ: *Sue*). **1.** Son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2; 1 Chr. i. 32).

2. (שׁוּחָה: Ἀσχά: *Sua*.) Properly "Shuchah." The name Shuah occurs among the descendants of Judah as that of the brother of Chelub (1 Chr. iv. 11). For "Chelub the brother of Shuah," the LXX. read "Caleb the father of Achsah." In ten of Kennicott's and De Rossi's MSS. Shuah is made the son of Chelub.

3. (שׁוּעַ: Σανέ: *Sue*). The father of Judah's wife, the Canaanitess (Gen. xxxviii. 2, 12); also called SHUA in the A. V. The LXX. make Shuan the name of the woman in both instances.

SHU'AL (שׁוּעָל: Σουλά; Alex. Σουαλ: *Sual*). Son of Zophah, an Asherite (1 Chr. vii. 36).

SHU'AL, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ שׁוּעָל: γῆ Σωγάλ; Alex. is lost: *terra Sual*). A district named only in 1 Sam. xiii. 17, to denote the direction taken by one of the three parties of marauders who issued from the Philistine camp at Michmash. Its connexion with Ophrah (probably *Taiyibeh*) and the direction of the two other routes named in the passage make it pretty certain that the land of Shual lay north of Michmash. If therefore it be identical with the "land of Shalim" (1 Sam. ix. 4)—as is not impossible—we obtain the first and only clue yet obtained to Saul's journey in quest of the asses. The name *Shual* has not yet been identified in the neighbourhood of *Taiyibeh* or elsewhere. It may have originated in the Hebrew significant of the word—"jackal;" in which case it would be appropriate enough to the wild desolate region east of *Taiyibeh*; a region containing a valley or ravine at no great distance from *Taiyibeh* which bore and perhaps still bears the name of "Hyaenas." [ZEBOIM, VALLEY OF.] Others (as Thenius, in *Exeg. Handb.*) derive the name from a different root, and interpret it as "hollow land." [G.]

SHU'BAEL (שׁוּבָאֵל: Σωβαήλ; Alex. Σουβαήλ: *Subaël*). **1.** SHEBUEL the son of Gershom (1 Chr. xxiv. 20).

2. (Σουβαήλ.) SHEBUEL the son of Heman the minstrel (1 Chr. xxv. 20).

SHU'HAM (שׁוּחָם: Σαμέ; Alex. Σαμειδή: *Suham*). Son of Dan, and ancestor of the SHUHAMITES (Num. xxvi. 42). In Gen. xlvi. 23 he is called HUSHIM.

SHU'HAMITES, THE (הַשּׁוּחָמִי: ὁ Σαμεί; Alex. Σαμειδηί, Σαμεί: *Suhamitae, Suamitae*). The descendants of Shuham, or Hushim, the son of Dan (Num. xxvi. 42, 43). In the census taken in the plains of Moab they numbered 4460.

SHU'HITE (שׁוּחִי: Σαυχεύς: *Suhites*). This ethnic appellative "Shuhite" is frequent in the Book of Job, but only as the epithet of one person, Bildad The local indications of the Book of Job point to a region on the western side of Chaldaea, bordering on Arabia; and exactly in this locality, above Hit and on both sides of the Euphrates, are found, in the Assyrian inscriptions, the *Tsukhi*, a powerful people. It is probable that these were the Shuhites, and that, having been conquered by the Babylonian kings, they were counted by Ezekiel among the tribes of the Chaldaeans. Having lost their independence, they ceased to be noticed; but it was no doubt from them that the country on the Euphrates immediately above Babylonia came to be designated as *Sohene*, a term applied to it in the Peutingerian Tables. The Shuhites appear to have been descendants of Abraham by Keturah. [SHUAH, 1.] [G. R.]

SHU'LAMITE, THE (הַשּׁוּלַמִּית, *i. e.* the Shulammite: ἡ Σουμανεῖτις; Alex. ἡ Σουλαμῖτις: *Sulamitis* and *Sunamitis*). One of the personages in the poem of Solomon's Song, who, although named only in one passage (vi. 13), is, according to some interpreters, the most prominent of all the characters. The name—after the analogy of Shunammite—denotes a woman belonging to a place called Shulem. The only place bearing that name, of which we have any knowledge, is Shunem itself, which, as far back as the 4th century, was so called (Eusebius, quoted under SHUNEM). In fact there is good ground for believing that the two were identical. Since, then, Shulammite and Shunammite are equivalent, there is nothing surely extravagant in supposing that the Shunammite who was the object of Solomon's passion was Abishag,—the most lovely girl of her day, and at the time of David's death one of the most prominent persons at the court of Jerusalem. This would be equally appropriate, whether Solomon was himself the author of the Song, or it were written by another person whose object was to personate him accurately. For the light which it throws on the circumstances of Solomon's accession, see SOLOMON. [G.]

SHU'MATHITES, THE (הַשְּׁמָתִי, *i. e.* the Shumathite: Ἡσμαθείμ: *Semathei*). One of the four families who sprang from Kirjath-jearim (1 Chr. ii. 53). They probably colonised a village named Shumah somewhere in that neighbourhood. But no trace of such a name has been discovered. [G.]

SHU'NAMMITE, THE (הַשּׁוּנַמִּית[a]: ἡ Σωμανεῖτις; Alex. Σουμανιτις: *Sunamitis*), *i. e.* the native of Shunem, as is plain from 2 K. iv. 1. It is applied to two persons:—Abishag, the nurse of King David (1 K. i. [b]3, 15, ii. 17, 21, 22), and the nameless hostess of Elisha (2 K. iv. 12, 25, 36).

The modern representative of Shunem being *Solam*, some have suggested (as Gesenius, *Thes.* 1379 *b*), or positively affirmed (as Fürst, *Handwb.* ii. 422), that Shunammite is identical with Shulammite (Cant. vi. 13). Of this all that can be said is, that though highly probable, it is not absolutely certain. [G.]

SHU'NEM (שׁוּנֵם[c]: Σουναν[d]: *Sunem, Sunam*) One of the cities allotted to the tribe of Issachar (Josh. xix. 18). It occurs in the list between Chesulloth and Haphraim. It is mentioned on two occasions. First as the place of the Philistines' first encampment before the battle of Gilboa (1 Sam. xxviii. 4). Here it occurs in connexion with Mount Gilboa and En-dor, and also probably with Jezreel (xxix. 1). Secondly, as the scene of Elisha's intercourse with the Shunammite woman and her son (2 K. iv. 8). Here it is connected with adjacent corn-fields, and, more remotely, with Mount Carmel. It was besides the native place of Abishag, the attendant on King David (1 K. i. 3), and possibly the heroine of the poem or drama of "Solomon's Song."

By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) it is mentioned twice: under Σουβήμ and "Sunem," as 5 miles south of Mount Tabor, and then known as Sulem: and, under "Sonam," as a village in Acrabattine in the territory of Sebaste called Sanim. The latter of these two identifications probably refers to *Sanûr* a well-known fortress some 7 miles from *Sebastiyeh* and 4 from *Arrabeh*—a spot completely out of the circle of the associations which connect themselves with Shunem. The other has more in its favour, since—except for the distance from Mount Tabor, which is nearer 8 Roman miles than 5—it agrees with the position of the present *Solam*, a village on the S.W. flank of *Jebel Duhy* (the so-called "Little Hermon"), 3 miles N. of Jezreel, 5 from Gilboa (*J. Fukua*), full in view of the sacred spot on Mount Carmel, and situated in the midst of the finest corn-fields in the world.

It is named, as Salem, by the Jewish traveller hap-Parchi (Asher's *Benjamin*, ii. 431). It had then its spring, without which the Philistines would certainly not have chosen it for their encampment. Now, according to the notice of Dr. Robinson (ii 324), the spring of the village is but a poor one.

The change of the *n* in the ancient name to *l* in the modern one, is the reverse of that which has taken place in *Zerin* (Jezreel) and *Beitin* (Bethel). [G.]

SHU'NI (שׁוּנִי: Σαννίς, Σουνί; Alex. Σαυνίς in Gen.: *Suni*). Son of Gad, and founder of the family of the Shunites (Gen. xlvi. 16; Num. xxvi. 15).

SHU'NITES, THE (הַשּׁוּנִי: ὁ Σουνί: *Sunitae*). Descendants of Shuni the son of Gad (Num. xxvi. 15).

SHU'PHAM. [SHUPPIM.]

SHU'PHAMITES, THE (הַשּׁוּפָמִי: ὁ Σωφανί: *Suphamitae*). The descendants of Shupham or Shephupham, the Benjamite (Num. xxvi. 39).

SHUP'PIM (שֻׁפָּם, שֻׁפִּים: Σαφείν; Alex. Σαφείμ, Σεφφείμ: *Sepham, Saphan*). In the genealogy of Benjamin "Shuppim and Huppim, the children of Ir," are reckoned in 1 Chr. vii. 12. Ir is the same as Iri the son of Bela the son of Benjamin, so that Shuppim was the great-grandson of Benjamin. In Num. xxvi. 39, he and his brother

[a] In 1 K. ii. 21, 22, the shorter form of הַשֻּׁנַמִּית is used.

[b] The A. V. is here incorrect in omitting the definite article.

[c] Perhaps contracted from שׁוּנִים (Gesenius, *Thes.* 1379 *b*).

[d] It is given differently on each occurrence in each of the two great Codices:—Vat. (Mai), Σουνάν, Σωμάι, Σουμάν; Alex., Σουναμ, Γωταμαν, Σιωμαμ.

are called Shupham, and Hupham, while in 1 Chr. viii. 5 they appear as Shephuphan and Huram, sons of Bela, and in Gen. xlvi. 21 as Muppim and Huppim, sons of Benjamin. To avoid the difficulty of supposing that Benjamin had a great-grandson at the time he went down to Egypt, Lord A. Hervey conjectures that Shuppim or Shephuphan was a son of Benjamin, whose family was reckoned with that of Ir or Iri. [MUPPIM.]

SHUR (שׁוּר: Σούρ, Γελαμψούρ: *Sur*), a place just without the eastern border of Egypt. Its name, if Hebrew or Arabic, signifies "a wall," and there can be little doubt that it is of Shemitic origin from the position of the place. The LXX. seems to have thus interpreted it, if we may judge from the obscure rendering of 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, where it must be remarked the extraordinary form Γελαμψούρ is found. This word is evidently a transcription of the words שׁוּרָה . . . מֵעוֹלָם, the former, save the initial particle, not being translated.

Shur is first mentioned in the narrative of Hagar's flight from Sarah. Abraham was then in southernmost Palestine, and when Hagar fled she was found by an angel "by the fountain in the way to Shur" (Gen. xvi. 7). Probably she was endeavouring to return to Egypt, the country of her birth—she may not have been a pure Egyptian—and had reached a well in the inland caravan route. Abraham afterwards "dwelled between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned in Gerar" (xx. 1). From this it would seem either that Shur lay in the territory of the Philistines of Gerar, or that this pastoral tribe wandered in a region extending from Kadesh to Shur. [GERAR.] In neither case can we ascertain the position of Shur. The first clear indication of this occurs in the account of Ishmael's posterity. "And they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that [is] before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria" (xxv. 18). With this should be compared the mention of the extent of the Amalekite territory, given in this passage, "And Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah [until] thou comest to Shur, that [is] over against Egypt" (1 Sam. xv. 7). It is also important to notice that the Geshurites, Gezrites, and Amalekites, whom David smote, are described as "from an ancient period the inhabitants of the land, as thou comest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt" (xxvii. 8). The Wilderness of Shur was entered by the Israelites after they had crossed the Red Sea (Ex. xv. 22, 23). It was also called the Wilderness of Etham (Num. xxxiii. 8). The first passage presents one difficulty, upon which the LXX. and Vulg. throw no light, in the mention of Assyria. If, however, we compare it with later places, we find בְּאָכָה אַשּׁוּרָה here, remarkably like בּוֹאֲךָ שׁוּרָה in 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, and בּוֹאֲךָ שׁוּר in xv. 7, as though the same phrase had been originally found in the first as a gloss, but it may have been there transposed, and have originally followed the mention of Havilah. In the notices of the Amalekite and Ishmaelite region, in which the latter succeeded the former, there can be no question that a strip of northern Arabia is intended, stretching from the Isthmus of Suez towards and probably to the Persian Gulf. The name of the wilderness may perhaps indicate a somewhat southern position. Shur may thus have been a fortified town east of the ancient head of the Red Sea, but in the hands of the Arabs, or at one time the Philistines, not of the Egyptians. From its being spoken of as a limit, it was probably the last Arabian town before entering Egypt. The hieroglyphic inscriptions have not been found to throw any light upon this question. The SHARA or SHALA mentioned in them is an important country, perhaps Syria. [R. S. P.]

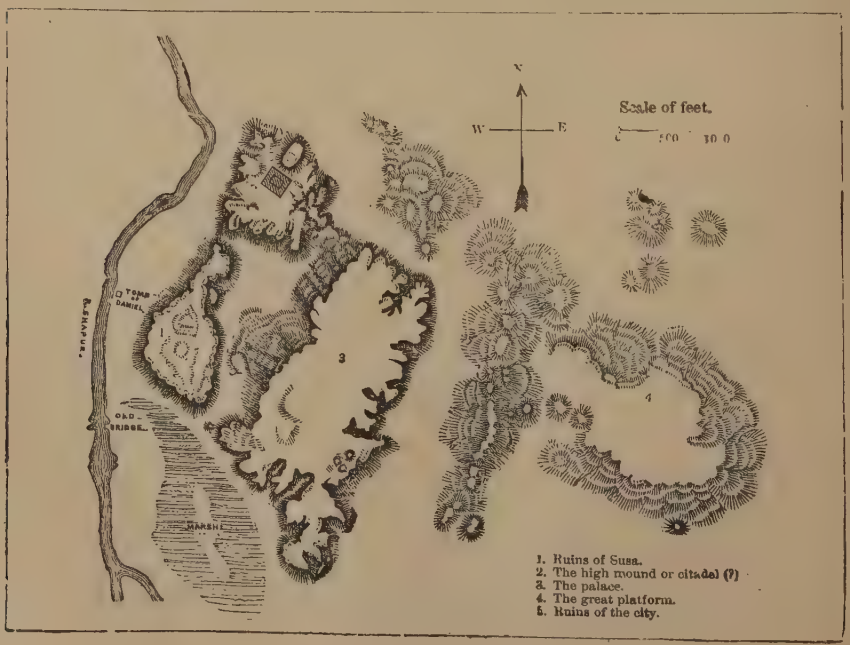
SHUSHAN (שׁוּשַׁן: Σοῦσα: *Susa*) is said to have received its name from the abundance of the lily (*Shúshan* or *Shúshanah*) in its neighbourhood (Athen. xii. 513). It was one of the most important towns in the whole East, and requires to be described at some length.

1. *History.*—Susa was originally the capital of the country called in Scripture Elam, and by the classical writers, sometimes Cissia (Κισσία), sometimes Susis or Susiana. [ELAM.] Its foundation is thought to date from a time anterior to Chedorlaomer, as the remains found on the site have often a character of very high antiquity. The first distinct mention of the town that has been as yet found is in the inscriptions of *Asshur-bani-pal*, the son and successor of Esar-Haddon, who states that he took the place, and exhibits a ground-plan of it upon his sculptures (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* pp 452, 453). The date of this monument is about B.C. 660. We next find Susa in the possession of the Babylonians, to whom Elam had probably passed at the division of the Assyrian empire made by Cyaxares and Nabopolassar. In the last year of Belshazzar (B.C. 538), Daniel, while still a Babylonian subject, is there on the king's business, and "at Shushan in the palace" sees his famous vision of the ram and he-goat (Dan. viii. 2). The conquest of Babylon by Cyrus transferred Susa to the Persian dominion; and it was not long before the Achaemenian princes determined to make it the capital of their whole empire, and the chief place of their own residence. According to some writers (Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6, §22; Strab. xv. 3, §2), the change was made by Cyrus; according to others (Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §9; Herod. iii. 30, 65, 70), it had at any rate taken place before the death of Cambyses; but, according to the evidence of the place itself and of the other Achaemenian monuments, it would seem most probable that the transfer was really the work of Darius Hystaspis, who is found to have been (as Pliny said, *H. N.* vi. 27) the founder of the great palace there—the building so graphically described in the book of Esther (i. 5, 6). The reasons which induced the change are tolerably apparent. After the conquest of Babylonia and Egypt, the western provinces of the empire were become by far the most important, and the Court could no longer be conveniently fixed east of Zagros, either at Ecbatana (*Hamadan*) or at Pasargadae (*Murgaub*), which were cut off from the Mesopotamian plain by the difficulty of the passes for fully one half of the year.[a] It was necessary to find a capital west of the mountains, and here Babylon and Susa presented themselves, each with its peculiar advantages. Darius probably preferred Susa, first, on account of its vicinity to Persia (Strab. xv. 3, §2); secondly, because it was cooler than Babylon, being nearer the mountain-chain; and thirdly, because of the excellence of the water there (*Geograph. Journ.* ix. 70). Susa accordingly became the metropolis of Persia, and is recognised as such by Aeschylus (*Pers.* 16, 124, &c.),

[a] Not only were the passes difficult, but they were in the possession of semi-independent tribes, who levied a toll on all passengers, even the Persian kings themselves (Strab. xv. 3. §4).

Herodotus (v. 25, 49. &c.), Ctesias (*Pers. Exc.* passim), Strabo (xv. 3, §2), and almost all the best writers. The Court must have resided there during the greater part of the year, only quitting it regularly for Ecbatana or Persepolis in the height of summer, and perhaps sometimes leaving it for Babylon in the depth of winter (see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, iii. 256). Susa retained its pre-eminence to the period of the Macedonian conquest, when Alexander found there above twelve millions sterling, and all the regalia of the Great King (Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 16). After this it declined. The preference of Alexander for Babylon caused the neglect of Susa by his successors, none of whom ever made it their capital city. We hear of it once only in their wars, when it falls into the power of Antigonus (B.C. 315), who obtains treasure there to the amount of three millions and a half of our money (Diod. Sic. xix. 48, §7). Nearly a century later (B.C. 221) Susa was attacked by Molo in his rebellion against Antiochus the Great; he took the town, but failed in his attempt upon the citadel (Polyb. v. 48, §14). We hear of it again at the time of the Arabian conquest of Persia, when it was bravely defended by Hormuzan (Loftus, *Chaldaea and Susiana*, p. 344).

2. *Position, &c.*—A good deal of uncertainty has existed concerning the position of Susa. While most historians and comparative geographers have inclined to identify it with the modern *Sus* or *Shusn*, which is in lat. 32° 10′, long. 48° 26′ E. from Greenwich, between the Shapur and the river of Dizful, there have not been wanting some to maintain the rival claims of *Shuster*, which is situated on the left bank of the Kuran, more than half a degree further to the eastward. A third candidate for the honour has even been started, and it has been maintained with much learning and ingenuity that *Susan*, on the right bank of the same stream, 50 or 60 miles above *Shuster*, is, if not the Susa of the Greeks and Romans, at any rate the Shushan of Scripture (*Geogr. Journ.* ix. 85). But a careful examination of these several spots has finally caused a general acquiescence in the belief that *Sus* alone is entitled to the honour of representing at once the Scriptural Shushan and the Susa of the classical writers (see Loftus, *Chaldaea and Susiana*, p. 338; Smith, *Dictionary of Geography*, sub voc.; Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, iii. 254). The difficulties caused by the seemingly confused accounts of the ancient writers, of whom some place Susa on the Choaspes (Herod. v. 49, 52; Strab. xv. 3, §4; Q. Curt. v. 2), some on the Eulaeus (Arr. *Exp. Al.* vii. 7; Ptol. vi. 3; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 27), have been removed by a careful survey of the ground, from which it appears that the Choaspes (*Kerkhah*) originally bifurcated at *Pai Pul*, 20 miles above Susa, the right arm keeping its present course, while the left flowed a little to the *east* of Sus, and, absorbing the Shapur about 12 miles below the ruins, flowed on somewhat east of south, and joined the *Karun* (Pasitigris) at *Ahwaz*. The left branch of the Choaspes was sometimes called by that name, but more properly bore the appellation of Eulaeus (Ulai of Daniel). Susa thus lay between the two streams of the Eulaeus and the Shapur, the latter of which, being probably joined to the Eulaeus by canals, was reckoned a part of it; and hence Pliny said that the Eulaeus *surrounded* the citadel of Susa (*l. s. c.*). At the distance of a few miles east and west of the city were two other streams—the Coprates or river of Dizful, and the right arm of the Choaspes (the modern *Kerkhah*). Thus the country about Susa was most abundantly watered; and hence the luxuriance and fertility remarked alike by ancient and modern authors (Athen. xii. 513; *Geograph. Journ.* ix. 71). The *Kerkhah* water was moreover regarded as of peculiar excellence; it was the only water drunk by the Great King, and was always carried with him on his

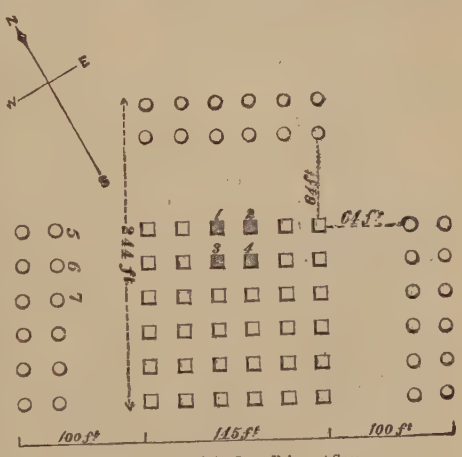


No. I. Plan of the Ruins of Susa.

journeys and foreign expeditions (Herod. i. 188; Plut. *de Exil.* i. 601, D; Athen. *Deipn.* ii. 171, &c.). Even at the present day it is celebrated for lightness and purity, and the natives prize it above that of almost all other streams (*Geogr. Journ.* ix. 70, 89).

3. *General Description of the Ruins.*—The ruins of Susa cover a space about 6000 feet long from east to west, by 4500 feet broad from north to south. The circumference of the whole, exclusive of outlying and comparatively insignificant mounds, is about three miles. According to Mr. Loftus, "the principal existing remains consist of four spacious artificial platforms, distinctly separate from each other. Of these the western mound is the smallest in superficial extent, but considerably the most lofty and important. . . . Its highest point is 119 feet above the level of the Shaour (Shapur). In form it is an irregular, obtuse-angled triangle, with its corners rounded off, and its base facing nearly due east. It is apparently constructed of earth, gravel, and sun-dried brick, sections being exposed in numerous ravines produced by the rains of winter. The sides are so perpendicular as to be inaccessible to a horseman except at three places. The measurement round the summit is about 2850 feet. In the centre is a deep circular depression, probably a large court, surrounded by elevated piles of buildings, the fall of which has given the present configuration to the surface. Here and there are exposed in the ravines traces of brick walls, which show that the present elevation of the mound has been attained by much subsequent superposition" (*Chaldaea and Susiana*, p. 343). Mr. Loftus regards this mound as indubitably the remains of the famous citadel (ἄκρα or ἀκρόπολις) of Susa, so frequently mentioned by the ancient writers (Herod. iii. 68; Polyb. v. 48, §14; Strab. xv. 3, §2; Arr. *Exp. Al.* iii. 16, &c.). "Separated from the citadel on the west by a channel or ravine, the bottom of which is on a level with the external desert, is the great central platform, covering upwards of sixty acres (No. 3 on the Plan). The highest point is on the south side, where it presents generally a perpendicular escarpment to the plain, and rises to an elevation of about 70 feet; on the east and north it does not exceed 40 or 50 feet. The east face measures 3000 feet in length. Enormous ravines penetrate to the very heart of the mound" (Loftus, p. 345). The third platform (No. 2 on the Plan) lies towards the north, and is "a considerable square mass," about a thousand feet each way. It abuts on the central platform at its north-western extremity, but is separated from it by "a slight hollow," which "was perhaps an ancient roadway" (Loftus, *ib.*). These three mounds form together a lozenge-shaped mass, 4500 feet long and nearly 3000 feet broad, pointing in its longer direction a little west of north. East of them is the fourth platform, which is very extensive but of much lower elevation than the rest (No. 4 on the Plan). Its plan is very irregular: in its dimensions it about equals all the rest of the ruins put together. Beyond this eastern platform a number of low mounds are traceable, extending nearly to the Dizful river; but there are no remains of walls in any direction, and no marks of any buildings west of the Shapur. All the ruins are contained within a circumference of about seven miles (*Geograph. Journ.* ix. 71. [G. R.]

ARCHITECTURE.—The explorations undertaken by General, now Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars, in the mounds at Susa, in the year 1851, resulted in the discovery of the bases of three columns, marked 5, 6, and 7 on the accompanying plan (woodcut No. 2). These were found to be 27 feet 6 inches apart from centre to centre, and as they were very similar to the bases of the great hall known popularly as the Chel Minar at Persepolis, it was assumed that another row would be found at a like distance inwards. Holes were accordingly dug, and afterwards trenches driven, without any successful result, as it happened to be on the spot where the walls originally stood, and where no columns, consequently, could have existed. Had any trustworthy restoration of the Persepolitan hall been published at that time the mistake would have been avoided, but as none then existed the opportunity was nearly lost for our becoming acquainted with one of the most interesting ruins connected with Bible history which now exist out of Syria. Fortunately in the following year Mr. Loftus resumed the excavations with more success, and ascertained the position of all the 72 columns of which the original building was composed. Only one base had been entirely removed, and as that was in the midst of the central phalanx, its absence threw no doubt on any part of the arrangement. On the bases of four of the columns thus uncovered (shaded darker on the plan, and numbered 1, 2, 3, 4) were found trilingual inscriptions in the languages adopted by the Achaemenian kings at Behistun and elsewhere, but all were so much injured by the fall of the superincumbent mass that



No. 2. Plan of the Great Palace at Susa.

not one was complete, and unfortunately the Persian text, which could have been read with most certainty, was the least perfect of any. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Edwin Norris, with his usual ingenuity, by a careful comparison of the whole, made out the meaning of the first part certainly, of the latter half with very tolerable precision. As this inscription contains nearly all we know of the history of this building we quote it entire from *Journ. As. Soc.*, vol. xv. 162:—"Says Artaxerxes (Mnemon), the Great King, the King of Kings, the King of the Country, the King of the Earth, the son of King Darius—Darius was the son of King Artaxerxes—Artaxerxes was the son of Xerxes—Xerxes was the son of King

Darius—Darius was the son of Hystaspes the Achaemenian—Darius my ancestor anciently built this temple, and afterwards it was repaired by Artaxerxes my grandfather. By the aid of Ormazd I placed the effigies of Tanaites and Mithra in this temple. May Ormazd, Tanaites, and Mithra protect me, with the other Gods, and all that I have done . . . ."

The bases uncovered by Mr. Loftus were arranged as on the woodcut No. 2, reduced from that given at page 366 of his *Chaldaea and Susiana*, and most fortunately it is found on examination that the building was an exact counterpart of the celebrated Chel Minar at Persepolis. They are in fact more like one another than almost any other two buildings of antiquity, and consequently what is wanting in the one may safely be supplied from the other, if it exists there.

Their age is nearly the same, that at Susa having been commenced by Darius Hystaspis, that at Persepolis—if one may trust the inscription on its staircase (*J. A. S.* x. 326)—was built entirely by Xerxes. Their dimensions are practically identical, the width of that at Susa, according to Mr. Loftus, being 345 feet, the depth N. and S. 244. The corresponding dimensions at Persepolis, according to Flandin and Coste's survey, are 357·6 by 254·6, or from 10 to 12 feet in excess; but the difference may arise as much from imperfect surveying as from any real discrepancy.

The number of columns and their arrangement are identical in the two buildings, and the details of the architecture are practically the same so far as they can be made out. But as no pillar is standing at Susa, and no capital was found entire or nearly so, it is not easy to feel quite sure that the annexed restoration (woodcut No. 3) is in all respects correct. It is reduced from one made by Mr. Churchill, who accompanied Mr. Loftus in his explorations. If it is so, it appears that the great difference between the two buildings was that double bull capitals were used in the interior of the central square hall at Susa, while their use was appropriately confined to the porticoes at Persepolis. In other respects the height of the capital, which measures 28 feet, is very nearly the same, but it is fuller, and looks somewhat too heavy for the shaft that supports it This defect was to a great extent corrected at Persepolis, and may have arisen from those at Susa being the first translation of the Ninevite wooden original into stone architecture.

No. 3. Restored elevation of capital at Susa.

The pillars at Persepolis vary from 60 to 67 feet in height, and we may therefore assume that those at Susa were nearly the same. No trace of the walls which enclosed these pillars was detected at Susa, from which Mr. Loftus assumes, somewhat too hastily, that none existed. As, however, he could not make out the traces of the walls of any other of the numerous buildings which he admits once existed in these mounds, we ought not to be surprised at his not finding them in this instance.

Fortunately at Persepolis sufficient remains still exist to enable us to supply this hiatus, though there also sun-burnt brick was too much used for the walls, and if it were not that the jambs of the doors and windows were generally of stone, we should be as much at a loss there as at Susa. The annexed woodcut (No. 4), representing the plan of the hall at Persepolis, is restored from data so complete as scarcely to admit of doubt with regard to any part, and will suffice to explain the arrangement of both.[a]

Both buildings consisted of a central hall, as nearly as may be 200 feet square, and consequently, so far as we know, the largest interior of the ancient world, with the single exception of the great hall at Karnac, which covers 58,300 square feet, while this only extends to 40,000. Both the Persian halls are supported by 36 columns, upwards of 60 feet in height, and spaced equidistant from one another at about 27 feet 6 inches from centre to centre.

On the exterior of this, separated from it by walls 18 feet in thickness, were three great porches, each measuring 200 feet in width by 65 in depth, and supported by 12 columns whose axes were coincident with those of the interior. These were beyond doubt the great audience halls of the palace, and served the same purposes as the House of the Forest of Lebanon in Solomon's palace, though its dimensions were somewhat different, 150 feet by 75. These porches were also identical, as far as use and arrangement go, with the throne-rooms in the palaces of Delhi or Agra, or those which are used at this day in the palace at Ispahan.

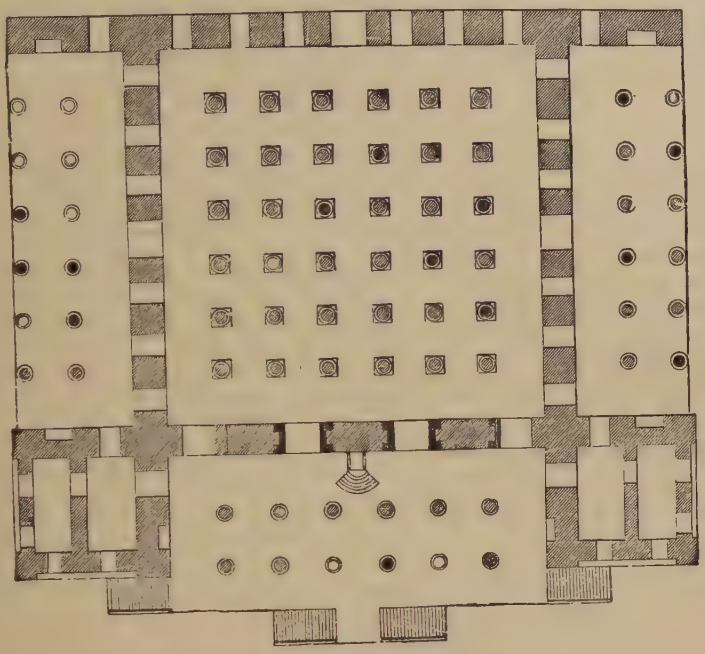
The western porch would be appropriate to morning ceremonials, the eastern to those of the afternoon. There was no porch, as we might expect in that climate, to the south, but the principal one, both at Susa and Persepolis, was that which faced the north with a slight inclination towards the east. It was the throne-room, *par excellence*, of the palace, and an inspection of the plan will show how easily, by the arrangement of the stairs, a whole army of courtiers or of tribute-bearers could file before the king without confusion or inconvenience The bassi relievi in the stairs at Persepolis in fact represent permanently the procession that on great festivals took place upon their steps; and a similar arrangement of stairs was no doubt to be found at Susa when the palace was entire.

It is by no means so clear to what use the central hall was appropriated. The inscription quoted above would lead us to suppose that it was a temple, properly so called, but the sacred and the secular functions of the Persian kings were so intimately blended together that it is impossible for us to draw a line anywhere, or say how far "temple cella" or "palace hall" would be a correct designation for this part of the building. It probably was used for all great semi-religious ceremonies, such as the coronation or enthronization of the king—at such ceremonies as returning thanks or making offerings

[a] For details of this restoration, see *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored*. By Jas. Fergusson. Published in 1851.

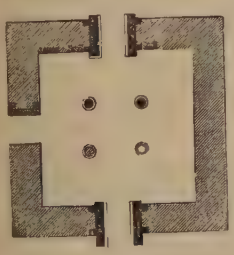
to the gods for victories—for any purpose in fact requiring more than usual state or solemnity; but there seems no reason to suppose it ever was used for purely festal or convivial purposes, for which it is singularly ill suited.

From what we know of the buildings at Persepolis, we may assert, almost with certainty, that the "King's Gate," where Mordecai sat (Esth. ii. 21), and where so many of the transactions of the Book of Esther took place, was a square hall



No. 4. Restored plan of Great Hall of Xerxes at Persepolis. Scale 100 feet to an inch.

(woodcut No. 5), measuring probably a little more than 100 feet each way, and with its roof supported by four pillars in the centre, and that this stood at a distance of about 150 or 200 feet from the front of the northern portico, where its remains will probably now be found when looked for. We may also be tolerably certain that the inner court, where Esther appeared to implore the king's favour (Esth. v. 1), was the space between the northern portico and this square building, the outer court being the space between the "King's Gate" and the northern terrace wall. We may also predicate with tolerable certainty that the "Royal House" (i. 9) and the "House of the Women" (ii. 9, 11) were situated behind this great hall to the southward, or between it and the citadel, and having a direct communication with it either by means of a bridge over the ravine, or a covered way under ground, most probably the former.



No. 5. Restored plan of the "King's Gate" at palace of Persepolis. Scale 100 ft. to an inch.

There seems also no reasonable doubt but that it was in front of one of the lateral porticoes of this building that King Ahasuerus (Xerxes "made a feast unto all the people that were present in Shushan the palace, both unto great and small, seven days in the *court of the garden of the king's palace* where were white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble: the beds were of gold and silver upon a pavement of red and blue and white and black marble" (Esth. i. 5, 6). From this it is evident that the feast took place, not in the interior of any hall, but out of doors, in tents erected in one of the courts of the palace, such as we may easily fancy existed in front of either the eastern or western porches of the great central building.

The whole of this great group of buildings was raised on an artificial mound, nearly square in plan, measuring about 1000 feet each way, and rising to a height apparently of 50 or 60 feet above the plain. As the principal building must, like those at Persepolis, have had a *talar* or raised platform [TEMPLE] above its roof, its height could not have been less than 100 or 120 feet, and its elevation above the plain must consequently have been 170 or 200 feet.

It would be difficult to conceive anything much grander in an architectural point of view than such a building, rising to such a height out of a group of subordinate palace-buildings, interspersed with trees and shrubs, and the whole based on such a terrace, rising from the flat but fertile plains that are watered by the Eulaeus at its base. [J. F.]

SHU'SHAN-E'DUTH. "To the chief musician upon Shushan-Eduth" (שֹׁשַׁן עֵדוּת) is plainly a musical direction, whatever else may be obscure about it (Ps. lx.). In Ps. lxxx. we have the fuller phrase "Shoshannim-eduth," of which Roediger regards Shushan-eduth as an abbreviation (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1385). As it now stands it denotes "the lily of testimony," and possibly contains the first words of some Psalm to the melody of which that to which it was prefixed was sung; and the preposition עַל, *'al* (A. V. "upon") would then signify "after, in the manner of," indicating to the conductor of the Temple-choir the air which he was to follow. If, however, Roediger is correct in his conjecture that Shushan-eduth is merely an abbreviation for Shoshannim-eduth, the translation of the words above given would be incorrect. The LXX. and Vulgate appear to have read עַל־מְשֹׁנִים, for they render *τοῖς ἀλλοιωθησομένοις* and *pro his qui immutabuntur* respectively. In the LXX., עֵדוּת, *édûth*, becomes עוֹד, *'ôd*, *ἔτι*. There does not appear to be much support for the view taken by some (as by Joel Bril) that Shushan-eduth is a musical instrument, so called from its resemblance to a lily in shape (Simonis), or from having lily-shaped ornaments upon it, or from its six (*shésh*) strings. Fürst, in consistency with his theory with respect to the titles of the Psalms, regards Shushan-eduth as the name of one of the twenty-four divisions of singers appointed by David, so called after a bandmaster, Shushan, and having its head-quarters at Eduth, which he conjectures may be the same as Adithaim in Josh. xv. 36 (*Handwb.* s. v.). As a conjecture this is certainly ingenious, but it has the disadvantage of introducing as many difficulties as it removes. Simonis (*Lex.* s. v.) connects *'édûth* ע ד

with the Arabic عود, *'ûd*, a lute,[a] or kind of guitar played with a plectrum, and considers it to be the melody produced by this instrument; so that in his view Shushan-eduth indicates that the lily-shaped cymbals were to be accompanied with playing on the lute. Gesenius proposes to render *'édûth* a "revelation," and hence a psalm or song revealed; but there seems no reason why we should depart from the usual meaning as above given, and we may therefore regard the words in question as a fragment of an old psalm or melody, the same in character as Aijeleth Shahar and others, which contained a direction to the leader of the choir. [W. A. W.]

SHU'THALHITES, THE (הַשֻּׁתַלְחִי: ὁ Σουθαλαΐ: *Suthalaïtae*). The descendants of Shuthelah the son of Ephraim (Num. xxvi. 35).

SHUTHE'LAH (שׁוּתֶלַח: Σουθαλά; Θουσαλά, Cod. Alex.: *Suthala*). Head of an Ephraimite family, called after him Shuthalhites (Num. xxvi. 35), and lineal ancestor of Joshua, the son of Nun (1 Chr. vii. 20-27). Shuthelah appears from the former passage to be a son of Ephraim, and the father of Eran, from whom sprung a family of Eranites (ver. 36). He appears also to have had two brothers, Becher, father of the Bachrites, and Tahan, father of the Tahanites. But in 1 Chr. vii. we have a further notice of Shuthelah, where he appears first of all, as in Num., as the son of Ephraim; but in ver. 21, he is placed six generations later. Instead, too, of Becher and Tahan, as Shuthelah's brothers, we find Bered and Tahath, and the latter twice over; and instead of Eran, we find Eladah; and there is this strange anomaly, that Ephraim appears to be alive, and to mourn for the destruction of his descendants in the eighth generation, and to have other children born after their death. And then again at ver. 25, the genealogy is resumed with two personages, Rephah and Resheph, whose parentage is not distinctly stated, and is conducted through Telah, and another Tahan, and Laadan, to Joshua the son of Nun, who thus appears to be placed in the twelfth generation from Joseph, or, as some reckon, in the eighteenth. Obviously, therefore, the text in 1 Chr. vii. is corrupt. The following observations will perhaps assist us to restore it.

1. The names that are repeated over and over again, either in identical or in slightly varied forms, represent probably only ONE person. Hence, *Eladah*, ver. 20; *Elead*, ver. 21; and *Laadan*, ver. 26, are the names of one and the same person. And a comparison of the last name with Num. xxvi. 36, where we have "of Eran," will further show that Eran is also the same person, whether Eran[b] or Laadan be the true form of the name. So again, the two *Tahaths* in ver. 20, and *Tahan* in ver. 25, are the same person as *Tuhan* in Num. xxvi. 35; and *Shuthelah* in vers. 20 and 21, and Telah in ver. 25, are the same as the Shuthelah of Num. xxvi. 35, 36; and the *Bered* of ver. 20, and Zabad of ver. 21, are the same as the Becher of Num. xxvi. 35. The names written in Hebrew are subjoined to make this clearer.

לְעֶרֶן, of Eran.	תַּחַת, Tahath.
לְעֶדֶן, Laadan.	תַּחַן, Tahan.
אֶלְעָדָה, Eleadah.	בֶּכֶר, Becher.
אֶלְעָד, Elead.	וּבֶרֶד, and Bered.
שׁוּתֶלַח, Shuthelah.	זָבָד, Zabad.
וָתֶלַח, and Telah.	

2. The words "his son" are improperly added after Bered and Tahath in 1 Chr. vii. 20.

3. Tahan is improperly inserted in 1 Chr. vii. 25 as a son of Shuthelah, as appears from Num. xxvi. 35, 36. The result is that Shuthelah's line may be thus restored: (1) Joseph. (2) Ephraim. (3) Shuthelah. (4) Eran, or Laadan. (5) Ammihud. (6) Elishama, captain of the host of Ephraim (Num. i. 10, ii. 18, vii. 48). (7) Nun. (8) Joshua; a number which agrees well with all the genealogies in which we can identify individuals who were living at the entrance into Canaan; as Phinehas, who was sixth from Levi; Salmon, who was seventh from Judah; Bezaleel, who was seventh; Achan, who was sixth; Zelophehad's daughter, seventh, &c.

As regards the interesting story of the destruction of Ephraim's sons by the men of Gath, which Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 491), Bunsen (*Egypt*, vol. i. p. 177), Lepsius (*Letters from Egypt*, p. 460), and others have variously explained [EPHRAIM; BERIAH], it is impossible in the confused state of the text to speak positively as to the part borne in it by the house of Shuthelah. But it seems not

[a] With the article, *el 'ûd* is the origin of the Ital. *liuto*, Fr. *luth*, and English *lute*.

[b] The Samaritan text, followed by the LXX. and the Syriac, and two or three Heb. MSS., read *Edan*; and one Heb. MS. reads *Edan* for Laadan at 1 Chr. vii. 26 (Eurrington, *Geneal. Tables*).

unlikely that the repetition of the names in 1 Chr. vii. 20, 21, if it was not merely caused by vitiated MSS. like 2 Sam. v. 14-16 (LXX.) arose from their having been really repeated in the MS., not as additional links in the genealogy, but as having borne part, either personally or in the persons of their descendants, in the transaction with the men of Gath. If so, we have mention first in ver. 20 of the four families of Ephraim reckoned in Num. xxvi., viz., Shuthelah, Bered or Becher, Tahath or Tahan, and Eladah or Eran, the son of Shuthelah; and we are then, perhaps, told how Tahath, Bered, and Shuthelah, or the clans called after them, went to help (עזרו) Laadan (or Eran), Shuthelah's son, and were killed by the men of Gath, and how their father mourned them. This leads to an account of another branch of the tribe of Ephraim, of which Beriah was the head, and whose daughter or sister (for it is not clear which was meant) was Sherah (שְׁאֵרָה),[c] who built the upper and lower Beth-horon (on the border of Benjamin and Ephraim), and Uzzen-Sherah, a town evidently so called from her (Sherah's) earring. The writer then returns to his genealogy, beginning, according to the LXX., with Laadan. But the fragment of Shuthelah's name in ver. 25, clearly shows that the genealogy of Joshua, which is here given, is taken up from that name in ver. 20.[d] The clause probably began, "the sons of Shuthelah, Laadan (or, of Eran) his son," &c. But the question remains whether the transaction which was so fatal to the Ephraimites, occurred really in Ephraim's lifetime, and that of his sons and grandson, or whether it belongs to the times after the entrance into Canaan; or, in other words, whether we are to understand, by Ephraim, Shuthelah, &c., the individuals who bore those names, or the tribe and the families which sprung from them. Ewald and Bunsen, understanding the names personally, of course refer the transaction to the time of the sojourn of the Israelites in Goshen, while Lepsius merely points out the confusion and inconsistencies in the narrative, though he apparently suspects that the event occurred in Palestine after the Exodus. In the *Geneal. of our Lord Jesus Christ*, p. 365, the writer of this article had suggested that it was the men of Gath who had *come down* into Goshen to steal the cattle of the Israelites, in order to obviate the objection from the word "came down." [See too EPHRATAH.] But subsequent consideration has suggested another possible way of understanding the passage, which is also advocated by Bertheau, in the *Kurzg. exeget. Handb. z. A. T.* According to this view the slaughter of the Ephraimites took place after the settlement in Canaan, and the event related in 1 Chr. viii. 13, in which Beriah also took part, had a close connexion with it. The names therefore of the patriarch, and fathers of families, must be understood of the families which sprung from them [NEHEMIAH, p. 490 *a*], and Bertheau well compares Judg. xii. 6. By Ephraim (1 Chr. vii. 22, 23), we must in this case understand the then head of the tribe, who was probably Joshua,[e] and this would go far to justify the conjecture in *Genealog.* p. 364, that Sherah (=סֵרַח) was the daughter of Joshua, arrived at by comparison of Josh. xix. 49, 50, 1 Chr. vii. 30, and by observing that the latter passage is Joshua's genealogy. Beriah would seem from 1 Chr. viii. 13, to have obtained an inheritance in Benjamin, and also in Asher, where we find him and "his sister Serah" (שֶׂרַח) in 1 Chr. vii 30. It is, however, impossible to speak with certainty where we have such scanty information. Bertheau's suggestion that Beriah was adopted into the family of the Ephraimites, is inconsistent with the precision of the statement (1 Chr. vii. 23), and therefore inadmissible. Still, putting together the insuperable difficulties in understanding the passage of the literal Ephraim, and his literal sons and daughter, with the fact that the settlements of the Ephraimites in the mountainous district, where Beth-horon, Gezer, Timnath-Serah, &c., lay, were exactly suited for a *descent* upon the plains of the Philistine country where the men of Gath fed their cattle, and with the further facts that the Ephraimites encountered a successful opposition from the Canaanites in Gezer (Josh. xvi. 10; Judg. i. 29), and that they apparently called in later the Benjamites to help them in driving away the men of Gath (1 Chr. viii. 13), it seems best to understand the narrative as of the times after the entrance into Canaan. [A. C. H.]

SI'A (סִיעָא: Ἀσουία; Alex. Σιαία: *Siaa*). "The children of Sia" were a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 47). The name is written SIAHA in Ezr. ii. 44, and SUD in 1 Esd. v. 29.

SI'AHA (סִיעֲהָא: Σιαά; Alex. Ἀσαά: *Siaa* =SIA (Ezr. ii. 44).

SIBBECA'I (סִבְּכַי: Σεβοχά in Sam., Σοβοχαι in Chr.; Alex. Σεβοχαεί, Σοβοχαί: *Sobochaï*). SIBBECHAI the Hushathite (2 Sam. xxi. 18; 1 Chr. xxvii. 11).

SIBBECHA'I (סִבְּכַי: Σοβοχαί; Alex. Σοβ-βοχαί in 1 Chr. xx. 4: *Sobbochaï, Sobochai*). One of David's guard, and eighth captain for the eighth month of 24,000 men of the king's army (1 Chr. xi. 29, xxvii. 11). He belonged to one of the principal families of Judah, the Zarhites, or descendants of Zerah, and is called "the Hushathite," probably from the place of his birth. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, §2) calls him "the Hittite," but this is no doubt an error. Sibbechai's great exploit, which gave him a place among the mighty men of David's army, was his single combat with Saph, or Sippai, the Philistine giant, in the battle at Gezer, or Gob (2 Sam. xxi. 18; 1 Chr. xx. 4). In 2 Sam. xxiii. 27 his name is written MEBUNNAI by a mistake of the copyist. Josephus says that he slew "many" who boasted that they were of the descent of the giants, apparently reading רבים for סבי in 1 Chr. xx. 4.

SIB'BOLETH (סִבֹּלֶת: *Zibboleth*). The Ephraimite (or, according to the text, the Ephrathite) pronunciation of the word Shibboleth (Judg. xii. 6). The LXX. do not represent Sibboleth at all. [See SHIBBOLETH.] [G.]

[c] It seems highly improbable, not to say impossible, that a literal daughter or granddaughter of Ephraim should have built these cities, which must have been built after the entrance into Canaan.

[d] It does not appear who Rephah and Resheph are. Tahan seems to be repeated out of its place, as in the Alex. LXX. It is after Laadan, there corrupted into Galaada.

[e] There is no mention elsewhere of any posterity of Joshua. The Jewish tradition assigned him a wife and children. [RAPAH.]

SIB'MAH (שִׂבְמָה: Σεβαμᾶ, in Jer. ωσερημα: *Sibma, Sabama*). A town on the east of the Jordan, one of those which were taken and occupied by the tribe of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 19). In the original catalogue of those places it appears as SHEBAM and SHIBMAH (the latter merely an inaccurate variation of the Auth. Version). Like most of the Transjordanic places, Sibmah disappears from view during the main part of the Jewish history. We, however, gain a parting glimpse of it in the lament over Moab pronounced by Isaiah and by Jeremiah (Is. xvi. 8, 9; Jer. xlviii. 32). It was then a Moabite place, famed for the abundance and excellence of its grapes. They must have been remarkably good to have been thought worthy of notice by those who, like Isaiah and Jeremiah, lived close to and were familiar with the renowned vineyards of Sorek (Is. v. 2, where "choicest vine" is "vine of Sorek.") Its vineyards were devastated, and the town doubtless destroyed by the "lords of the heathen," who at some time unknown appear to have laid waste the whole of that once smiling and fertile district.

Sibmah seems to have been known to Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, "Sabama"),[a] and Jerome (*Comment. in Isaiam*, lib. v.) states that it was hardly 500 paces distant from Heshbon. He also speaks of it as one of the very strong cities (*Urbes validissimae*) of that region. No trace of the name has been discovered more recently, and nothing resembling it is found in the excellent lists of Dr. Eli Smith (Robinson, *B. R.* ed. 1, App. 169, 170). [G.]

SIBRA'IM (סִבְרַיִם: θηρὰ]s Ἐβραμη[λιάμ: *Sabarim*). One of the landmarks on the northern boundary of the Holy Land as stated by Ezekiel (xlvii. 16). It occurs between Berothah and Hazar-hatticon, and is described in the same passage as lying between the boundary of Damascus and that of Hamath. It has not been identified—and in the great obscurity of the specification of this boundary it is impossible to say where it should be sought. [G.]

SI'CHEM (שְׁכֶם, *i.e.* Shechem: Συχέμ: *Sichem*). The same well-known name—identical in the Hebrew—with that which in all other places in the O. T. is accurately rendered by our translators SHECHEM. Here (Gen. xii. 6), its present form arises from a too close adherence to the Vulgate, or rather perhaps from its non-correspondence with the Hebrew having been overlooked in the revision of 1611.

The unusual expression "the place of Sichem" may perhaps indicate that at that early age the city did not exist. The "oaks of Moreh" were there, but the town of Shechem as yet was not, its "place" only was visited by the great patriarch.

2. (ἐν Σικίμοις: *in Sichimis*). Ecclus. l. 26. The Greek original here is in the form which is occasionally found in the O. T. as the equivalent of SHECHEM. If there could be any doubt that the son of Sirach was alluding in this passage to the Samaritans, who lived as they still live at Shechem, it would be disproved by the characteristic pun which he has perpetrated on the word Moreh, the ancient name of Shechem:—"that foolish people (λαὸς μωρός) that dwell in Sichem." [G.]

SIC'YON (Σικυών). A city mentioned with several others [see PHASELIS] in 1 Macc. xv. 23 The name is derived from a Punic root (*sak, sik,* or *sok*), which always implies a periodical market; and the original settlement was probably one to which the inhabitants of the narrow strip of highly fertile soil between the mountains and the southern shore of the Corinthian Gulf brought their produce for exportation. The oldest name of the town on the coast (the Sicyon of the times before Alexander) was said to have been Αἰγιάλη, or Αἰγιαλοί. This was perhaps the common native name, and Sicyon that given to it by the Phoenician traders, which would not unnaturally extrude the other as the place acquired commercial importance. It is this Sicyon, on the shore, which was the seat of the government of the Orthagorids, to which the Cleisthenes celebrated by Herodotus (v. 67) belonged.[b] But the Sicyon referred to in the Book of Maccabees is a more recent city, built on the site which served as an acropolis to the old one, and distant from the shore from twelve to twenty stades. Demetrius Poliorcetes, in the year 303 B.C., surprised the garrison which Ptolemy had five years before placed there, and made himself master of the harbour and the lower town. The acropolis was surrendered to him, and he then persuaded the population, whom he restored to independence, to destroy the whole of the buildings adjacent to the harbour, and remove thither; the site being one much more easily defensible, especially against any enemy who might attack from the sea. Diodorus describes the new town as including a large space so surrounded on every side by precipices as to be unapproachable by the machines which at that time were employed in sieges, and as possessing the great advantage of a plentiful supply of water within its circuit. Modern travellers completely confirm his account. Mr. Clark, who, in 1857, descended upon Sicyon from "a ridge of hills running east and west, and commanding a splendid prospect of both the [Corinthian and Saronic] gulfs and the isthmus between," after two hours and a half of riding from the highest point, came to a ruined bridge, probably ancient, at the bottom of a ravine, and then ascended the right bank by a steep path. Along the crest of this hill he traced fragments of the western wall of Sicyon. The mountain which he had descended did not fall towards the sea in a continuous slope, but presented a succession of abrupt descents and level terraces, severed at intervals by deep rents and gorges, down which the mountain-torrents make their way to the sea, spreading alluvium over the plain, about two miles in breadth, which lies between the lowest cliffs and the shore. "Between two such gorges, on a smooth expanse of table-land overlooking the plain," stood the city of Demetrius. "On every side are abrupt cliffs, and even at the southern extremity there is a lucky transverse rent separating this from the next plateau. The ancient walls may be seen at intervals along the edge of the cliff on all sides." It is easy to conceive how these advantages of position must at once have

[a] The statement of this passage that Sibmah was "in Gilead," coupled with its distance from Heshbon as given by Jerome, supports the local tradition which places Mount Gilead south of the Jabbok, if the *Wady Zerka* be the Jabbok.

[b] The commercial connexion of the Sicyon of the Orthagorids with Phoenicia, is shown by the quantity of *Tartessian* brass in the treasury of the Orthagorid Myron at Olympia. The Phoenician (Carthaginian) treasury was next to it (Pausanias, vi. 19, §1).

fixed the attention of the great engineer of antiquity—the Besieger.

Demetrius established the forms of republican government in his new city; but republican government had by that time become an impossibility in Hellas. In the next half-century a number of tyrants succeeded one another, maintaining themselves by the aid of mercenaries, and by temporising with the rival sovereigns, who each endeavoured to secure the hegemony of the Grecian race. This state of things received a temporary check by the efforts of Aratus, himself a native of Sicyon, of which his father Cleinias for a time became dynast. In his twentieth year, being at the time in exile, he contrived to recover possession of the city and to unite it with the Achaean league. This was in the year 251 B.C., and it appears that at this time the Dorian population was so preponderant as to make the addition of the town to a confederation of Achaeans a matter of remark. For the half-century before the foundation of the new city, Sicyon had favoured the anti-Lacedaemonian party in Peloponnese, taking active part with the Messenians and Argives in support of Megalopolis, which Epaminondas had founded as a counter-check to Sparta.

The Sicyonian territory is described as one of singular fertility, which was probably increased by artificial irrigation. In the changeful times which preceded the final absorption of European Hellas by the Romans it was subject to plunder by whoever had the command of the sea; and in the year 208 B.C. the Roman general Sulpicius, who had a squadron at Naupactus, landed between Sicyon and Corinth (probably at the mouth of the little river Nemea, which was the boundary of the two states), and was proceeding to harass the neighbourhood, when Philip king of Macedonia, who was then at Corinth, attacked him and drove him back to his ships. But very soon after this Roman influence began to prevail in the cities of the Achaean league, which were instigated by dread of Nabis the dynast of Lacedaemon to seek Roman protection. One congress of the league was held at Sicyon under the presidency of the Romans in 198 B.C., and another at the same place six years later. From this time Sicyon always appears to have adhered to the Roman side, and on the destruction of Corinth by Mummius (B.C. 146) was rewarded by the victors not only with a large portion of the Corinthian domain, but with the management of the Isthmian games. This distinction was again lost when Julius Caesar refounded Corinth and made it a Roman colony; but in the mean while Sicyon enjoyed for a century all the advantages of an entrepôt which had before accrued to Corinth from her position between the two seas. Even in the days of the Antonines the pleasure-grounds (*τέμενος*) of the Sicyonian tyrant Cleon continued appropriated to the Roman governors of Achaia; and at the time to which reference is made in the Maccabees, it was probably the most important position of all over which the Romans exercised influence in Greece.

(Diodorus Siculus, xv. 70, xx. 37, 102; Polybius, ii. 43; Strabo, viii. 7, §25; Livy, xxxii. 15, 19, xxxv. 25; Pausanias, ii. 8, v. 14, 9, vi. 19, §1-6, x. 11, §1; Clark, *Peloponnesus*, pp. 338, *seqq.*) [J. W. B.]

SID'DIM, THE VALE OF (עֵמֶק הַשִּׂדִּים:[a] *ἡ φάραγξ ἡ ἁλυκή*, and *ἡ κοιλὰς ἡ ἁλυκή*: *Vallis Silvestris*).

A place named only in one passage of Genesis (xiv. 3, 8, 10); a document pronounced by Ewald and other eminent Hebrew scholars to be one of the oldest, if not the oldest, of the fragments of historical record of which the early portion of the book is composed.

The meaning of the name is very doubtful. Gesenius says truly (*Thes.* 1321 *a*) that every one of the ancient interpreters has tried his hand at it, and the results are so various as to compel the belief that nothing is really known of it, certainly not enough to allow of any trustworthy inferences being drawn therefrom as to the nature of the spot. Gesenius expresses his conviction (by inference from the Arabic سد, an obstacle) that the real meaning of the words *Êmek has-Siddîm* is "a plain cut up by stony channels which render it difficult of transit;" and with this agree Fürst (*Handwb.* ii. 411 *b*) and Kalisch (*Genesis*, 355).

Prof. Stanley conjectures (*S. & P.*) that Siddim is connected with *Sâdeh*,[b] and thus that the signification of the name was the "valley of the fields," so called from the high state of cultivation in which it was maintained before the destruction of Sodom and the other cities. This, however, is to identify it with the *Ciccar*, the "circle (A. V. 'plain') of Jordan," which there does not appear to be any warrant for doing.

As to the spot itself:—

1. It was one of that class of valleys which the Hebrews designated by the word *Emek*. This term appears to have been assigned to a broad flattish tract, sometimes of considerable width, enclosed on each side by a definite range of hills. [VALLEY.]

The only *Emek* which we can identify with any approach to certainty is that of Jezreel, viz. the valley or plain which lies between Gilboa and Little Hermon.

2. It was so far a suitable spot for the combat between the four and five kings (ver. 8); but,

3. It contained a multitude of bitumen-pits sufficient materially to affect the issue of the battle.

4. In this valley the kings of the five allied cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela, seem to have awaited the approach of the invaders. It is therefore probable that it was in the neighbourhood of the "plain, or circle, of Jordan" in which those cities stood. But this we can only infer; it is not stated, and scarcely implied.

5. So much may be gathered from the passage as it appears originally to have stood. But the words which more especially bear on the subject of this article (ver. 3) do not form part of the original document. That venerable record has—with a care which shows how greatly it was valued at a very early date—been annotated throughout by a later, though still very ancient, chronicler, who has added what in his day were believed to be the equivalents for names of places that had become obsolete. Bela is explained to be Zoar; En-Mishpat to be Kadesh;

[a] The following are the equivalents of the name given in the ancient versions:—Sam. Vers., מישר חלקיה; Onkelos, מֵישַׁר חַקְלַיָּא; Arabic, *merj al hakûl*; Pesnito, ܒܩܥܬܐ ܕܫܝܛܐ: Aquila. K. *τῶν περιπεδίνων*; Symm. and Theod., K. *τῶν ἀλσῶν* (=אשרה); Josephus, *Φρεάτα ἀσφάλτου*: Jerome (*Quaest. in Gen.*) *Vallis Salinarum*.

[b] Perhaps more accurately with *Sâdad*, "to harrow." See Kalisch (*Gen.* 355 *a*); who, however, disapproves of such a derivation, and adheres to that of Gesenius.

the Emek-Shaveh to be the Valley of the King; the Emek has-Siddim to be the Salt Sea, that is, in modern phraseology, the Dead Sea. And when we remember how persistently the notion has been entertained for the last eighteen centuries,[c] that the Dead Sea covers a district which before its submersion was not only the Valley of Siddim but also the Plain of the Jordan, and what an elaborate account of the catastrophe of its submersion has been constructed even very recently by one of the most able scholars of our day, we can hardly be surprised that a chronicler in an age far less able to interpret natural phenomena, and at the same time long subsequent to the date of the actual event, should have shared in the belief. Recent investigation, however, of the geological evidence furnished by the aspect of the spot itself, has not hitherto lent any support to this view. On the contrary, it seems to contradict it. The northern and deeper portion of the lake unquestionably belongs to a geological era of very much older date than the time of Abraham; and as to even the southern and shallower portion, if it has undergone any material change in historic times, such change would seem to be one rather of gradual elevation than of submersion.[d]

If we could venture, as some have done, to interpret the latter clause of verse 3, "which is near," or "which is at, or by, the Salt Sea," then we might agree with Dr. Robinson and others in identifying the Valley of Siddim with the enclosed plain which intervenes between the south end of the lake and the range of heights which terminate the *Ghôr* and commence the *Wady Arabah*. This is a district in many respects suitable. In the ditches and drains of the *Sabkhah* are the impassable channels of Gesenius. In the thickly wooded *Ghôr es Safieh* are ample conditions for the fertility of Prof. Stanley. The general aspect and formation of the plain answers fully to the idea of an *emek*.[e] But the original of the passage will not bear even this slight accommodation, and it is evident that in the mind of the author of the words, no less than of the learned and eloquent divine and historian of our own time already alluded to, the Salt Sea covers the actual space formerly occupied by the Vale of Siddim. It should be remembered that if the cities of the plain were, as there is much reason to believe they were, at the north end of the Dead Sea, it is hardly probable that the five kings would have gone so far from home as to the other end of the lake, a distance of more than forty miles, especially as on their road they must have passed Hazezon-Tamar, the modern *Ain Jidy*, where the Assyrians were then actually encamped (ver. 7). The course of the invaders at this time was apparently northwards, and it seems most probable—though after all nothing but conjecture on such a point is possible—that the scene of the engagement was somewhere to the north of the lake, perhaps on the plain at its north-west corner. This plain is in many of its characteristics not unlike the *Sabkhah* already mentioned, and it is a proper and natural spot for the inhabitants of the plain of Jericho to attack a hostile force descending from the passes of *Ain Jidy*. [G.]

[c] Josephus states it emphatically. His words (*Ant.* i. 9) are, "They encamped in the valley called the Wells of Asphalt; for at that time there were wells in that spot; but now that the city of the Sodomites has disappeared, that valley has become a lake which is called Asphaltes." See also Strabo, xvi. 764.

[d] The grounds of this conclusion are stated under SEA, THE SALT.

[e] This is the plain which Dr. Robinson and others would identify with the Valley of Salt, *ge melach*. It is hardly possible that it can be both an *emek* and a *ge*

SIDE (Σίδη. *Side*). A city on the coast of Pamphylia, in lat. 36° 46′, long. 31° 27′, ten or twelve miles to the east of the river Eurymedon. It is mentioned in 1 Macc. xv. 23, among the list of places to which the Roman senate sent letters in favour of the Jews [see PHASELIS]. It was a colony of Cumaeans. In the time of Strabo a temple of Athenè stood there, and the name of that goddess associated with Apollo appears in an inscription of undoubtedly late times found on the spot by Admiral Beaufort. Sidè was closely connected with Aradus in Phoenicia by commerce, even if there was not a considerable Phoenician element in the population; for not only are the towns placed in juxtaposition in the passage of the Maccabees quoted above, but Antiochus's ambassador to the Achaean league (Livy, xxxv. 48), when boasting of his master's navy, told his hearers that the left division was made up of men of *Side* and of *Aradus*, as the right was of those of Tyre and of Sidon, *quas gentes nullae unquam nec arte nec virtute navali aequassent*. It is possible that the name has the same root as that of Sidon, and that it (as well as the Sidè on the southern coast of the Euxine, Strabo, xii. 3) was originally a Phoenician settlement, and that the Cumaean colony was something subsequent. In the times in which Sidè appears in history it had become a place of considerable importance. It was the station of Antiochus's navy on the eve of the battle with the Rhodian fleet described by Livy (xxxvii. 23, 24). The remains, too, which still exist are an evidence of its former wealth. They stand on a low peninsula running from N.E. to S.W., and the maritime character of the former inhabitants appears from the circumstance that the walls towards the sea were but slightly built, while the one which faces the land is of excellent workmanship, and remains, in a considerable portion, perfect even to this time. A theatre (belonging apparently to the Roman times) is one of the largest and best preserved in Asia Minor, and is calculated to have been capable of containing more than 15,000 spectators. This is so prominent an object that, to persons approaching the shore, it appears like an acropolis of the city, and in fact, during the middle ages, was actually occupied as a fort. The suburbs of Sidè extend to some distance, but the greatest length within the walls does not exceed 1300 yards. Three gates led into the town from the sea, and one, on the north-eastern side, into the country. From this last a paved street with high curbstones conducts to an agora, 180 feet in diameter, and formerly surrounded with a double row of columns, of which only the bases remain. In the centre is a large ruined pedestal, as if for a colossal statue, and on the southern side the ruins of a temple, probably the one spoken of by Strabo. Opposite to this a street ran to the principal water-gate, and on the fourth side of the agora the avenue from the land-gate was continued to the front of the theatre. Of this last the lower half is, after the manner of Roman architects whenever the site permitted, excavated from the native rock, the upper half built up of excellent masonry. The

tents for the spectators, most of which remain, are of white marble beautifully wrought.

The two principal harbours, which at first seem to have been united in one, were at the extremity of the peninsula: they were closed, and together contained a surface of nearly 500 yards by 200. Besides these, the principal water-gate on the N.W. side was connected with two small piers of 150 feet long, so that it is plain that vessels used to lie here to discharge their cargoes. And the account which Livy gives of the sea-fight with Antiochus above referred to, shows that shelter could also be found on the other (or S.E.) side of the peninsula whenever a strong west wind was blowing.

The country by which Sidè is backed is a broad swampy plain, stretching out for some miles beyond the belt of sand-hills which fringe the seashore. Low hills succeed, and behind these, far inland, are the mountains which, at Mount Climax 40 miles to the west, and again about the same distance to the east, come down to the coast. These mountains were the habitation of the Pisidians, against whom Antiochus, in the spring of the year 192 B.C., made an expedition; and as Sidè was in the interest of Antiochus, until, at the conclusion of the war, it passed into the hands of the Romans, it is reasonable to presume that hostility was the normal relation between its inhabitants and the highlanders, to whom they were probably objects of the same jealousy that the Spanish settlements on the African seaboard inspire in the Kabyles round about them. This would not prevent a large amount of traffic, to the mutual interest of both parties, but would hinder the people of Sidè from extending their sway into the interior, and also render the construction of effective fortifications on the land side a necessity. (Strabo, xii., xiv.; Livy, xxxv., xxxvii.; Beaufort, *Karamania*; Cicero, *Epp. ad Fam.* iii. 6.) [J.W.B.]

SI'DON. The Greek form of the Phoenician name Zidon, or (more accurately) Tsidon. As such it occurs naturally in the N. T. and Apocrypha of the Auth. Version (Σιδών: *Sidon:* 2 Esd. i. 11, Judg. ii. 28: 1 Macc. v. 15; Matt. xi. 21, 22; xv. 21; Mark iii. 8, vii. 24, 31; Luke iv.[a] 26, vi. 17, x. 13, 14; Acts xii. 20,[b] xxviii. 3). It is thus a parallel to SION.

But we also find it in the O. T., where it imperfectly represents the Hebrew word elsewhere presented as ZIDON (Gen. x. 15, 19; צִידֹן: Σιδών, Σιδόν: *Sidon*). [ZIDON.] [G.]

SIDO'NIANS (צִידֹנִים; in Judg. צִידֹנִי: Σιδώνιοι; in Deut. Φοίνικες; in Judg. Σιδώνιος: *Sidonii, Sidonius*). The Greek form of the word ZIDONIANS, usually so exhibited in the Auth. Vers. of the O. T. It occurs Deut. iii. 9; Josh. xiii. 4, 6; Judg. iii. 3; 1 K. v. 6. [G.]

SI'HON (סִיחֹן, and סִיחוֹן[c]: Samar. סיחון: Σηών; Joseph. Σιχών: *Sehon*). King of the Amorites when Israel arrived on the borders of the Promised Land (Num. xxi. 21). He was evidently a man of great courage and audacity. Shortly before the time of Israel's arrival he had dispossessed the Moabites of a splendid territory, driving them south of the natural bulwark of the Arnon with great slaughter and the loss of a great number of captives (xxi. 26-29). When the Israelite host appears, he does not hesitate or temporise like Balak, but at once gathers his people together and attacks them. But the battle was his last. He and all his host were destroyed, and their district from Arnon to Jabbok became at once the possession of the conqueror.

Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 5, §2) has preserved some singular details of the battle, which have not survived in the text either of the Hebrew or LXX. He represents the Amorite army as containing every man in the nation fit to bear arms. He states that they were unable to fight when away from the shelter of their cities, and that being especially galled by the slings and arrows of the Hebrews, and at last suffering severely from thirst, they rushed to the stream and to the shelter of the recesses of the ravine of the Arnon. Into these recesses they were pursued by their active enemy and slaughtered in vast numbers.

Whether we accept these details or not, it is plain from the manner in which the name of Sihon[d] fixed itself in the national mind, and the space which his image occupies in the official records, and in the later poetry of Israel, that he was a truly formidable chieftain. [G.]

SI'HOR, accurately **SHI'HOR,** once **THE SHIHOR** (שִׁחוֹר, שִׁחֹר, שִׁיחוֹר: Γηών, ἡ ἀοίκητος ἡ κατὰ πρόσωπον Αἰγύπτου: *Nilus, fluvius turbidus, (aqua) turbida*: or **SHIHOR OF EGYPT** (שִׁיחוֹר מִצְרַיִם: ὅρια Αἰγύπτου: *Sihor Aegypti*), when unqualified, a name of the Nile. It is held to signify "the black" or "turbid," from שָׁחַר, "he or it was or became black;" a word used in a wide sense for different degrees of dark colour, as of hair, a face tanned by the sun, a skin black through disease, and extreme blackness. [NILE, p. 539 *a*.] Several names of the Nile may be compared. Νεῖλος itself, if it be, as is generally supposed, of Iranian origin, signifies "the blue," that is "the dark" rather than the turbid; for we must then compare the Sanskrit नील: *Nilah*, "blue," probably especially "dark blue," also even "black," as नीलपक: "black mud." The Arabic *azrak*, "blue," signifies "dark" in the name *Bahr el-Azrak*, or Blue River, applied to the eastern of the two great confluents of the Nile. Still nearer is the Latin *Melo*, from μέλας, a name of the Nile, according to Festus and Servius (*Georg.* iv. 291; *Aen.* i. 745, iv. 246); but little stress can be laid upon such a word resting on no better authority. With the classical writers, it is the soil of Egypt that is black rather than its river. So too in hieroglyphics, the name of the country, KEM, means "the black;" but there is no name of the Nile of like signification. In the ancient painted sculptures, however, the figure of the Nile-god is coloured differently according as it represents the river during the time of the inundation, and during the rest of the year, in the former case red, in the latter blue.

There are but three occurrences of Shihor in the

[a] In this passage the form Σιδωνία is used.

[b] Here the adjective is employed—Σιδώνιος.

[c] This form is found frequently, though not exclusively, in the books subsequent to the Pentateuch. In the Pentateuch it occurs four times, two of which are in the song, Num. xxi. 27, 29.

[d] It is possible that a trace of the name may still remain in the *Jebel Shihhan*, a lofty and conspicuous mountain just to the south of the *Wady Hayeb*

Bible, and but one of Shihor of Egypt, or Shihor-Mizraim. It is spoken of as one of the limits of territory which was still unconquered when Joshua was old. "This [is] the land that yet remaineth: all the regions of the Philistines, and all Geshuri, from the Shihor (הַשִּׁיחוֹר), which [is] before Egypt, even unto the borders of Ekron northward, is counted to the Canaanite" (Josh. xiii. 2, 3). The enumeration of the Philistines follows. Here, therefore, a district lying between Egypt and the most northern Philistine city seems to be intended. With this passage must be compared that in which Shihor-Mizraim occurs. David is related to have "gathered all Israel together, from Shihor of Egypt even unto the entering of Hamath" (1 Chr. xiii. 5). There is no other evidence that the Israelites ever spread westward beyond Gaza; it may seem strange that the actual territory dwelt in by them in David's time should thus appear to be spoken of as extending as far as the easternmost branch of the Nile, but it must be recollected that more than one tribe at a later time had spread beyond even its first boundaries, and also that the limits may be those of David's dominion rather than of the land actually fully inhabited by the Israelites. The stream may therefore be that of the Wádi-l-'Areesh. That the stream intended by Shihor unqualified was a navigable river is evident from a passage in Isaiah, where it is said of Tyre, "And by great waters, the sowing of Shihor, the harvest of the river (*Yeôr*, יְאֹר), [is] her revenue" (xxiii. 3). Here Shihor is either the same as, or compared with, Yeôr, generally thought to be the Nile [NILE], but in this work suggested to be the extension of the Red Sea. [RED SEA.] In Jeremiah the identity of Shihor with the Nile seems distinctly stated where it is said of Israel, "And now what hast thou to do in the way of Egypt, to drink the waters of Shihor? or what hast thou to do in the way of Assyria, to drink the waters of the river?" *i. e.* Euphrates (ii. 18). In considering these passages it is important to distinguish between "the Shihor which [is] before Egypt," and Shihor of Egypt, on the one hand, and Shihor alone, on the other. In articles NILE and RIVER OF EGYPT it is maintained too strongly that Shihor, however qualified, is always the Nile. The later opinion of the writer is expressed here under SHIHOR OF EGYPT. The latter is, he thinks, unquestionably the Nile, the former two probably, but not certainly, the same. [R. S. P.]

SI'LAS (Σίλας: *Silas*). An eminent member of the early Christian Church, described under that name in the Acts, but as Silvanus[a] in St. Paul's Epistles. He first appears as one of the leaders (ἡγούμενοι) of the Church at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 22), holding the office of an inspired teacher (προφήτης, xv. 32). His name, derived from the Latin *silva*, "wood," betokens him a Hellenistic Jew, and he appears to have been a Roman citizen (Acts xvi. 37). He was appointed as a delegate to accompany Paul and Barnabas on their return to Antioch with the decree of the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv. 22, 32). Having accomplished this mission, he returned to Jerusalem (Acts xv. 33; the following verse, ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ Σίλᾳ ἐπιμεῖναι αὐτοῦ, is decidedly an interpolation introduced to harmonise the passage with xv. 40). He must, however, have immediately revisited Antioch, for we find him selected by St. Paul as the companion of his second missionary journey (Acts xv. 40–xvii. 40). At Beroea he was left behind with Timothy while St. Paul proceeded to Athens (Acts xvii. 14), and we hear nothing more of his movements until he rejoined the Apostle at Corinth (Acts xviii. 5). Whether he had followed Paul to Athens in obedience to the injunction to do so (Acts xvii. 15), and had been sent thence with Timothy to Thessalonica (1 Thess. iii. 2), or whether his movements were wholly independent of Timothy's, is uncertain (Conyb. and Hows. *St. Paul*, i. 458, note [3]). His presence at Corinth is several times noticed (2 Cor. i. 19; 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1). He probably returned to Jerusalem with St. Paul, and from that time the connexion between them appears to have terminated. Whether he was the Silvanus who conveyed St. Peter's First Epistle to Asia Minor (1 Pet. v. 12), is doubtful; the probabilities are in favour of the identity; the question is chiefly interesting as bearing upon the Pauline character of St. Peter's Epistles (De Wette, *Einleit.* §4). A tradition of very slight authority represents Silas to have become bishop of Corinth. We have finally to notice, for the purpose of rejecting, the theories which identify Silas with Tertius (Rom. xvi. 22) through a Hebrew explanation of the name (שְׁלִישׁ), and again with Luke, or at all events with the author of the Acts (Alford's *Prolegom. in Acts*, i. §1). [W. L. B.]

[a] The Alexandrine writers adopted somewhat bold abbreviations of proper names, such as Zenas for Zenodorus, Apollos for Apollonius, Hermas for Hermodorus. The method by which they arrived at these forms is not very apparent.

SILK (σηρικόν). The only *undoubted* notice of silk in the Bible occurs in Rev. xviii. 12, where it is mentioned among the treasures of the typical Babylon. It is, however, in the highest degree probable that the texture was known to the Hebrews from the time that their commercial relations were extended by Solomon. For, though we have no historical evidence of the importation of the raw material to the shores of the Mediterranean earlier than that of Aristotle (*H. A.* v. 19) in the 4th century B.C., yet that notice, referring as it does to the island of Cos, would justify the assumption that it had been known at a far earlier period in Western Asia. The commercial routes of that continent are of the highest antiquity, and an indirect testimony to the existence of a trade with China in the age of Isaiah, is probably afforded us in his reference to the Sinim. [SINIM.] The well-known classical name of the substance (σηρικόν, *sericum*) does not occur in the Hebrew language.[b] but this may be accounted for, partly on the ground that the Hebrews were acquainted only with the texture and not with the raw material, and partly on the supposition that the name *sericum* reached the Greeks by another channel, viz. through Armenia. The Hebrew terms which have been supposed to refer to silk are *meshi*[c] and *demeshḳ*.[d] The former occurs only in Ez. xvi. 10, 13 (A. V. "silk") and is probably connected with the root *máshâh*, "to draw out," as though it were made of the finest *drawn* silk in the manner described by Pliny (vi. 20, xi. 26): the equivalent term in the LXX. (τρίχαπτον), though connected in point of etymology with *hair* as its material, is nevertheless explained by Hesychius and Suidas as referring to silk, which may well have been described as resembling hair. The other

[b] Calmet conjectured that שְׁרִיקוֹת (Is. xix. 9, A. V. "fine") was connected with *sericum*.

[c] מֵשִׁי. [d] דַּמֶּשֶׂק.

term *demeshek* occurs in Am. iii. 12 (A. V. "Damascus"), and has been supposed to refer to silk from the resemblance of the word to our "damask," and of this again to "Damascus," as the place where the manufacture of silken textures was carried on. It appears, however, that "damask" is a corruption of *dimakso*, a term applied by the Arabs to the raw material alone, and not to the manufactured article (Pusey's *Min. Proph.* p. 183). We must, therefore, consider the reference to silk as extremely dubious.[a] We have notice of silk under its classical name in the Mishna (*Kil.* 9, §2), where Chinese silk is distinguished from floss-silk. The value set upon silk by the Romans, as implied in Rev. xviii. 12, is noticed by Josephus (*B. J.* vii. 5, §4), as well as by classical writers (*e.g.* Sueton. *Calig.* 52; Mart. xi. 9). [W. L. B.]

SIL'LA (סִלָּא: Γαάλλα; Alex. Γαλααδ: *Sela*). "The house of Millo which goeth down to Silla," was the scene of the murder of King Joash (2 K. xii. 20). What or where Silla was is entirely matter of conjecture. Millo seems most probably to have been the citadel of the town, and situated on Mount Zion. [See p. 367 *a*.] Silla must have been in the valley below, overlooked by that part of the citadel which was used as a residence. The situation of the present so-called Pool of Siloam would be appropriate, and the agreement between the two names is tempting; but the likeness exists in the Greek and English versions only, and in the original is too slight to admit of any inference. Gesenius, with less than his usual caution, affirms Silla to be a town in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Others (as Thenius, in *Kurzg. exeg. Handb.* on the passage), refer it to a place on or connected with the causeway or flight of steps (מְסִלָּה) which led from the central valley of the city up to the court of the Temple. To indulge in such confident statements on either side is an entire mistake. Neither in the parallel passage of Chronicles,[a] in the lists of Nehemiah iii. and xii., the Jewish Commentator,[b] the LXX., in Josephus, nor in Jerome, do we find the smallest clue; and there is therefore no alternative but to remain for the present in ignorance. [G.]

SILO'AH, THE POOL OF (בְּרֵכַת הַשִּׁלֹחַ: κολυμβήθρα τῶν κωδίων; F A. κ. των θετου Σιλωαμ: *Piscina Siloe*). This name is not accurately represented in the A. V. of Neh. iii. 15—the only passage in which this particular form occurs. It should be Shelach, or rather has-Shelach, since it is given with the definite article. This was possibly a corrupt form of the name which is first presented as Shiloach, then as Siloam, and is now *Selwân*. The meaning of *Shelach* taken as Hebrew is "dart." This cannot be a name given to the stream on account of its swiftness, because it is not now, nor was it in the days of Isaiah, anything but a very soft and gentle stream (Is. viii. 6). It is probably an accommodation to the popular mouth, of the same nature as that exemplified in the name Dart, which is now borne by more than one river in England, and which has nothing whatever to do with swiftness, but is merely a corruption of the ancient word which also appears in the various forms of Derwent,[c] Darent, Trent. The last of these was at one time supposed to mean "thirty;" and the river Trent was believed to have 30 tributaries, 30 sorts of fish, 30 convents on its banks, &c.: a notion preserved from oblivion by Milton in his lines—

> "And Trent that like some earth-born giant spreads
> His thirty arms along the indented meads."

For the fountain and pool, see SILOAM. [G.]

SILO'AM (הַשִּׁלֹחַ, *Shiloach*, Is. viii. 6; הַשִּׁלַּח *Shelach*, Neh. iii. 15; the change in the Masoretic punctuation indicating merely perhaps a change in the pronunciation or in the *spelling* of the word sometime during the three centuries between Isaiah and Nehemiah. Rabbinical writers, and, following them, Jewish travellers, both ancient and modern, from Benjamin of Tudela to Schwarz, retain the earlier *Shiloach* in preference to the later *Shelach*. The Rabbis give it with the article, as in the Bible (השילוח, Dach's *Codex Talmudicus*, p. 367). The Sept. gives Σιλωὰμ in Isaiah; but in Nehemiah κολυμβήθρα τῶν κωδίων, the pool of the sheep-skins, or "fleece-pool;" perhaps because, in their day, it was used for washing the fleeces of the victims.[d] The Vulgate has uniformly, both in Old and New Testaments, *Siloe*; in the Old calling it *piscina*, and in the New *natatoria*. The Latin Fathers, led by the Vulgate, have always *Siloe*; the old pilgrims, who knew nothing but the Vulgate, *Siloe* or *Syloe*. The Greek Fathers, adhering to the Sept., have *Siloam*. The word does not occur in the Apocrypha. Josephus gives both *Siloam* and *Siloas*, generally the former.)

Siloam is one of the few undisputed localities (though Reland and some others misplaced it) in the topography of Jerusalem; still retaining its old name (with Arabic modification, *Silwân*), while every other pool has lost its Bible-designation. This is the more remarkable as it is a mere suburban tank of no great size, and for many an age not particularly good or plentiful in its waters, though Josephus tells us that in his day they were both "sweet and abundant" (*B. J.* v. 4, §1). Apart from the identity of *name*, there is an unbroken chain of exterior testimony, during eighteen centuries, connecting the present *Birket Silwân* with the *Shiloah* of Isaiah and the *Siloam* of St. John. There are difficulties in identifying the *Bîr Eyub* (the well of Salah-ed-dîn, *Ibn Eyub*, the great digger of wells, Jalal-Addin, p. 239), but none in

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[a] The A. V. confounds שֵׁשׁ with silk in Prov. xxxi. 22.

[a] 2 Chr. xxiv. 25, a passage tinged with the usual colour of the narrative of Chronicles, and containing some curious variations from that of the Kings, but passing over the place of the murder *sub silentio*.

[b] The reading of the two great MSS. of the LXX.—agreeing in the Γ as the commencement of the name—is remarkable; and prompts the suggestion that the Hebrew name may originally have begun with גֵּא, a ravine (as Ge-hinnom). The καταμενοντα of the Alex. is doubtless a corruption of καταβαινοντα.

[c] Derwent appears to be the oldest of these forms, and to be derived from *derwyn*, an ancient British word, meaning "to wind about." On the Continent the name is found in the following forms:—Fr. *Durance*; Germ. *Drewenz*; It. *Trento*, Russ. *Duna* (Ferguson's *River Names*, &c.).

[d] In Talmudical Hebrew *Shelach* signifies "a skin" (Levi's *Lingua Sacra*); and the Alexandrian translators attached this meaning to it, they and the earlier Rabbis considering Nehemiah's Shelach as a different pool from Siloam; probably the same as Bethesda, by the sheep-gate (John v. 2), the προβατικὴ κολυμβήθρα of Eusebius the *probatica piscina* of Jerome. If so, then it is Bethesda, and not Siloam, that is mentioned by Nehemiah

fixing Siloam. Josephus mentions it frequently in his *Jewish War*, and his references indicate that it was a somewhat noted place, a sort of city landmark. From him we learn that it was without the city (ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεως, *B. J.* v. 9, §4); that it was at this pool that the "old wall" took a bend and shot out eastward (ἀνακάμπτον εἰς ἀνατολήν, ib. v. 6, §1); that there was a valley *under* it (τὴν ὑπὸ Σιλωὰμ φάραγγα, ib. vi. 8, §5), and one *beside* it (τῇ κατὰ τὴν Σιλωὰμ φάραγγι, ib. v. 12, §2); a hill (λόφος) right opposite, apparently on the other side of the Kedron, hard by a cliff or rock called Peristereon (ib.); that it was at the termination or mouth of the Tyropaeon (ib. v. 4, §1); that close beside it, apparently eastward, was another pool, called Solomon's pool, to which the "old wall" came after leaving Siloam, and past which it went on to *Ophlas*, where, bending northward, it was united to the eastern arcade of the Temple. In the Antonine Itinerary (A.D. 333) it is set down in the same locality, but it is said to be "juxta murum," as Josephus implies; whereas now it is a considerable distance—upwards of 1200 feet—from the nearest angle of the present wall, and nearly 1900 feet from the southern wall of the Haràm. Jerome, towards the beginning of the 5th century, describes it as "ad radices montis Moriah" (*in Matt.* x.), and tells (though without endorsing the fable) that the stones sprinkled with the blood (rubra saxa) of the prophet Zechariah were still pointed out (*in Matt.* xxiii.). He speaks of it as being in the Valley of the Son of Hinnom, as Josephus does of its being at the mouth of the Tyropaeon (*in Jer.* ii.); and it is noticeable that he (like the Rabbis) never mentions the Tyropaeon, while he, times without number, speaks of the Valley of the Son of Hinnom. He speaks of Hinnom, Tophet, with their groves and gardens, as watered by Siloam (*in Jer.* xix. 6, and xxxii. 35). "Tophet, quae est in valle filii Ennom, illum locum significat qui Siloe fontibus irrigatur, et est amoenus atque nemorosus, hodieque hortorum praebet delicias" (*in Jer.* viii.). He speaks of Siloam as dependent on the rains, and as the only fountain used in his day:—"Uno fonte Siloe et hoc non perpetuo utitur civitas; et usque in praesentem diem sterilitas pluviarum, non solum frugum sed et bibendi inopiam facit" (*in Jer.* xiv.). Now, though Jerome ought to have known well the water-supplies of Jerusalem, seeing he lived the greater part of his life within six miles of it, yet other authorities, and the modern water-provision of the city, show us that it never could have been wholly dependent on its *pools*. Its innumerable bottle-necked private cisterns kept up a supply at all times, and hence it often happened that it was the *besiegers*, not the *besieged*, that suffered most; though Josephus records a memorable instance to the contrary, when —relating a speech he made to the Jews standing, beyond their darts, on a part of the south-eastern wall which the Romans had carried—he speaks of Siloam as overflowing since the Romans had got access to it, whereas before, when the Jews held it, it was dry (*B. J.* v. 9, §4). And we may here notice, in passing, that Jerusalem is, except perhaps in the very heat of the year, a well-watered city. Dr. Barclay says that "within a circuit swept by a radius of seven or eight miles there are no less than thirty or forty natural springs" (*City of the Great King*, p. 295); and a letter from Consul Finn to the writer adds, "This I believe to be under the truth; but they are almost all found to the S. and S.W.: in those directions there does not appear to be a village without springs."[e]

In the 7th century Antoninus Martyr mentions Siloam, as both fountain and pool. Bernhard the monk speaks of it in the 9th, and the annalists of the Crusades mention its site, in the fork of two valleys, as we find it. Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1173) speaks of "the great spring of Shiloach which runs into the brook Kedron" (Asher's ed. vol. i. p. 71); and he mentions "a large building *upon* it" (עָלָיו), which he says was erected in the days of his fathers. Is it of this building that the present ruined pillars are the relics? Caumont (A.D. 1418) speaks of the *Valley of Siloah*, "ou est le fonteyne ou le (*sic*) vierge Marie lavoit les drapellez de son enfant," and of the fountain of Siloam, as close at hand (*Voyage d'oultremer en Jherusalem*, &c., Paris edition, p. 68). Felix Fabri (A.D. 1484) describes Siloam at some length, and seems to have attempted to enter the subterraneous passage; but failed, and retreated in dismay after filling his flasks with its eye-healing water. Arnold von Harff (A.D. 1496) also identifies the spot (*Die Pilgerfahrt*, p. 186, Col. ed.). After this, the references to Siloam are innumerable; nor do they, with one or two exceptions, vary in their location of it. We hardly needed these testimonies to enable us to fix the site, though some topographers have rested on these entirely. Scripture, if it does not actually set it down in the mouth of the Tyropaeon as Josephus does, brings us very near it, both in Nehemiah and St. John. The reader who compares Neh. iii. 15 with Neh. xii. 37, will find that the pool of Siloah, the fountain-gate, the stairs of the city of David, the wall above the house of David, the water-gate, and the king's gardens, were all near each other. The Evangelist's narrative regarding the blind man, whose eyes the Lord miraculously opened, when carefully examined, leads us to the conclusion that Siloam was somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Temple. The Rabbinical traditions, or *histories* as they doubtless are in many cases, frequently refer to Siloam in connexion with the Temple service. It was to Siloam that the Levite was sent with the golden pitcher on the "last and great day of the feast" of Tabernacles; it was from Siloam that he brought the water which was then poured over the sacrifice, in memory of the water from the rock of Rephidim; and it was to this Siloam water that the Lord pointed when He stood in the Temple on that day and cried, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink."

The Lord sent the blind man to wash, not *in*, as our version has it, but *at* (εἰς) the pool of Siloam;[f] for it was the clay from his eyes that was to be washed off; and the Evangelist is careful to throw in a remark, not for the purpose of telling us that Siloam meant an "aqueduct," as some think, but to give higher significance to the miracle. "Go wash at Siloam," was the command; the Evangelist adds, "which is by interpretation, SENT." On the

[e] Strabo's statement is that Jerusalem itself was rocky but well watered (εὔυδρον), but all the region around was barren and waterless (λυπρὰν καὶ ἄνυδρον), b. xvi. ch. 2, sect. 46

[f] See *Wolfii Curae*, &c. Or εἰς gets its force from ὕπαγε, νίψαι coming between the verb and its preposition, parenthetically, "Go to the pool and wash (thine eyes there."

proper meaning here—the parallelism between "the Sent One" (Luke iv. 18; John x. 36) and "the Sent water," the missioned One and the missioned pool, we say nothing farther than what St. Basil said well, in his exposition of the 8th of Isaiah, τίς οὖν ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος καὶ ἀψοφητὶ ῥέων; ἢ περὶ οὗ εἴρηται, κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με· καὶ πάλιν, οὐκ ἐρίσει οὐδὲ κραυγάσει. That "Sent" is the natural interpretation is evident, not simply from the word itself, but from other passages where שָׁלַח is used in connexion with water, as Job iii. 10, "he *sendeth waters* upon the fields;" and Ezek. xxxi. 4, "she *sent out* her little rivers unto all the trees of the field." The Talmudists coincide with the Evangelist, and say that Shiloach was so called because it sent forth its waters to water the gardens (Levi's *Lingua Sacra*). We may add Homer's line—

ἐννῆμαρ δ' ἐς τεῖχος ἴει ῥόον (*Il.* xii. 25).

A little way below the Jewish burying ground, but on the opposite side of the valley, where the Kedron turns slightly westward, and widens itself considerably, is the fountain of the Virgin or *Um-ed-Deraj*, near the beginning of that saddle-shaped projection of the Temple-hill supposed to be the OPHEL of the Bible, and the *Ophlas* of Josephus. [EN ROGEL.] At the back part of this fountain a

Pool of Siloam, looking north. From a sketch by Rev. S. C. Malan.

subterraneous passage begins, through which the water flows, and through which a man may make his way, as did Robinson and Barclay, sometimes walking erect, sometimes stooping, sometimes kneeling, and sometimes crawling, to Siloam. This rocky conduit, which twists considerably, but keeps, in general, a south-westerly direction, is according to Robinson, 1750 feet long, while the direct distance between *Silwân* and *Um-ed-Deraj* is only a little above 1200 feet. In former days this passage was evidently deeper, as its bed is sand of some depth, which has been accumulating for ages. This conduit has had tributaries, which have formerly sent their waters down from the city pools or Temple-wells to swell Siloam. Barclay writes, "In exploring the subterraneous channel conveying the water from the Virgin's fount to Siloam, I discovered a similar channel entering from the north, a few yards from its commencement; and on tracing it up near the Mugrabin gate, where it became so choked with rubbish that it could be traversed no farther, I there found it turn to the west, in the direction of the south end of the cleft or saddle of Zion; and if this channel was not constructed for the purpose of conveying to Siloam the surplus waters of Hezekiah's aqueduct, I am unable to sug-

gest any purpose to which it could have been applied" (*City of the Great King*, p. 309). In another place he tells us something more "Having loitered in the pool [Virgin's fount] til. the coming down of the waters, I soon found several widely separated places where it gained admittance, besides the opening under the steps, where alone it had formerly been supposed to enter. I then observed a large opening entering the rock-hewn channel, just below the pool, which, though once a copious tributary, is now dry. Being too much choked with tesserae and rubbish to be penetrated far, I carefully noted its position and bearing, and, on searching for it above, soon identified it on the exterior, where it assumed an upward direction towards the Temple, and, entering through a breach, traversed it for nearly a thousand feet, sometimes erect, sometimes bending, sometimes inching my way snake-fashion, till at last I reached a point near the wall where I heard the donkeys tripping along over my head. I was satisfied, on subsequently locating our course above ground with the theodolite, that this canal derived its former supply of water, not from Moriah, but from Zion" (*City*, 523).

This conduit enters Siloam at the north-west angle; or rather enters a small rock-cut chamber which forms the *vestibule* of Siloam, about five or six feet broad. To this you descend by a few rude steps, under which the water pours itself into the main pool (*Narrative of Mission to the Jews*, vol. i. p. 207). This pool is oblong; eighteen paces in length according to Laffi (*Viaggio al Santo Sepolcro*, A.D. 1678); fifty feet according to Barclay; and fifty-three according to Robinson. It is eighteen feet broad, and nineteen feet deep, according to Robinson; but Barclay gives a more minute measurement, "fourteen and a half at the lower (eastern) end, and seventeen at the upper; its western end side being somewhat bent; it is eighteen and a half in depth, but never filled; the water either passing directly through, or being maintained at a depth of three or four feet; this is effected by leaving open or closing (with a few handfuls of weeds at the present day, but formerly by a flood-gate) an aperture at the bottom; at a height of three or four feet from the bottom, its dimensions become enlarged a few feet, and the water, attaining this level, falls through an aperture at its lower end, into an *educt*, subterranean at first, but soon appearing in a deep ditch under the perpendicular cliff of Ophel, and is received into a few small reservoirs and troughs" (*City*, 524).

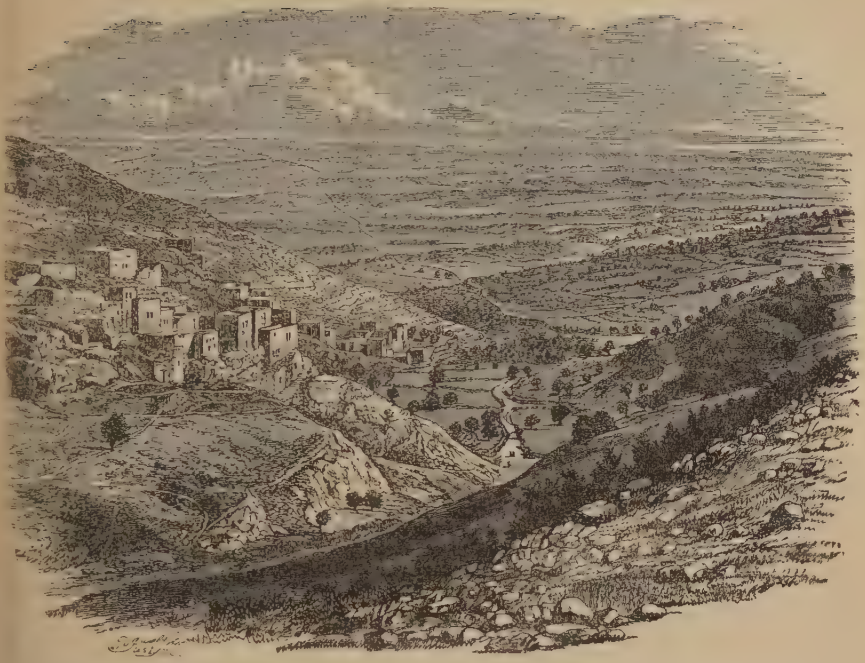
The small basin at the west end, which we have described, is what some old travellers call "the fountain of Siloe" (*F. Fabri*, vol. i. p. 420). "In front of this," Fabri goes on, "there is a bath surrounded by walls and buttresses, like a cloister, and the arches of these buttresses are supported by marble pillars," which pillars he affirms to be the remains of a monastery built above the pool. The present pool is a ruin, with no moss or ivy to make it romantic; its sides falling in; its pillars broken; its stair a fragment; its walls giving way; the edge of every stone worn round or sharp by time; in some parts mere *débris;* once Siloam, now, like the city which overhung it, a heap; though around its edges, "wild flowers, and, among other plants, the caper-tree, grow luxuriantly" (*Narrative of Mission*, vol. i. p. 207). The grey crumbling limestone of the stone (as well as of the surrounding rocks, which are almost verdureless) gives a poor and worn-out aspect to this venerable relic. The present pool is not the original building; the work of crusaders it may be; perhaps even improved by Saladin, whose affection for wells and pools led him to care for all these things; perhaps the work of later days. Yet the spot is the same. Above it rises the high rock, and beyond it the city wall; while eastward and southward the verdure of gardens relieves the grey monotony of the scene, and beyond these the Kedron vale, overshadowed by the third of the three heights of Olivet, "the mount of corruption" (1 K. x. 7; xxiii. 13), with the village of *Silwân* jutting out over its lower slope, and looking into the pool from which it takes its name and draws its water.

This pool, which we may call the *second*, seems anciently to have poured its waters into a *third*, before it proceeded to water the royal gardens. This *third* is perhaps that which Josephus calls "Solomon's pool" (*B. J.* v. 4, §2), and which Nehemiah calls "the King's pool" (ii. 14); for this must have been somewhere about "the King's garden" (Josephus's *βασιλικὸς παράδεισος*, *Ant.* vii. 14, §4); and we know that this was by "the wall of the pool of Siloah" (iii. 15). The Antonine Itinerary speaks of it in connexion with *Siloa*, as "alia piscina grandis foras." It is now known as the *Birket-el-Hamra*, and may be perhaps some five times the size of *Birket-es-Silwân*. Barclay speaks of it merely as a "depressed fig-yard;" but one would like to see it cleared out.

Siloam is in Scripture always called *a pool*. It is not an אֲגַם, that is, a marsh-pool (Is. xxxv. 7) nor a גֵּבָה, a natural hollow or pit (Is. xxx. 14), nor a מִקְוֶה, a natural gathering of water (Gen. i 10; Is. xxii. 11); nor a בְּאֵר, a well (Gen. xvi 14); nor a בּוֹר, a pit (Lev. xi. 36); nor an עַיִן a spring (Gen. iii. 17); but a בְּרֵכָה, a regularly-built pool or tank (2 K. xx. 20; Neh. iii. 15; Eccl. ii. 6). This last word is still retained in the Arabic, as any traveller or reader of travels knows. While Nehemiah calls it a *pool*, Isaiah merely speaks of it as "the waters of Shiloah;" while the New Testament gives *κολυμβήθρα*, and Josephus *πηγή*. The Rabbis and Jewish travellers call it a fountain; in which they are sometimes followed by the European travellers of all ages, though more generally they give us piscina, natatoria, and stagnum.

It is the least of all the Jerusalem pools; hardly the sixth part of the *Birket el-Mamilla*; hardly the tenth of the *Birket-es-Sultan*, or of the lowest of the three pools of Solomon at *El-Burak*. Yet it is a sacred spot, even to the Moslem; much more to the Jew; for not only from it was the water taken at the Feast of Tabernacles, but the water for the ashes of the red heifer (Dach's *Talm. Babyl.* 380). Jewish tradition makes Gihon and Siloam one (Lightfoot, *Cent. Chor. in Matt.* p. 51; Schwarz, p. 265), as if Gihon were "the bursting forth" (גִּיחַ, to break out), and Siloam the receptacle of the waters "sent." If this were the case, it might be into Siloam, through one of the many subterranean aqueducts with which Jerusalem abounds, and one of which probably went down the Tyropoeon, that Hezekiah turned the waters on the other side of the city, when he "stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David" (2 Chr. xxxii. 30).

The rush of water down these conduits is referred



The Village of *Silwan* (Siloam), and the lower part of the Valley of the Kedron, shewing the "King's gardens," which are watered by the Pool. The background is the highlands of Judah. The view is from a Photograph by James Graham, Esq., taken from beneath the S. wall of the Haram.

to by Jerome ("per terrarum concava et antra saxi durissimi cum magno sonitu venit," *In. Is.* viii. 6), as heard in his day, showing that the water was more abundant then than now. The intermittent character of Siloam is also noticed by him; but in a locality perforated by so many aqueducts, and supplied by so many large wells and secret springs (not to speak of the discharge of the great city-baths), this irregular flow is easily accounted for, both by the direct and the siphonic action of the water. How this *natural* intermittency of Siloam could be made identical with the *miraculous* troubling of Bethesda (John v. 4) one does not see. The lack of water in the pool now is no proof that there was not the great abundance of which Josephus speaks (*B. J.* v. 4, §1); and as to the "sweetness" he speaks of, like the "aquae dulces" of Virgil (*Georg.* iv. 61), or the Old Testament מָתֹק (Ex. xv. 25), which is used both in reference to the sweetness of the Marah waters (Ex. xv. 25), and of the "stolen waters" of the foolish woman (Prov. ix. 17); it simply means fresh or pleasant in opposition to bitter (מַר; πικρὸς).

The expression in Isaiah, "waters of Shiloah that go softly," seems to point to the slender rivulet, flowing gently, though once very profusely, out of Siloam into the lower breadth of level, where the king's gardens, or "royal paradise," stood, and which is still the greenest spot about the Holy City, reclaimed from sterility into a fair oasis of olive-groves fig-trees, pomegranates, &c., by the tiny rill which flows out of Siloam. A winter-torrent, like the Kedron, or a swelling river like the Euphrates, carries havoc with it, by sweeping off soil, trees, and terraces; but this Siloam-fed rill flows softly, fertilizing and beautifying the region through which it passes. As the Euphrates is used by the prophet as the symbol of the wasting sweep of the Assyrian king, so Siloam is taken as the type of the calm prosperity of Israel under Messianic rule, when "the desert rejoices and blossoms as the rose." The word softly or secretly (לָאַט) does not seem to refer to the secret transmission of the waters through the tributary viaducts, but, like Ovid's "molles aquae," "blandae aquae," and Catullus' "molle flumen," to the quiet gentleness with which the rivulet steals on its mission of beneficence, through the gardens of the king. Thus "Siloah's brook" of Milton, and "cool Siloam's shady rill," are not mere poetical fancies. The "fountain" and the "pool," and the "rill" of Siloam, are all visible to this day, each doing its old work beneath the high rock of Moriah, and almost beneath the shadow of the Temple wall.

East of the Kedron, right opposite the rough grey slope extending between *Deraj* and *Silwân*, above the kitchen-gardens watered by Siloam which supply Jerusalem with vegetables, is the village which takes its name from the pool,—*Kefr-Silwân*. At *Deraj* the Kedron is narrow, and the village is very near the fountain. Hence it is to it rather than to the pool that the villagers generally betake themselves for water. For as the Kedron widens considerably in its progress southward, the *Kefr* is at some little distance from the *Birkeh*. This village is unmentioned in ancient times; perhaps it did not exist. It is a wretched place for filth and irregularity; its square hovels all huddled together like the lairs of wild beasts, or rather like the

tombs and caves in which savages or demoniacs may be supposed to dwell. It lies near the foot of the third or southern height of Olivet; and in all likelihood marks the spot of the idol-shrines which Solomon built to Chemosh, and Ashtoreth and Milcom. This was "the mount of corruption" (2 K. xxiii. 13), the hill that is before (east; *before* in Hebrew geography means *east*) Jerusalem (1 K. xi. 7); and these "abominations of the Moabites, Zidonians, and Ammonites" were built on "the right hand of the mount," that is, the *southern* part of it. This is the "opprobrious hill" of Milton (*Par. L.* b. i. 403); the "mons offensionis" of the Vulgate and of early travellers; the Μοσθάθ of the Sept. (see Keil *On Kings*); and the Berg des Aergernisses of German maps. In Ramboux' singular volume of lithographs (Col. 1858) of *Jerusalem and its Holy Places*, in imitation of the antique, there is a sketch of an old monolith tomb in the village of *Silwân*, which few travellers have noticed, but of which De Saulcy has given us both a cut and a description (vol. ii. p. 215); setting it down as a relic of Jebusite workmanship. One would like to know more about this village, and about the pedigree of its inhabitants. [H. B.]

SILO'AM, TOWER IN. (Ὁ πύργος ἐν τῷ Σιλωάμ, Luke xiii. 4.) Of this we know nothing definitely beyond these words of the Lord. Of the tower or its fall no historian gives us any account; and whether it was a tower in connexion with the pool, or whether "in Siloam" refers to the valley near, we cannot say. There were fortifications hard by, for of Jotham we read, "on the wall of Ophel he built much" (2 Chr. xxvii. 3); and of Manasseh that "he compassed about Ophel" (ib. xxxiii. 14); and, in connexion with Ophel, there is mention made of "a tower *that lieth out*" (Neh. iii. 26); and there is no unlikelihood in connecting this *projecting* tower with the tower in Siloam, while one may be almost excused for the conjecture that its *projection* was the cause of its ultimate *fall*. [H. B.]

SILVA'NUS. [SILAS.]

SILVER (כֶּסֶף, *ceseph*). In very early times, according to the Bible, silver was used for ornaments (Gen. xxiv. 53), for cups (Gen. xliv. 2), for the sockets of the pillars of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 19, &c.), their hooks and fillets, or rods (Ex. xxvii. 10), and their capitals (Ex. xxxviii. 17); for dishes, or chargers, and bowls (Num. vii. 13), trumpets (Num. x. 2), candlesticks (1 Chr. xxviii. 15), tables (1 Chr. xxviii. 16), basins (1 Chr. xxviii. 17), chains (Is. xl. 19), the settings of ornaments (Prov. xxv. 11), studs (Cant. i. 11), and crowns (Zech. vi. 11). Images for idolatrous worship were made of silver or overlaid with it (Ex. xx. 23; Hos. xiii. 2; Hab. ii. 19; Bar. vi. 39), and the manufacture of silver shrines for Diana was a trade in Ephesus (Acts xix. 24). [DEMETRIUS.] But its chief use was as a medium of exchange, and throughout the O. T. we find *ceseph*, "silver," used for money, like the Fr. *argent*. To this general usage there is but one exception. (See METALS, p. 342 *b*.) Vessels and ornaments of gold and silver were common in Egypt in the times of Osirtasen I. and Thothmes III., the contemporaries of Joseph and Moses (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* iii. 225). In the Homeric poems we find indications of the constant application of silver to purposes of ornament and luxury. It was used for basins (*Od.* i. 137, iv 53), goblets (*Il.* xxiii. 741), baskets (*Od.* iv. 125), coffers (*Il.* xviii. 413), sword-hilts (*Il.* i. 219; *Od* viii. 404), door-handles (*Od.* i. 442), and clasps for the greaves (*Il.* iii. 331). Door-posts (*Od.* vii. 89) and lintels (*Od.* vii. 90) glittered with silver ornaments; baths (*Od.* iv. 128), tables (*Od.* x. 555), bows (*Il.* i. 49, xxiv. 605), scabbards (*Il.* xi. 31), sword-belts (*Il.* xviii. 598), belts for the shield (*Il.* xviii. 480), chariot-poles (*Il.* v. 729) and the naves of wheels (*Il.* v. 729) were adorned with silver; women braided their hair with silver-thread (*Il.* xvii. 52), and cords appear to have been made of it (*Od.* x. 24); while we constantly find that swords (*Il.* ii. 45, xxiii. 807) and sword-belts (*Il* xi. 237), thrones, or chairs of state (*Od.* viii. 65), and bedsteads (*Od.* xxiii. 200) were studded with silver. Thetis of the silver feet was probably so called from the silver ornaments on her sandals (*Il.* i. 538). The practice of overlaying silver with gold, referred to in Homer (*Od.* vi. 232, xxiii. 159), is nowhere mentioned in the Bible, though inferior materials were covered with silver (Prov. xxvi. 23).

Silver was brought to Solomon from Arabia (2 Chr. ix. 14) and from Tarshish (2 Chr. ix. 21), which supplied the markets of Tyre (Ez. xxvii. 12). From Tarshish it came in the form of plates (Jer. x. 9), like those on which the sacred books of the Singhalese are written to this day (Tennent's *Ceylon*, ii. 102). The silver bowl given as a prize by Achilles was the work of Sidonian artists (*Il* xxiii. 743; comp. *Od.* iv. 618). In Homer (*Il.* ii. 857), Alybe is called the birthplace of silver, and was probably celebrated for its mines. But Spain appears to have been the chief source whence silver was obtained by the ancients. [MINES, p. 369.] Possibly the hills of Palestine may have afforded some supply of this metal. "When Volney was among the Druses, it was mentioned to him that an ore affording silver and lead had been discovered on the declivity of a hill in Lebanon" (Kitto, *Phys. Hist. of Palestine*, p. 73).

For an account of the knowledge of obtaining and refining silver possessed by the ancient Hebrews see the articles LEAD and MINES. The whole operation of mining is vividly depicted in Job xxviii. 1-11; and the process of purifying metals is frequently alluded to (Ps. xii. 6; Prov. xxv. 4), while it is described with some minuteness in Ez. xxii. 20-22. Silver mixed with alloy is referred to in Jer. vi. 30, and a finer kind, either purer in itself, or more thoroughly purified, is mentioned in Prov. viii. 19. [W. A. W.]

SILVERLINGS (כֶּסֶף: σίκλος: *argenteus, siclus* understood), a word used once only in the A. V. (Is. vii. 23), as a translation of the Hebrew word *ceseph*, elsewhere rendered "silver" or "money." [PIECE OF SILVER.] [R. S. P.]

SIMALCU'E (Σιμαλκουή, Εἱμαλκουαί: *Emalchuel, Malchus*: Μάλχος, Joseph.), an Arabian chief who had charge of Antiochus, the young son of Alexander Balas before he was put forward by Tryphon as a claimant to the Syrian throne (1 Macc. xi. 39). [ANTIOCHUS VI., vol. i. p. 76.] According to Diodorus (*Eclog.* xxxii. 1) the name of the chief was Diocles, though in another place (*Frag.* xxi. Müller) he calls him Jamblichus. The name evidently contains the element *Melek*, "king," but the original form is uncertain (comp. Grotius and Grimm on 1 Macc. *l. c.*). [B. F. W.]

SIM'EON (שִׁמְעוֹן: Συμεών: *Simeon*). The second of Jacob's sons by Leah. His birth is recorded in Gen. xxix. 33, and in the explanation there given of the name, it is derived from the root *shama'*, to [a] hear—"'Jehovah hath heard (*shâma'*) that I was hated.' . . . and she called his name Shime'on."[b] This metaphor is not carried on (as in the case of some of the other names) in Jacob's blessing; and in that of Moses all mention of Simeon is omitted.

The first group of Jacob's children consists, besides Simeon, of the three other sons of Leah—Reuben, Levi, Judah. With each of these Simeon is mentioned in some connexion. "As Reuben and Simeon are mine," says Jacob, "so shall Joseph's sons Ephraim and Manasseh be mine" (Gen. xlviii. 5). With Levi, Simeon was associated in the massacre of the Shechemites (xxxiv. 25)—a deed which drew on them the remonstrance of their father (ver. 30), and perhaps [c] also his dying curse (xlix. 5-7). With Judah the connexion was drawn still closer. He and Simeon not only "went up" together, side by side, in the forefront of the nation, to the conquest of the south of the Holy Land (Judg. i. 3, 17), but their allotments lay together in a more special manner than those of the other tribes, something in the same manner as Benjamin and Ephraim. Besides the massacre of Shechem—a deed not to be judged of by the standards of a more civilized and less violent age, and, when fairly estimated, not altogether discreditable to its perpetrators—the only personal incident related of Simeon is the fact of his being selected by Joseph, without any reason given or implied, as the hostage for the appearance of Benjamin (Gen. xlii. 19, 24, 36; xliii. 23).

These slight traits are characteristically amplified in the Jewish traditions. In the Targum Pseudo-jonathan it is Simeon and Levi who are the enemies of the lad Joseph. It is they who counsel his being killed, and Simeon binds him before he is lowered into the well at Dothan. (See further details in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud.* 535.) Hence Joseph's selection of him as the hostage, his binding and incarceration. In the Midrash the strength of Simeon is so prodigious that the Egyptians are unable to cope with him, and his binding is only accomplished at length by the intervention of Manasseh, who acts as the house steward and interpreter of Joseph. His powers are so great that at the mere roar of his voice 70 valiant Egyptians fall at his feet and break their teeth (Weil, *Bib. Leg.* 88). In the "Testament of Simeon" his fierceness and implacability are put prominently forward, and he dies warning his children against the indulgence of such passions (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep.* 533-543).

The chief families of the tribe are mentioned in the lists of Gen. xlvi. (10), in which one of them, bearing the name of Shaul (Saul), is specified as "the בֶּן הַכְּנַעֲנִית of the Canaanitess"—Num. xxvi. (12-14), and 1 Chr. iv. (24-43). In the latter passage (ver. 27) it is mentioned that the family of one of the heads of the tribe "had not many children, neither did they multiply like to the children of Judah." This appears to have been the case not only with one family but with the whole tribe. At the census at Sinai Simeon numbered 59,300 fighting men (Num. i. 23). It was then the most numerous but two, Judah and Dan alone exceeding it; but when the second census was taken, at Shittim, the numbers had fallen to 22,200, and it was the weakest of all the tribes. This was no doubt partly due to the recent mortality following the idolatry of Peor, in which the tribe of Simeon appears to have taken a prominent share, but there must have been other causes which have escaped mention.

The connexion between Simeon and Levi implied in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 5-7) has been already adverted to. The passage relating to them is thus rendered:—

> Shimeon and Levi are brethren,[d]
> Instruments of violence are their machinations (or, their[e] swords).
> Into their secret council come not my soul!
> Unto their assembly join not mine honour!
> For in their wrath they slew a man,
> And in their self-will they houghed an[f] ox.
> Cursed be their wrath, for it is fierce,
> And their anger, for it is cruel!
> I will divide them in Jacob,
> And scatter them in Israel.

The terms of this denunciation seem to imply a closer bond of union between Simeon and Levi, and more violent and continued exploits performed under that bond, than now remain on record. The expressions of the closing lines also seem to necessitate a more advanced condition of the nation of Israel than it could have attained at the time of the death of the father of the individual patriarchs. Taking it however to be what it purports, an actual prediction by the individual Jacob (and, in the present state of our knowledge, however doubtful this may be, no other conclusion can be safely arrived at), it has been often pointed out how differently the same sentence was accomplished in the cases of the two tribes. Both were "divided" and "scattered." But how differently! The dispersion of the Levites arose from their holding the post of honour in the nation, and being spread, for the purposes of education and worship, broadcast over the face of the country. In the case of Simeon the dispersion seems to have arisen from some corrupting element in the tribe itself, which first reduced its numbers, and at last drove it from its allotted seat in the country—not, as Dan, because it could not, but because it would not stay—and thus in the end caused it to dwindle and disappear entirely.

The non-appearance of Simeon's name in the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 6[g]) may be ex-

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[a] Fürst (*Handwb.* ii. 472) inclines to the interpretation "famous" (*ruhmreicher*). Redslob (*Alttest. Namen*, 93), on the other hand, adopting the Arabic root شمع, considers the name to mean "sons of bondage" or "bondmen."

[b] The name is given in this its more correct form in the A.V. in connexion with a later Israelite in Ezr. x. 31.

[c] It is by no means certain that Jacob's words allude to the transaction at Shechem. They appear rather to refer to some other act of the brothers which has escaped direct record.

[d] The word is אַחִים, meaning "brothers" in the fullest, strictest sense. In the Targ. Pseudojon. it is rendered *achin telamin*, "brothers of the womb."

[e] Identified by some (Jerome, Talmud, &c.) with the Greek μάχαιρα. The "habitations" of the A.V. is derived from Kimchi, but is not countenanced by later scholars.

[f] A.V. "digged down a wall"; following Onkelos, who reads שׁוּר = טוּר, "a town, a wall."

[g] The Alexandrine MS. of the LXX. adds Simeon's name in this passage—"Let Reuben live and not die, and let Simeon be few in number." In so doing it differs

plained in two ways. On the assumption that the Blessing was actually pronounced in its present form by Moses, the omission may be due to his displeasure at the misbehaviour of the tribe at Shittim. On the assumption that the Blessing, or this portion of it, is a composition of later date, then it may be due to the fact of the tribe having by that time vanished from the Holy Land. The latter of these is the explanation commonly adopted.

During the journey through the wilderness Simeon was a member of the camp which marched on the south side of the Sacred Tent. His associates were Reuben and Gad—not his whole brothers, but the sons of Zilpah, Leah's maid. The head of the tribe at the time of the Exodus was Shelumiel son of Zurishaddai (Num. i. 6), ancestor of its one heroine, the intrepid Judith. [SALASADAI.] Among the spies Simeon was represented by Shaphat son of Hori, *i. e.* Horite, a name which perhaps, like the "Canaanitess" of the earlier list, reveals a trace of the lax tendencies which made the Simeonites an easy prey to the licentious rites of Peor, and ultimately destroyed the permanence of the tribe. At the division of the land his representative was Shemuel,[h] son of Ammihud.

The connexion between Judah and Simeon already mentioned seems to have begun with the Conquest. Judah and the two Joseph-brethren were first served with the lion's share of the land; and then, the Canaanites having been sufficiently subdued to allow the Sacred Tent to be established without risk in the heart of the country, the work of dividing the remainder amongst the seven inferior tribes was proceeded with (Josh. viii. 1-6). Benjamin had the first turn, then Simeon (xix. 1). By this time Judah had discovered that the tract allotted to him was too large (xix. 9), and also too much exposed on the west and south for even his great powers.[i] To Simeon accordingly was allotted a district out of the territory of his kinsman, on its southern frontier,[k] which contained eighteen or nineteen cities, with their villages, spread round the venerable well of Beersheba (Josh. xix. 1-8; 1 Chr. iv. 28-33). Of these places, with the help of Judah, the Simeonites possessed themselves (Judg. i. 3, 17); and here they were found, doubtless by Joab, residing in the reign of David (1 Chr. iv. 31). During his wandering life David must have been much amongst the Simeonites. In fact three of their cities are named in the list of those to which he sent presents of the spoil of the Amalekites, and one (Ziklag) was his own private[m] property. It is therefore remarkable that the numbers of Simeon and Judah who attended his installation as king at Hebron should have been so much below those of the other tribes (1 Chr. xii. 23-37). Possibly it is due to the fact that the event was taking place in the heart of their own territory, at Hebron. This, however, will not account for the curious fact that the warriors of Simeon (7100) were more[n] numerous than those of Judah (6800). After David's removal to Jerusalem, the head of the tribe was Shephatiah son of Maachah (1 Chr. xxvii. 16).

What part Simeon took at the time of the division of the kingdom we are not told. The tribe was probably not in a sufficiently strong or compact condition to have shown any northern tendencies, even had it entertained them. The only thing which can be interpreted into a trace of its having taken any part with the northern kingdom are the two casual notices of 2 Chr. xv. 9 and xxxiv. 6, which appear to imply the presence of Simeonites there in the reigns of Asa and Josiah. But this may have been merely a manifestation of that vagrant spirit which was a cause or a consequence of the prediction ascribed to Jacob. And on the other hand the definite statement of 1 Chr. iv. 41-43 (the date of which by Hezekiah's reign, seems to show conclusively its southern origin) proves that at that time there were still some of them remaining in the original seat of the tribe, and actuated by all the warlike lawless spirit of their progenitor. This fragment of ancient chronicle relates two expeditions in search of more eligible territory. The first, under thirteen chieftains, leading doubtless a large body of followers, was made against the Hamites and the Mehunim,[o] a powerful tribe of Bedouins, "at the entrance of Gedor at the east side of the ravine." The second was smaller, but more adventurous. Under the guidance of four chiefs a band of 500 undertook an expedition against the remnant of Amalek, who had taken refuge from the attacks of Saul or David, or some later pursuers, in the distant fastnesses of Mount Seir. The expedition was successful. They smote the Amalekites and took possession of their quarters; and they were still living there after the return of the Jews from Captivity, or whenever the First Book of Chronicles was edited in its present form.

The audacity and intrepidity which seem to have characterized the founder of the tribe of Simeon are seen in their fullest force in the last of his descendants of whom there is any express mention in the Sacred Record. Whether the book which bears her name be a history or a historic romance, JUDITH will always remain one of the most prominent figures among the deliverers of her nation. Bethulia would almost seem to have been a Simeonite colony. Ozias, the chief man of the city, was a Simeonite (Jud. vi. 15), and so was Manasses the husband of Judith (viii. 2). She herself had the purest blood of the tribe in her veins. Her genealogy is traced up to Zurishaddai (in the Greek form of the present text Salasadai, viii. 1), the head of the Simeonites at the time of their greatest power. She nerves herself for her tremendous exploit by a prayer to "the Lord God of her father Simeon" and by recalling in the most characteristic manner and in all their details the incidents of the massacre of Shechem (ix. 2).

Simeon is named by Ezekiel (xlviii. 25, and the author of the Book of the Revelation (vii. 7) in their catalogues of the restoration of Israel. The former

not only from the Vatican MS. but also from the Hebrew text, to which this MS. usually adheres more closely than the Vatican does. The insertion is adopted in the Complutensian and Aldine editions of the LXX., but does not appear in any of the other versions.

[h] It is a curious coincidence, though of course nothing more, that the scanty records of Simeon should disclose two names so illustrious in Israelite history as Saul and Samuel.

[i] This is a different account to that supplied in Judg. i. The two are entirely distinct documents. That of Judges, from its fragmentary and abrupt character, has the appearance of being the more ancient of the two.

[k] "The parts of Idumaea which border on Arabia and Egypt" (Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, §22).

[m] It had been first taken from Simeon by the Philistines (1 Sam. xxvii. 6), if indeed he ever got possession of it.

[n] Possibly because the Simeonites were warriors and nothing else, instead of husbandmen, &c., like the men of Judah.

[o] A. V "habitations." See MEHUNIM

removes the tribe from Judah and places it by the side of Benjamin.

2. (Συμεών: *Simeon.*) A priest of the family of Joarib—or in its full form JEHOIARIB—one of the ancestors of the Maccabees (1 Macc. ii. 1).

3. Son of Juda and father of Levi in the genealogy of our Lord (Luke iii. 30). The Vat. MS. gives the name Σιμεών.

4. That is, Simon Peter (Acts xv. 14). The use of the Hebrew form of the name in this place is very characteristic of the speaker in whose mouth it occurs. It is found once again (2 Pet. i. 1), though here there is not the same unanimity in the MSS. Lachmann, with B, here adopts "Simon." [G.]

5. A devout Jew, inspired by the Holy Ghost, who met the parents of our Lord in the Temple, took Him in his arms, and gave thanks for what he saw, and knew of Jesus (Luke ii. 25-35).

In the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, Simeon is called a high-priest, and the narrative of our Lord's descent into Hell is put into the mouths of Charinus and Lenthius, who are described as two sons of Simeon, who rose from the grave after Christ's resurrection (Matt. xxvii. 53), and related their story to Annas, Caiaphas, Nicodemus, Joseph, and Gamaliel.

Rabban Simeon, whose grandmother was of the family of David, succeeded his father Hillel as president of the Sanhedrim about A.D. 13 (Otho, *Lexicon Rabb.* p. 697), and his son Gamaliel was the Pharisee at whose feet St. Paul was brought up (Acts xxii. 3). A Jewish writer specially notes that no record of this Simeon is preserved in the Mishna (Lightfoot, *Horae Heb.* Luke ii. 25). It has been conjectured that he (Prideaux, *Connexion*, anno 37, Michaelis) or his grandson (Schöttgen, *Horae Heb.* Luke ii. 25) of the same name, may be the Simeon of St. Luke. In favour of the identity it is alleged that the name, residence, time of life, and general character are the same in both cases; that the remarkable silence of the Mishna, and the counsel given by Gamaliel (Acts v. 38) countenance a suspicion of an inclination on the part of the family of the Rabban towards Christianity. On the other hand, it is argued that these facts fall far short of historical proof; and that Simeon was a very common name among the Jews, that St. Luke would never have introduced so celebrated a character as the President of the Sanhedrim merely as "a man in Jerusalem," and that his son Gamaliel, after all, was educated as a Pharisee. The question is discussed in Witsius, *Miscellanea Sacra*, i. 21 §14-16. See also Wolf, *Curae Philologicae*, Luke ii. 25, and *Bibl. Hebr.* ii. 682. [W. T. B.]

SIMEON NIGER. Acts xiii. 1. [NIGER.]

SIMON. A name of frequent occurrence in Jewish history in the post-Babylonian period. It is doubtful whether it was borrowed from the Greeks, with whom it was not uncommon, or whether it was a contraction of the Hebrew Shimeon. That the two names were regarded as identical appears from 1 Macc. ii. 65. Perhaps the Hebrew name was thus slightly altered in order to render it identical with the Greek.

1. Son of Mattathias. [MACCABEES, §4, p. 1665*b*.]

2. Son of Onias the high-priest (ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας), whose eulogy closes the "praise of famous men" in the Book of Ecclesiasticus (ch. iv). [ECCLESIASTICUS, vol. i. p. 479.] Fritzsche, whose edition of Ecclesiasticus (*Exeg. Handb.*) has appeared (1860) since the article referred to was written, maintains the common view that the reference is to Simon II., but without bringing forward any new arguments to support it, though he strangely underrates the importance of Simon I. (the Just). Without laying undue stress upon the traditions which attached to this name (Herzfeld, *Gesch. Isr.* i. 195), it is evident that Simon the Just was popularly regarded as closing a period in Jewish history, as the last teacher of "the Great Synagogue." Yet there is in fact a doubt to which Simon the title "the Just" was given. Herzfeld (i. 377, 378) has endeavoured to prove that it belongs to Simon II., and not to Simon I., and in this he is followed by Jost (*Gesch. d. Judenth.* i. 95). The later Hebrew authorities, by whose help the question should be settled, are extremely unsatisfactory and confused (Jost, 110, &c.); and it appears better to adhere to the express testimony of Josephus, who identifies Simon I. with Simon the Just (*Ant.* xii. 2, §4, &c.), than to follow the Talmudic traditions, which are notoriously untrustworthy in chronology. The legends are connected with the title, and Herzfeld and Jost both agree in supposing that the reference in Ecclesiasticus is to Simon, known as "the Just," though they believe this to be Simon II. (compare, for the Jewish anecdotes, Raphall's *Hist. of Jews*, i. 115-124; Prideaux, *Connexion*, ii. 1).

3. "A governor of the Temple" in the time of Seleucus Philopator, whose information as to the treasures of the Temple led to the sacrilegious attempt of Heliodorus (2 Macc. iii. 4 &c.). After this attempt failed, through the interference of the high-priest Onias, Simon accused Onias of conspiracy (iv. 1, 2), and a bloody feud arose between their two parties (iv. 3). Onias appealed to the king, but nothing is known as to the result or the later history of Simon. Considerable doubt exists as to the exact nature of the office which he held (προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, 2 Macc. iii. 4). Various interpretations are given by Grimm (*Exeg. Handb.* ad loc.). The chief difficulty lies in the fact that Simon is said to have been of "the tribe of Benjamin" (2 Macc. iii. 3), while the earlier "ruler of the house of God" (ὁ ἡγούμενος οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ (κυρίου), 1 Chr. ix. 11; 2 Chr. xxxi. 13; Jer. xx. 1) seems to have been always a priest, and the "captain of the Temple" (στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, Luke xxii. 4, with Lightfoot's note; Acts iv. 1, v. 24, 26) and the keeper of the treasures (1 Chr. xxvi. 24; 2 Chr. xxxi. 12) must have been at least Levites. Herzfeld (*Gesch. Isr.* i. 218) conjectures that *Benjamin* is an error for *Minjamin*, the head of a priestly house (Neh. xii. 5, 17.) In support of this view it may be observed that Menelaus, the usurping high-priest, is said to have been a brother of Simon (2 Macc. iv. 23), and no intimation is anywhere given that he was not of priestly descent. At the same time the corruption (if it exist) dates from an earlier period than the present Greek text, for "tribe" (φυλή) could not be used for "family" (οἶκος). The various reading ἀγορανομίας ("regulation of the market") for παρανομίας ("disorder," 2 Macc. iii. 4), which seems to be certainly correct, points to some office in connexion with the supply of the sacrifices; and probably Simon was appointed to carry out the design of Seleucus, who (as is stated in the context) had undertaken to defray the cost of them (2 Macc. iii. 3). In this case there would be less difficulty in a Benjamite acting as the agent of a foreign king

seen in a matter which concerned the Temple-service. [B. F. W.]

4. SIMON THE BROTHER OF JESUS.—The only undoubted notice of this Simon occurs in Matt. xiii. 55, Mark vi. 3, where, in common with James, Joses, and Judas, he is mentioned as one of the "brethren" of Jesus. He has been identified by some writers with Simon the Canaanite, and still more generally with Symeon who became bishop of Jerusalem after the death of James, A.D. 62 (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 11, iv. 22), and who suffered martyrdom in the reign of Trajan at the extreme age of 120 years (Hegesippus, ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 32), in the year 107, or according to Burton (*Lectures*, ii. 17, note) in 104. The former of these opinions rests on no evidence whatever, nor is the latter without its difficulties. For in whatever sense the term "brother" is accepted—a vexed question which has been already amply discussed under BROTHER and JAMES—it is clear that neither Eusebius nor the author of the so-called *Apostolical Constitutions* understood Symeon to be the brother of James, nor consequently the "brother" of the Lord. Eusebius invariably describes James as "the brother" of Jesus (*H. E.* i. 12, ii. 1, *al.*), but Symeon as the son of Clopas, and the cousin of Jesus (iii. 11, iv. 22), and the same distinction is made by the other author (*Const. Apost.* vii. 46).

5. SIMON THE CANAANITE, one of the Twelve Apostles (Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 18), otherwise described as Simon Zelotes (Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13). The latter term (ζηλώτης), which is peculiar to Luke, is the Greek equivalent for the Chaldee term[a] preserved by Matthew and Mark (καναν*ί*της, as in *text. recept.*, or καναναῖος, as in the Vulg., *Cananaeus*, and in the best modern editions). Each of these equally points out Simon as belonging to the faction of the Zealots, who were conspicuous for their fierce advocacy of the Mosaic ritual. The supposed references to Canaan (A. V.) or to Cana (Luther's version) are equally erroneous. [CANAANITE.] The term καναν*ί*της appears to have survived the other as the distinctive surname of Simon (*Const. Apost.* vi. 14, viii. 27). He has been frequently identified with Simon the brother of Jesus; but Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 11) clearly distinguishes between the Apostles and the relations of Jesus. Still less likely is it that he was identical with Symeon, the second bishop of Jerusalem, as stated by Sophronius (*App. ad Hieron. Catal.*). Simon the Canaanite is reported, on the doubtful authority of the Pseudo-Dorotheus and of Nicephorus Callistus, to have preached in Egypt, Cyrene, and Mauritania (Burton's *Lectures*, i. 333, note), and, on the equally doubtful authority of an annotation preserved in an original copy of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (viii. 27), to have been crucified in Judaea in the reign of Domitian.

6. SIMON OF CYRENE.—A Hellenistic Jew, born at Cyrene on the north coast of Africa, who was present at Jerusalem at the time of the crucifixion of Jesus, either as an attendant at the feast (Acts ii. 10), or as one of the numerous settlers at Jerusalem from that place (Acts vi. 9). Meeting the procession that conducted Jesus to Golgotha, as he was returning from the country, he was pressed into the service (ἠγγάρευσαν, a military term) to bear the cross (Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26), when Jesus himself was unable to bear it any longer (comp. John xix. 17). Mark describes him as the father of Alexander and Rufus, perhaps because this was the Rufus known to the Roman Christians (Rom. xvi. 13), for whom he more especially wrote. The Basilidian Gnostics believed that Simon suffered in lieu of Jesus (Burton's *Lectures*, ii. 64).

7. SIMON THE LEPER.—A resident at Bethany, distinguished as "the leper," not from his having leprosy at the time when he is mentioned, but at some previous period. It is not improbable that he had been miraculously cured by Jesus. In his house Mary anointed Jesus preparatory to His death and burial (Matt. xxvi. 6 &c.; Mark xiv. 3 &c. John xii. 1 &c.). Lazarus was also present as one of the guests, while Martha served (John xii. 2): the presence of the brother and his two sisters, together with the active part the latter took in the proceedings, leads to the inference that Simon was related to them: but there is no evidence of this, and we can attach no credit to the statement that he was their father, as reported on apocryphal authority by Nicephorus, (*H. E.* i. 27), and still less to the idea that he was the husband of Mary. Simon the Leper must not be confounded with Simon the Pharisee mentioned in Luke vii. 40.

8. SIMON MAGUS.—A Samaritan living in the Apostolic age, distinguished as a sorcerer or "magician," from his practice of magical arts (μαγε*ί*ων, Acts viii. 9). His history is a remarkable one: he was born at Gitton,[b] a village of Samaria (Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 26), identified with the modern *Kuryet Jît*, near *Nâbulus* (Robinson's *Bib. Res.* ii. 308, note). He was probably educated at Alexandria (as stated in *Clement. Hom.* ii. 22), and there became acquainted with the eclectic tenets of the Gnostic school. Either then or subsequently he was a pupil of Dositheus, who preceded him as a teacher of Gnosticism in Samaria, and whom he supplanted with the aid of Cleobius (*Constit. Apostol.* vi. 8). He is first introduced to us in the Bible as practising magical arts in a city of Samaria, perhaps Sychar (Acts viii. 5; comp. John iv. 5) and with such success, that he was pronounced to be "the power of God which is called great"[c] (Acts viii. 10). The preaching and miracles of Philip having excited his observation, he became one of his disciples, and received baptism at his

[a] קַנָּאִי.

[b] Some doubt has been thrown on Justin's statement, from the fact that Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 7, §2) mentions a reputed magician of the same name and about the same date, who was born in Cyprus. It has been suggested that Justin borrowed his information from this source, and mistook Citium, a town of Cyprus, for Gitton. If the writers had respectively used the gentile forms Κιτιεύς and Γιττιεύς, the similarity would have favoured such an idea. But neither does Josephus mention Citium, nor yet does Justin use the gentile form. It is far more probable that Josephus would be wrong than Justin, in any point respecting Samaria.

[c] The A. V. omits the word καλουμένη, and renders the words "the great power of God." But this is to lose the whole point of the designation. The Samaritans described the angels as δυνάμεις, חֵילִים, *i. e.* uncreated influences proceeding from God (Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 48, note 6). They intended to distinguish Simon from such an order of beings by adding the words "which is called great," meaning thereby the source of all power, in other words, the Supreme Deity. Simon was recognized as the incarnation of this power. He announced himself as in a special sense "some great one" (Acts viii. 9); or to use his own words (as reported by Jerome, on Matt. xxiv. 5)

hands. Subsequently he witnessed the effect produced by the imposition of hands, as practised by the Apostles Peter and John, and, being desirous of acquiring a similar power for himself, he offered a sum of money for it. His object evidently was to apply the power to the prosecution of magical arts. The motive and the means were equally to be reprobated; and his proposition met with a severe denunciation from Peter, followed by a petition on the part of Simon, the tenor of which bespeaks terror but not penitence (Acts viii. 9-24). The memory of his peculiar guilt has been perpetuated in the word *simony*, as applied to all traffic in spiritual offices. Simon's history, subsequently to his meeting with Peter, is involved in difficulties. Early Church historians depict him as the pertinacious foe of the Apostle Peter, whose movements he followed for the purpose of seeking encounters, in which he was signally defeated. In his journeys he was accompanied by a female named Helena, who had previously been a prostitute at Tyre, but who was now elevated to the position of his ἔννοια[d] or divine intelligence (Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 26; Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 13). His first encounter with Peter took place at Caesarea Stratonis (according to the *Constitutiones Apostolicae*, vi. 8), whence he followed the Apostle to Rome. Eusebius makes no mention of this first encounter, but represents Simon's journey to Rome as following immediately after the interview recorded in Scripture (*H. E.* ii. 14); but his chronological statements are evidently confused; for in the very same chapter he states that the meeting between the two at Rome took place in the reign of Claudius, some ten years after the events in Samaria. Justin Martyr, with greater consistency, represents Simon as having visited Rome in the reign of Claudius, and omits all notice of an encounter with Peter. His success there was so great that he was deified, and a statue was erected in his honour, with the inscription "Simoni Deo Sancto"[e] (*Apol.* i. 26, 56). The above statements can be reconciled only by assuming that Simon made two expeditions to Rome, the first in the reign of Claudius, the second, in which he encountered Peter, in the reign of Nero,[f] about the year 68 (Burton's *Lectures*, i. 233, 318): and even this takes for granted the disputed fact of St. Peter's visit to Rome. [PETER.] His death is associated with the meeting in question: according to Hippolytus, the earliest authority on the subject, Simon was buried alive at his own request, in the confident assurance that he would rise again on the third day (*Adv. Haer.* vi. 20). According to another account, he attempted to fly in proof of his supernatural power; in answer to the prayers of Peter, he fell and sustained a fracture of his thigh- and ankle-bones (*Constitut. Apostol.* ii. 14, vi. 9); overcome with vexation, he committed suicide (Arnob. *Adv. Gent.* ii. 7). Whether this statement is confirmed, or, on the other hand, weakened, by the account of a similar attempt to fly recorded by heathen writers (Sueton. *Ner.* 12; Juv. *Sat.* iii. 79), is uncertain. Simon's attempt may have supplied the basis for this report, or this report may have been erroneously placed to his credit. Burton (*Lectures*, i. 295) rather favours the former alternative. Simon is generally pronounced by early writers to have been the founder of heresy. It is difficult to understand how he was guilty of heresy in the proper sense of the term, inasmuch as he was not a Christian: perhaps it refers to his attempt to combine Christianity with Gnosticism. He is also reported to have forged works professing to emanate from Christ and His disciples (*Constitut. Apostol.* vi. 16).

9. SIMON PETER. [PETER.]

10. SIMON, a Pharisee, in whose house a penitent woman anointed the head and feet of Jesus (Luke vii. 40).

11. SIMON THE TANNER.—A Christian convert living at Joppa, at whose house Peter lodged (Acts ix. 43). The profession of a tanner was regarded with considerable contempt, and even as approaching to uncleanness, by the rigid Jews. [TANNER.] That Peter selected such an abode, showed the diminished hold which Judaism had on him. The house was near the sea-side (Acts x. 6, 32), for the convenience of the water.

12. SIMON, the father of Judas Iscariot (John vi. 71, xiii. 2, 26). [W. L. B.]

SI'MON CHOSAMAE'US (Σίμων Χοσαμαῖος: *Simon*). SHIMEON, and the three following names in Ezr. x. 31, 32, are thus written in the LXX. (1 Esd. ix. 32). The Vulgate has correctly "Simon, Benjamin, et Malchus, et Marras." "Chosamaeus" is apparently formed by combining the last letter of Malluch with the first part of the following name, Shemariah.

SIM'RI (שִׁמְרִי: Φυλάσσοντες: *Semri*). Properly "Shimri," son of Hosah, a Merarite Levite in the reign of David, (1 Chr. xxvi. 10). Though not the first-born, his father made him the head

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"Ego sum sermo Dei, ego sum Speciosus, ego Paracletus, ego Omnipotens, ego omnia Dei."

[d] In the ἔννοια, as embodied in Helena's person, we recognize the dualistic element of Gnosticism, derived from the Manichean system. The Gnostics appear to have recognized the δύναμις and the ἔννοια, as the two original principles from whose junction all beings emanated. Simon and Helena were the incarnations in which these principles resided.

[e] Justin's authority has been impugned in respect to this statement, on the ground that a tablet was discovered in 1574 on the *Tiberina insula*, which answers to the locality described by Justin (ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν), and bearing an inscription, the first words of which are "Semoni sanco deo fidio." This inscription, which really applies to the Sabine Hercules *Sancus Semo*, is supposed to have been mistaken by Justin, in his ignorance of Latin, for one in honour of Simon. If the inscription had been confined to the words quoted by Justin, such a mistake might have been conceivable; but it goes on to state the name of the giver and other particulars: "Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio sacrum Sex. Pompeius, Sp. F. Col. Mussianus Quinquennalis decus Bidentalis donum dedit." That Justin, a man of literary acquirements, should be unable to translate such an inscription—that he should misquote it in an Apology duly prepared at Rome for the eye of a Roman emperor—and that the mistake should be repeated by other early writers whose knowledge of Latin is unquestioned (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haeres.* i. 20; Tertullian, *Apol.* 13)—these assumptions form a series of improbabilities, amounting almost to an impossibility.

[f] This later date is to a certain extent confirmed by the account of Simon's death preserved by Hippolytus (*Adv. Haer.* vi. 20); for the event is stated to have occurred while Peter and Paul (the term ἀποστόλοις evidently implying the presence of the latter) were together at Rome.

e the family. The LXX. read שֹׁמְרֵי, *shômĕrê*, "guards."

SIN (סִין: Σάϊς, Σύήνη: *Pelusium*), a city of Egypt, mentioned only by Ezekiel (xxx. 15, 16). The name is Hebrew, or, at least, Shemitic. Gesenius supposes it to signify "clay," from the unused root סָנַן, probably "he or it was muddy, clayey." It is identified in the Vulg. with Pelusium, Πηλούσιον, "the clayey or muddy" town, from πηλός; and seems to be preserved in the Arabic Et-Teeneh, الطينة, which forms part of the names of Fum et-Teeneh, the Mouth of Et-Teeneh, the supposed Pelusiac mouth of the Nile, and Burg or Kal'at et-Teeneh, the Tower or Castle of Et-Teeneh, in the immediate neighbourhood, "teen" signifying "mud," &c., in Arabic. This evidence is sufficient to show that Sin is Pelusium. The ancient Egyptian name is still to be sought for: it has been supposed that Pelusium preserves traces of it, but this is very improbable. Champollion identifies Pelusium with the Пеpеωтн, Пеpеωн (the second being a variation held by Quatremère to be incorrect), and Βαpεωτн, of the Copts, El-Farmà, الفرما, of the Arabs, which was in the time of the former a boundary-city, the limits of a governor's authority being stated to have extended from Alexandria to Pilak-h, or Philae, and Peremoun (Acts of St. Sarapamon MS. Copt. Vat. 67, fol. 90, ap. Quatremère, *Mémoires Géog. et Hist. sur l'Egypte*, i. 259). Champollion ingeniously derives this name from the article ϕ, ep, "to be," and Oωωι, "mud" (*L'Egypte*, ii. 82-87; comp. Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* i. p. 297). Brugsch compares the ancient Egyptian HA-REM, which he reads Pe-rema, on our system, PE-REM, "the abode of the tear," or "of the fish rem" (*Geogr. Inschr.* i. *l. c.*, pl. lv. n°. 1679). Pelusium, he would make the city SAMHAT (or, as he reads it Sâm-hud), remarking that "the nome of the city Sâmhud" is the only one which has the determinative of a city, and, comparing the evidence of the Roman nome-coins, on which the place is apparently treated as a nome; but this is not certain, for there may have been a Pelusiac nome, and the etymology of the name SAMHAT is unknown (Id. p. 128; Pl. xxviii. 17).

The site of Pelusium is as yet undetermined. It has been thought to be marked by mounds near Burg et-Teeneh, now called El-Farmà and not Et-Teeneh. This is disputed by Captain Spratt, who supposes that the mound of Aboo-Kheeyár indicates where it stood. This is further inland, and apparently on the west of the old Pelusiac branch, as was Pelusium. It is situate between Farmà and Tel-Defenneh.[a] Whatever may have been its exact position, Pelusium must have owed its strength not to any great elevation, but to its being placed in the midst of a plain of marsh-land and mud, never easy to traverse. The ancient sites in such alluvial tracts of Egypt are in general only sufficiently raised above the level of the plain to preserve them from being injured by the inundation.

The antiquity of the town of Sin may perhaps be inferred from the mention of "the wilderness of Sin" in the journeys of the Israelites (Ex. xvi. 1; Num. xxxiii. 11). It is remarkable, however, that the Israelites did not immediately enter this tract on leaving the cultivated part of Egypt, so that it is held to have been within the Sinaitic peninsula, and therefore it may take its name from some other place or country than the Egyptian Sin. [SIN, WILDERNESS OF.]

Pelusium is mentioned by Ezekiel, in one of the prophecies relating to the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, as one of the cities which should then suffer calamities, with, probably, reference to their later history. The others spoken of are Noph (Memphis), Zoan (Tanis), No (Thebes), Aven (Heliopolis), Pi-beseth (Bubastis), and Tehaphnehes (Daphnae). All these, excepting the two ancient capitals, Thebes and Memphis, lay on or near the eastern boundary; and, in the approach to Memphis, an invader could scarcely advance, after capturing Pelusium and Daphnae, without taking Tanis, Bubastis, and Heliopolis. In the most ancient times Tanis, as afterwards Pelusium, seems to have been the key of Egypt on the east. Bubastis was an important position from its lofty mounds, and Heliopolis as securing the approach to Memphis. The prophet speaks of Sin as "Sin the stronghold of Egypt" (ver. 15). This place it held from that time until the period of the Romans. Herodotus relates that Sennacherib advanced against Pelusium, and that near Pelusium Cambyses defeated Psammenitus. In like manner the decisive battle in which Ochus defeated the last native king, Nectanebos, NEKHT-NEBF, was fought near this city. It is perhaps worthy of note that Ezekiel twice mentions Pelusium in the prophecy which contains the remarkable and signally-fulfilled sentence: "There shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt" (ver. 13). As he saw the long train of calamities that were to fall upon the country, Pelusium may well have stood out as the chief place of her successive humiliations. Two Persian conquests, and two submissions to strangers, first to Alexander, and then to Augustus, may explain the especial misery foretold of this city:—"Sin shall suffer great anguish" (ver. 16).

We find in the Bible a geographical name, which has the form of a gent. noun derived from Sin, and is usually held to apply to two different nations, neither connected with the city Sin. In the list of the descendants of Noah, the Sinite, סִינִי, occurs among the sons of Canaan (Gen. x. 17; 1 Chr. i. 15). This people from its place between the Arkite and the Arvadite has been supposed to have settled in Syria north of Palestine, where similar names occur in classical geography and have been alleged in confirmation. This theory would not, however, necessarily imply that the whole tribe was there settled, and the supposed traces of the name are by no means conclusive. On the other hand, it must be observed that some of the eastern towns of Lower Egypt have Hebrew as well as Egyptian names, as Heliopolis and Tanis; that those very near the border seem to have borne only Hebrew names, as Migdol; so that we have an indication of a Shemitic influence in this part of Egypt, diminishing in degree according to the distance from

[a] Capt. Spratt's reports have unfortunately been printed only in abstract ("Delta of the Nile," &c.; Return, House of Commons, 9th Feb 1860), with a very insufficient map. In M. Linant's map we cannot discover Aboo Kheeyár (*Percement de l'Isthme de Suez, Atlas. Carte Topographique*).

the border. It is difficult to account for this influence by the single circumstance of the Shepherd-invasion of Egypt, especially as it is shown yet more strikingly by the remarkably-strong characteristics which have distinguished the inhabitants of north-eastern Egypt from their fellow-countrymen from the days of Herodotus and Achilles Tatius to our own. And we must not pass by the statement of the former of these writers, that the Palestine Syrians dwelt westward of the Arabians to the eastern boundary of Egypt (iii. 5, and above p. 1047, note [a]). Therefore, it does not seem a violent hypothesis that the Sinites were connected with Pelusium, though their main body may perhaps have settled much further to the north. The distance is not greater than that between the Hittites of southern Palestine and those of the valley of the Orontes, although the separation of the less powerful Hivites into those dwelling beneath Mount Hermon and the inhabitants of the small confederacy of which Gibeon was apparently the head, is perhaps nearer to our supposed case. If the wilderness of Sin owed its name to Pelusium, this is an evidence of the very early importance of the town and its connexion with Arabia, which would perhaps be strange in the case of a purely Egyptian town. The conjecture we have put forth suggests a recurrence to the old explanation of the famous mention of "the land of Sinim," אֶרֶץ סִינִים, in Isaiah (xlix. 12), supposed by some to refer to China. This would appear from the context to be a very remote region. It is mentioned after the north and the west, and would seem to be in a southern or eastern direction. Sin is certainly not remote, nor is the supposed place of the Sinites to the north of Palestine; but the expression may be proverbial. The people of Pelusium, if of Canaanite origin, were certainly remote compared to most of the other Canaanites, and were separated by alien peoples, and it is also noticeable that they were to the south-east of Palestine. As the sea bordering Palestine came to designate the west, as in this passage, so the land of Sinim may have passed into a proverbial expression for a distant and separated country. See, however, SINITE, SINIM. [R. S. P.]

SIN, WILDERNESS OF (מִדְבַּר־סִין: ἔρημος Σίν: *desertum Sin*). The name of a tract of the wilderness which the Israelites reached after leaving the encampment by the Red Sea (Num. xxxiii. 11, 12). Their next halting-place (Ex. xvi. 1, xvii. 1) was Rephidim, probably the *Wady Feirán* [REPHIDIM]; on which supposition it would follow that Sin must lie between that wady and the coast of the Gulf of Suez, and of course west of Sinai. Since they were by this time gone more than a month from Egypt, the locality must be too far towards the S. E. to receive its name from the Egyptian Sin of Ez. xxx. 15, called Σάϊς by the LXX., and identified with Pelusium (see previous Article). In the wilderness of Sin the manna was first gathered, and those who adopt the supposition that this was merely the natural product of the *tarfa* bush, find from the abundance of that shrub in *Wady es Sheikh*, S. E. of *W. Ghŭrundel* a proof of local identity. [ELIM.] At all events, that wady is as probable as any other. [H. H.]

SIN-OFFERING (חַטָּאת: ἁμαρτία, τὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, περὶ ἁμαρτίας: *pro peccato*). The sin-offering among the Jews was the sacrifice, in which the ideas of propitiation and of atonement for sin were most distinctly marked. It is first directly enjoined in Lev. iv., whereas in chs. i.–iii. the burnt-offering, meat-offering, and peace-offering are taken for granted, and the object of the Law is to regulate, not to enjoin, the presentation of them to the Lord. Nor is the word *chattâth* applied to any sacrifice in ante-Mosaic times.[a] It is therefore peculiarly a sacrifice of the Law, agreeing with the clear definition of good and evil, and the stress laid on the "sinfulness of sin," which were the main objects of the Law in itself. The idea of propitiation was no doubt latent in earlier sacrifices, but it was taught clearly and distinctly in the Levitical sin-offering.

The ceremonial of the sin-offering is described in Lev. iv. and vi. The animal, a young bullock for the priest or the congregation, a male kid or lamb for a ruler, a female kid or lamb for a private person, in all cases without blemish, was brought by the sacrificer to the altar of sacrifice; his hand was laid upon its head (with, as we learn from later Jewish authorities, a confession of sin, and a prayer that the victim might be its expiation); of the blood of the slain victim, some was then sprinkled seven times before the veil of the sanctuary, some put on the horns of the altar of incense, and the rest poured at the foot of the altar of sacrifice; the fat (as the choicest part of the flesh) was then burnt on the altar as a burnt-offering; the remainder of the body, if the sin-offering were that of the priest himself or of the whole congregation, was carried out of the camp or city to a "clean place" and there burnt; but if the offering were that of an individual, the flesh might be eaten by the priests alone in the holy place, as being "most holy."

The TRESPASS-OFFERING (אָשָׁם: πλημμέλεια, τὸ τῆς πλημμελείας: *pro delicto*) is closely connected with the sin-offering in Leviticus, but at the same time clearly distinguished from it, being in some cases offered with it as a distinct part of the same sacrifice; as, for example, in the cleansing of the leper (Lev. xiv.). The victim was in each case to be a ram. At the time of offering, in all cases of damage done to any holy thing, or to any man, restitution was made with the addition of a fifth part to the principal; the blood was sprinkled round about upon the altar, as in the burnt-offering; the fat burnt, and flesh disposed of as in the sin-offering. The distinction of ceremonial clearly indicates a difference in the idea of the two sacrifices.

The nature of that difference is still a subject of great controversy. Looking first to the derivation of the two words, we find that חַטָּאת is derived from חָטָא, which is, properly, to "miss" a mark, or to "err" from a way, and secondarily to "sin," or to incur "penalty;" that אָשָׁם is derived from the root אָשַׁם, which is properly to "fail," having for its "primary idea *negligence*, especially in gait" (Ges.). It is clear that, so far as derivation goes, there appears to be more of reference to general and actual sin in the former, to special cases of negligence in the latter.

Turning next to the description, in the Book of Leviticus, of the circumstances under which each

[a] Its technical use in Gen. iv. 7 is asserted, and supported by high authority. But the word here probably means (as in the Vulg. and A. V.) "sin." The fact that it is never used in application to any other sacrifice in Genesis or Exodus, alone makes the translation "sin-offering" here very improbable.

should be offered, we find one important passage Lev. v. 1-13) in which the sacrifice is called first a "trespass-offering" (ver. 6), and then a "sin-offering" (ver. 7, 9, 11, 12). But the nature of the victims in ver. 6 agrees with the ceremonial of the latter, not of the former; the application of the latter name is more emphatic and reiterated; and there is at ver. 14 a formal introduction of the law of the trespass-offering, exactly as of the law of the sin-offering in iv. 1. It is therefore safe to conclude that the word אָשָׁם is not here used in its technical sense, and that the passage is to be referred to the sin-offering only.

We find then that the sin-offerings were—

(A.) REGULAR.

(1.) *For the whole people*, at the New Moon, Passover, Pentecost, Feast of Trumpets, and Feast of Tabernacles (Num. xxviii. 15–xxix. 38); besides the solemn offering of the two goats on the Great Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi.).

(2.) *For the Priests and Levites* at their consecration (Ex. xxix. 10-14, 36); besides the yearly sin-offering (a bullock) for the high-priest on the Great Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi.).[b]

(B.) SPECIAL.

(1.) *For any sin of "ignorance"* against the commandment of the Lord, on the part of priest, people, ruler, or private man (Lev. iv.).

(2.) *For refusal to bear witness* under adjuration (Lev. v. 1).

(3.) *For ceremonial defilement* not wilfully contracted (Lev. v. 2, 3), under which may be classed the offerings at the purification of women (xii. 6-8), at the cleansing of leprosy (xiv. 19, 31) or the uncleanness of men or women (xv. 15, 30), on the defilement of a Nazarite (Num. vi. 6-11) or the expiration of his vow (16).

(4.) *For the breach of a rash oath*, the keeping of which would involve sin (Lev. v. 4).

The trespass-offerings, on the other hand, were always special, as—

(1.) *For sacrilege "in ignorance,"* with compensation for the harm done, and the gift of a fifth part of the value besides to the priest (Lev. v. 15, 16).

(2.) *For ignorant transgression* against some definite prohibition of the Law (v. 17-19).

(3.) *For fraud, suppression of the truth, or perjury* against man, with compensation, and with the addition of a fifth part of the value of the property in question to the person wronged (vi. 1-6).

(4.) *For rape of a betrothed slave* (Lev. xix. 20, 21).

(5.) *At the purification of the leper* (Lev. xiv. 12), and the *polluted Nazarite* (Num. vi. 12), offered with the sin-offering.

From this enumeration it will be clear that the two classes of sacrifices, although distinct, touch closely upon each other, as especially in B. (1) of the sin-offering, and (2) of the trespass-offering. It is also evident that the sin-offering was the only regular and general recognition of sin in the abstract, and accordingly was far more solemn and symbolical in its ceremonial; the trespass-offering was confined to special cases, most of which related to the doing of some material damage, either to the holy things or to man, except in (5), where the trespass-offering is united with the sin-offering. Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 9, §3) declares that the sin-offering is presented by those "who fall into sin in ignorance" (κατ' ἀγνοίαν), and the trespass-offering by "one who has sinned and is conscious of his sin, but has no one to convict him thereof." From this it may be inferred (as by Winer and others) that the former was used in cases of known sin against some definite law, the latter in the case of secret sin, unknown, or, if known, not liable to judicial cognizance. Other opinions have been entertained, widely different from, and even opposed to, one another. Many of them are given in Winer's *Realw.* "Schuldopfer." The opinions which suppose one offering due for sins of omission, and the other for sins of commission, have no foundation in the language of the Law. Others, with more plausibility, refer the sin-offering to sins of pure ignorance, the trespass-offering to those of a more sinful and deliberate character; but this does not agree with Lev. v. 17-19, and is contradicted by the solemn contrast between sins of ignorance, which might be atoned for, and "sins of presumption," against which death without mercy is denounced in Num. xv. 30. A third opinion supposes the sin-offering to refer to sins for which no material and earthly atonement could be made, the trespass-offering to those for which material compensation was possible. This theory has something to support it in the fact that in some cases (see Lev. v. 15, 16, vi. 1-6) compensation was prescribed as accessory to the sacrifice. Others seek more recondite distinctions, supposing (*e. g.*) that the sin-offering had for its object the cleansing of the sanctuary or the commonwealth, and the trespass-offering the cleansing of the individual; or that the former referred to the effect of sin upon the soul itself, the latter to the effect of sin as the breach of an external law. Without attempting to decide so difficult and so controverted a question, we may draw the following conclusions:—

First, that the sin-offering was far the more solemn and comprehensive of the two sacrifices.

Secondly, that the sin-offering looked more to the guilt of the sin done, irrespective of its consequences, while the trespass-offering looked to the evil consequences of sin, either against the service of God, or against man, and to the duty of atonement, as far as atonement was possible. Hence the two might with propriety be offered together.

Thirdly, that in the sin-offering especially we find symbolized the acknowledgment of sinfulness as inherent in man, and of the need of expiation by sacrifice to renew the broken covenant between man and God.

There is one other question of some interest, as to the nature of the sins for which either sacrifice could be offered. It is seen at once that in the Law of Leviticus, most of them, which are not purely ceremonial, are called sins of "ignorance" (see Heb. ix. 7); and in Num. xv. 30, it is expressly said that while such sins can be atoned for by offerings, "the soul that doeth aught *presumptuously*" (Heb. *with a high hand*) "shall be cut off from among his people." . . . "His iniquity shall be upon him" (comp. Heb. x. 26). But there are sufficient indications that the sins here called "of ignorance" are more strictly those of "negligence" or

[b] To these may be added the sacrifice of the red heifer (conducted with the ceremonial of a sin-offering), from the ashes of which was made the "water of separation," used in certain cases of ceremonial pollution. See Num. xix.

"frailty,"[c] repented of by the unpunished offender, as opposed to those of deliberate and unrepentant sin. The Hebrew word itself and its derivations are so used in Ps. cxix. 67 (ἐπλημμέλησα, LXX.); 1 Sam. xxvi. 21 (ἠγνόηκα); Ps. xix. 13 (παραπτώματα); Job xix. 4 (πλάνος). The words ἀγνόημα and ἄγνοια have a corresponding extent of meaning in the N. T.; as when in Acts iii. 17, the Jews, in their crucifixion of our Lord, are said to have acted (κατ' ἀγνοίαν); and in Eph. iv. 18, 1 Pet. i. 14, the vices of heathenism, done against the light of conscience, are still referred to ἄγνοια. The use of the word (like that of ἀγνωμονεῖν in classical Greek) is found in all languages, and depends on the idea that goodness is man's true wisdom, and that sin is the failing to recognize this truth. If from the word we turn to the sins actually referred to in Lev. iv. v., we find some which certainly are not sins of pure ignorance; they are indeed few out of the whole range of sinfulness, but they are real sins. The later Jews (see Outram, *De Sacrificiis*) limited the application of the sin-offering to negative sins, sins in ignorance, and sins in action, not in thought, evidently conceiving it to apply to actual sins, but to sins of a secondary order.

In considering this subject, it must be remembered that the sacrifices of the Law had a temporal, as well as a spiritual, significance and effect. They restored an offender to his place in the commonwealth of Israel; they were therefore an atonement to the King of Israel for the infringement of His law. It is clear that this must have limited the extent of their legal application; for there are crimes, for which the interest and very existence of a society demand that there should be no pardon. But so far as the sacrifices had a spiritual and typical meaning, so far as they were sought by a repentant spirit as a sign and means of reconcilement with God, it can hardly be doubted that they had a wider scope and a real spiritual effect, so long as their typical character remained. [See SACRIFICE.]

For the more solemn sin-offerings, see DAY OF ATONEMENT; LEPROSY, &c. [A. B.]

SI'NA, MOUNT (τὸ ὄρος Σεινᾶ: *mons Sina*). The Greek form of the well-known name which in the O. T. universally, and as often as not in the Apocr. and N. T., is given in the A. V. SINAI. Sina occurs Jud. v. 14;[a] Acts vii. 30, 38. [G.]

SI'NAI (סִינַי: Σινᾶ: *Sinai*). Nearly in the centre of the peninsula which stretches between the horns of the Red Sea lies a wedge of granite, grünstein, and porphyry rocks, rising to between 8000 and 9000 feet above the sea. Its shape resembles a scalene triangle, with a crescent cut from its northern or longer side, on which border Russegger's map gives a broad skirting tract of old red sandstone, reaching nearly from gulf to gulf, and traversed by a few ridges, chiefly of a tertiary formation, running nearly N.W. and S.E. On the S.W. side of this triangle, a wide alluvial plain—narrowing, however, towards the N.—lines the coast of the Gulf of Suez, whilst that on the eastern or Akabah coast is so narrow as almost to disappear. Between these alluvial edges and the granitic mass a strip of the same sandstone is interposed, the two strips converging at *Râs Mohammed*, the southern promontory of the whole. This nucleus of plutonic rocks is said to bear no trace of volcanic action since the original upheaval of its masses (Stanley, 21, 22). Laborde (*Travels*, p. 105) thought he detected some, but does not affirm it. Its general configuration runs into neither ranges nor peaks, but is that of a plateau cut across with intersecting wadys,[b] whence spring the cliffs and mountain peaks, beginning with a very gradual and terminating in a very steep ascent. It has been arranged (Stanley, *S. and P.* 11) in three chief masses as follows:—

1. The N.W. cluster above *Wady Feirân*; its greatest relief found in the five-peaked ridge of *Serbâl*, at a height of 6342 feet above the sea. (For an account of the singular natural basin into which the waters of this portion of the mountain mass are received, and its probable connexion with Scriptural topography, see REPHIDIM.)

2. The eastern and central one; its highest point the *Jebel Katherin*, at a height of 8663 (Rüppell) to 8168 (Russegger) feet, and including the *Jebel Mûsa*, the height of which is variously set (by Schubert, Rüppell, and Russegger) at 6796, 7033, and 7097 feet.

3. The S.E. one, closely connected, however, with 2; its highest point, *Um Shaumer*, being that also of the whole.

The three last-named peaks all lie very nearly in a line of about 9 miles drawn from the most northerly of them, *Mûsa*, a little to the W. of S.; and a perpendicular to this line, traced on the map westwards for about 20 miles, nearly traverses the whole length of the range of *Serbâl*. These lines show the area of greatest relief for the peninsula,[c] nearly equidistant from each of its embracing gulfs, and also from its northern base, the range of *Et Tîh*, and its southern apex, the *Râs Mohammed*.

Before considering the claims of the individual mountains to Scriptural notice, there occurs a question regarding the relation of the names Horeb and Sinai. The latter name first occurs as that of the limit on the further side from Egypt of the wilderness of Sin (Ex. xvi. 1), and again (xix. 1, 2) as the "wilderness" or "desert of Sinai," before *Mount* Sinai is actually spoken of, as in ver. 11 soon after we find it. But the name "Horeb"[d] is, in the case of the rebuke of the people by God for their sin in making the golden calf, reintroduced into the Sinaitic narrative (xxxiii. 6), having

[c] From the root שָׁגָה, or שָׁגַג, signifying to "err" or "wander out of the way," cognate in sense to the root of the word *chattâth* itself.

[a] In this passage the present Greek text, of both MSS., reads εἰς ὁδόν, not ὄρος, τοῦ Σεινᾶ. But the note in the margin of the A. V. of 1611 is, notwithstanding, wrong—"Greek, into the way of the wilderness of Sina;" that being nearer to the Vulg. *deserta Sina montis occuparunt*.

[b] See Robinson's "Memoir on the Maps" (Vol. iii. Appendix 1, pp. 32-39), a most important comment on the different sources of authority for different portions of the region, and the weight due to each, and containing a just caution regarding the indications of surface aspect given by Laborde.

[c] Dr. Stanley (77) notices another "very high mountain S.W. of *Um-Shôm'r*, apparently calculated by Rüppell to be the highest in the peninsula . . . possibly that called by Burckhardt *Thommar*, or *El Koly*." But this seems only to effect an extension of the area of the relief in the direction indicated.

[d] Dr. Stanley has spoken of two of the three passages in Exodus in which Horeb occurs (iii. 1, xvii. 6) as "doubtful," and of the third (xxxiii. 6) as "ambiguous;" but he does not say on what grounds (*S. & P.* 29, note).

been previously most recently used in the story of the murmuring at Rephidim (xvii. 6, "I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb"), and earlier as the name of the scene of the appearance of God in the "burning bush" (iii. 1). Now, since Rephidim seems to be a desert stage apart from the place where Israel "camped before the mount" (Sinai, xix. 2), it is not easy to account for a Horeb at Rephidim, apparently as the specific spot of a particular transaction (so that the refuge of a "general" name Horeb, contrasted with Sinai as a special one, is cut off), and a Horeb in the Sinaitic region, apparently a synonym of the mountain which, since the scene of the narrative is fixed at it, had been called Sinai. Lepsius removes the difficulty by making *Serbâl* Sinai, but against this it will be seen that there are even stronger objections. But a proper name given from a natural feature may recur with that feature. Such is "Horeb," properly signifying "ground left dry by water draining off." Now both at Rephidim and at Kadesh Meribah, where was the "fountain of judgment" (Gen. xiv. 7), it is expressly mentioned that "there was no water;" and the inference is that some ordinary supply, expected to be found there, had failed, possibly owing to drought. "The rock in Horeb" was (Ex. xvii. 6) what Moses smote. It probably stood on the exact spot where the water was expected to be, but was not. Now Lepsius (*Tour*, April 22, transl. by Cottrell, p. 74) found in *Wady Feirân*, which he identifies with Rephidim, singular alluvial banks of earth which may have once formed the bottom of a lake since dried.[e] If this was the scene of the miracle [see REPHIDIM], the propriety of the name Horeb, as applied to it, becomes clear. Further, in all the places of Deut. where Horeb is found [see HOREB], it seems to be used in reference to the people as the place where they stood to receive, rather than whence God appeared to give the law, which is apparently in the same Book of Deut. indicated by Sinai (xxxiii. 2); and in the one remaining passage of Exod., where Horeb occurs in the narrative of the same events, it is used also in reference to the people (xxxiii. 6), and probably refers to what they had previously done in the matter of the golden calf (xxxii. 2, 3). If this be accepted, there remains in the Pentateuch only Ex. iii. 1, where Moses led the flocks of Jethro "to the mountain of God, to Horeb;" but this form of speech, which seems to identify two local names, is sometimes not a strict apposition, but denotes an extension, especially where the places are so close together that the writer tacitly recognizes them as one.[f] Thus Horeb, strictly taken, may probably be a dry plain, valley, or bed of a wady near the mountain; and yet *Mount* Horeb, on the "vast green plain" of which was doubtless excellent pasture, may mean the mountain viewed in reference thereto,[g] or its side abutting thereon. The mention of Horeb in later books (*e. g.* 1 K. viii. 9, xix. 8) seems to show that it had then become the designation of the mountain and region generally. The spot where the people themselves took part in the greatest event of their history would naturally become the popular name in later designations of that event "Thou stoodest before the Lord thy God *in Horeb*" was a literal fact, and became the great basis of all traditions of it. By this they recognized that they had been brought into covenant with God. On the contrary, in Neh. ix. 13, we read, "*Thou* camest down upon *Mount Sinai*."

But beyond the question of the relation which these names mutually bear, there remains that of site. Sinai is clearly a summit distinctly marked. Where are we to look for it? There are three principal views in answer to this question:—

I. That of Lepsius, above mentioned, favoured also by Burckhardt (*Trav.* p. 609), that Serbâl is Sinai, some 30 miles distant westward from the *Jebel Mûsa*, but close to the *Wady Feirân* and *El Hessue*, which he identifies, as do most authorities, with Rephidim (Lepsius, 74), just a mile from the old convent of *Farân*. On this view Israel would have reached Sinai the same day that they fought with Amalek: "the decampment occurred during the battle" (ib. 86)—an unlikely thing, since the contest was evidently fierce and close, and lasted till sunset. Serbâl is the most magnificent mountain of the peninsula, rising with a crown of five peaks from the maritime plain on one side, and from the *Wady Feirân* on the other, and showing its full height at once to the eye; and Ritter (*Geogr.* xiv. 734-6) has suggested[h] that it might have been, before the actual Exodus, known as "the mount of God" to the Amalekite Arabs, and even to the Egyptians.[i] The earliest traditions are in its favour. "It is undoubtedly identified with Sinai by Eusebius, Jerome, and Cosmas, that is, by all known writers to the time of Justinian," as confirmed by the position "of the episcopal city of Paran at its foot" (Stanley, *S. and P.* 40).

But there are two main objections to this:—(1.) It is clear, from Ex. xix. 2 (comp. xvii. 1), that the interval between Rephidim and Sinai was that of a regular stage of the march. The expressions in the Hebrew are those constantly used for decamping and encamping in the Books of Ex., Num., and Deut.; and thus a Sinai within a mile of Rephidim is unsuitable. (2.) There is no plain or wady of any sufficient size near Serbâl to offer camping ground to so large a host, or perhaps the tenth part of them. Dr. Stewart (*The Tent and the Khan*, p. 146) contends for *Serbâl* as the real Sinai, seeking to obviate objection (1), by making Rephidim "no higher up than *Heshuéh*" [REPHIDIM], and (2), by regarding *Wady Aleiat* and *Wady Rimm* as capacious enough for the

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e "Alluvial mounds" are visible at the foot of the modern Horeb cliffs in the plain *Er Raheh*; just as Lepsius noticed others at the *Wady Feirân*. (Comp. Stanley, *S. & P.* 40, Lepsius, 84).

f So in Gen. xiii. 3, Abram goes "to Bethel, unto the place where his tent had been at the beginning, between Bethel and Hai;" *i. e.* really to Bethel, and somewhat further.

g It ought not to be left unnoticed that different tribes of the desert often seem to give different names to the same mountain, valley, &c., or the same names to different mountains, &c., because perhaps they judge of them by the way in which leading features group themselves to the eye, and which varies with the habitual point of view (Lepsius, 64).

h Robinson, on the other hand (i. 78-9), suggests that *Sûrâbît el Khadim* (or *Chadem*), lying north of *Serbâl* was a place of pilgrimage to the ancient Egyptians, and a supposable object of Moses' proposed "three days' journey into the wilderness." But that pilgrimage was an element in the religion of ancient Egypt seems at least doubtful.

i So Dr. Stewart (*The Tent and the Khan*, p. 147) says "that it was a place of idolatrous worship before the passage of the children of Israel is extremely probable." He renders the name by "Lord Baal."

host to camp in (ib. p. 145);—a very doubtful assertion.

II. The second is that of Ritter,[k] that, allowing Serbâl the reverence of an early sanctuary, the *Jebel Mûsa* is Sinai, and that the *Wady es Sebayeh*, which its S.E. or highest summit overhangs, is the spot where the people camped before the mount; but the second objection to Serbâl applies almost in equal force to this—the want of space below. The wady is "rough, uneven, and narrow" (Stanley, *S. and P.* 76); and there seems no possibility of the people's "removing (Ex. xx. 18) and standing afar off," and yet preserving any connexion with the scene. Further, this site offers no such feature as a "brook that descended out of the mount" (Deut. ix. 21).

III. The third is that of Robinson, that the modern Horeb of the monks—viz. the N.W. and lower face of the *Jebel Mûsa*, crowned with a range of magnificent cliffs, the highest point called *Ras Sasâfeh*, or *Sûfsâfeh*, as spelt by Robinson—overlooking the plain *er Rahah*, is the scene of the giving of the Law, and that peak the mountain into which Moses ascended. In this view, also, Strauss appears to coincide (*Sinai and Golgotha*, p. 116). Lepsius objects, but without much force (since he himself climbed it), that the peak *Sasâfeh* is nearly inaccessible. It is more to the purpose to observe that the whole *Jebel Mûsa* is, comparatively with adjacent mountains, insignificant; "its prospect limited in the east, south, and west, by higher mountains" (Rüppell,[m] quoted by Robinson, i. 105, note; comp. Seetzen, *Reisen*, vol. ii. p. 93); that it is "remote and almost concealed." But the high ground of *Serbâl* being rejected for the above reasons, and no voice having ever been raised in favour of the *Um Shaumer*,[n] the highest point in the peninsula, lying S.W. of the *Mûsa*, some such secondary and overshadowed peak must be assumed. The conjunction of mountain with plain is the greatest feature of this site; in choosing it, we lose in the mountain, as compared with *Serbâl*, but we gain in the plain, of which *Serbâl* has nothing. Yet the view from the plain appears by no means wanting in features of majesty and awe (*S. and P.* 42-3). Dr. Stanley remarked (*S. and P.* 43) some alluvial mounds at the foot of the cliff "which exactly answered to the bounds" set to restrain the people. In this long retiring sweep of *er Rahah* the people could "remove and stand afar off;" for it "extends into the lateral valleys," and so joins the *Wady es Sheykh* (ib. 74). Here too Moses, if he came down through one of the oblique gullies which flank the *Ras Sasâfeh* on the N. and S., might not see the camp, although he might catch its noise, till he emerged from the *Wady ed Deir*, or the *Wady Lejâ*, on the plain itself. In the latter, also, is found a brook in close connexion with the mountain.

Still there is the name of the *Jebel Mûsa* belonging to the opposite or S.E. peak or precipice, overhanging *Es Sebayeh*. Lepsius treats this as a monkish legend unknown before the convent; but there is the name *Wady Shouaib* (valley of Hobab or Jethro, *S. and P.* 32), the *Wady Lejâ* and *Jebel Fureiâ* (perhaps from the forms in Arabic legend of the names of his two daughters *Lîja* and *Safuria* = *Zipporah*), forming a group of Mosaic tradition. Is it not possible that the *Jebel Mûsa*, or loftiest south-eastern peak of that block of which the modern Horeb is the lower and opposite end, may have been the spot to which Moses retired, leaving the people encamped in *er Rahah* below, from which its distance is not above three miles? That the spot is out of sight from that plain is hardly a difficulty, for "the mountain burning with fire to the midst of heaven" was what the people saw (Deut. iv. 11); and this would give a reasonable distance for the spot, somewhere midway, whence the elders enjoyed a partial vision of God (Ex. xxiv. 9, 10).

Tradition, no doubt in this case purely monkish, has fixed on a spot for Elijah's visit—"*the* cave" to which he repaired; but one at *Serbâl* would equally suit (*S. and P.* 49). That on the *Jebel Mûsa* is called the chapel of St. Elias. It has been thought possible that St. Paul may have visited Sinai (Gal. i. 17), and been familiar with the name *Hajar* (حجر) as given commonly to it, signifying "a rock." (Ewald, *Sendschreiben*, 493.)

It may be added that, supposing *Wady Tayibeh* to have been the encampment "by the sea," as stated in Num. xxxiii. 10, three routes opened there before the Israelites: the most southerly one (taken by Shawe and Pococke) down the plain *el Kâa* to *Tûr*; the most northerly (Robinson's) by the *Sarbût el Khadem* (either of which would have left Serbâl out of their line of march); and the middle one by *Wady Feirân*, by which they would pass the foot of *Serbâl*, which therefore in this case alone could possibly be Sinai (Stanley, *S. and P.* 36, 37). Just east of the *Jebel Mûsa*, across the narrow ravine named *Shouaib*, lies *ed-Deir*, or the convent mountain, called also, from a local legend (Stanley, 46; Robinson, i. 98), "the Mount of the Burning Bush." Tradition has also fixed on a hollow rock in the plain of the *Wady es Sheykh*, on which the modern Horeb looks, as "the (mould of the) head of the cow," *i. e.* in which the golden calf was shaped by Aaron. In the ravine called *Lejâ*, parallel to *Shouaib* on the western side of the *Jebel Mûsa*, lies what is called the rock of Moses (see REPHIDIM); and a hole in the ground near, in the plain, is called, by manifest error, the "pit of Korah," whose catastrophe took place far away (Robinson, i. 113; Lepsius, 19).

The middle route aforesaid from *W. Tayibeh* reaches the *W. Feirân* through what is called the *W. Mokatteb*, or "written valley," from the inscriptions on the rocks which line it,[o] generally considered to have been the work of Christian hands, but whether those of a Christian people localised there at an unknown period, as Lep-

[k] *Geogr.* xiv. 593.

[m] It should be added that Rüppell (Lepsius, p. 12) took *Gebel Katherin* for Horeb, but that there are fewer features in its favour, as compared with the history, than almost any other site (Robinson, i. 110).

[n] Though Dr. Stanley (*S. & P.* 39, note) states that it has been "explored by Mr. Hogg, who tells me that it meets none of the special requirements."

[o] See the work of Professor Beer of Leipsic on this curious question. Mr. Forster's attempt (*Voice of Israel from the Rocks of Sinai*) to regard them as a contemporary record of the Exodus by the Israelites involves this anachronism: the events of the fortieth year—*e. g.* the plague of fiery serpents—are represented as recorded close on the same spot with what took place before the people reached Sinai; and although the route which they took cannot be traced in all its parts, yet all the evidence and all the probability of the question is clearly against their ever having returned from Kadesh and the Arabah to the valleys west of Sinai.

sius[p] (p. 90) thinks, or of passing pilgrims, as is the more general opinion, is likely to continue doubtful.

It is remarkable that the names of the chief peaks seem all borrowed from their peculiarities of vegetation: thus *Um Shômr'* (أم شمر) means "mother of fennel;" *Râs Sasâfeh* (properly *Sŭfsâfeh*, صفصفة) is "willow-head," a group of two or three of which trees grow in the recesses of the adjacent wady; so *Serbâl* is perhaps from سربال; and, from analogy, the name "Sinai," now unknown amongst the Arabs (unless *Sena*, given to the point of the *Jebel Fureiâ*, opposite to the modern Horeb (Stanley, 42), contain a trace of it), may be supposed derived from the سنا and سنا, the tree of the Burning Bush. The vegetation[q] of the peninsula is most copious at *El Wady*, near *Tûr*, on the coast of the Gulf of Suez, in the *Wady Feirân* [see REPHIDIM], the two oases of its waste, and "in the nucleus of springs in the Gebel Mousa" (Stanley, 19). For a fuller account of its flora, see WILDERNESS OF THE WANDERING. As regards its fauna, Seetzen (iii. 20) mentions the following animals as found at *er Ramleh*, near Sinai:—the wild goat, the wubber, hyena, fox, hare, gazelle, panther (rare), field-mouse (*el Dschûrdy*, like a jerboa), and a lizard called *el Dsob*, which is eaten. [H. H.]

SINIM (סִינִים). A people noticed in Is. xlix. 12, as living at the extremity of the known world, either in the south or east. The majority of the early interpreters adopted the former view, but the LXX. in giving Πέρσαι favours the latter, and the weight of modern authority is thrown into the same scale, the name being identified by Gesenius, Hitzig, Knobel, and others, with the classical *Sinae*, the inhabitants of the southern part of *China*. No locality in the south equally commends itself to the judgment: Sin, the classical Pelusium, which Bochart (*Phaleg*, iv. 27) suggests, is too near, and Syene (Michaelis, *Spicil.* ii. 32) would have been given in its well-known Hebrew form. There is no *à priori* improbability in the name of the Sinae being known to the inhabitants of Western Asia in the age of Isaiah; for though it is not mentioned by the Greek geographers until the age of Ptolemy, it is certain that an inland commercial route connected the extreme east with the west at a very early period, and that a traffic was maintained on the frontier of China between the Sinae and the Scythians, in the manner still followed by the Chinese and the Russians at *Kiachta*. If any name for these Chinese traders travelled westward, it would probably be that of the Sinae, whose town Thinae (another form of the Sinae) was one of the great emporiums in the western part of China, and is represented by the modern *Thsin* or *Tin*, in the province of *Schensi*. The Sinae attained an independent position in Western China as early as the 8th century B.C., and in the 3rd century B.C. established their sway under the dynasty of Tsin over the whole of the empire. The Rabbinical name of China, *Tsin*, as well as "China" itself, was derived from this dynasty (Gesen. *Thes.* s. v.). [W. L. B.]

SI'NITE (סִינִי: Ἀσεννᾶος: *Sinaeus*). A tribe of Canaanites (Gen. x. 17; 1 Chr. i. 15), whose position is to be sought for in the northern part of the Lebanon district. Various localities in that district bear a certain amount of resemblance to the name, particularly *Sinna*, a mountain fortress mentioned by Strabo (xvi. p. 755); Sinum or Sini, the ruins of which existed in the time of Jerome (*Quaest. in Gen.* l. c.); *Syn*, a village mentioned in the 15th century as near the river Arca (Gesen *Thes.* p. 948); and *Dunniyeh*, a district near *Tripoli* (Robinson's *Researches*, ii. 494). The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan give Orthosia, a town on the coast to the north-east of Tripolis. [W. L. B.]

SI'ON, MOUNT. 1. (הַר שִׂיאֹן; Samar. הר שיאון; τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Σηών: *mons Sion*). One of the various names of Mount Hermon which are fortunately preserved, all not improbably more ancient than "Hermon" itself. It occurs in Deut iv. 48 only, and is interpreted by the lexicographers to mean "lofty." Fürst conjectures that these various appellations were the names of separate peaks or portions of the mountain. Some have supposed that Zion in Ps. cxxxiii. 3 is a variation of this Sion; but there is no warrant for this beyond the fact that so doing overcomes a difficulty of interpretation in that passage.

2. (τὸ ὄρος Σιών; in Heb. Σιὼν ὄρος: *mons Sion*.) The Greek form of the Hebrew name ZION (Tsion), the famous Mount of the Temple (1 Macc. iv. 37, 60, v. 54, vi. 48, 62, vii. 33, x. 11, xiv. 27; Heb. xii. 22; Rev. xiv. 1). In the Books of Maccabees the expression is always Mount Sion. In the other Apocryphal Books the name SION is alone employed. Further, in the Maccabees the name unmistakeably denotes the mount on which the Temple was built; on which the Mosque of the *Aksa*, with its attendant Mosques of Omar and the Mogrebbins, now stands. The first of the passages just quoted is enough to decide this. If it can be established that Zion in the Old Testament means the same locality with Sion in the Books of Maccabees, one of the greatest puzzles of Jerusalem topography will be solved. This will be examined under ZION. [G.]

SIPH'MOTH (שִׁפְמוֹת: Σαφέλ; Alex. Σαφαμως: *Sephamoth*). One of the places in the south of Judah which David frequented during his free-booting life, and to his friends in which he sent a portion of the spoil taken from the Amalekites. It is named only in 1 Sam. xxx. 28. It is not named by Eusebius or Jerome. No one appears yet to have discovered or even suggested an identification of it. [G.]

SIPPA'I (סַפַּי: Σαφούτ; Alex. Σεφφί: *Saphaï*). One of the sons of the Rephaim, or "the giants," slain by Sibbechai the Hushathite at Gezer (1 Chr. xx. 4). In 2 Sam. xxi. 18 he is called SAPH

SI'RACH (Σειράχ, Σιράχ: *Sirach*: in Rabbinic writers, סִירָא), the father of Jesus (Joshua), the writer of the Hebrew original of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. [ECCLESIASTICUS; JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH.] [B. F. W.]

SIRAH, THE WELL OF (בּוֹר הַסִּרָה: τὸ φρεαρ τοῦ Σεειράμ, in both MSS.: *cisterna Sira*).

[p] Arguing from the fact that these inscriptions occur not only on roads leading out of Egypt, but in the most secluded spots, and on rocks lying quite out of the main roads.

[q] For a full account of the climate and vegetation Schubert (*Reisen*, ii. 351) may be consulted.

the spot from which Abner was recalled by Joab to his death at Hebron (2 Sam. iii. 26 only). It was apparently on the northern road from Hebron —that by which Abner would naturally return through Bahurim (ver. 16) to Mahanaim. There is a spring and reservoir on the western side of the ancient northern road, about one mile out of Hebron, which is called *Ain Sara*, and gives its name to the little valley in which it lies (see Dr. Rosen's paper on Hebron in the *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.* xii. 486, and the excellent map accompanying it). This may be a relic of the well of Sirah. It is mentioned as far back as the 12th century by Rabbi Petachia, but the correspondence of the name with that of Sirah seems to have escaped notice. [G.]

SIRION (שִׂרְיֹן,[a] *i. e.* Siryon, in Deut., but in Ps. xxix. שִׂרְיוֹן, Shiryôn; Samar. שרין; Sam. Vers. רבן: Σανιώρ: *Sarion*). One of the various names of Mount Hermon, that by which it was known to the Zidonians (Deut. iii. 9). The word is almost identical with that (סִרְיֹן) which in Hebrew denotes a "breastplate" or "cuirass," and Gesenius therefore expresses his belief that it was applied in this sense to the mountain, just as the name Thorax (which has the same meaning) was given to a mountain in Magnesia. This is not supported by the Samaritan Version, the rendering in which—*Rabban*—seems to be equivalent to *Jebel esh Sheykh*, the ordinary, though not the only modern name of the mountain.

The use of the name in Ps. xxix. 6 (slightly altered in the original—Shirion instead of Sirion) is remarkable, though, bearing in mind the occurrence of Shenir in Solomon's Song, it can hardly be used as an argument for the antiquity of the Psalm. [G.]

SISAMA'I (סַסְמַי: Χοσομαΐ: *Sisamoi*). A descendant of Sheshan in the line of Jerahmeel (1 Chr. ii. 40).

SIS'ERA (סִיסְרָא[b]: Σεισάρα, Σισάρα; Joseph. ὁ Σισάρης: *Sisara*). Captain (שַׂר) of the army of Jabin king of Canaan who reigned in Hazor. He himself resided in Harosheth[c] of the Gentiles. The particulars of the rout of Megiddo and of Sisera's flight and death are drawn out under the heads of BARAK, DEBORAH, JAEL, KENITES, KISHON, MANTLE, TENT. They have been recently elaborated, and combined into a living whole, with great attention to detail yet without any sacrifice of force, by Professor Stanley, in his *Lectures on the Hist. of the Jewish Church*, Lect. xiv. To that accurate and masterly picture we refer our readers.

The army was mustered at the Kishon on the plain at the foot of the slopes of *Lejjûn*. Partly owing to the furious attack of Barak, partly to the impassable condition of the plain, and partly to the unwieldy nature of the host itself, which, amongst other impediments, contained 900[d] iron chariots—a horrible confusion and rout took place. Sisera deserted his troops and fled off on foot. He took a north-east direction, possibly through Nazareth and Safed, or, if that direct road was closed to him, stole along by more circuitous routes till he found himself before the tents of Heber the Kenite, near Kedesh, on the high ground overlooking the upper basin of the Jordan valley. Here he met his death from the hands of Jael, Heber's wife, who, although "at peace" with him, was under a much more stringent relation with the house of Israel (Judg. iv. 2-22, v. 20, 26, 28, 30). [KENITES, p. 11 *a*.] His name long survived as a word of fear and of exultation in the mouths of prophets and psalmists (1 Sam. xii. 9; Ps. lxxxiii. 9).

It is remarkable that from this enemy of the Jews should have sprung one of their most eminent characters. The great Rabbi Akiba, whose father was a Syrian proselyte of justice, was descended from Sisera of Harosheth (Bartolocci, iv. 272). The part which he took in the Jewish war of independence, when he was standard bearer to Barcocba (Otho, *Hist. doct. Misn.* 134 note), shows that the warlike force still remained in the blood of Sisera.

2. (Σισάρα, Σισαράθ; Alex. Σισάραα, Σεισαράθ.) After a long interval the name re-appears in the lists of the Nethinim who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 53; Neh. vii. 55). The number of foreign, non-Israelite names[e] which occur in these invaluable lists has been already noticed under MEHUNIM [vol. ii. p. 313.] Sisera is another example, and doubtless tells of Canaanite captives devoted to the lowest offices of the Temple, even though the Sisera from whom the family derived its name were not actually the same person as the defeated general of Jabin. It is curious that it should occur in close companionship with the name Harsha (ver. 52) which irresistibly recals Harosheth.

[a] No variation from שׂ to שׁ, or the reverse, is noticed in Döderlein and Meisner, on either occurrence of the name.

[b] Gesenius (*Lex. s. v.*), by comparison with the Syriac, interprets the name as "battle-array." Fürst, on the other hand (*Handwb.* ii. 279), gives as its equivalent *Vermittelung*, the nearest approach to which is perhaps "lieutenant." As a Canaanite word its real signification is probably equally wide of either.

[c] The site of HAROSHETH has not yet been identified with certainty. But since the publication of vol i. the writer observes that Dr. Thomson (*Land and Book*, ch. xxix.) has suggested a site which seems possible, and invites further examination. This is a tell or mound on the north side of the Kishon, in the S.E. corner of the plain of Akka, just behind the hills which separate it from the larger plain of Jezreel. The tell advances close to the foot of Carmel, and allows only room for the passage of the river between them. Its name is variously given as *Harothieh* (Thomson), *Harthijjeh* (Schulz), *Harshiyeh* (Robinson), *Harti* (Van de Velde), and *el Harfiyeh*. The latter is the form given in the official list made for the writer in 1861 by Consul Rogers, and is probably accurate. Dr. Thomson—apparently the only traveller who has examined the spot—speaks of the Tell as "covered with the remains of old walls and buildings," in which he sees the relics of the ancient castle of Sisera.

[d] The number of Jabin's standing army is given by Josephus (*Ant.* v. 5, §1) as 300,000 footmen, 10,000 horsemen, and 3000 chariots. These numbers are large, but they are nothing to those of the Jewish legends. Sisera "had 40,000 generals, every one of whom had 100,000 men under him. He was thirty years old, and had conquered the whole world: and there was not a place the walls of which did not fall down at his voice. When he shouted the very beasts of the field were rivetted to their places. 900 horses went in his chariot" (*Jalkut* ad loc.). "Thirty-one kings (comp. Josh. xii. 24) went with Sisera and were killed with him. They thirsted after the waters of the land of Israel, and they asked and prayed Sisera to take them with him without further reward" (comp. Judg. v. 19). (*Ber. Rab.* ch. 23.) The writer is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Deutsch for these extracts.

[e] MEHUNIM, NEPHUSIM, HARSHA, KEZIZ.

In the parallel list of 1 Esd. v. 32 Sisera is given as ASERER. [G.]

SISIN'NES (Σισίννης: *Sisennes*). A governor of Syria and Phoenicia under Darius, and a contemporary of Zerubbabel (1 Esdr. vi. 3). He attempted to stop the rebuilding of the Temple, but was ordered by Darius, after consulting the archives of Cyrus's reign, to adopt the opposite course, and to forward the plans of Zerubbabel (Ibid. vi. 7, vii. 1). In Ezra he is called TATNAI.

SIT'NAH (שִׂטְנָה: ἐχθρία; Joseph. Σιτεννά: *Inimicitiae*). The second of the two wells dug by Isaac in the valley of Gerar, and the possession of which the herdmen of the valley disputed with him (Gen. xxvi. 21). Like the first one, ESEK, it received its name from the disputes which took place over it, *Sitnah* meaning, as is stated in the margin, "hatred," or more accurately "accusation," but the play of expression has not been in this instance preserved in the Hebrew.[a] The LXX., however, have attempted it:—ἐκρίνοντο .... ἐχθρία. The root of the name is the same as that of Satan, and this has been taken advantage of by Aquila and Symmachus, who render it respectively ἀντικειμένη and ἐναντίωσις. Of the situation of Esek and Sitnah nothing whatever is known. [G.]

SIVAN. [MONTH.]

SLAVE. The institution of slavery was recognised, though not established, by the Mosaic Law with a view to mitigate its hardships and to secure to every man his ordinary rights. Repugnant as the notion of slavery is to our minds, it is difficult to see how it can be dispensed with in certain phases of society without, at all events, entailing severer evils than those which it produces. Exclusiveness of race is an instinct that gains strength in proportion as social order is weak, and the rights of citizenship are regarded with peculiar jealousy in communities which are exposed to contact with aliens. In the case of war, carried on for conquest or revenge, there were but two modes of dealing with the captives, viz. putting them to death or reducing them to slavery. The same may be said in regard to such acts and outrages as disqualified a person for the society of his fellow-citizens. Again, as citizenship involved the condition of freedom and independence, it was almost necessary to offer the alternative of disfranchisement to all who through poverty or any other contingency were unable to support themselves in independence. In all these cases slavery was the mildest of the alternatives that offered, and may hence be regarded as a blessing rather than a curse. It should further be noticed that a labouring class, in our sense of the term, was almost unknown to the nations of antiquity: hired service was regarded as incompatible with freedom; and hence the slave in many cases occupied the same social position as the servant or labourer of modern times, though differing from him in regard to political status. The Hebrew designation of the slave shows that service was the salient feature of his condition; for the term *ebed*,[b] usually applied to him, is derived from a verb signifying "to work," and the very same term is used in reference to offices of high trust held by free men. In short, service and slavery would have been to the ear of the Hebrew equivalent terms, though he fully recognised grades of servitude, according as the servant was a Hebrew or a non-Hebrew, and, if the latter, according as he was bought with money (Gen. xvii. 12; Ex. xii. 44) or born in the house (Gen. xiv. 14, xv. 3, xvii. 23). We shall proceed to describe the condition of these classes, as regards their original reduction to slavery, the methods by which it might be terminated, and their treatment while in that state.

I. *Hebrew Slaves.*

1. The circumstances under which a Hebrew might be reduced to servitude were—(1) poverty; (2) the commission of theft; and (3) the exercise of paternal authority. In the first case, a man who had mortgaged his property, and was unable to support his family, might sell himself to another Hebrew, with a view both to obtain maintenance, and perchance a surplus sufficient to redeem his property (Lev. xxv. 25, 39). It has been debated whether under this law a creditor could seize his debtor and sell him as a slave:[c] the words do not warrant such an inference, for the poor man is said in Lev. xxv. 39 to *sell himself* (not as in the A. V., "be sold;" see Gesen. *Thes.* p. 787), in other words, to enter into *voluntary* servitude, and this under the pressure not of debt, but of *poverty*. The instances of seizing the children of debtors in 2 K. iv. 1 and Neh. v. 5 were not warranted by law, and must be regarded as the outrages of lawless times, while the case depicted in the parable of the unmerciful servant is probably borrowed from Roman usages (Matt. xviii. 25). The words in Is. l. 1, "Which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you?" have a *primâ facie* bearing upon the question, but in reality apply to one already in the condition of slavery. (2) The commission of theft rendered a person liable to servitude, whenever restitution could not be made on the scale prescribed by the Law (Ex. xxii. 1, 3). The thief was bound to work out the value of his restitution money in the service of him on whom the theft had been committed (for, according to Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 1, §1, there was no power of selling the person of a thief to a foreigner); when this had been effected he would be free, as implied in the expression "sold for his theft," *i. e. for the amount of* his theft. This law contrasts favourably with that of the Romans, under which a thief became the actual property of his master. (3) The exercise of paternal authority was limited to the sale of a daughter of tender age to be a maidservant, with the ulterior view of her becoming a concubine of the purchaser (Ex. xxi. 7). Such a case can perhaps hardly be regarded as implying servitude in the ordinary sense of the term.

2. The servitude of a Hebrew might be terminated in three ways:—(1) by the satisfaction or the remission of all claims against him;[d] (2) by the recurrence of the year of Jubilee (Lev. xxv. 40), which might arrive at any period of his servitude; and (3), failing either of these, the expiration of six years from the time that his servitude commenced (Ex. xxi. 2; Deut. xv. 12). There can be no doubt that this last regulation applied equally to the cases of poverty and theft, though Rabbinical writers have endeavoured to restrict it to the former.

[a] In the A. V. of vers. 20, 21, two entirely distinct Hebrew words are each rendered "strive."

[b] עֶבֶד.

[c] Michaelis (*Comment.* iii. 9, §123) decides in the affirmative.

[d] This is implied in the statement of the cases which gave rise to the servitude: indeed without such an assumption the words "for his theft" (Ex. xxii. 3) would be unmeaning. The Rabbinists gave their sanction to such a view (Maimon. *Abad.* 2, §§8, 11).

The period of seven years has reference to the Sabbatical principle in general, but not to the Sabbatical year, for no regulation is laid down in reference to the manumission of servants in that year (Lev. xxv. 1 ff.; Deut. xv. 1 ff.). We have a single instance, indeed, of the Sabbatical year being celebrated by a general manumission of Hebrew slaves, but this was in consequence of the neglect of the law relating to such cases (Jer. xxxiv. 14[e]). (4) To the above modes of obtaining liberty the Rabbinists added as a fourth, the death of the master without leaving a son, there being no power of claiming the slave on the part of any heir except a son (Maimon. *Abad.* 2, §12).

If a servant did not desire to avail himself of the opportunity of leaving his service, he was to signify his intention in a formal manner before the judges (or more exactly *at the place of judgment*[f]), and then the master was to take him to the door-post, and to bore his ear through with an awl (Ex. xxi. 6), driving the awl into or "unto the door," as stated in Deut. xv. 17, and thus fixing the servant to it. Whether the door was that of the master's house, or the door of the sanctuary, as Ewald (*Alterth.* p. 245) infers from the expression *el hâelohim*, to which attention is drawn above, is not stated; but the significance of the action is enhanced by the former view; for thus a connexion is established between the servant and the house in which he was to serve. The boring of the ear was probably a token of subjection, the ear being the organ through which commands were received (Ps. xl. 6). A similar custom prevailed among the Mesopotamians (Juv. i. 104), the Lydians (Xen. *Anab.* iii. 1, §31), and other ancient nations. A servant who had submitted to this operation remained, according to the words of the Law, a servant "for ever" (Ex. xxi. 6). These words are, however, interpreted by Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, §28) and by the Rabbinists as meaning until the year of Jubilee, partly from the universality of the freedom that was then proclaimed, and partly perhaps because it was necessary for the servant then to resume the cultivation of his recovered inheritance. The latter point no doubt presents a difficulty, but the interpretation of the words "for ever" in any other than their obvious sense presents still greater difficulties.

3. The condition of a Hebrew servant was by no means intolerable. His master was admonished to treat him, not "as a bondservant, but as an hired servant and as a sojourner," and, again, "not to rule over him with rigour" (Lev. xxv. 39, 40, 43). The Rabbinists specified a variety of duties as coming under these general precepts; for instance, compensation for personal injury, exemption from menial duties, such as unbinding the master's sandals or carrying him in a litter, the use of gentle language on the part of the master, and the maintenance of the servant's wife and children, though the master was not allowed to exact work from them (Mielziner, *Sklaven bei den Hebr.* p. 31). At the termination of his servitude the master was enjoined not to "let him go away empty," but to remunerate him liberally out of his flock, his floor, and his winepress (Deut. xv. 13, 14). Such a custom would stimulate the servant to faithful service, inasmuch as the amount of the gift was left to the master's discretion; and it would also provide him with means wherewith to start in the world afresh.

In the event of a Hebrew becoming the servant of a "stranger," meaning a non-Hebrew, the servitude could be terminated only in two ways, viz. by the arrival of the year of Jubilee, or by the repayment to the master of the purchase-money paid for the servant, after deducting a sum for the value of his services proportioned to the length of his servitude (Lev. xxv. 47-55). The servant might be redeemed either by himself or by one of his relations, and the object of this regulation appears to have been to impose upon relations the obligation of effecting the redemption, and thus putting an end to a state which must have been peculiarly galling to the Hebrew.

A Hebrew woman might enter into voluntary servitude on the score of poverty, and in this case she was entitled to her freedom after six years' service, together with the usual gratuity at leaving, just as in the case of a man (Deut. xv. 12, 13). According to Rabbinical tradition a woman could not be condemned to servitude for theft; neither could she bind herself to perpetual servitude by having her ear bored (Mielziner, p. 43).

Thus far we have seen little that is objectionable in the condition of Hebrew servants. In respect to marriage there were some peculiarities which, to our ideas, would be regarded as hardships. A master might, for instance, give a wife to a Hebrew servant for the time of his servitude, the wife being in this case, it must be remarked, not only a slave but a non-Hebrew. Should he leave when his term has expired, his wife and children would remain the absolute property of the master (Ex. xxi. 4, 5). The reason for this regulation is, evidently, that the children of a female heathen slave were slaves; they inherited the mother's disqualification. Such a condition of marrying a slave would be regarded as an axiom by a Hebrew, and the case is only incidentally noticed. Again, a father might sell his young daughter[h] to a Hebrew, with a view either of marrying her himself, or of giving her to his son (Ex. xxi. 7-9). It diminishes the apparent harshness of this proceeding if we look on the purchase-money as in the light of a dowry given, as was not unusual, to the parents of the bride; still more, if we accept the Rabbinical view (which, however, we consider very doubtful) that the consent of the maid was required before the marriage could take place. But even if this consent were not obtained, the paternal authority would not appear to be violently strained; for among ancient nations that authority was generally held to extend even to the life of a child, much more to the giving of a daughter in marriage. The position of a maiden thus sold by her father was subject to the following regulations:—(1) She could not "go out as the men servants do," *i. e.* she could not leave at the termi-

[e] The rendering of the A. V. "*at the end* of seven years" in this passage is not wholly correct. The meaning rather is "at the end of a Sabbatical period of years," the whole of the seventh year being regarded as the end of the period.

[f] אֱלֹהִים; πρὸς τὸ κριτήριον, LXX.

[g] In the A. V. the sense of *obligation* is not conveyed; instead of "may" in vers. 48, 49 *shall* ought to be substituted.

[h] The female slave was in this case termed אָמָה, as distinct from שִׁפְחָה, applied to the ordinary household slave. The distinction is marked in regard to Hagar, who is described by the latter term before the birth of Ishmael, and by the former after that event (comp. Gen. xvi. 1, xxi. 10). The relative value of the terms is expressed in Abigail's address, "Let thine handmaid (*âmâh*) be a servant (*shiphchâh*) to wash," &c. (1 Sam. xxv. 41).

nation of six years, or in the year of Jubilee, if (as the regulation assumes) her master was willing to fulfil the object for which he had purchased her. (2) Should he not wish to marry her, he should call upon her friends to procure her release by the repayment of the purchase-money (perhaps, as in other cases, with a deduction for the value of her services). (3) If he betrothed her to his son, he was bound to make such provision for her as he would for one of his own daughters. (4) If either he or his son, having married her, took a second wife, it should not be to the prejudice of the first. (5) If neither of the three first specified alternatives took place, the maid was entitled to immediate and gratuitous liberty (Ex. xxi. 7-11).

The custom of reducing Hebrews to servitude appears to have fallen into disuse subsequently to the Babylonish captivity. The attempt to enforce it in Nehemiah's time met with decided resistance (Neh. v. 5), and Herod's enactment that thieves should be sold to foreigners, roused the greatest animosity (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 1, §1). Vast numbers of Hebrews were reduced to slavery as war-captives at different periods by the Phoenicians (Joel iii. 6), the Philistines (Joel iii. 6; Am. i. 6), the Syrians (1 Macc. iii. 41; 2 Macc. viii. 11), the Egyptians (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 2, §3), and, above all, by the Romans (Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 9, §3). We may form some idea of the numbers reduced to slavery by war from the single fact that Nicanor calculated on realizing 2000 talents in one campaign, by the sale of captives at the rate of 90 for a talent (2 Macc. viii. 10, 11), the number required to fetch the sum being 180,000. The Phoenicians were the most active slave-dealers of ancient times, purchasing of the Philistines (Am. i. 9), of the Syrians (2 Macc. viii. 21), and even of the tribes on the shores of the Euxine Sea (Ez. xxvii. 13), and selling them wherever they could find a market about the shores of the Mediterranean, and particularly in Joel's time to the people of Javan (Joel iii. 6), it being uncertain whether that name represents a place in South Arabia or the Greeks of Asia Minor and the peninsula. It was probably through the Tyrians that Jews were transported in Obadiah's time to Sepharad or Sardis (Ob. 20). At Rome vast numbers of Jews emerged from the state of slavery and became freedmen. The price at which the slaves were offered by Nicanor was considerably below the ordinary value either in Palestine or Greece. In the former country it stood at 30 shekels (=about 3*l.* 8*s.*), as stated below, in the latter at about 1½ minas (=about 5*l.* 1*s.* 6*d*), this being the mean between the extremes stated by Xenophon (*Mem.* ii. 5, §2) as the ordinary price at Athens. The price at which Nicanor offered them was only 2*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* a head. Occasionally slaves were sold as high as a talent (243*l.* 15*s.*) each (Xen. *l. c.*; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, §9).

II. *Non-Hebrew Slaves.*

1. The majority of non-Hebrew slaves were war-captives, either the Canaanites who had survived the general extermination of their race under Joshua, or such as were conquered from the other surrounding nations (Num. xxxi. 26 ff.). Besides these, many were obtained by purchase from foreign slave-dealers (Lev. xxv. 44, 45); and others may have been resident foreigners who were reduced to this state either by poverty or crime. The Rabbinists further deemed that any person who performed the services of a slave became *ipso facto* a slave (Mishn. *Kedush.* 1, §3). The children of slaves remained slaves, being the class described as "born in the house" (Gen. xiv. 14, xvii. 12; Eccl. ii. 7), and hence the number was likely to increase as time went on. The only statement as to their number applies to the post-Babylonian period, when they amounted to 7,337, or about 1 to 6 of the free population (Ezr. ii. 65). We have reason to believe that the number diminished subsequently to this period, the Pharisees in particular being opposed to the system. The average value of a slave appears to have been thirty shekels (Ex. xxi. 32), varying of course according to age, sex, and capabilities. The estimation of persons given in Lev. xxvii. 2-8 probably applies to war-captives who had been dedicated to the Lord, and the price of their redemption would in this case represent the ordinary value of such slaves.

2. That the slave might be manumitted, appears from Ex. xxi 26, 27; Lev. xix. 20. As to the methods by which this might be effected, we are told nothing in the Bible; but the Rabbinists specify the following four methods:—(1) redemption by a money payment, (2) a bill or ticket of freedom, (3) testamentary disposition, or, (4) any act that implied manumission, such as making a slave one's heir (Mielziner, pp. 65, 66).

3. The slave is described as the "possession" of his master, apparently with a special reference to the power which the latter had of disposing of him to his heirs as he would any other article of personal property (Lev. xxv. 45, 46); the slave is also described as his master's "money" (Ex. xxi. 21, *i. e.* as representing a certain money value. Such expressions show that he was regarded very much in the light of a *mancipium* or chattel. But on the other hand provision was made for the protection of his person: wilful murder of a slave entailed the same punishment as in the case of a free man (Lev. xxiv. 17, 22). So again, if a master inflicted so severe a punishment as to cause the death of his servant, he was liable to a penalty, the amount of which probably depended on the circumstances of the case, for the Rabbinical view that the words "he shall be surely punished," or, more correctly, "it is to be avenged," imply a sentence of death, is wholly untenable (Ex. xxi. 20). No punishment at all was imposed if the slave survived the punishment by a day or two (Ex. xxi. 21), the loss of the slave[1] being regarded as a sufficient punishment in this case. A minor personal injury, such as the loss of an eye or a tooth was to be recompensed by giving the servant his liberty (Ex. xxi. 26, 27). The general treatment of slaves appears to have been gentle—occasionally too gentle, as we infer from Solomon's advice (Prov. xxix. 19, 21), nor do we hear more than twice of a slave running away from his master (1 Sam. xxv. 10; 1 K. ii. 39). The slave was considered by a conscientious master as entitled to justice (Job xxxi. 13-15) and honourable treatment (Prov. xxx. 10). A slave, according to the Rabbinists, had no power of acquiring property for himself; whatever he might become entitled to, even by way of compensation for personal injury, reverted to his master (Mielziner, p. 55). On the other hand, the master might constitute him his heir either wholly (Gen. xv. 3), or jointly with his children (Prov. xvii. 2); or again,

[1] There is an apparent disproportion between this and the following regulation, arising probably out of the different circumstances under which the injury was effected. In this case the law is speaking of legitimate punishment "with a rod;" in the next, of a violent assault.

he might give him his daughter in marriage (1 Chr. ii. 35).

The position of the slave in regard to religious privileges was favourable. He was to be circumcised (Gen. xvii. 12), and hence was entitled to partake of the Paschal sacrifice (Ex. xii. 44), as well as of the other religious festivals (Deut. xii. 12, 18, xvi. 11, 14). It is implied that every slave must have been previously brought to the knowledge of the true God, and to a willing acceptance of the tenets of Judaism. This would naturally be the case with regard to all who were "born in the house," and who were to be circumcised at the usual age of eight days; but it is difficult to understand how those who were "bought with money," as adults, could be always induced to change their creed, or how they could be circumcised without having changed it. The Mosaic Law certainly presupposes an universal acknowledgment of Jehovah within the limits of the Promised Land, and would therefore enforce the dismissal or extermination of slaves who persisted in heathenism.

The occupations of slaves were of a menial character, as implied in Lev. xxv. 39, consisting partly in the work of the house, and partly in personal attendance on the master. Female slaves, for instance, ground the corn in the handmill (Ex. xi. 5; Job xxxi. 10; Is. xlvii. 2), or gleaned in the harvest field (Ruth ii. 8). They also baked, washed, cooked, and nursed the children (Mishn. *Cethub.* 5, §5). The occupations of the men are not specified; the most trustworthy held confidential posts, such as that of steward or major-domo (Gen. xv. 2, xxiv. 2), of tutors to sons (Prov. xvii. 2), and of tenants to persons of large estate, for such appears to have been the position of Ziba (2 Sam. ix. 2, 10). [W. L. B.]

SLIME. The rendering in the A. V. of the Heb. חֵמָר, *chêmâr*, the حمر (*Hommar*) of the Arabs, translated ἄσφαλτος by the LXX, and *bitumen* in the Vulgate. That our translators understood by this word the substance now known as bitumen, is evident from the following passages in Holland's Pliny (ed. 1634). "The very clammy *slime* Bitumen, which at certaine times of the yere floteth and swimmeth upon the lake of Sodom, called Asphaltites in Jury" (vii. 15, vol. i. p. 163). "The Bitumen whereof I speake, is in some places in manner of a muddy *slime*; in others, very earth or minerall" (xxxv. 15, vol. ii. p. 557).

The three instances in which it is mentioned in the O. T. are abundantly illustrated by travellers and historians, ancient and modern. It is first spoken of as used for cement by the builders in the plain of Shinar, or Babylonia (Gen. xi. 3). The bitumen pits in the vale of Siddim are mentioned in the ancient fragment of Canaanitish history (Gen. xiv. 10); and the ark of papyrus in which Moses was placed was made impervious to water by a coating of bitumen and pitch (Ex. ii. 3).

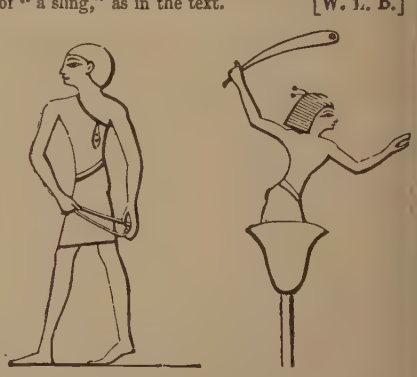
Herodotus (i. 179) tells us of the bitumen found at Is, a town of Babylonia, eight days journey from Babylon. The captive Eretrians (Her. vi. 119) were sent by Darius to collect asphaltum, salt, and oil at Ardericca, a place two hundred and ten stadia from Susa, in the district of Cissia. The town of Is was situated on a river, or small stream, of the same name which flowed into the Euphrates, and carried down with it the lumps of bitumen, which was used in the building of Babylon. It is probably the bitumen springs of Is which are described in Strabo (xvi. 743). Eratosthenes, whom he quotes, says that the liquid bitumen, which is called naphtha, is found in Susiana, and the dry in Babylonia. Of the latter there is a spring near the Euphrates, and when the river is flooded by the melting of the snow, the spring also is filled and overflows into the river. The masses of bitumen thus produced are fit for buildings which are made of baked brick. Diodorus Siculus (ii. 12) speaks of the abundance of bitumen in Babylonia. It proceeds from a spring, and is gathered by the people of the country, not only for building, but when dry for fuel, instead of wood. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 6, §23) tells us that Babylon was built with bitumen by Semiramis (comp. Plin. xxxv. 51; Berosus, quoted by Jos. *Ant.* x. 11, §1, *c. Apion.* i. 19; Arrian, *Exp. Al.* vii. 17, §1, &c.). The town of Is, mentioned by Herodotus, is without doubt the modern *Hit* or *Heet*, on the west or right bank of the Euphrates, and four days' journey, N.W., or rather W.N.W., of Bagdad (Sir R. Ker Porter's *Trav.* ii. 361, ed. 1822). The principal bitumen pit at Heet, says Mr. Rich (*Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon*, p. 63, ed. 1815), has two sources, and is divided by a wall in the centre, on one side of which the bitumen bubbles up, and on the other the oil of naphtha. Sir R. K. Porter (ii. 315) observed "that bitumen was chiefly confined by the Chaldean builders, to the foundations, and lower parts of their edifices; for the purpose of preventing the ill effects of water." "With regard to the use of bitumen," he adds, "I saw no vestige of it whatever on any remnant of building on the higher ascents, and therefore drier regions." This view is indirectly confirmed by Mr. Rich, who says that the tenacity of bitumen bears no proportion to that of mortar. The use of bitumen appears to have been confined to the Babylonians, for at Nineveh, Mr. Layard observes (*Nin.* ii. 278), "bitumen and reeds were not employed to cement the layers of bricks, as at Babylon; although both materials are to be found in abundance in the immediate vicinity of the city." At Nimroud bitumen was found under a pavement (*Nin.* i. 29), and "the sculpture rested simply upon the platform of sun-dried bricks without any other substructure, a mere layer of bitumen, about an inch thick, having been placed under the plinth" (*Nin. & Bab.* p. 208). In his description of the firing of the bitumen pits at Nimroud by his Arabs, Mr. Layard falls into the language of our translators. "Tongues of flame and jets of gas, driven from the burning pit, shot through the murky canopy. As the fire brightened, a thousand fantastic forms of light played amid the smoke. To break the cindered crust, and to bring fresh *slime* to the surface, the Arabs threw large stones into the spring. . . . In an hour the bitumen was exhausted for the time, the dense smoke gradually died away, and the pale light of the moon again shone over the black *slime pits*" (*Nin. & Bab.* 202).

The bitumen of the Dead Sea is described by Strabo, Josephus, and Pliny. Strabo (xvi. p. 763) gives an account of the volcanic action by which the bottom of the sea was disturbed, and the bitumen thrown to the surface. It was at first liquefied by the heat, and then changed into a thick viscous substance by the cold water of the sea, on the surface of which it floated in lumps (βῶλοι). These lumps are described by Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 8, §4) as of the size and shape of a headless ox (comp. Plin. vii. 13). The semi-liquid kind of bitumen is

that which Pliny says is found in the Dead Sea, the earthy in Syria about Sidon. Liquid bitumen, such as the Zacynthian, the Babylonian, and the Apolloniatic, he adds, is known by the Greeks by the name of pis-asphaltum (comp. Ex. ii. 3, LXX.). He tells us moreover that it was used for cement, and that bronze vessels and statues and the heads of nails were covered with it (Plin. xxxv. 51). The bitumen pits by the Dead Sea are described by the monk Brocardus (*Descr. Terr. Sanct.* c. 7, in Ugolini, vi. p. 1044). The Arabs of the neighbourhood have perpetuated the story of its formation as given by Strabo. "They say that it forms on the rocks in the depths of the sea, and by earthquakes or other submarine concussions is broken off in large masses, and rises to the surface" (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 223). They told Burckhardt a similar tale. "The asphaltum (حمر), *Hommar*, which is collected by the Arabs of the western shore, is said to come from a mountain which blocks up the passage along the eastern *Ghor*, and which is situated at about two hours south of *Wady Mojeb*. The Arabs pretend that it oozes up from fissures in the cliff, and collects in large pieces on the rock below, where the mass gradually increases and hardens, until it is rent asunder by the heat of the sun, with a loud explosion, and, falling into the sea, is carried by the waves in considerable quantities to the opposite shores" (*Trav. in Syria*, p. 394). Dr. Thomson tells us that the Arabs still call these pits by the name *biâret hŭmmar*, which strikingly resembles the Heb. *bĕʾróth chêmâr* of Gen. xiv. 10 (*Land and Book*, p. 224).

Strabo says that in Babylonia boats were made of wicker-work, and then covered with bitumen to keep out the water (xvi. p. 743). In the same way the ark of rushes or papyrus in which Moses was placed was plastered over with a mixture of bitumen and pitch or tar. Dr. Thomson remarks (p. 224): "This is doubly interesting, as it reveals the process by which they prepared the bitumen. The mineral, as found in this country, melts readily enough by itself; but then, when cold, it is as brittle as glass. It must be mixed with *tar* while melting, and in that way forms a hard, glossy wax, perfectly impervious to water." We know from Strabo (xvi. p. 764) that the Egyptians used the bitumen of the Dead Sea in the process of embalming, and Pliny (vi. 35) mentions a spring of the same mineral at Corambis in Ethiopia. [W. A. W.]

SLING (קֶלַע: σφενδόνη: *funda*). The sling has been in all ages the favourite weapon of the shepherds of Syria (1 Sam. xvii. 40; Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 57), and hence was adopted by the Israelitish army, as the most effective weapon for light-armed troops. The Benjamites were particularly expert in their use of it: even the left-handed could "sling stones at an hair and not miss" (Judg. xx. 16; comp. 1 Chr. xii. 2). According to the Targum of Jonathan and the Syriac, it was the weapon of the Cherethites and Pelethites. It was advantageously used in attacking and defending towns (2 K. iii. 25; Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 1, §3), and in skirmishing (*B. J.* ii. 17, §5). Other eastern nations availed themselves of it, as the Syrians (1 Macc. ix. 11), who also invented a kind of artificial sling (1 Macc. vi. 51); the Assyrians (Jud. ix. 7; Layard's *Nin.* ii. 344); the Egyptians (Wilkinson, i. 357); and the Persians (Xen. *Anab.* iii. 3, §18). The construction of the weapon hardly needs description: it consisted of a couple of strings of sinew or some fibrous substance, attached to a leathern receptacle for the stone in the centre, which was termed the *caph*,[a] i. e. pan (1 Sam. xxv. 29): the sling was swung once or twice round the head, and the stone was then discharged by letting go one of the strings. Sling-stones[b] were selected for their smoothness (1 Sam. xvii. 40), and were recognised as one of the ordinary munitions of war (2 Chr. xxvi. 14). In action the stones were either carried in a bag round the neck (1 Sam. xvii. 40), or were heaped up at the feet of the combatant (Layard's *Nin.* ii. 344). The violence with which the stone was projected supplied a vivid image of sudden and forcible removal (Jer. x. 18). The rapidity of the whirling motion of the sling round the head, was emblematic of inquietude (1 Sam. xxv. 29, "the souls of thine enemies shall he *whirl round* in the midst of the pan of a sling"); while the sling-stones represented the enemies of God (Zech. ix. 15, "they shall tread under foot the sling-stones"). The term *margêmâh*[c] in Prov. xxvi. 8, is of doubtful meaning; Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1263) explains of "a heap of stones," as in the margin of the A. V., the LXX.; Ewald, and Hitzig, of "a sling," as in the text. [W. L. B.]



Egyptian Slingers. (Wilkinson.)

SMITH.[d] The work of the smith, together with an account of his tools, is explained in HANDICRAFT, vol. i. p. 749. A description of a smith's workshop is given in Ecclus. xxxviii. 28. [H. W. P.]

SMYRNA. The city to which allusion is made in Revelation ii. 8-11, was founded, or at least the design of founding it was entertained, by Alexander the Great soon after the battle of the Granicus, in consequence of a dream when he had lain down to sleep after the fatigue of hunting. A temple in which two goddesses were worshipped under the name of Nemeses stood on the hill, on the sides of

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[a] כַּף. [b] אַבְנֵי־קֶלַע. [c] מִרְגֶּמָה.

[d] Other words besides those mentioned in vol. i. p. 749, are:—

1. מַסְגֵּר; ὁ συγκλείων; *clusor* (2 K. xxiv. 14), where *chŏrâsh* is also used, thus denoting a workman of an inferior kind.

2. לְוֹטֵשׁ; σφυροκόπος; *malleator*; a hammerer: a term applied to Tubal-Cain, Gen. iv. 22 (Ges. p. 530, 755; Saalschütz, *Arch. Hebr.* i. 143). [TUBAL-CAIN.]

3. הוֹלֵם; ὁ τύπτων; he that smites (the anvil, פָּעַם, σφῦρα, *incus*), Is. xli. 7.

which the new town was built under the auspices of Antigonus and Lysimachus, who carried out the design of the conqueror after his death. It was situated twenty stades from the city of the same name, which after a long series of wars with the Lydians had been finally taken and sacked by Halyattes. The rich lands in the neighbourhood were cultivated by the inhabitants, scattered in villages about the country (like the Jewish population between the times of Zedekiah and Ezra), for a period which Strabo, speaking roundly, calls 400 years. The descendants of this population were reunited in the new Smyrna, which soon became a wealthy and important city. Not only was the soil in the neighbourhood eminently productive—so that the vines were even said to have two crops of grapes—but its position was such as to render it the natural outlet for the produce of the whole valley of the Hermus. The Pramnean wine (which Nestor in the Iliad, and Circe in the Odyssey, are represented as mixing with honey, cheese, and meal, to make a kind of salad dressing) grew even down to the time of Pliny in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple of the Mother of the gods at Smyrna, and doubtless played its part in the orgiastic rites both of that deity and of Dionysus, each of whom in the times of Imperial Rome possessed a guild of worshippers frequently mentioned in the inscriptions as the *ἱερὰ σύνοδος μυστῶν μητρὸς Σιπυληνῆς* and the *ἱερὰ σύνοδος μυστῶν καὶ τεχνίτων Διονύσου*. One of the most remarkable of the *chefs d'oeuvre* of Myron which stood at Smyrna, representing an old woman intoxicated, illustrates the prevalent habits of the population.

The inhabitants of New Smyrna appear to have possessed the talent of successfully divining the course of events in the troublous times through which it was their destiny to pass, and of habitually securing for themselves the favour of the victor for the time being. Their adulation of Seleucus and his son Antiochus was excessive. The title *ὁ θεὸς καὶ σωτήρ* is given to the latter in an extant inscription; and a temple dedicated to his mother Stratonice, under the title of *Ἀφροδίτη Στρατονικίς*, was not only constituted a sanctuary itself, but the same right was extended in virtue of it to the whole city. Yet when the tide turned, a temple was erected to the city Rome as a divinity, in time to save the credit of the Smyrnaeans as zealous friends of the Roman people. Indeed, though history is silent as to the particulars, the existence of a coin of Smyrna with the head of Mithridates upon it, indicates that this energetic prince also, for a time at least, must have included Smyrna within the circle of his dependencies. However, during the reign of Tiberius, the reputation of the Smyrnaeans for an ardent loyalty was so unsullied, that on this account alone they obtained permission to erect a temple, in behalf of all the Asiatic cities, to the emperor and senate, the question having been for some time doubtful as to whether their city or Sardis [SARDIS]—the two selected out of a crowd of competitors—should receive this distinction. The honour which had been obtained with such difficulty, was requited with a proportionate adulation. Nero appears in the inscriptions as *σωτὴρ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρωπείου γένους*.

It seems not impossible, that just as St. Paul's illustrations in the Epistle to the Corinthians are derived from the Isthmian games, so the message to the Church in Smyrna contains allusions to the ritual of the pagan mysteries which prevailed in that city. The story of the violent death and reviviscence of Dionysus entered into these to such an extent, that Origen, in his argument against Celsus, does not scruple to quote it as generally accepted by the Greeks, although by them interpreted metaphysically (iv. p. 171, ed. Spence). In this view, the words *ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ ἔζησεν* (Rev. ii. 8) would come with peculiar force to ears perhaps accustomed to hear them in a very different application.[a] The same may be said of *δώσω σοι τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς*, it having been a usual practice at Smyrna to present a crown to the priest who superintended the religious ceremonial, at the end of his year of office. Several persons of both sexes have the title of *στεφανηφόροι* in the inscriptions; and the context shows that they possessed great social consideration.

In the time of Strabo the ruins of the Old Smyrna still existed, and were partially inhabited, but the new city was one of the most beautiful in all Asia. The streets were laid out as near as might be at right angles; but an unfortunate oversight of the architect, who forgot to make underground drains to carry off the storm rains, occasioned the flooding of the town with the filth and refuse of the streets. There was a large public library there, and also a handsome building surrounded with porticoes which served as a museum. It was consecrated as a heroüm to Homer, whom the Smyrnaeans claimed as a countryman. There was also an Odeum, and a temple of the Olympian Zeus, with whose cult that of the Roman emperors was associated. Olympian games were celebrated here, and excited great interest. On one of these occasions (in the year A.D. 68) a Rhodian youth of the name of Artemidorus obtained greater distinctions than any on record, under peculiar circumstances which Pausanias relates. He was a pancratiast, and not long before had been beaten at Elis from deficiency in growth. But when the Smyrnaean Olympia next came round, his bodily strength had so developed that he was victor in three trials on the same day, the first against his former competitors at the Peloponnesian Olympia, the second with the youths, and the third with the men; the last contest having been provoked by a taunt (Pausanias, v. 14, §4). The extreme interest excited by the games at Smyrna, may perhaps account for the remarkable ferocity exhibited by the population against the aged bishop Polycarp. It was exactly on such occasions that what the pagans regarded as the unpatriotic and anti-social spirit of the early Christians became most apparent; and it was to the violent demands of the people assembled in the stadium that the Roman proconsul yielded up the martyr. The letter of the Smyrnaeans, in which the account of his martyrdom is contained, represents the Jews as taking part with the Gentiles in accusing him as an enemy to the state religion,—conduct which would be inconceivable in a sincere Jew, but which was quite natural in those which the sacred writer characterises as "a synagogue of Satan" (Rev. ii. 9).

Smyrna under the Romans was the seat of a *conventus juridicus*, whither law cases were brought

[a] This is the more likely from the superstitious regard in which the Smyrnaeans held chance phrases (*κληδόνες*) as a material for augury. They had a *κληδόνων ἱερὸν* just above the city outside the walls, in which this mode of divination was the ordinary one (Pausanias, ix. 11, §7).

from the citizens of Magnesia on the Sipylus, and also from a Macedonian colony settled in the same country under the name of Hyrcani. The last are probably the descendants of a military body in the service of Seleucus, to whom lands were given soon after the building of New Smyrna, and who, together with the Magnesians, seem to have had the Smyrnaean citizenship then bestowed upon them. The decree containing the particulars of this arrangement is among the marbles in the University of Oxford. The Romans continued the system which they found existing when the country passed over into their hands.

(Strabo, xiv. p. 183 seqq.; Herodotus, i. 16; Tacitus, *Annal.* iii. 63, iv. 56; Pliny, *N. H.* v. 29; Boeckh, *Inscript. Graec.* "Smyrnaean Inscriptions," especially Nos. 3163-3176; Pausanias, *loca cit.*, and iv. 21, §5; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, i. 18.) [J. W. B.]

SNAIL. The representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew words *shablûl* and *chômet*.

1. *Shablûl* (שַׁבְלוּל: κηρός; ἕντερον, Aq.; χόριον, Sym.. *cera*) occurs only in Ps. lviii. 9 (8, A. V.): "As a *shablûl* which melteth let (the wicked) pass away." There are various opinions as to the meaning of this word, the most curious, perhaps, being that of Symmachus: The LXX. read "melted wax," similarly the Vulg. The rendering of the A. V. ("snail") is supported by the authority of many of the Jewish Doctors, and is probably correct. The Chaldee Paraphr. explains *shablûl* by *thiblala* (תִּיבְלָלָא), *i. e.* "a snail or a slug," which was supposed by the Jews to consume away and die by reason of its constantly emitting slime as it crawls along. See *Schol. ad Gem. Moëd Katon*, 1 fol. 6 B, as quoted by Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 560) and Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 212). It is needless to observe that this is not a zoological fact, though perhaps generally believed by the Orientals. The term *Shablûl* would denote either a *Limax* or a *Helix*, which are particularly noticeable for the slimy track they leave behind them.

2. *Chômet* (חֹמֶט: σαύρα: *lacerta*) occurs only as the name of some unclean animal in Lev. xi. 30. The LXX. and Vulg. understand some kind of *Lizard* by the term; the Arabic versions of Erpenius and Saadias give the *Chameleon* as the animal intended. The Veneto-Greek and the Rabbins, with whom agrees the A. V., render the Heb. term by "snail." Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 500) has endeavoured to show that a species of small sand lizard, called *Chulaca* by the Arabs, is denoted; but his argument rests entirely upon some supposed etymological foundation, and proves nothing at all. The truth of the matter is that there is no evidence to lead us to any conclusion; perhaps some kind of lizard may be intended, as the two most important old versions conjecture. [W. H.]

SNOW (שֶׁלֶג: χιών; δρόσος in Prov. xxvi.; *nix*). The historical books of the Bible contain only two notices of snow actually falling (2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 Macc. xiii. 22), but the allusions in the poetical books are so numerous that there can be no doubt as to its being an ordinary occurrence in the winter months. Thus, for instance, the snow-storm is mentioned among the ordinary operations of nature which are illustrative of the Creator's power (Ps. cxlvii. 16, cxlviii. 8). We have, again, notice of the beneficial effect of snow on the soil (Is. lv. 10). Its colour is adduced as an image of brilliancy (Dan. vii. 9; Matt. xxviii. 3; Rev. i. 14), of purity (Is. i. 18; Lam. iv. 7, in reference to the white robes of the princes), and of the blanching effects of leprosy (Ex. iv. 6; Num. xii. 10; 2 K. v. 27). In the book of Job we have references to the supposed cleansing effects of snow-water (ix. 30), to the rapid melting of snow under the sun's rays (xxiv. 19), and the consequent flooding of the brooks (vi. 16). The thick falling of the flakes forms the point of comparison in the obscure passage in Ps. lxviii. 14. The snow lies deep in the ravines of the highest ridge of Lebanon until the summer is far advanced, and indeed never wholly disappears (Robinson, iii. 531); the summit of Hermon also perpetually glistens with frozen snow (Robinson, ii. 437). From these sources probably the Jews obtained their supplies of ice for the purpose of cooling their beverages in summer (Prov. xxv. 13). The "snow of Lebanon" is also used as an expression for the refreshing coolness of spring water, probably in reference to the stream of Siloam (Jer. xviii. 14). Lastly, in Prov. xxxi. 21, snow appears to be used as a synonym for winter or cold weather. The liability to snow must of course vary considerably in a country of such varying altitude as Palestine. Josephus notes it as a peculiarity of the low plain of Jericho that it was warm there even when snow was prevalent in the rest of the country (*B. J.* iv. 8, §3). At Jerusalem snow often falls to the depth of a foot or more in January and February, but it seldom lies (Robinson, i. 429). At Nazareth it falls more frequently and deeply, and it has been observed to fall even in the maritime plain at Joppa and about Carmel (Kitto, *Phys. Hist.* p. 210). A comparison of the notices of snow contained in Scripture and in the works of modern travellers would, however, lead to the conclusion that more fell in ancient times than at the present day. At Damascus, snow falls to the depth of nearly a foot, and lies at all events for a few days (Wortabet's *Syria*, i. 215, 236). At Aleppo it falls, but never lies for more than a day (Russell, i. 69). [W. L. B.]

SO (סוֹא: Σηγώρ: *Sua*). "So king of Egypt" is once mentioned in the Bible. Hoshea, the last king of Israel, evidently intending to become the vassal of Egypt, sent messengers to him and made no present, as had been the yearly custom, to the king of Assyria (2 Kings xvii. 4). The consequence of this step, which seems to have been forbidden by the prophets, who about this period are constantly warning the people against trusting in Egypt and Ethiopia, was the imprisonment of Hoshea, the taking of Samaria, and the carrying captive of the ten tribes.

So has been identified by different writers with the first and second kings of the Ethiopian XXVth dynasty, called by Manetho, Sabakôn, and Sebichôs. It will be necessary to examine the chronology of the period in order to ascertain which of these identifications is the more probable. We therefore give a table of the dynasty (see opposite page), including the third and last reign, that of Tirhakah, for the illustration of a later article. [TIRHAKAH.]

The accession of Teharka, the Tirhakah of Scripture, may be nearly fixed on the evidence of an Apis-tablet, which states that one of the bulls Apis was born in his 26th year, and died at the end of the 20th of Psammetichus I. This bull lived more than 20 years, and the longest age of any Apis stated is 26. Supposing the latter duration, which would allow a short interval between Teharka and Psammetichus II., as seems necessary, the accession of

TABLE OF DYNASTY XXV.

Egyptian Data.					Hebrew Data.		
B.C.	*Manetho.*		*Monuments.*		Correct reigns?	B.C.	*Events*
	Africanus.	Eusebius.	Order.	Highest Yr.			
	Yrs.	Yrs.					
719	1. Sabakôn 8	1. Sabakôn 12	1. SHEBEK	XII.	12	cir. 723 or 703	Hoshea's treaty with So.
707	2. Sebichôs 14	2. Sebichôs 12	2. SHEBETEK		12		
695	3. Tarkos 18	3. Tarakos 20	3. TEHARKA	XXVI.	26	cir. 703 or 683?	War with Sennacherib

Teharka would be B. C. 695. If we assign 24 years to the two predecessors, the commencement of the dynasty would be B.C. 719. But it is not certain that their reigns were continuous. The account which Herodotus gives of the war of Sennacherib and Sethos suggests that Tirhakah was not ruling in Egypt at the time of the destruction of the Assyrian army, so that we may either conjecture, as Dr. Hincks has done, that the reign of Sethos followed that of Shebetek and preceded that of Tirhakah over Egypt (*Journ. Sac. Lit.*, Jan. 1853), or else that Tirhakah was king of Ethiopia while Shebetek, not the same as Sethos, ruled in Egypt, the former hypothesis being far the more probable. It seems impossible to arrive at any positive conclusion as to the dates to which the mentions in the Bible of So and Tirhakah refer, but it must be remarked that it is difficult to overthrow the date of B. C. 721, for the taking of Samaria.

If we adopt the earlier dates So must correspond to Shebek, if the later, perhaps to Shebetek; but if it should be found that the reign of Tirhakah is dated too high, the former identification might still be held. The name Shebek is nearer to the Hebrew name than Shebetek, and if the Masoretic points do not faithfully represent the original pronunciation, as we might almost infer from the consonants, and the name was Sewa or Seva, it is not very remote from Shebek. We cannot account for the transcription of the LXX.

From Egyptian sources we know nothing more of Shebek than that he conquered and put to death Bocchoris, the sole king of the XXIVth dynasty, as we learn from Manetho's list, and that he continued the monumental works of the Egyptian kings. There is a long inscription at El-Karnak in which Shebek speaks of tributes from "the king of the land of KHALA (SHARA)," supposed to be Syria. (Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, i. p. 244.) This gives some slight confirmation to the identification of this king with So, and it is likely that the founder of a new dynasty would have endeavoured, like Shishak and Psammetichus I., the latter virtually the founder of the XXVIth, to restore the Egyptian supremacy in the neighbouring Asiatic countries.

The standard inscription of Sargon in his palace at Khursabád states, according to M. Oppert, that after the capture of Samaria, Hanon king of Gaza, and Sebech sultán of Egypt, met the king of Assyria in battle at Rapih, Raphia, and were defeated. Sebech disappeared, but Hanon was captured. Pharaoh king of Egypt was then put to tribute. (*Les Inscriptions Assyriennes des Sargonides*, &c. p. 22.) This statement would appear to indicate that either Shebek or Shebetek, for we cannot lay great stress upon the seeming identity of name with the former, advanced to the support of Hoshea and his party, and being defeated fled into Ethiopia, leaving the kingdom of Egypt to a native prince. This evidence favours the idea that the Ethiopian kings were not successive. [R. S. P.]

SOAP (בֹּרִית, בֹּר: πόα: *herba, h. borith*). The Hebrew term *bôrîth* does not in itself bear the specific sense of soap, but is a general term for any substance of *cleansing* qualities. As, however, it appears in Jer. ii. 22, in contradistinction to *nether*, which undoubtedly means "nitre," or mineral alkali, it is fair to infer that *bôrîth* refers to vegetable alkali, or some kind of potash, which forms one of the usual ingredients in our soap. Numerous plants, capable of yielding alkalies, exist in Palestine and the surrounding countries; we may notice one named *Hubeibeh* (the *salsola kali* of botanists), found near the Dead Sea, with glass-like leaves, the ashes of which are called *el-Kuli* from their strong alkaline properties (Robinson, *Bib. Researches*, i. 505); the *Ajram*, found near Sinai, which when pounded serves as a substitute for soap (Robinson, i. 84); the *gilloo*, or "soap plant" of Egypt (Wilkinson, ii. 106): and the heaths in the neighbourhood of Joppa (Kitto's *Phys. Hist.* p. 267). Modern travellers have also noticed the *Saponaria officinalis* and the *Mesembryanthemum nodiflorum*, both possessing alkaline properties, as growing in Palestine. From these sources large quantities of alkali have been extracted in past ages, as the heaps of ashes outside Jerusalem and *Nablûs* testify (Robinson, iii. 201, 299), and an active trade in the article is still prosecuted with Aleppo in one direction (Russell, i. 79), and Arabia in another (Burckhardt, i. 66). We need not assume that the ashes were worked up in the form familiar to us; for no such article was known to the Egyptians (Wilkinson, i. 186). The uses of soap among the Hebrews were twofold:—(1) for cleansing either the person (Jer. ii. 22; Job ix. 30, where for "never so clean," read "with alkali") or the clothes; (2) for purifying metals (Is. i. 25, where for "purely," read "as through alkali"). Hitzig suggests that *bôrîth* should be substituted for *berîth*, "covenant," in Ez. xx. 37, and Mal. iii. 1. [W. L. B.]

SO'CHO (שׂוֹכוֹ: Σωχώ: *Socho*), 1 Chr. iv. 18. Probably the town of Socoh in Judah, though which of the two cannot be ascertained. It appears from its mention in this list, that it was colonized by a man or a place named Heber. The Targum playing on the passage after the custom of Hebrew writers, interprets it as referring to Moses, and takes the names Jered, Soco, Jekuthiel, as titles of him. He was "the Rabba of Soco, because he sheltered (סכך) the house of Israel with his virtue." [G.]

SO'CHOH (שֹׂכֹה: [a]Alex. Σοχλώ: *Soccho*). Another form of the name which is more correctly given in the A. V. as SOCOH, but which appears therein under no less than six forms. The present one occurs in the list of King Solomon's commissariat districts (1 K. iv. 10), and is therefore probably, though not certainly, the town in the Shefelah, that being the great corn-growing district of the country. [SOCOH, 1.]

SO'COH (שׂוֹכֹה). The name of two towns in the tribe of Judah.

1. (Σαωχώ; Alex. Σωχώ: *Soccho*). In the district of the Shefelah (Josh. xv. 35). It is a member of the same group with Jarmuth, Azekah, Shaaraim, &c. The same relative situation is implied in the other passages in which the place (under slight variations of form) is mentioned. At Ephes-dammim, between Socoh and Azekah (1 Sam. xvii. 1), the Philistines took up their position for the memorable engagement in which their champion was slain, and the wounded fell down in the road to Shaaraim (ver. 54). Socho, Adullam, Azekah, were among the cities in Judah which Rehoboam fortified after the revolt of the northern tribes (2 Chr. xi. 7), and it is mentioned with others of the original list as being taken by the Philistines in the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii. 18).

In the time of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* "Soccho") it bore the name of Socchoth, and lay between 8 and 9 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Jerusalem. Paula passed through it on her road from Bethlehem (?) to Egypt (Jerome, *Ep. Paulae*, §14). As is not unfrequently the case in this locality, there were then two villages, an upper and a lower (*Onomast.*). Dr. Robinson's identification of Socoh with *esh-Shuweikeh*[b] in the western part of the mountains of Judah is very probable (*B. R.* ii. 21). It lies about 1 mile to the north of the track from *Beit Jibrîn* to Jerusalem, between 7 and 8 English miles from the former. To the north of it within a couple of miles is *Yarmuk*, the ancient Jarmuth. *Damun*, perhaps Ephes-dammim, is about the same distance to the east, and although Azekah and Shaaraim have not been identified, there is no doubt that they were in this neighbourhood. To complete the catalogue, the ruins—which must be those of the upper one of Eusebius's two villages—stand on the southern slope of the *Wady es-Sumt*, which with great probability is the Valley of Elah, the scene of Goliath's death. (See Tobler, *3tte Wanderung*, 122.)

No traveller appears to have actually visited the spot, but one of the few who have approached it describes it as "nearly half a mile above the bed of the Wady, a kind of natural terrace covered with green fields (in spring), and dotted with gray ruins" (Porter, *Handbk.* 249 *a*).

From this village probably came "Antigonus of Soco," who lived about the commencement of the 3rd century B.C. He was remarkable for being the earliest Jew who is known to have had a Greek name; for being the disciple of the great Simon, surnamed the Just, whom he succeeded as president of the Sanhedrim; for being the master of Sadok the reputed founder of the Sadducees; but most truly remarkable as the author of the following saying which is given in the Mishna (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 3) as the substance of his teaching, "Be not ye like servants who serve their lord that they may receive a reward. But be ye like servants who serve their lord without hope of receiving a reward, but in the fear of Heaven."

Socoh appears to be mentioned, under the name of *Sochus* in the Acts of the Council of Nice, though its distance from Jerusalem as there given, is not sufficient for the identification proposed above (Reland, *Pal.* 1019).

2. (Σωχά; Alex. Σωχώ: *Soccho*). Also a town of Judah, but in the mountain district (Josh. xv. 48.)[c] It is one of the first group, and is named in company with Anab, Jattir, Eshtemoh, and others. It has been discovered by Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* i. 494) in the *Wady el-Khalil*, about 10 miles S.W. of Hebron; bearing, like the other Socoh, the name of *esh Shuweikeh*, and with *Anab, Semoa, 'Attir*, within easy distance of it. [G.]

SO'DI (סוֹדִי: Σουδί: *Sodi*). The father of Gaddiel, the spy selected from the tribe of Zebulun (Num. xiii. 10).

SOD'OM (סְדֹם,[d] *i. e.* Sedôm: [τὰ] Σόδομα; Joseph. ἡ πόλις Σοδομιτῶν: *Sodoma*. Jerome vacillates between singular and plural, noun and adjective. He employs all the following forms, *Sodomam, in Sodomis, Sodomorum, Sodomae, Sodomitae*). One of the most ancient cities of Syria, whose name is now a synonym for the most disgusting and opprobrious of vices. It is commonly mentioned in connexion with Gomorrah, but also with Admah and Zeboim, and on one occasion (Gen. xiv.) with Bela or Zoar. Sodom was evidently the chief town in the settlement. Its king takes the lead and the city is always named first in the list, and appears to be the most important. The four are first named in the ethnological records of Gen. x. 19, as belonging to the Canaanites: "The border of the Canaanite was from Zidon towards Gerar unto Azzah: towards Sedom and Amorah and Admah and Tseboïm unto Lasha." The meaning of which appears to be that the district in the hands of the Canaanites formed a kind of triangle—the apex at Zidon, the south-west extremity at Gaza, the south-eastern at Lasha. Lasha, it may be remarked in passing, seems most probably located on the *Wady Zurka Main*, which enters the east side of the Dead Sea, about nine miles from its northern end.

The next mention of the name of Sodom (Gen. xiii. 10-13) gives more certain indication of the position of the city. Abram and Lot are standing together between Bethel and Ai (ver. 3), taking, as any spectator from that spot may still do, a survey of the land around and below them. Eastward of them, and absolutely at their feet, lay the "circle of Jordan." It was in all its verdant glory, that glory of which the traces are still to be seen, and which is so strangely and irresistibly attractive to a spectator from any of the heights in the neighbourhood of Bethel—watered by the copious supplies of the *Wady Kelt*, the *Ain Sultân*, the *Ain Dûk*, and the other springs which gush out from the foot of the mountains. These abundant waters even now support a mass of verdure before they are lost in the light, loamy soil of the region. But at the time when Abram and Lot beheld them, they were

[a] The text of the Vat. MS. is so corrupt as to prevent any name being recognized.

[b] *Shuweikeh* is a diminutive of *Shaukeh*, as *Mureikhy* of *Mukhah*, &c.

[c] The *Keri* to this passage reads יְשׁוּבָן *i. e.* Soco

[d] It is perhaps doubtful whether the name had not also the form סְדֹמָה, Sedômah, which appears in Gen. x. 19. The suffix may in this case be only the ה of motion, but the forms adopted by LXX. and Vulg. favour the belief that it may be part of the name.

husbanded and directed by irrigation, after the manner of Egypt, till the whole circle was one great oasis —"a garden of Jehovah" (ver. 10). In the midst of the garden the four cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim appear to have been situated. To these cities Lot descended, and retaining his nomad habits amongst the more civilised manners of the Canaanite settlement "pitched his tent" by[e] the chief of the four. At a later period he seems to have been living within the walls of Sodom. It is necessary to notice how absolutely the cities are identified with the district. In the subsequent account of their destruction (Gen. xix.), the topographical terms are employed with all the precision which is characteristic of such early times. "The *Ciccâr*," the "land of the *Ciccâr*," "*Ciccâr* of Jordan," recurs again and again both in chap. xiii. and xix., and "the cities of the *Ciccâr*" is the almost technical designation of the towns which were destroyed in the catastrophe related in the latter chapter. The mention of the Jordan is conclusive as to the situation of the district, for the Jordan ceases where it enters the Dead Sea, and can have no existence south of that point. But, in addition, there is the mention of the eastward direction from Bethel, and the fact of the perfect manner in which the district north of the Lake can be seen from the central highlands of the country on which Abram and Lot were standing. And there is still further corroboration in Deut. xxxiv. 3, where "the *Ciccâr*" is directly connected with Jericho and Zoar, coupled with the statement of Gen. x. already quoted, which appears to place Zoar to the north of Lasha. It may be well to remark here, with reference to what will be named further on, that the southern half of the Dead Sea is invisible from this point; not merely too distant, but shut out by intervening heights.

We have seen what evidence the earliest records afford of the situation of the five cities. Let us now see what they say of the nature of that catastrophe by which they are related to have been destroyed. It is described in Gen. xix. as a shower of brimstone and fire from Jehovah, from the skies—"The Lord rained upon Sodom, and upon Gomorrah, brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven; and he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground" . . . "and lo! the smoke of the land went up like the smoke of a furnace." "It rained fire and brimstone from heaven" (Luke xvii. 29). However we may interpret the words of the earliest narrative one thing is certain, that the lake was not one of the agents in the catastrophe. Further, two words are used in Gen. xix. to describe what happened:—הַשְׁחִית, to throw down, to destroy (vers. 13, 14), and הָפַךְ, to overturn (21, 25, 29). In neither of these is the presence of water—the submergence of the cities or of the district in which they stood—either mentioned, or implied. Nor is it implied in any of the later passages in which the destruction of the cities is referred to throughout the Scriptures. Quite the contrary. Those passages always speak of the district on which the cities once stood, not as submerged, but, as still visible, though desolate and uninhabitable. "Brimstone, and salt, and burning . . . not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein" (Deut. xxix. 22). "Never to be inhabited, nor dwelt in from generation to generation; where neither Arab should pitch tent nor shepherd make fold" (Is. xiii. 19). "No man abiding there, nor son of man dwelling in it" (Jer. xlix. 18; l. 40). "A fruitful land turned into saltness" (Ps. cvii. 34). "Overthrown and burnt" (Amos iv. 11). "The breeding of nettles, and saltpits, and a perpetual desolation" (Zeph. ii. 9). "A waste land that smoketh, and plants bearing fruit which never cometh to ripeness" (Wisd. ix. 7). "Land lying in clods of pitch and heaps of ashes" (2 Esdr. ii. 9). "The cities turned into ashes" (2 Pet. ii. 6, where their destruction by fire is contrasted with the Deluge).

In agreement with this is the statement of Josephus (*B. J.* [f] iv. 8, §4). After describing the lake, he proceeds:—"Adjoining it is Sodomitis, once a blessed region abounding in produce and in cities, but now entirely burnt up. They say that it was destroyed by lightning for the impiety of its inhabitants. And even to this day the relics of the Divine fire, and the traces of five cities are to be seen there, and moreover the ashes reappear even in the fruit." In another passage (*B. J.* v. 13, §6) he alludes incidentally to the destruction of Sodom, contrasting it, like St. Peter, with a destruction by water. By comparing these passages with *Ant.* i. 9, it appears that Josephus believed the vale of Siddim to have been submerged, and to have been a distinct district from that of Sodom in which the cities stood, which latter was still to be seen.

With this agree the accounts of heathen writers, as Strabo and Tacitus; who, however vague their statements, are evidently under the belief that the district was not under water, and that the remains of the towns were still to be seen.[g]

From all these passages, though much is obscure, two things seem clear.

1. That Sodom and the rest of the cities of the plain of Jordan stood on the north of the Dead Sea.

2. That neither the cities nor the district were submerged by the lake, but that the cities were overthrown and the land spoiled, and that it may still be seen in its desolate condition.

When, however, we turn to more modern views, we discover a remarkable variance from these conclusions.

1. The opinion long current, that the five cities were submerged in the lake, and that their remains —walls, columns, and capitals—might be still discerned below the water, hardly needs refutation after the distinct statement and the constant implication of Scripture. Reland (*Pal.* 257) showed more than two centuries ago how baseless was such a hypothesis, and how completely it is contradicted by the terms of the original narrative. It has since been assaulted with great energy by De Saulcy. Professor Stanley (*S. & P.* 289) has lent his powerful aid in the same direction,[h] and the theory, which probably arose from a confusion between the

[e] The word is עַד, "at," not "towards," as in the A.V. Luzatto, *vicino a*; LXX. ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν Σοδόμοις.

[f] Josephus regarded this passage as his main statement of the event. See *Ant.* i. 11, §4.

[g] These passages are given at length by De Saulcy (*Narr.* i. 448).

[h] "The only expression which seems to imply that the rise of the Dead Sea was within historical times, is that contained in Gen. xiv. 3—'the vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea.' But this phrase may merely mean that the region in question bore both names; as in the similar expressions (verses 7 and 17)—'En Mishpat, which is Kadesh;' 'Shaveh, which is the King's Dale.' It should, however, be observed that the word 'Emek,' translated 'vale,' is usually employed for a long broad valley, such as in this connection would naturally mean the whole length of the Dead Sea." (Stanley, *S. & P.* 289 note.)

Vale of Siddim and the plain of the Jordan, will doubtless never again be listened to. But

2. A more serious departure from the terms of the ancient history is exhibited in the prevalent opinion that the cities stood at the south end of the Lake. This appears to have been the belief of Josephus and Jerome (to judge by their statements on the subject of Zoar). It seems to have been universally held by the mediaeval historians and pilgrims, and it is adopted by modern topographers, probably without exception. In the words of one of the most able and careful of modern travellers, Dr. Robinson, "The cities which were destroyed must have been situated on the south end of the lake as it then existed" (*B. R.* ii. 188). This is also the belief of M. De Saulcy, except with regard to Gomorrah; and, in fact, is generally accepted. There are several grounds for this belief; but the main point on which Dr. Robinson rests his argument is the situation of Zoar.

(*a.*) "Lot," says he, in continuing the passage just quoted, "fled to Zoar, which was *near* to Sodom; and Zoar lay almost at the southern end of the present sea, probably in the mouth of the *Wady Kerak*, where it opens upon the isthmus of the peninsula. The fertile plain, therefore, which Lot chose for himself, where Sodom was situated . . . lay also south of the lake 'as thou comest unto Zoar'" (*B. R.* ibid.).

Zoar is said by Jerome to have been "the key of Moab." It is certainly the key of the position which we are now examining. Its situation is more properly investigated under its own head. [ZOAR.] It will there be shewn that grounds exist for believing that the Zoar of Josephus, Jerome, and the Crusaders, which probably lay where Dr. Robinson places it, was not the Zoar of Lot. On such a point, however, where the evidence is so fragmentary and so obscure, it is impossible to speak otherwise than with extreme diffidence.

In the meantime, however, it may be observed that the statement of Gen. xix. hardly supports the inference relative to the position of these two places, which is attempted to be extorted from it. For, assuming that Sodom was where all topographers seem to concur in placing it, at the salt ridge of *Usdum*, it will be found that the distance between that spot and the mouth of the *Wady Kerak*, where Dr. Robinson proposes to place Zoar, a distance which, according to the narrative, was traversed by Lot and his party in the short twilight of an Eastern morning (ver. 15 and 23), is no less than 16 miles.[i]

Without questioning that the narrative of Gen. xix. is strictly historical throughout, we are not at present in possession of sufficient knowledge of the topography and of the names attached to the sites of this remarkable region, to enable any profitable conclusions to be arrived at on this and the other kindred questions connected with the destruction of the five cities.

(*b.*) Another consideration in favour of placing the cities at the southern end of the lake is the existence of similar names in that direction. Thus, the name *Usdum*, attached to the remarkable ridge of salt which lies at the south-western corner of the lake, is usually accepted as the representative of Sodom (Robinson, Van de Velde, De Saulcy, &c. &c.). But there is a considerable difference between the two words סְדֹם and اسدم, and at any rate the point deserves further investigation. The name *'Amrah* (عمرة), which is attached to a valley among the mountains south of Masada (Van de Velde, ii. 99, and Map), is an almost exact equivalent to the Hebrew of Gomorrha[k] ('Amorah). The name *Dra'a* (ذرعة), and much more strongly that of *Zoghal* (زوغل), recal Zoar.

(*c.*) A third argument, and perhaps the weightiest of the three, is the existence of the salt mountain at the south of the lake, and its tendency to split off in columnar masses, presenting a rude resemblance to the human form. But with reference to this it may be remarked that it is by no means certain that salt does not exist at other spots round the lake. In fact, as we shall see under the head of Zoar, Thietmar (A.D. 1217) states that he saw the pillar of Lot's wife on the east of Jordan at about a mile from the ordinary ford: and wherever such salt exists, since it doubtless belongs to the same formation as the *Khashm Usdum*, it will possess the habit of splitting into the same shapes as that does.

It thus appears that on the situation of Sodom no satisfactory conclusion can at present be come to. On the one hand the narrative of Genesis seems to state positively that it lay at the *northern* end of the Dead Sea. On the other hand the long-continued tradition and the names of existing spots seem to pronounce with almost equal positiveness that it was at its *southern* end. How the geological argument may affect either side of the proposition cannot be decided in the present condition of our knowledge.

Of the catastrophe which destroyed the city and the district of Sodom we can hardly hope ever to form a satisfactory conception. Some catastrophe there undoubtedly was. Not only does the narrative of Gen. xix. expressly state that the cities were miraculously destroyed, but all the references to the event in subsequent writers in the Old and New Testaments bear witness to the same fact. But what secondary agencies, besides fire, were employed in the accomplishment of the punishment cannot be safely determined in the almost total absence of exact scientific description of the natural features of the ground round the lake. It is possible that when the ground has been thoroughly examined by competent observers, something may be discovered which may throw light on the narrative. Until then, it is useless, however tempting, to speculate. But even this is almost too much to hope for; because, as we shall presently see, there is no warrant for imagining that the catastrophe was a geological one, and in any other case all traces of action must at this distance of time have vanished.

[i] M. De Saulcy has not overlooked this consideration (*Narrative*, i. 442). His own proposal to place Zoar at *Zuweirah* is however inadmissible, for reasons stated under the head of Zoar. If *Usdum* be Sodom, then the site which has most claim to be identified with the site of Zoar is the *Tell um-Zoghal*, which stands between the north end of *Khashm Usdum* and the Lake. But Zoar, the cradle of Moab and Ammon, must surely have been on the east side of the Lake.

[k] The G here is employed by the Greeks for the difficult guttural *ain* of the Hebrews, which they were unable to pronounce (comp. Gothaliah for Athaliah, &c.). This, however, would not be the case in Arabic where the *ain* is very common, and therefore De Saulcy's identification of *Goumran* with Gomorrah falls to the ground so far, at least, as etymology is concerned.

It was formerly supposed that the overthrow of Sodom was caused by the convulsion which formed the Dead Sea. This theory is stated by Dean Milman in his *History of the Jews* (i. 15, 16) with great spirit and clearness.[m] "The valley of the Jordan, in which the cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Adma, and Tseboim were situated, was rich and highly cultivated. It is most probable that the river then flowed in a deep and uninterrupted channel down a regular descent, and discharged itself into the eastern gulf of the Red Sea. The cities stood on a soil broken and undermined with veins of bitumen and sulphur. These inflammable substances, set on fire by lightning, caused a tremendous convulsion; the water-courses, both the river and the canals by which the land was extensively irrigated, burst their banks; the cities, the walls of which were perhaps built from the combustible materials of the soil, were entirely swallowed up by the fiery inundation; and the whole valley, which had been compared to Paradise, and to the well-watered cornfields of the Nile, became a dead and fetid lake." But nothing was then known of the lake, and the recent discovery of the extraordinary depression of its surface below the ocean level, and its no less extraordinary depth, has rendered it impossible any longer to hold such a theory. The changes which occurred when the limestone strata of Syria were split by that vast fissure which forms the Jordan Valley and the basin of the Salt Lake, must not only have taken place at a time long anterior to the period of Abraham, but must have been of such a nature and on such a scale as to destroy all animal life far and near (Dr. Buist, in *Trans. of Bombay Geogr. Soc.* xii. p. xvi.).

Since the knowledge of these facts has rendered the old theory untenable, a new one has been broached by Dr. Robinson. He admits that "a lake must have existed where the Dead Sea now lies, into which the Jordan poured its waters long before the catastrophe of Sodom. The great depression of the whole broad Jordan valley and of the northern part of the *Arabah*, the direction of its lateral valleys, as well as the slope of the high western district towards the north, all go to show that the configuration of this region in its main features is coëval with the present condition of the surface of the earth in general, and not the effect of any local catastrophe at a subsequent period.....In view of the fact of the necessary existence of a lake before the catastrophe of Sodom; the well-watered plain toward the south, in which were the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and not far off the sources of bitumen; as also the peculiar character of this part of the lake, where alone asphaltum at the present day makes its appearance—I say, in view of all these facts, there is but a step to the obvious hypothesis, that the fertile plain is now in part occupied by the southern bay lying south of the peninsula; and that, by some convulsion or catastrophe of nature connected with the miraculous destruction of the cities, either the surface of this plain was scooped out, or the bottom of the lake heaved up so as to cause the waters to overflow and cover permanently a larger tract than formerly" (*B. R.* ii. 188, 9).

To this very ingenious theory two objections may be taken. (1.) The "plain of the Jordan," in which the cities stood (as has been stated) can hardly have been at the south end of the lake; and (2.) The geological portion of the theory does not appear to agree with the facts. The whole of the lower end of the lake, including the plain which borders it on the south, has every appearance not of having been lowered since the formation of the valley, but of undergoing a gradual process of filling up. This region is in fact the delta of the very large, though irregular, streams which drain the highlands on its east, west, and south, and have drained them ever since the valley was a valley. No report by any observer at all competent to read the geological features of the district will be found to give countenance to the notion that any disturbance has taken place within the historical period, or that anything occurred there since the country assumed its present general conformation beyond the quiet, gradual change due to the regular operation of the ordinary agents of nature, which is slowly filling up the chasm of the valley and the lake with the washings brought down by the torrents from the highlands on all sides. The volcanic appearances and marks of fire, so often mentioned, are, so far as we have any trustworthy means of judging, entirely illusory, and due to ordinary, natural, causes.

But in fact the narrative of Gen. xix. neither states nor implies that any convulsion of the earth occurred. The word *haphac*, rendered in the A. V. "overthrow," is the only expression which suggests such a thing. Considering the character of the whole passage, it may be inferred with almost absolute certainty that, had an earthquake or convulsion of a geological nature been a main agent in the destruction of the cities, it would have been far more clearly reflected in the narrative than it is. Compare it, for example, with the forcible language and the crowded images of Amos and the Psalmist in reference to such a visitation. If it were possible to speculate on materials at once so slender and so obscure as are furnished by that narrative, it would be more consistent to suppose that the actual agent in the ignition and destruction of the cities had been of the nature of a tremendous thunderstorm accompanied by a discharge of meteoric stones.[n]

The name Sedôm has been interpreted to mean "burning" (Gesenius, *Thes.*[o] 939a). This is possible, though it is not at all certain, since Gesenius himself hesitates between that interpretation and one which identifies it with a similar Hebrew word meaning "vineyard," and Fürst (*Handwb.* ii. 72), with equal if not greater plausibility, connects it with a root meaning to enclose or fortify. Simonis again (*Onomast.* 363) renders it "abundance of dew, or water," Hiller (*Onomast.* 176) "fruitful land," and Chytraeus "mystery." In fact, like most archaic names, it may, by a little ingenuity, be made to mean almost anything. Professor Stanley (*S. and P.* 289) notices the first of these interpretations, and comparing it with the "Phlegraean fields" in the Campagna at Rome, says that "the name, if not derived from the subsequent catastrophe, shows that the marks of fire had already passed over the doomed valley." Apparent "marks of fire" there are all over the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. They have misled many

[m] This cannot be said of the account given by Fuller in his *Pisgah-sight of Palestine* (Bk. 2, ch. 13), which seems to combine every possible mistake with an amount of bad taste and unseemly drollery quite astonishing even in Fuller.

[n] This is the account of the Koran (xi. 84):—"We turned those cities upside down and we rained upon them stones of baked clay."

[o] Taking שְׁדֵמָה = סְדֹם, and that as = יְשֻׁדָּפָה.

travellers into believing them to be the tokens of conflagration and volcanic action; and in the same manner it is quite possible that they originated the name *Sedôm*, for they undoubtedly abounded on the shores of the lake long before even Sodom was founded. But there is no warrant for treating those appearances as the tokens of actual conflagration or volcanic action. They are produced by the gradual and ordinary action of the atmosphere on the rocks. They are familiar to geologists in many other places, and they are found in other parts of Palestine where no fire has ever been suspected.

The miserable fate of Sodom and Gomorrah is held up as a warning in numerous passages of the Old and New Testaments. By St. Peter and St. Jude it is made "an ensample to those that after should live ungodly," and to those "denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Pet. ii. 6, Jude, 4-7). And our Lord Himself, when describing the fearful punishment that will befall those that reject His disciples, says that "it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for that city" (Mark vi. 11; comp. Matt. x. 15).

The name of the Bishop of Sodom—"Severus Sodomorum"—appears amongst the Arabian prelates who signed the acts of the first Council of Nicaea. Reland remonstrates against the idea of the Sodom of the Bible being intended, and suggests that it is a mistake for Zuzumaon or Zoraima, a see under the metropolitan of Bostra (*Pal.* 1020). This M. De Saulcy (*Narr.* i. 454) refuses to admit. He explains it by the fact that many seas still bear the names of places which have vanished, and exist only in name and memory, such as Troy. The Coptic version to which he refers, in the edition of M. Lenormant, does not throw any light on the point. [G.]

SOD'OMA (Σόδομα. *Sodoma*). Rom. ix. 29. In this place alone the Authorized Version has followed the Greek and Vulgate form of the well-known name SODOM, which forms the subject of the preceding article. The passage is a quotation from Is. i. 9. The form employed in the Pentateuch, and occasionally in the other books of the A. V. of 1611 is Sodome, but the name is now universally reduced to Sodom, except in the one passage quoted above. [G.]

SOD'OMITES (קָדֵשׁ; קְדֵשִׁים: *scortator*, *effeminatus*). This word does not denote the inhabitants of Sodom (except only in 2 Esdr. vii. 36) nor their descendants; but is employed in the A. V. of the Old Testament for those who practised as a religious rite the abominable and unnatural vice from which the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah have derived their lasting infamy. It occurs in Deut. xxiii. 17; 1 K. xiv. 24, xv. 12, xxii. 46; 2 K. xxiii. 7; and Job xxxvi. 14 (margin). The Hebrew word *Kadesh* is said to be derived from a root *kadash*, which (strange as it may appear) means "pure," and thence "holy." The words *sacer* in Latin, and "devoted" in our own language, have also a double meaning, though the subordinate signification is not so absolutely contrary to the principal one as it is in the case of *kadesh*. "This dreadful 'consecration,' or rather desecration, was spread in different forms over Phoenicia, Syria, Phrygia, Assyria, Babylonia. Ashtaroth, the Greek Astarte, was its chief object." It appears also to have been established at Rome where its victims were called Galli (not from Gallia, but from the river Gallus in Bithynia). There is an instructive note on the subject in Jerome's *Comm.* on Hos. iv. 14.

The translators of the Septuagint with that anxiety to soften and conceal obnoxious expressions, which has been often noticed as a characteristic of their version, have, in all cases but one, avoided rendering *Kadesh* by its ostensible meaning. In the first of the passages cited above they give a double translation, πορνεύων and τελισκόμενος (initiated). In the second σύνδεσμος (a conspiracy, perhaps reading קֶשֶׁר). In the third τὰς τελετάς (sacrifices). In the fourth the Vat. MS. omits it, and the Alex. has τοῦ ἐνδιηλλαγμένου. In the fifth τῶν Καδησίμ: and in the sixth ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων.

There is a feminine equivalent to *Kadesh*, viz. *Kadeshah*. This is found in Gen. xxxviii. 21, 22; Deut. xxiii. 17, and Hos. iv. 14. In each of these cases it throws a new light on the passage to remember that these women were (if the expression may be allowed) the priestesses of a religion, not plying for hire, or merely instruments for gratifying passing lust. Such ordinary prostitutes are called by the name *zonah*.[a] The "strange women" of Prov. ii. 16, &c., were foreigners, *zaroth*. [G.]

SODOMI'TISH SEA, THE (*Mare Sodomiticum*), 2 Esdr. v. 7; meaning the Dead Sea. It is the only instance in the Books of the Old Testament, New Testament, or Apocrypha, of an approach to the inaccurate modern opinion which connects the salt lake with the destruction of Sodom. The name may, however, arise here simply from Sodom having been situated near the lake. [G.]

SOL'OMON (שְׁלֹמֹה, *Shĕlômôh*: Σαλωμών, LXX.; Σολομών, N. T. and Joseph.: *Salomo*).

I. *Name.*—The changes of pronunciation are worth noticing. We lose something of the dignity of the name when it passes from the measured stateliness of the Hebrew to the anapaest of the N. T., or the tribrach of our common speech. Such changes are perhaps inevitable wherever a name becomes a household word in successive generations, just as that of Friedereich (identical in meaning with Solomon) passes into Frederick. The feminine form of the word (Σαλώμη) retains the long vowel in the N.T. It appears, though with an altered sound, in the Arabic *Suleimaun*.

II. *Materials.*—(1). The comparative scantiness of historical *data* for a life of Solomon is itself significant. While that of David occupies 1 Sam. xvi.-xxxi., 2 Sam. i.-xxiv., 1 K. i. ii., 1 Chr. x.-xxix., that of Solomon fills only the eleven chapters 1 K. i.-xi., and the nine 2 Chr. i-ix. The compilers of those books felt, as by a true inspiration, that the wanderings, wars, and sufferings of David were better fitted for the instruction of after ages than the magnificence of his son.[b] They manifestly give extracts only from larger works which were before

[a] In 1 K. xxii. 38 the word *zonoth* is rendered "armour." It should be "harlots"—"and the harlots washed themselves there" (early in the morning, as was their custom, adds Procopius of Gaza). The LXX. have rendered this correctly.

[b] The contrast presented by the Apocryphal literature of Jews, Christians, Mahometans, abounding in pseudonymous works and legends gathering round the name of Solomon (*infra*), but having hardly any connexion with David, is at once striking and instructive

them, "The book of the Acts of Solomon" (1 K. xi. 41); "The book of Nathan the prophet, the book of Ahijah the Shilonite, the visions of Iddo the seer" (2 Chr. ix. 29). Those which they do give, bear, with what for the historian is a disproportionate fullness, on the early glories of his reign, and speak but little (those in 2 Chr. not at all) of its later sins and misfortunes, and we are consequently unable to follow the annals of Solomon step by step.

(2). Ewald, with his usual fondness for assigning different portions of each book of the O. T. to a series of successive editors, goes through the process here with much ingenuity, but without any very satisfactory result (*Geschichte*, iii. 259-263). A more interesting inquiry would be, to which of the books above named we may refer the sections which the compilers have put together. We shall probably not be far wrong in thinking of Nathan, far advanced in life at the commencement of the reign, David's chief adviser during the years in which he was absorbed in the details of the Temple and its ritual, himself a priest (1 K. iv. 5 in *Heb.* comp. Ewald iii. 116), as having written the account of the accession of Solomon and the dedication of the Temple (1 K. i.-viii. 66; 2 Chr. i.-viii. 15). The prayer of Solomon, so fully reproduced, and so obviously precomposed, may have been written under his guidance. To Ahijah the Shilonite, active at the close of the reign, alive some time after Jeroboam's accession, we may ascribe the short record of the sin of Solomon, and of the revolution to which he himself had so largely contributed (1 K. xi.). From the Book of the Acts of Solomon came probably the miscellaneous facts as to the commerce and splendour of his reign (1 K. ix. 10-x. 29).

(3). Besides the direct history of the O. T. we may find some materials for the life of Solomon in the books that bear his name, and in the Psalms which are referred, on good grounds, to his time, Ps. ii., xlv., lxxii., cxxvii. Whatever doubts may hang over the date and authorship of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs, we may at least see in them the reflection of the thoughts and feelings of his reign. If we accept the latest date which recent criticism has assigned to them, they elaborately work up materials which were accessible to the writers, and are not accessible to us. If we refer them in their substance, following the judgment of the most advanced Shemitic scholars, to the Solomonic period itself, they then come before us with all the freshness and vividness of contemporary evidence (Renan, *Hist. des langues Sémit.* p. 131).[c]

(4). Other materials are but very scanty. The history of Josephus is, for the most part, only a loose and inaccurate paraphrase of the O. T. narrative. In him, and in the more erudite among early Christian writers, we find some fragments of older history not without their value, extracts from archives alleged to exist at Tyre in the first century of the Christian era, and from the Phoenician histories of Menander and Dius (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 2, §6; 5, §3), from Eupolemos (Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ix. 30), from Alexander Polyhistor, Menander, and Laitus (Clem. Al. *Strom.* i. 21). Writers such as these were of course only compilers at second-hand, but they probably had access to some earlier documents which have now perished.

(5.) The legends of later Oriental literature will claim a distinct notice. All that they contribute to history is the help they give us in realising the impression made by the colossal greatness of Solomon, as in earlier and later times by that of Nimrod and Alexander, on the minds of men of many countries and through many ages.

III. *Education.*—(1). The student of the life of Solomon must take as his starting-point the circumstances of his birth. He was the child of David's old age, the last-born of all his sons (1 Chr iii. 5).[d] His mother had gained over David a twofold power; first, as the object of a passionate, though guilty love; and next, as the one person to whom, in his repentance, he could make something like restitution. The months that preceded his birth were for the conscience-stricken king a time of self-abasement. The birth itself of the child who was to replace the one that had been smitten must have been looked for as a pledge of pardon and a sign of hope. The feelings of the king and of his prophet-guide expressed themselves in the names with which they welcomed it. The yearnings of the "man of war," who "had shed much blood," for a time of peace—yearnings which had shown themselves before, when he gave to his third son the name of Ab-salom (=father of peace), now led him to give to the new-born infant the name of Solomon (Shĕlômôh = the peaceful one). Nathan, with a marked reference to the meaning of the king's own name (=the darling, the beloved one), takes another form of the same word, and joins it, after the growing custom of the time, with the name of Jehovah. David had been the darling of his people. Jedid-jah (the name was coined for the purpose) should be the darling of the Lord. (2 Sam. xii. 24, 5.[e] See JEDIDIAH; and Ewald, iii. 215).

(2). The influences to which the childhood of Solomon was thus exposed must have contributed largely to determine the character of his after years. The inquiry, what was the education which ended in such wonderful contrasts,—a wisdom then, and perhaps since, unparalleled,—a sensuality like that of Louis[f] XV., cannot but be instructive. The three influences which must have entered most largely into that education were those of his father, his mother, and the teacher under whose charge he was placed from his earliest infancy (2 Sam xii. 25).

(3). The fact just stated, that a prophet-priest was made the special instructor, indicates the king's earnest wish that this child at least should be protected against the evils which, then and afterwards, showed themselves in his elder sons, and be worthy of the name he bore. At first, apparently, there was no distinct purpose to make him his heir. Ab-

[c] The weight of Renan's judgment is however diminished by the fact that he had previously assigned Ecclesiastes to the time of Alexander the Great (*Cant. les Cant.* p. 102).

[d] The narrative of 2 Sam. xii. leaves, it is true, a different impression. On the other hand, the order of the names in 1 Chr. iii. 5, is otherwise unaccountable. Josephus distinctly states it (*Ant.* vii. 14, §2.).

[e] According to the received interpretation of Prov. xxxi. 1, his mother also contributed an ideal name, Lemuel (= to God, Deodatus), the dedicated one (comp. Ewald, *Poet. Büch.* iv. 173). On this hypothesis the reproof was drawn forth by the king's intemperance and sensuality. In contrast to what his wives were, she draws the picture of what a pattern wife ought to be (Phœda, i. 4).

[f] Here also the epithet "le bien-aimé" reminds us, no less than Jedidiah, of the terrible irony of History for those who abuse gifts and forfeit a vocation.

alom is still the king's favourite son (2 Sam. xiii. 37, xviii. 33)—is looked on by the people as the destined successor (2 Sam. xiv. 13, xv. 1-6). The death of Absalom, when Solomon was about ten years old, left the place vacant, and David, passing over the claims of all his elder sons, those by Bathsheba included, guided by the influence of Nathan, or by his own discernment of the gifts and graces which were tokens of the love of Jehovah, pledged his word in secret to Bathsheba that he, and no other, should be the heir (1 K. i. 13). The words which were spoken somewhat later, express, doubtless, the purpose which guided him throughout (1 Chr. xxviii. 9, 20). His son's life should not be as his own had been, one of hardships and wars, dark crimes and passionate repentance, but, from first to last, be pure, blameless, peaceful, fulfilling the ideal of glory and of righteousness, after which he himself had vainly striven. The glorious visions of Ps. lxxii. may be looked on as the prophetic expansion of those hopes of his old age. So far, all was well. But we may not ignore the fact, that the later years of David's life presented a change for the worse, as well as for the better. His sin, though forgiven, left behind it the Nemesis of an enfeebled will and a less generous activity. The liturgical element of religion becomes, after the first passionate out-pouring of Ps. li., unduly predominant. He lives to amass treasures and materials for the Temple which he may not build (1 Chr. xxii. 5, 14). He plans with his own hands all the details of its architecture (1 Chr. xxviii. 19). He organizes on a scale of elaborate magnificence all the attendance of the priesthood and the choral services of the Levites (1 Chr. xxiv. xxv.). But, meanwhile, his duties as a king are neglected. He no longer sits in the gate to do judgment (2 Sam. xv. 2, 4). He leaves the sin of Amnon unpunished, "because he loved him, for he was his first-born" (LXX. of 2 Sam. xiii. 21). The hearts of the people fall away from him. First Absalom, and then Sheba, become formidable rivals (2 Sam. xv. 6, xx. 2). The history of the numbering of the people (2 Sam. xxiv., 1 Chr. xxi.) implies the purpose of some act of despotism, a poll-tax, or a conscription (2 Sam. xxiv. 9 makes the latter the more probable), such as startled all his older and more experienced counsellors. If, in "the last words of David" belonging to this period, there is the old devotion, the old hungering after righteousness (2 Sam. xxiii. 2-5), there is also—first generally (ibid. 6, 7), and afterwards resting on individual offenders (1 K. ii. 5-8)—a more passionate desire to punish those who had wronged him, a painful recurrence of vindictive thoughts for offences which he had once freely forgiven, and which were not greater than his own. We cannot rest in the belief that his influence over his son's character was one exclusively for good.

(4). In Eastern countries, and under a system of polygamy, the son is more dependent, even than elsewhere, on the character of the mother. The history of the Jewish monarchy furnishes many instances of that dependence. It recognises it in the care with which it records the name of each monarch's mother. Nothing that we know of Bathsheba leads us to think of her as likely to mould her son's mind and heart to the higher forms of goodness. She offers no resistance to the king's passion (Ewald, iii. 211). She makes it a stepping-stone to power. She is a ready accomplice in the scheme by which her shame was to have been concealed. Doubtless she too was sorrowful and penitent when the rebuke of Nathan was followed by her child's death (2 Sam. xii. 24), but the after-history shows that the grand-daughter of Ahithophel [BATHSHEBA] had inherited not a little of his character. A willing adultress, who had become devout, but had not ceased to be ambitious, could hardly be more, at the best, than the Madame de Maintenon of a king, whose contrition and piety were rendering him, unlike his former self, unduly passive in the hands of others.

(5). What was likely to be the influence of the prophet to whose care the education of Solomon was confided? (*Heb.* of 2 Sam. xii. 25). We know, beyond all doubt, that he could speak bold and faithful words when they were needed (2 Sam. vii. 1-17, xii. 1-14). But this power, belonging to moments or messages of special inspiration, does not involve the permanent possession of a clear-sighted wisdom, or of aims uniformly high; and we in vain search the later years of David's reign for any proof of Nathan's activity for good. He gives himself to the work of writing the annals of David's reign (1 Chr. xxix. 29). He places his own sons in the way of being the companions and counsellors of the future king (1 K. iv. 5). The absence of his name from the history of the "numbering," and the fact that the census was followed early in the reign of Solomon by heavy burdens and a forced service, almost lead us to the conclusion that the prophet had acquiesced[g] in a measure which had in view the magnificence of the Temple, and that it was left to David's own heart, returning to its better impulses (2 Sam. xxiv. 10), and to an older and less courtly prophet, to protest against an act which began in pride and tended to oppression.[h]

(6). Under these influences the boy grew up. At the age of ten or eleven he must have passed through the revolt of Absalom, and shared his father's exile (2 Sam. xv. 16). He would be taught all that priests, or Levites, or prophets had to teach; music and song; the Book of the Law of the Lord, in such portions and in such forms as were then current; the "proverbs of the ancients," which his father had been wont to quote (1 Sam. xxiv. 13); probably also a literature which has survived only in fragments; the Book of Jasher, the upright ones, the heroes of the people; the Book of the Wars of the Lord; the wisdom, oral or written, of the sages of his own tribe, Heman, and Ethan, and Calcol, and Darda (1 Chr. ii. 6), who contributed so largely to the noble hymns of this period (Ps. lxxxviii., lxxxix.), and were incorporated, probably, into the choir of the Tabernacle (Ewald, iii. 355). The growing intercourse of Israel with the Phoenicians would lead naturally to a wider knowledge of the outlying world and its wonders than had fallen to his father's lot. Admirable, however, as all this was, a shepherd-life, like his father's, furnished, we may believe, a better education for the kingly calling (Ps. lxxviii. 70, 71). Born to the purple, there was the inevitable risk of a selfish luxury. Cradled in liturgies, trained to

[g] Josephus, with his usual inaccuracy, substitutes Nathan for Gad in his narrative (*Ant.* vii. 13. §2).

[h] We regret to find ourselves unable to follow Ewald in his high estimate of the old age of David, and, consequently, of Solomon's education

think chiefly of the magnificent "palace" of Jehovah (1 Chr. xxix. 19) of which he was to be the builder, there was the danger, first, of an aesthetic formalism, and then of ultimate indifference.

IV. *Accession.*—(1.) The feebleness of David's old age led to an attempt which might have deprived Solomon of the throne his father destined for him. Adonijah, next in order of birth to Absalom, like Absalom "was a goodly man" (1 K. i. 6), in full maturity of years, backed by the oldest of the king's friends and counsellors, Joab and Abiathar, and by all the sons of David, who looked with jealousy, the latter on the obvious though not as yet declared preference of the latest-born, and the former on the growing influence of the rival counsellors who were most in the king's favour, Nathan, Zadok, and Benaiah. Following in the steps of Absalom, he assumed the kingly state of a chariot and a bodyguard; and David, more passive than ever, looked on in silence. At last a time was chosen for openly proclaiming him as king. A solemn feast at EN-ROGEL was to inaugurate the new reign. All were invited to it but those whom it was intended to displace. It was necessary for those whose interests were endangered, backed apparently by two of David's surviving elder brothers (Ewald, iii. 266; 1 Chr. ii. 13, 14), to take prompt measures. Bathsheba and Nathan took counsel together. The king was reminded of his oath. A virtual abdication was pressed upon him as the only means by which the succession of his favourite son could be secured. The whole thing was completed with wonderful rapidity. Riding on the mule, well-known as belonging to the king, attended by Nathan the prophet, and Zadok the priest, and more important still, by the king's special company of the thirty Gibborim, or mighty men (1 K. i. 10, 33), and the bodyguard of the Cherethites and Pelethites (mercenaries, and therefore not liable to the contagion of popular feeling) under the command of Benaiah (himself, like Nathan and Zadok, of the sons of Aaron), he went down to GIHON, and was proclaimed and anointed king.[h] The shouts of his followers fell on the startled ears of the guests at 'Adonijah's banquet. Happily they were as yet committed to no overt act, and they did not venture on one now. One by one they rose and departed. The plot had failed. The counter *coup d'état* of Nathan and Bathsheba had been successful. Such incidents are common enough in the history of Eastern monarchies. They are usually followed by a massacre of the defeated party. Adonijah expected such an issue, and took refuge at the horns of the altar. In this instance, however, the young conqueror used his triumph generously. The lives both of Adonijah and his partizans were spared, at least for a time. What had been done hurriedly was done afterwards in more solemn form. Solomon was presented to a great gathering of all the notables of Israel, with a set speech, in which the old king announced what was, to his mind, the programme of the new reign, a time of peace and plenty, of a stately worship, of devotion to Jehovah. A few months more, and Solomon found himself, by his father's death, the sole occupant of the throne.

(2.) The position to which he succeeded was unique. Never before, and never after, did the kingdom of Israel take its place among the great monarchies of the East, able to ally itself, or to contend on equal terms with Egypt or Assyria, stretching from the River (Euphrates) to the border of Egypt, from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Akaba, receiving annual tributes from many subject princes. Large treasures accumulated through many years were at his disposal.[i] The people, with the exception of the tolerated worship in high places, were true servants of Jehovah. Knowledge, art, music, poetry, had received a new impulse, and were moving on with rapid steps, to such perfection as the age and the race were capable of attaining. We may rightly ask—what manner of man he was, outwardly and inwardly, who at the age of nineteen or twenty, was called to this glorious sovereignty? We have, it is true, no direct description in this case as we have of the earlier kings. There are, however, materials for filling up the gap. The wonderful impression which Solomon made upon all who came near him may well lead us to believe that with him as with Saul and David, Absalom and Adonijah, as with most other favourite princes of Eastern peoples, there must have been the fascination and the grace of a noble presence. Whatever higher mystic meaning may be latent in Ps. xlv., or the Song of Songs, we are all but compelled to think of them as having had, at least, a historical starting-point. They tell us of one who was, in the eyes of the men of his own time, "fairer than the children of men," the face "bright and ruddy" as his father's (Cant. v. 10; 1 Sam. xvii. 42), bushy locks, dark as the raven's wing, yet not without a golden glow,[k] the eyes soft as "the eyes of doves," the "countenance as Lebanon, excellent as the cedars," "the chiefest among ten thousand, the altogether lovely" (Cant. 9-16). Add to this all gifts of a noble, far-reaching intellect, large and ready sympathies, a playful and genial humour, the lips "full of grace," the soul "anointed" as "with the oil of gladness" (Ps. xlv.), and we may form some notion of what the king was like in that dawn of his golden prime.[m]

(3.) The historical starting-point of the Song of Songs just spoken of connects itself, in all proba-

[h] According to later Jewish teaching a king was not anointed when he succeeded his father, except in the case of a previous usurpation or a disputed succession (Otho, *Lexic. Rabbin.* s. v. "Rex").

[i] The sums mentioned are (1) the public funds for building the Temple, 100,000 talents (kikarim) of gold and 1,000,000 of silver; (2) David's private offerings, 3000 talents of gold and 7000 of silver. Besides these, large sums of unknown amount were believed to have been stored up in the sepulchre of David. 2000 talents were taken from it by Hyrcanus (Jos. *Ant.* vii. 15, § 3; xiii. 8, § 4, xvi. 7, § 1).

[k] Possibly sprinkled with gold dust, as was the hair of the youths who waited on him (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 7, 3), or dyed with henna (Michaelis, *Not. in* Lowth, *Prael.* xxxi.).

[m] It will be seen that we adopt the scheme of the older literalist school, Bossuet, Lowth, Michaelis, rather than that of the more recent critics, Ewald, Renan, Ginsburg. Ingeniously as the idea is worked out we cannot bring ourselves to believe that a drama, belonging to the literature of the northern kingdom, not to that of Judah, holding up Solomon to ridicule as at once licentious and unsuccessful, would have been treasured up by the Jews of the Captivity, and received by the Scribes of the Great Synagogue as by, or at least, in honour of Solomon (comp. Renan, *La Cantique des Cantiques*, pp. 91, 95). We follow the Jesuit Pineda (*De rebus Salom.* iv. 3) in applying the language of the Shulamite to Solomon's personal appearance, but not in his extreme minuteness.

bility. with the earliest facts in the history of the new reign. The narrative, as told in 1 K. ii. is not a little perplexing. Bathsheba, who had before stirred up David against Adonijah, now appears as interceding for him, begging that Abishag the Shunamite, the virgin concubine of David, might be given him as a wife. Solomon, who till then had professed the profoundest reverence for his mother, his willingness to grant her anything, suddenly flashes into fiercest wrath at this. The petition is treated as part of a conspiracy in which Joab and Abiathar are sharers. Benaiah is once more called in. Adonijah is put to death at once. Joab is slain even within the precincts of the Tabernacle, to which he had fled as an asylum. Abiathar is deposed, and exiled, sent to a life of poverty and shame (1 K. ii. 31-36), and the high priesthood transferred to another family more ready than he had been to pass from the old order to the new, and to accept the voices of the prophets as greater than the oracles which had belonged exclusively to the priesthood [comp. URIM AND THUMMIM]. The facts have, however, an explanation. Mr. Grove's ingenious theory[n] identifying Abishag with the heroine of the Song of Songs [SHULAMITE], resting as it must do, on its own evidence, has this further merit, that it explains the phenomena here. The passionate love of Solomon for "the fairest among women," might well lead the queen-mother, hitherto supreme, to fear a rival influence, and to join in any scheme for its removal. The king's vehement abruptness is, in like manner, accounted for. He sees in the request at once an attempt to deprive him of the woman he loves, and a plot to keep him still in the tutelage of childhood, to entrap him into admitting his elder brother's right to the choicest treasure of his father's harem, and therefore virtually to the throne, or at least to a regency in which he would have his own partizans as counsellors. With a keen-sighted promptness he crushes the whole scheme. He gets rid of a rival, fulfils David's dying counsels as to Joab, and asserts his own independence. Soon afterwards an opportunity is thrown in his way of getting rid of one [SHIMEI], who had been troublesome before, and might be troublesome again. He presses the letter of a compact against a man who by his infatuated disregard of it seemed given over to destruction[o] (1 K. ii. 36-46). There is, however, no needless slaughter. The other "sons of David" are still spared, and one of them, Nathan, becomes the head of a distinct family (Zech. xii. 12), which ultimately fills up the failure of the direct succession (Luke iii. 31). As he punishes his father's enemies, he also shows kindness to the friends who had been faithful to him. Chimham, the son of Barzillai, apparently receives an inheritance near the city of David, and probably in the reign of Solomon, displays his inherited hospitality by building a caravanserai for the strangers whom the fame and wealth of Solomon drew to Jerusalem (2 Sam. xix. 31-40; 1 K. ii. 7; Jer. xli. 17; Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 274; *Proph.* ii. 191).

V. *Foreign Policy.*—(1.) The want of sufficient *data* for a continuous history has been already noticed. All that we have are—(*a.*) The duration of the reign, 40 years[p] (1 K. xi. 42). (*b.*) The commencement of the Temple in the 4th, its completion in the 11th year of his reign (1 K. vi. 1, 37, 38). (*c.*) The commencement of his own palace in the 7th, its completion in the 20th year (1 K. vii. 1; 2 Chr. viii. 1). (*d.*) The conquest of Hamath-Zobah, and the consequent foundation of cities in the region North of Palestine after the 20th year (2 Chr. viii. 1-6). With materials so scanty as these, it will be better to group the chief facts in an order which will best enable us to appreciate their significance.

(2.) *Egypt.* The first act of the foreign policy of the new reign must have been to most Israelites a very startling one. He made affinity with Pharaoh, king of Egypt. He married Pharaoh's daughter (1 K. iii. 1).[q] Since the time of the Exodus there had been no intercourse between the two countries. David and his counsellors had taken no steps to promote it. Egypt had probably taken part in assisting Edom in its resistance to David (1 Chr. xi. 23; Ewald, iii. 182), and had received Hadad, the prince of Edom, with royal honours. The king had given him his wife's sister in marriage, and adopted his son into his own family (1 K. xi. 14-20). These steps indicated a purpose to support him at some future time more actively, and Solomon's proposal of marriage was probably intended to counteract it. It was at the time so far successful, that when Hadad, on hearing of the death of the dreaded leaders of the armies of Israel, David and Joab, wished to seize the opportunity of attacking the new king, the court of Egypt rendered him no assistance (1 K. xi. 21, 22). The disturbances thus caused, and not less those in the North, coming from the foundation of a new Syrian kingdom at Damascus by Rezon and other fugitives from Zobah (1 K. xi. 23-25), might well lead Solomon to look out for a powerful support,[r] to obtain for a new dynasty and a new kingdom a recognition by one of older fame and greater power. The immediate results were probably favourable enough.[s] The new queen brought with her as a dowry the frontier-city of Gezer, against which, as threatening the tranquillity of Israel, and as still possessed by a remnant of the old Canaanites,[t] Pharaoh had led his armies.[u] She was received with

[n] The hypothesis is, however, not altogether new. It was held by some of the literalist historical school of Theodore of Mopsuestia (not by Theodore himself; comp. his fragments in Migne, lxvi. 699), and as such is anathematised by Theodoret of Cyrus (*Praef. in Cant. Cantic.*). The latter, believing the Song of Solomon to have been supernaturally dictated to Ezra, could admit no interpretation but the mystical (comp. Ginsburg, *Song of Sol.* p. 66).

[o] An elaborate vindication of Solomon's conduct in this matter may be found in Menthen's *Thesaurus*, i.; Slisser, *Diss. de Salom. processu contra Shimei.*

[p] Josephus, again inaccurate, lengthens the reign to 80 years, and makes the age at accession 14 (*Ant.* viii. 7, §8).

[q] This Pharaoh is identified by Ewald (iii. 279) with Psusennes, the last king of the 29th dynasty of Manetho, which had its seat in Lower Egypt at Tanis; but see PHARAOH, pp. 816, 817. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 6, §2) only notes the fact that he was the last king of Egypt who was known simply by the *title* Pharaoh.

[r] Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7, §6), misled by the position of these statements, refers the disturbances to the close of Solomon's reign, and is followed by most later writers. The dates given, however, in one case after the death of Joab, in the other after David's conquest of Zobah, show that we must think of them as continuing "all the days of Solomon," surmounted at the commencement of his reign, becoming more formidable at its conclusion.

[s] Ewald sees in Ps. ii. a great hymn of thanksgiving for deliverance from these dangers. The evidence in favour of David's authorship seems, however, to preponderate.

[t] Philistines, according to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 6, §1).

[u] If, with Ewald (iii. 277), we identify Gezer with

all honour, the queen-mother herself attending to place the diadem on her son's brow on the day of his espousals (Cant. iii. 11). Gifts from the nobles of Israel and from Tyre (the latter offered perhaps by a Tyrian princess) were lavished at her feet (Ps. xlv. 12). A separate and stately palace was built for her, before long, outside the city of David (2 Chr. viii. 11).[x] She dwelt there apparently with attendants of her own race, "the virgins that be her fellows," probably conforming in some degree to the religion of her adopted country. According to a tradition which may have some foundation in spite of its exaggerated numbers, Pharaoh (Psusennes, or as in the story Vaphres), sent with her workmen to help in building the Temple, to the number of 80,000 (Eupolemos, in Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ii. 30-35). The "chariots of Pharaoh" at any rate, appeared in royal procession with a splendour hitherto unknown (Cant. i. 9).

(3.) The ultimate issue of the alliance showed that it was hollow and impolitic. There may have been a revolution in Egypt, changing the dynasty and transferring the seat of power to Bubastis (Ewald, iii. 389).[y] There was at any rate a change of policy. The court of Egypt welcomes the fugitive Jeroboam when he is known to have aspirations after kingly power. There, we may believe, by some kind of compact, expressed or understood, was planned the scheme which led first to the rebellion of the Ten Tribes, and then to the attack of Shishak on the weakened and dismantled kingdom of the son of Solomon. Evils such as these were hardly counterbalanced by the trade opened by Solomon in the fine linen of Egypt, or the supply of chariots and horses which, as belonging to aggressive rather than defensive warfare, a wiser policy would have led him to avoid (1 K. x. 28, 29).

(4.) *Tyre.* The alliance with the Phoenician king rested on a somewhat different footing. It had been part of David's policy from the beginning of his reign. Hiram had been "ever a lover of David." He, or his grandfather,[z] had helped him by supplying materials and workmen for his palace. As soon as he heard of Solomon's accession he sent ambassadors to salute him. A correspondence passed between the two kings, which ended in a treaty of commerce.[a] Israel was to be supplied from Tyre with the materials which were wanted for the Temple that was to be the glory of the new reign. Gold from Ophir, cedar-wood from Lebanon, probably also copper from Cyprus, and tin from Spain or Cornwall (Niebuhr, *Lect. on Anc. Hist.* i. 79), for the brass which was so highly valued, purple from Tyre itself, workmen from among the Zidonians, all these were wanted and were given. The opening of Joppa as a port created a new coasting-trade, and the materials from Tyre were conveyed to it on floats, and thence to Jerusalem (2 Chr. ii. 16). The chief architect of the Temple, though an Israelite on his mother's side, belonging to the tribe of Dan or Naphtali [HIRAM], was yet by birth a Tyrian, a namesake of the king. In return for these exports, the Phoenicians were only too glad to receive the corn and oil of Solomon's territory. Their narrow strip of coast did not produce enough for the population of their cities, and then, as at a later period, "their country was nourished" by the broad valleys and plains of Samaria and Galilee (Acts xii. 20).

(5.) The results of the alliance did not end here. Now, for the first time in the history of Israel, they entered on a career as a commercial people. They joined the Phoenicians in their Mediterranean voyages to the coasts of Spain [TARSHISH].[b] Solomon's possession of the Edomite coast enabled him to open to his ally a new world of commerce. The ports of Elath and Ezion-geber were filled with ships of Tarshish, merchant-ships, *i. e.* for the long voyages, manned chiefly by Phoenicians, but built at Solomon's expense, which sailed down the Aelanitic Gulf of the Red Sea, on to the Indian Ocean, to lands which had before been hardly known even by name, to OPHIR and SHEBA, to Arabia Felix, or India, or Ceylon, and brought back after an absence of nearly three years, treasures almost or altogether new, gold and silver, and precious stones, nard, aloes, sandal-wood, almug-trees, and ivory; and last, but not least in the eyes of the historian, new forms of animal-life, on which the inhabitants of Palestine gazed with wondering eyes, "apes and peacocks." The interest of Solomon in these enterprises was shown by his leaving his palaces at Jerusalem and elsewhere and travelling to Elath and Ezion-geber to superintend the construction of the fleet (2 Chr. viii. 17), perhaps also to Sidon for a like purpose.[c] To the knowledge thus gained, we may ascribe the wider thoughts which appear in the Psalms of this and the following periods, as of those who "see the wonders of the deep and occupy their business in great waters" (Ps. cvii. 23-30), perhaps also an experience of the more humiliating accidents of sea-travel (Prov. xxiii. 34, 35).

(6.) According to the statement of the Phoenician writers quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 5, §3), the intercourse of the two kings had in it also something of the sportiveness and freedom of friends. They delighted to perplex each other with hard questions, and laid wagers as to their power of answering them. Hiram was at first the loser and paid his forfeits; but afterwards, through the help of a sharp-witted Tyrian boy, Abdemon, solved the hard problems and was in the end the winner.[d] The

Geshur, we may see in this attack a desire to weaken a royal house which was connected by marriage with Absalom (2 Sam. xiii. 37), and therefore likely to be hostile to Solomon. But comp. GEZER.

[x] We may see in this fact a sign of popular dissatisfaction at least on the part of the Priests and Levites represented by the compiler of 2 Chron.

[y] The singular addition of the LXX. to the history of Jeroboam in 1 K. xi. makes this improbable. Jeroboam, as well as Hadad, is received into the king's family by marriage with his wife's sister, and, in each case, the wife's name is given as Thekemina.

[z] Comp. the *data* given in 2 Sam. v. 11; Jos. *Ant.* vii. 3 §2, viii. 5, §3, *c. Ap.* i. 18, and Ewald, iii. 287.

[a] The letters are given at length by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2 §8) and Eupolemos (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* l. c.).

[b] Ewald disputes this (iii. 345), but the statement in 2 Chr. ix. 21, is explicit enough, and there are no grounds for arbitrarily setting it aside as a blunder.

[c] The statement of Justin Mart. (*Dial c. Tryph.* c. 34), ἐν Σιδῶνι εἰδωλολάτρει, receives by the accompanying διὰ γυναῖκα the character of an extract from some history then extant. The marriage of Solomon with a daughter of the king of Tyre is mentioned by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* x. 11).

[d] The narrative of Josephus implies the existence of some story, more or less humorous, in Tyrian literature, in which the wisest of the kings of earth was baffled by a boy's cleverness. A singular pendant to this is found in the popular mediaeval story of Solomon and Morolf, in which the latter (an ugly, deformed dwarf) outwits the former. A modernised version of this work may be

singular fragment of history inserted in 1 K. ix. 11-14. recording the cession by Solomon of sixteen cities, and Hiram's dissatisfaction with them, is perhaps connected with these imperial wagers. The king of Tyre revenges himself by a Phoenician bonmot [CABUL]. He fulfils his part of the contract, and pays the stipulated price.

(7.) These were the two most important alliances. The absence of any reference to Babylon and Assyria, and the fact that the Euphrates was recognised as the boundary of Solomon's kingdom (2 Chr. ix. 26), suggest the inference that the Mesopotamian monarchies were, at this time, comparatively feeble. Other neighbouring nations were content to pay annual tribute in the form of gifts (2 Chr. ix. 24). The kings of the Hittites and of Syria welcomed the opening of a new line of commerce which enabled them to find in Jerusalem an emporium where they might get the chariots and horses of Egypt (1 K. x. 29). This, however, was obviously but a small part of the traffic organised by Solomon. The foundation of cities like Tadmor in the wilderness, and Tiphsah (Thapsacus) on the Euphrates; of others on the route, each with its own special market for chariots, or horses, or stores (2 Chr. viii. 3-6); the erection of lofty towers on Lebanon (2 Chr. *l. c.*; Cant. vii. 4) pointed to a more distant commerce, opening out the resources of central Asia, reaching, as that of Tyre did afterwards, availing itself of this very route, to the Nomade tribes of the Caspian and the Black Seas, to Togarmah and Meshech and Tubal (Ez. xxvii. 13, 14; comp. Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, i. 270).

(8.) The survey of the influence exercised by Solomon on surrounding nations would be incomplete if we were to pass over that which was more directly personal—the fame of his glory and his wisdom. The legends which pervade the East are probably not merely the expansion of the scanty notices of the O. T.; but (as suggested above), like those which gather round the names of Nimrod and Alexander, the result of the impression made by the personal presence of one of the mighty ones of the earth.[e] Wherever the ships of Tarshish went, they carried with them the report, losing nothing in its passage, of what their crews had seen and heard. The impression made on the Incas of Peru by the power and knowledge of the Spaniards, offers perhaps the nearest approach to what falls so little within the limits of our experience, though there was there no personal centre round which the admiration could gather itself. The journey of the queen of Sheba, though from its circumstances the most conspicuous, did not stand alone. The inhabitants of Jerusalem, of the whole line of country between it and the Gulf of Akaba, saw with amazement the "great train;" the men with their swarthy faces, the camels bearing spices and gold and gems, of a queen who had come from the far South,[f] because she had heard of the wisdom of Solomon, and connected with it "the name of Jehovah" (1 K. x. 1). She came with hard questions to test that wisdom, and the words just quoted may throw light upon their nature. Not riddles and enigmas only, such as the sportive fancy of the East delights in, but the ever-old, ever-new problems of life, such as, even in that age and country, were vexing the hearts of the speakers in the Book of Job,[g] were stirring in her mind when she communed with Solomon of "all that was in her heart" (2 Chr. x. 2). She meets us as the representative of a body whom the dedication-prayer shows to have been numerous, the strangers "coming from a far country" because of the "great name" of Jehovah (1 K. viii. 41), many of them princes themselves, or the messengers of kings (2 Chr. ix. 23). The historians of Israel delighted to dwell on her confession that the reality surpassed the fame, "the one-half of the greatness of thy wisdom was not told me" (2 Chr. ix. 6; Ewald, iii. 353).

VI. *Internal History.*—(1.) We can now enter upon the reign of Solomon, in its bearing upon the history of Israel, without the necessity of a digression. The first prominent scene is one which presents his character in its noblest aspect. There were two holy places which divided the reverence of the people, the ark and its provisional tabernacle at Jerusalem, and the original Tabernacle of the congregation, which, after many wanderings, was now pitched at Gibeon. It was thought right that the new king should offer solemn sacrifices at both. After those at Gibeon[h] there came that vision of the night which has in all ages borne its noble witness to the hearts of rulers. Not for riches, or long life, or victory over enemies, would the son of David, then at least true to his high calling, feeling himself as "a little child" in comparison with the vastness of his work, offer his supplications, but for a "wise and understanding heart," that he might judge the people. The "speech pleased the Lord." There came in answer the promise of a wisdom "like which there had been none before, like which there should be none after" (1 K. iii. 5-15). So far all was well. The prayer was a right and noble one. Yet there is also a contrast between it and the prayers of David which accounts for many other contrasts. The desire of David's heart is not chiefly for wisdom, but for holiness. He is conscious of an oppressing evil, and seeks to be delivered from it. He repents, and falls, and repents again. Solomon asks only for wisdom. He has a lofty ideal before him, and seeks to accomplish it, but he is as yet haunted by no deeper yearnings, and speaks as one who has "no need of repentance."

(2.) The wisdom asked for was given in large measure, and took a varied range. The wide world of nature, animate and inanimate, which the enterprises of his subjects were throwing open to him, the lives and characters of men, in all their surface-weaknesses, in all their inner depths, lay before him, and he took cognisance of all.[i] But the highest

found in the Walhalla (Leipzig, 1844). Older copies, in Latin and German, of the 15th century, are in the Brit. Mus. Library. The Anglo-Saxon Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn is a mere catechism of Scriptural knowledge.

[e] Cities like Tadmor and Tiphsah were not likely to have been founded by a king who had never seen and chosen the sites. 2 Chr. viii. 3, 4, implies the journey which Josephus speaks of (*Ant.* viii. 6, §1), and at Tadmor Solomon was within one day's journey of the Euphrates, and six of Babylon. (So Josephus, *l. c.*, but the day's journey must have been a long one.)

[f] Josephus, again careless about authorities, makes her a queen of Egypt (!) and Ethiopia (*Ant.* viii. 6, §5).

[g] Is it possible that the Book itself came into the literature of Israel by the intercourse thus opened? Its Arabic character, both in language and thought, and the obvious traces of its influence in the Book of Proverbs, have been noticed by all critics worthy of the name [comp. JOB].

[h] Hebron, in Josephus, once more blundering (*Ant.* viii. 2, §1).

[i] Ewald sees in the words of 1 K. iv. 33, the record of books more or less descriptive of natural history, the

wisdom was that wanted for the highest work, for governing and guiding, and the historian hastens to give an illustration of it. The pattern-instance is, in all its circumstances, thoroughly Oriental. The king sits in the gate of the city, at the early dawn, to settle any disputes, however strange, between any litigants, however humble. In the rough and ready test which turns the scales of evidence, before so evenly balanced, there is a kind of rough humour as well as sagacity, specially attractive to the Eastern mind, then and at all times (1 K. iii. 16-28).

(3.) But the power to rule showed itself not in judging only, but in organising. The system of government which he inherited from David received a fuller expansion. Prominent among the "princes" of his kingdom, *i. e.* officers of his own appointment, were members of the priestly order:[k] Azariah the son of Zadok, Zadok himself the high-priest, Benaiah the son of Jehoiada as captain of the host, another Azariah and Zabud, the sons of Nathan, one over the officers (*Nittsâbîm*) who acted as purveyors to the king's household (1 K. iv. 2-5), the other in the more confidential character of "king's friend." In addition to these there were the two scribes (*Sôphêrim*), the king's secretaries, drawing up his edicts and the like [SCRIBES], Elihoreph and Ahiah, the recorder or annalist of the king's reign (*Mazcir*), the superintendent of the king's house, and household expenses (Is. xxii. 15), including probably the *harêm*. The last in order, at once the most indispensable and the most hated, was Adoniram, who presided "over the tribute," that word including probably the personal service of forced labour (comp. Keil, *Comm.* in loc., and Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 334).

(4.) The last name leads us to the king's finances. The first impression of the facts given us is that of abounding plenty. That all the drinking vessels of the two palaces should be of pure gold was a small thing, "nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon" (1 K. x. 21).[m] "Silver was in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars as the sycamore-trees in the vale" (1 K. x. 27). The people were "eating and drinking and making merry" (1 K. iv. 20). The treasures left by David for building the Temple might well seem almost inexhaustible[n] (1 Chr. xxix. 1-7). The large quantities of the precious metals imported from Ophir and Tarshish would speak, to a people who had not learnt the lessons of a long experience, of a boundless source of wealth (1 K. ix. 28). All the kings and princes of the subject-provinces paid tribute in the form of gifts, in money and in kind, "at a fixed rate year by year" (1 K. x. 25). Monopolies of trade, then, as at all times in the East, contributed to the king's treasury, and the trade in the fine linen, and chariots, and horses of Egypt, must have brought in large profits (1 K. x. 28, 29). The king's domain-lands were apparently let out, as vineyards or for other purposes, at a fixed annual rental (Cant. viii. 11). Upon the Israelites (probably not till the later period of his reign) there was levied a tax of ten per cent. on their produce (1 Sam. viii. 15). All the provinces of his own kingdom, grouped apparently in a special order for this purpose, were bound each in turn to supply the king's enormous household with provisions (1 K. iv. 21-23). [Comp. TAXES.] The total amount thus brought into the treasury in gold, exclusive of all payments in kind, amounted to 666 talents (1 K. x. 14).[o]

(5.) It was hardly possible, however, that any financial system could bear the strain of the king's passion for magnificence. The cost of the Temple was, it is true, provided for by David's savings and the offerings of the people; but even while that was building, yet more when it was finished, one structure followed on another with ruinous rapidity. A palace for himself, grander than that which Hiram had built for his father, another for Pharaoh's daughter, the house of the forest of Lebanon, in which he sat in his court of judgment, the pillars all of cedar, seated on a throne of ivory and gold, in which six lions on either side, the symbols of the tribe of Judah, appeared (as in the thrones of Assyria, Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 30) standing on the steps and supporting the arms of the chair (1 K. vii. 1-12, x. 18-20), ivory palaces and ivory towers, used apparently for the king's armoury (Ps. xlv. 8; Cant. iv. 4, vii. 4); the ascent from his own palace to the house or palace of Jehovah (1 K. x. 5), a summer palace in Lebanon (1 K. ix. 19; Cant. vii. 4), stately gardens at Etham, *paradises* like those of the great Eastern kings (Eccl. ii. 5, 6;

catalogue raisonnée of the king's collections, botanic and zoological (iii. 358); to Renan, however (following Josephus), it seems more in harmony with the unscientific character of all Shemitic minds, to think of them as looking on the moral side of nature, drawing parables or allegories from the things he saw (*Hist. des langues Sémitiques*, p. 127). The multiplied allusions of this kind in Prov. xxx., make that, perhaps, a fair representative of this form of Solomon's wisdom, though not by Solomon himself.

[k] We cannot bring ourselves, with Keil (*Comm. in loc.*) and others, to play fast and loose with the word *Cohen*, and to give it different meanings in alternate verses. [Comp. PRIESTS.]

[m] A reminiscence of this form of splendour is seen in the fact that the mediaeval goldsmiths described their earliest plate as "œuvre de Salomon." It was wrought in high relief, was Eastern in its origin, and was known also as Saracenic (*Liber Custumarius*, i. 61, 759).

[n] We labour, however, under a twofold uncertainty, (1) as to the accuracy of the numbers, (2) as to the value of the terms. Prideaux, followed by Lewis, estimates the amount at 833,000,000*l.*, yet the savings of the later years of David's life, for one special purpose, could hardly have surpassed the national debt of England (comp. Milman's *History of Jews*, i. 267).

[o] 666. There is something startling in thus finding in a simple historical statement a number which has since become invested with such a mysterious and terrible significance (Rev. xiii. 18). The coincidence can hardly, it is believed, be looked on as casual. "The Seer of the Apocalypse," it has been well said, "lives entirely in Holy Scripture. On this territory, therefore, is the solution of the sacred riddle to be sought" (Hengstenberg, *Comm. in Rev. in loc.*). If, therefore, we find the number occurring in the O. T., with any special significance, we may well think that that furnishes the starting point of the enigma. And there is such a significance here. (1.) As the glory and the wisdom of Solomon were the representatives of all earthly wisdom and glory, so the wealth of Solomon would be the representative of all earthly wealth. (2.) The purpose of the visions of St. John is to oppose the heavenly to the earthly Jerusalem; the true "offspring of David," "the lion of the tribe of Judah," to all counterfeits; the true riches to the false. (3.) The worship of the beast is the worship of the world's mammon. It may seem to reproduce the glory and the wealth of the old Jerusalem in its golden days, but it is of evil, not of God; a Babylon, not a Jerusalem. (4.) This reference does not of course exclude either the mystical meaning of the number six, so well brought out by Hengstenberg (*l. c.*) and Mr. Maurice (on the *Apocalypse*, p. 251), or even names like Lateinos and Nero Caesar. The greater the variety of thoughts that could be connected with a single number, the more would it commend itself to one at all familiar with the method of the *Gematria* of the Jewish cabbalists.

Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 7, §3; comp. PARADISE), the foundation of something like a stately school or college,[p] costly aqueducts bringing water, it may be, from the well of Bethlehem, dear to David's heart, to supply the king's palace in Jerusalem (Ewald, iii. 323), the fortifications of Jerusalem completed, those of other cities begun (1 K. ix. 15-19), and, above all, the harêm, with all the expenditure which it involved on slaves and slave-dealers, on concubines and eunuchs (1 Sam. viii. 15; 1 Chr. xxviii. 1), on men-singers and women-singers (Eccl. ii. 8)—these rose before the wondering eyes of his people and dazzled them with their magnificence. All the equipment of his court, the "apparel" of his servants, was on the same scale. If he went from his hall of judgment to the Temple he marched between two lines of soldiers, each with a burnished shield of gold (1 K. x. 16, 17; Ewald, iii. 320). If he went on a royal progress to his paradise at Etham, he went in snow-white raiment, riding in a stately chariot of cedar, decked with silver and gold and purple, carpeted with the costliest tapestry, worked by the daughters of Jerusalem (Cant. iii. 9, 10). A body-guard attended him, "threescore valiant men," tallest and handsomest of the sons of Israel, in the freshness of their youth, arrayed in Tyrian purple, their long black hair sprinkled freshly every day with gold-dust (ib. iii. 7, 8; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 7, §3). Forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, made up the measure of his magnificence (1 K. iv. 26). If some of the public works had the plea of utility, the fortification of some cities for purposes of defence—Millo (the suburb of Jerusalem), Hazor, Megiddo, the two Beth-horons, the foundation of others, Tadmor and Tiphsah, for purposes of commerce—these were simply the pomps of a selfish luxury, and the people, after the first dazzle was over, felt that they were so. As the treasury became empty, taxes multiplied and monopolies became more irksome. Even Israelites, besides the conscription which brought them into the king's armies (1 K. ix. 22), were subject, though for a part only of each year, to the *corvée* of compulsory labour (1 K. v. 13). The revolution that followed had, like most other revolutions, financial disorder as the chief among its causes. The people complained, not of the king's idolatry, but of their burdens, of his "grievous yoke" (1 K. xii. 4). Their hatred fell heaviest on Adoniram, who was over the tribute. If, on the one side, the division of the kingdom came as a penalty for Solomon's idolatrous apostasy from Jehovah, it was, on another, the Nemesis of a selfish passion for glory, itself the most terrible of all idolatries.

(6.) It remains for us to trace that other downfall, belonging more visibly, though not more really, to his religious life, from the loftiest height even to the lowest depth. The building and dedication of the Temple are obviously the representatives of the first. That was the special task which he inherited from his father, and to that he gave himself with all his heart and strength. He came to it with all the noble thoughts as to the meaning and grounds of worship which his father and Nathan could instil into him. We have already seen, in speaking of his intercourse with Tyre, what measures he took for its completion. All that can be said as to its architecture, proportions, materials [TEMPLE], and the organisation of the ministering PRIESTS and LEVITES, will be found elsewhere. Here it will be enough to picture to ourselves the feelings of the men of Judah as they watched, during seven long years, the Cyclopian foundations of vast stones (still remaining when all else has perished, Ewald, iii. 297) gradually rising up and covering the area of the threshing-floor of Araunah, materials arriving continually from Joppa, cedar, and gold and silver, brass "without weight" from the foundries of Succoth and Zarethan, stones ready hewn and squared from the quarries. Far from colossal in its size, it was conspicuous chiefly by the lavish use, within and without, of the gold of Ophir and Parvaim. It glittered in the morning sun (it has been well said) like the sanctuary of an El Dorado (Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, i. 259). Throughout the whole work the tranquillity of the kingly city was unbroken by the sound of the workman's hammer:

> "Like some tall palm, the noiseless fabric grew."

(7.) We cannot ignore the fact that even now there were some darker shades in the picture. Not reverence only for the Holy City, but the wish to shut out from sight the misery he had caused, to close his ears against cries which were rising daily to the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, led him probably to place the works connected with the Temple at as great a distance as possible from the Temple itself. Forgetful of the lessons taught by the history of his own people, and of the precepts of the Law (Ex. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9 *et al.*), following the example of David's policy in its least noble aspect (1 Chr. xxii. 2), he reduced the "strangers" in the land, the remnant of the Canaanite races who had chosen the alternative of conformity to the religion of their conquerors, to the state of helots, and made their life "bitter with all hard bondage."[q] [PROSELYTES.] Copying the Pharaohs in their magnificence, he copied them also in their disregard of human suffering. Acting, probably, under the same counsels as had prompted that measure on the result of David's census, he seized on these "strangers" for the weary, servile toil against which the free spirit of Israel would have rebelled. One hundred and fifty-three thousand, with wives and children in proportion, were torn from their homes and sent off to the quarries and the forests of Lebanon (1 K. v. 15; 2 Chr. ii. 17, 18). Even the Israelites, though not reduced permanently to the helot state (2 Chr. viii. 9), were yet summoned to take their share, by rotation, in the same labour (1 K. v. 13, 14). One trace of the special servitude of "these hewers of stone" existed long afterwards in the existence of a body of men attached to the Temple, and known as SOLOMON'S SERVANTS.

(8.) After seven years and a half the work was completed, and the day came to which all Israelites looked back as the culminating glory of their nation.

[p] Pineda's conjecture (iii. 28) that "the house with seven pillars," "the highest places of the city," of Prov. ix. 1-3, had originally a local reference is, at least, plausible enough to be worth mentioning. It is curious to think that there may have been a historical "Solomon's house," like that of the *New Atlantis*.

[q] Ewald's apology for these acts of despotism (iii. 292) presents a singular contrast to the free spirit which, for the most part, pervades his work. Throughout his history of David and Solomon, his sympathy for the father's heroism, his admiration for the son's magnificence, seem to keep his judgment under a fascination which it is difficult for his readers to escape from.

Their worship was now established on a scale as stately as that of other nations, while it yet retained its freedom from all worship that could possibly become idolatrous. Instead of two rival sanctuaries, as before, there was to be one only. The ark from Zion, the tabernacle from Gibeon, were both removed (2 Chr. v. 5) and brought to the new Temple. The choirs of the priests and Levites met in their fullest force, arrayed in white linen. Then, it may be for the first time, was heard the noble hymn, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in" (Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, i. 263). The trumpeters and singers were "as one" in their mighty Hallelujah—"O praise the Lord, for He is good, for His mercy endureth for ever" (2 Chr. v. 13). The ark was solemnly placed in its golden sanctuary, and then "the cloud," the "glory of the Lord," filled the house of the Lord. The two tables of stone, associated with the first rude beginnings of the life of the wilderness, were still, they and they only, in the ark which had now so magnificent a shrine (2 Chr. v. 10). They bore their witness to the great laws of duty towards God and man, remaining unchangeable through all the changes and chances of national or individual life, from the beginning to the end of the growth of a national religion. And throughout the whole scene, the person of the king is the one central object, compared with whom even priests and prophets are for the time subordinate. Abstaining, doubtless, from distinctively priestly acts, such as slaying the victims and offering incense, he yet appears, even more than David did in the bringing up the ark, in a liturgical character. He, and not Zadok, blesses the congregation, offers up the solemn prayer, dedicates the Temple. He, and not any member of the prophetic order, is then, and probably at other times, the spokesman and "preacher" of the people (Ewald, iii. 320). He takes at least some steps towards that far-off (Ps. cx. 1) ideal of "a priest after the order of Melchizedek," which one of his descendants rashly sought to fulfil [UZZIAH], but which was to be fulfilled only in a Son of David, not the crowned leader of a mighty nation, but despised, rejected, crucified. From him came the lofty prayer, the noblest utterance of the creed of Israel, setting forth the distance and the nearness of the Eternal God, One, Incomprehensible, dwelling not in temples made with hands, yet ruling men, hearing their prayers, giving them all good things, wisdom, peace, righteousness.[r]

(9.) The solemn day was followed by a week of festival, synchronising with the Feast of Tabernacles, the time of the completed vintage. Representatives of all the tribes, elders, fathers, captains, proselytes, it may be, from the newly-acquired territories in Northern Syria (2 Chr. vi. 32, vii. 8),—all were assembled, rejoicing in the actual glory and the bright hopes of Israel. For the king himself then, or at a later period (the narrative of 1 K. ix. and 2 Chr. vii. leaves it doubtful), there was a strange contrast to the glory of that day. A criticism, misled by its own acuteness, may see in that warning prophecy of sin, punishment, desolation, only a *vaticinium ex eventu*, added some centuries afterwards (Ewald, iii. 404) It is open to us to maintain that, with a character such as Solomon's, with a religious ideal so far beyond his actual life, such thoughts were psychologically probable, that strange misgivings, suggested by the very words of the jubilant hymns of the day's solemnity, might well mingle with the shouts of the people and the hallelujahs of the Levites.[s] It is in harmony with all we know of the work of the Divine Teacher, that those misgivings should receive an interpretation, that the king should be taught that what he had done was indeed right and good, but that it was not all, and might not be permanent. Obedience was better than sacrifice. There was a danger near at hand.

(10.) The danger came, and in spite of the warning the king fell. Before long the priests and prophets had to grieve over rival temples to Moloch, Chemosh, Ashtaroth, forms of ritual not idolatrous only, but cruel, dark, impure. This evil came, as the compiler of 1 K. xi. 1-8 records, as the penalty of another. Partly from policy, seeking fresh alliances, partly from the terrible satiety of lust seeking the stimulus of change, he gave himself to "strange women." He found himself involved in a fascination which led to the worship of strange gods. The starting-point and the goal are given us. We are left, from what we know otherwise, to trace the process. Something there was perhaps in his very "largeness of heart," so far in advance of the traditional knowledge of his age, rising to higher and wider thoughts of God, which predisposed him to it. His converse with men of other creeds and climes might lead him to anticipate, in this respect, one phase of modern thought, as the confessions of the Preacher in Koheleth anticipate another. In recognising what was true in other forms of faith, he might lose his horror at what was false, his sense of the pre-eminence of the truth revealed to him, of the historical continuity of the nation's religious life. His worship might go backward from Jehovah to Elohim,[t] from Elohim to the "Gods many and Lords many" of the nations round. Jehovah, Baal, Ashtaroth, Chemosh, each form of nature-worship, might come to seem equally true, equally acceptable. The women whom he brought from other countries might well be allowed the luxury of their own superstitions. And, if permitted at all, the worship must be worthy of his fame and be part of his magnificence. With this there may, as Ewald suggests (iii. 380),[u] have mingled political motives. He may have hoped, by a policy of toleration, to conciliate neighbouring princes, to attract a larger traffic. But probably also there was another influence less commonly taken into account. The wide-spread belief of the East in the magic arts of Solomon is not, it is believed, without its foundation of truth. On the one hand, an ardent study of nature, in the period that precedes science, runs on inevitably into the pursuit of occult, mysterious properties. On the other, throughout the whole history of Judah, the element of idolatry which has the strongest hold on men's minds was the thaumaturgic, soothsaying, incantations, divinations (2 K. i. 2; Is. ii. 6;

[r] Ewald, yielding to his one special weakness, sees in this prayer the rhetorical addition of the Deuteronomist editor (iii. 315).

[s] Ps. cxxxii. belongs manifestly (comp. vv. 7, 8, 10, 16, with 2 Chr. vi. 41) to the day of dedication; and v. 12 contains the condition, of which the vision of the night presents the dark as the day had presented the bright side.

[t] It is noticeable that Elohim, and not Jehovah, is the Divine name used throughout Ecclesiastes.

[u] To see, however, as Ewald does, in Solomon's policy nothing but a wise toleration like that of a modern statesman in regard to Christian sects, or of the English Government in India, is surely to read history through a refracting and distorting medium.

2 Chr. xxxii. 6 *et al.*). The religion of Israel opposed a stern prohibition to all such perilous yet tempting arts (Deut. xviii. 10 *et al.*). The religions of the nations round fostered them. Was it strange that one who found his progress impeded in one path should turn into the other? So, at any rate, it was. The reign which began so gloriously was a step backwards into the gross darkness of fetish worship. As he left behind him the legacy of luxury, selfishness, oppression, more than counterbalancing all the good of higher art and wider knowledge, so he left this too as an ineradicable evil. Not less truly than the son of Nebat might his name have been written in history as Solomon the son of David who "made Israel to sin."

(11.) Disasters followed before long as the natural consequence of what was politically a blunder as well as religiously a sin. The strength of the nation rested on its unity, and its unity depended on its faith. Whatever attractions the sensuous ritual which he introduced may have had for the great body of the people, the priests and Levites must have looked on the rival worship with entire disfavour. The zeal of the prophetic order, dormant in the earlier part of the reign, and as it were, hindered from its usual utterances by the more dazzling wisdom of the king, was now kindled into active opposition. Ahijah of Shiloh, as if taught by the history of his native place, was sent to utter one of those predictions which help to work out their own fulfilment, fastening on thoughts before vague, pointing Jeroboam out to himself and to the people as the destined heir to the larger half of the kingdom, as truly called as David had been called, to be the anointed of the Lord (1 K. xi. 28-39). The king in vain tried to check the current that was setting strong against him. If Jeroboam was driven for a time into exile it was only as we have seen, to be united in marriage to the then reigning dynasty, and to come back with a daughter of the Pharaohs as his queen (LXX. *ut supra*). The old tribal jealousies gave signs of renewed vitality. Ephraim was prepared once more to dispute the supremacy of Judah, needing special control (1 K. xi. 28). And with this weakness within there came attacks from without. Hadad and Rezon, the one in Edom, the other in Syria, who had been foiled in the beginning of his reign, now found no effectual resistance. The king, prematurely old,[x] must have foreseen the rapid breaking up of the great monarchy to which he had succeeded. Rehoboam, inheriting his faults without his wisdom, haughty and indiscreet, was not likely to avert it.

(12.) Of the inner changes of mind and heart which ran parallel with this history Scripture is comparatively silent. Something may be learnt from the books that bear his name, which, whether written by him or not, stand in the Canon of the O. T. as representing, with profound, inspired insight the successive phases of his life; something also from the fact that so little remains out of so much, out of the songs, proverbs, treatises of which the historian speaks (1 K. iv. 32, 33). Legendary as may be the traditions which speak of Hezekiah as at one and the same time, preserving some portions of Solomon's writings (Prov. xxv. 1), and destroying others,[y] a like process of selection must have been gone through by the unknown Rabbis of the GREAT SYNAGOGUE after the return from the exile. Slowly and hesitatingly they received into the Canon, as they went on with their unparalleled work of the expurgation by a people of its own literature, the two books which have been the stumbling-blocks of commentators. Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs[z] (Ginsburg, *Koheleth*, pp. 13-15). They give *excerpta* only from the 3000 Proverbs. Of the thousand and five Songs (the precise number indicates a known collection) we know absolutely nothing. They were willing, *i. e.* to admit Koheleth for the sake of its ethical conclusion, the Song of Songs, because at a very early period, possibly even then, it had received a mystical interpretation (Keil, *Einleit. in das Alt. Test.* §127), because it was, at any rate, the history of a love which if passionate, was also tender, and pure, and true.[a] But it is easy to see that there are elements in that poem, the strong delight in visible outward beauty, the surrender of heart and will to one overpowering impulse, which might come to be divorced from truth and purity, and would then be perilous in proportion to their grace and charm. Such a divorce took place we know in the actual life of Solomon. It could not fail to leave its stamp upon the idyls in which feeling and fancy uttered themselves. The poems of the Son of David may have been like those of Hafiz. The Scribes who compiled the Canon of the O. T. may have acted wisely, rightly, charitably to his fame, in excluding them.

(13.) The books that remain meet us, as has been said, as at any rate representing the three stages of his life. The Song of Songs brings before us the brightness of his youth, the heart as yet untainted, human love passionate yet undefiled,[b] and

[x] Solomon's age at his death could not have been much more than fifty-nine or sixty, yet it was not till he was "old" that his wives perverted him (1 K. xi. 4).

[y] Hezekiah found, it was said, formulae for the cure of diseases engraved on the door-posts of the Temple, and destroyed them because they drew men away from the worship of Jehovah (Suidas, *s. v.* Ἐζεκίας). Strange as the history is, it has a counterpart in the complaint of the writer of 2 Chr. xvi. 12, that Asa "sought not to the Lord but to the physicians." Was there a rivalry in the treatment of disease between the priests and prophets on the one side (comp. Is. xxxviii. 21), and idolatrous thaumaturgists on the other (comp. also 2 K. i. 2)?

[z] The Song of Songs, however, was never read publicly, either in the Jewish or the Christian Church, nor in the former were young men allowed to read it at all (Theod. Cyr. *Praef. in Cant. Cant.*; Theod. Mops. p. 699 in *Migne*).

[a] We rest on this as the necessary condition of all deeper interpretation. To argue, as many have done, that the mystical sense must be the only one because the literal would be insupportable, is simply to "bring a clean thing out of an unclean," to assert that the Divine Spirit would choose a love that was lustful and impure as the fitting parable of the holiest. Much rather may we say with Herder (*Geist der Ebr. Poes.*, Dial. vi.), that the poem, in its literal sense, is one which "might have been written in Paradise." The man and the woman are, as in their primeval innocence, loving and beloved, thinking no evil, "naked and not ashamed."

[b] We adopt the older view of Lowth (*Prael.* xxx., xxxi.) and others, rather than that of Renan and Ewald, which almost brings down a noble poem to the level of an operatic ballet at a Parisian theatre. Theodore of Mopsuestia (*l. c.*) had, at least, placed it on a level with the *Symposium* of Plato. The theory of Michaelis (*Not. in Lowth*, xxxi.) that it represents a young husband and his favourite bride hindered, by harem jealousies or regulations, from free intercourse with each other, seems to us preferable, and connects itself with the identification of the Shulamite with Abishag, already noticed.

therefore becoming, under a higher inspiration, half-consciously it may be to itself, but, if not, then unconsciously for others, the parable of the soul's affections.[c] Then comes in the Book of Proverbs, the stage of practical, prudential thought, searching into the recesses of man's heart, seeing duty in little things as well as great, resting all duty on the fear of God, gathering from the wide lessons of a king's experience, lessons which mankind could ill afford to lose.[d] The poet has become the philosopher, the mystic has passed into the moralist. But the *man* passed through both stages without being permanently the better for either. They were to him but phases of his life which he had known and exhausted (Eccl. i., ii.). And therefore there came, as in the Confessions of the Preacher, the great retribution. The "sense that wore with time" avenged "the crime of sense." There fell on him, as on other crowned voluptuaries,[e] the weariness which sees written on all things, Vanity of Vanities. Slowly only could he recover from that "vexation of spirit," and the recovery was incomplete. It was not as the strong burst of penitence that brought to his father David the assurance of forgiveness. He could not rise to the height from which he had fallen, or restore the freshness of his first love. The weary soul could only lay again, with slow and painful relapses, the foundations of a true morality [comp. ECCLESIASTES].

(14.) Here our survey must end. We may not enter into the things within the veil, or answer either way, the doubting question, Is there any hope? Others have not shrunk from debating that question, deciding, according to their formulae, that he did or did not fulfil the conditions of salvation so as to satisfy them, were they to be placed upon the judgment-seat. It would not be profitable to give references to the patristic and other writers who have dealt with this subject. They have been elaborately collected by Calmet (*Dictionn.* s. v. *Salomon*, *Nouvell. dissert. De la salut du Sal.*). It is noticeable and characteristic that Chrysostom and the theologians of the Greek Church are, for the most part, favourable, Augustine and those of the Latin, for the most part, adverse to his chances of salvation.[f]

VII. *Legends.*—(1.) The impression made by Solomon on the minds of later generations, is shown in its best form by the desire to claim the sanction of his name for even the noblest thoughts of other writers. Possibly in ECCLESIASTES, certainly in the *Book of Wisdom*, we have instances of this, free from the vicious element of an apocryphal literature. Before long, however, it took other forms. Round the facts of the history, as a nucleus, there gathers a whole world of fantastic fables, Jewish, Christian, Mahometan, refractions, coloured and distorted, according to the media through which they pass, of a colossal form. Even in the Targum of Ecclesiastes we find strange stories of his character. He and the Rabbis of the Sanhedrim sat and drank wine together in Jabne. His *paradise* was filled with costly trees which the evil spirits brought him from India. The casuistry of the Rabbis rested on his *dicta*. Ashmedai, the king of the demons, deprived him of his magic ring, and he wandered through the cities of Israel, weeping and saying, I, the preacher, was king over Israel in Jerusalem (Ginsburg, *Koheleth*, App. i. H.; Koran, *Sur.* 38). He left behind him spells and charms to cure diseases and cast out evil spirits; and for centuries, incantations bearing his name were the special boast of all the "vagabond Jew exorcists" who swarmed in the cities of the empire (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 2, §5; Just. Mart. *Respons. ad Orthod.* 55; Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* xxvi. 3). His wisdom enabled him to interpret the speech of beasts and birds, a gift shared afterwards, it was said, by his descendant Hillel (Ewald, iii. 407; Koran, *Sur.* 37). He knew the secret virtues of gems and herbs[g] (Fabricius, *Codex Pseudep. V. T.* 1042). He was the inventor of Syriac and Arabian alphabets (Ibid. 1014).

(2.) Arabic imagination took a yet wilder flight. After a long struggle with the rebellious Afreets and Jinns, Solomon conquered them and cast them into the sea (Lane, *Arabian Nights*, i. p. 36). The remote pre-Adamite past was peopled with a succession of forty Solomons, ruling over different races, each with a shield and sword that gave them sovereignty over the *Jinns*. To Solomon himself belonged the magic ring which revealed to him the past, the present, and the future. Because he stayed his march at the hour of prayer instead of riding on with his horsemen God gave him the winds as a chariot, and the birds flew over him, making a perpetual canopy. The demons in their spite wrote books of magic in his name, but he, being ware of it, seized them and placed them under his throne, where they remained till his death, and then the demons again got hold of them and scattered them abroad (D'Herbelot, *s. v.* "Soliman ben Daoud;" Koran, *Sur.* 21). The visit of the Queen of Sheba furnished some three or four romances. The Koran (*Sur.* 27) narrates her visit, her wonder, her conversion to the Islam, which Solomon professed. She appears under three dif-

[c] "The final cause of Canticles," it has been well said, "was that it might be a field in which mysticism could disport itself" (Bishop Jebb, *Correspond. with Knox*, i. 305). The traces of the "great mystery" which thus connects divine and human love, are indeed to be found everywhere, in the Targums of Rabbis, in the writings of Fathers, Schoolmen, Puritans, in the poems of Mystics like Novalis, Jeladeddin Rumi, Saadi (comp. Tholuck, *Morgenländ. Mystik*, pp. 55, 227). It appears in its highest form in the *Vita Nuova* of Dante, purified by Christian feeling from the sensuous element which in Eastern writers too readily mingles with it. Of all strange assertions, that of Renan, that mysticism of this kind is foreign to the Shemitic character, is perhaps about the strangest (*Cant. des Cant.* p. 119).

[d] Both in Ecclesiastes (ii. 3-12) and yet more in Proverbs (i. 11-17, vii. 6-23) we may find traces of experiences gained in other ways. The graphic picture of the life of the robbers and the prostitutes of an Eastern city could hardly have been drawn but by one who, like Haroun Alraehid and other Oriental kings, at times laid aside the trappings of royalty, and plunged into the other extreme of social life, that so he might gain the excitement of a fresh sensation.

[e] "A taste for pleasure is extinguished in the King's heart (Louis XIV.). Age and devotion have taught him to make serious reflections on the vanity of everything he was formerly fond of" (Mme. de Maintenon's *Letters*, 206).

[f] How deeply this question entered into the hearts of Mediaeval thinkers, and in what way the noblest of them all decided it, we read in the *Divina Commedia*—

> "La quinta luce ch'é tra noi piu bella
> Spira di tal amor, che tutto il mondo
> Laggiù ne gola di saper novella."
> *Paradiso*, x. 109.

The "spira di tal amor" refers, of course, to the Song of Solomon.

[g] The name of a well-known plant, Solomon's seal (*Convallaria Majalis*), perpetuates the old belief.

ferent names, Nicaule (Calmet, *Dict. s. v.*), Balkis (D'Herbelot, *s. v.*), Makeda (Pineda, v. 14). The Arabs claim her as belonging to Yemen, the Ethiopians as coming from Meroe. In each form of the story a son is born to her, which calls Solomon its father, in the Arab version Meilekh, in the Ethiopian David after his grandfather, the ancestor of a long line of Ethiopian kings (Ludolf, *Hist. Aethiop.* ii. 3, 4, 5). Twelve thousand Hebrews accompanied her on her return home, and from them were descended the Jews of Ethiopia, and the great Prester John (Presbyter Joannes) of mediaeval travellers (D'Herbelot, *l. c.*; Pineda, *l. c.*; Corylus, *Diss. de regina Austr.* in Menthen's *Thesaurus*, i.). She brought to Solomon the self-same gifts which the Magi afterwards brought to Christ. [MAGI.] One at least of the hard questions with which she came was rescued from oblivion. Fair boys and sturdy girls were dressed up by her exactly alike so that no eye could distinguish them. The king placed water before them and bade them wash, and then when the boys scrubbed their faces and the girls stroked them softly, he made out which were which (Glycas, *Annal.* in Fabricius, *l. c.*). Versions of these and other legends are to be found also in Weil, *Bibl. Legends*, p. 171; Fürst, *Perlenschnüre*, c. 36.

(3.) The fame of Solomon spread northward and eastward to Persia. At Shiraz they showed the *Meder-Suleiman*, or tomb of Bath-sheba, said that Persepolis had been built by the *Jinns* at his command, and pointed to the Takht-i-Suleiman (Solomon's throne) in proof. Through their spells too he made his wonderful journey, breakfasting at Persepolis, dining at Baal-bec, supping at Jerusalem (Chardin, iii. 135, 143; Ouseley, ii. 41, 437). Persian literature, while it had no single life of David, boasted of countless histories of Solomon, one, the Suleiman-Nameh, in eighty books, ascribed to the poet Firdousi (D'Herbelot, *l. c.*; Chardin, iii. 198). In popular belief he was confounded with the great Persian hero, Djemschid (Ouseley, ii. 64).

(4.) As might be expected, the legends appeared in their coarsest and basest form in Europe, losing all their poetry, the mere appendages of the most detestable of Apocrypha, Books of Magic, a Hygromanteia, a Contradictio Salomonis (whatever that may be) condemned by Gelasius, Incantationes, Clavicula, and the like.[h] One pseudonymous work has a somewhat higher character, the *Psalterium Salomonis*, altogether without merit, a mere *cento* from the Psalms of David, but not otherwise offensive (Fabricius, i. 917; Tregelles, *Introd. to N. T.* p. 154), and therefore attached sometimes, as in the great Alexandrian Codex, to the sacred volume. One strange story meets us from the omnivorous Note-book of Bede. Solomon did repent, and in his contrition he offered himself to the Sanhedrim, doing penance, and they scourged him five times with rods, and then he travelled in sackcloth through the cities of Israel, saying as he went Give alms to Solomon (Bede, *de Salom.* ap. Pineda).

VIII. *New Testament.*—We pass from this wild farrago of Jewish and other fables, to that which presents the most entire contrast to them. The teaching of the N. T. adds nothing to the materials for a life of Solomon. It enables us to take the truest measure of it. The teaching of the Son of Man passes sentence on all that kingly pomp. It declares that in the humblest work of God, in the lilies of the field, there is a grace and beauty inexhaustible, so that even "Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these" (Matt. vi. 29).[i] It presents to us the perfect pattern of a growth in wisdom, like, and yet unlike his, taking, in the eyes of men, a less varied range; but deeper, truer, purer, because united with purity, victory over temptation, self-sacrifice, the true large-heartedness of sympathy with all men. On the lowest view which serious thinkers have ever taken of the life of Jesus of Nazareth, they have owned that there was in Him one "greater than Solomon" (Matt. xii. 42). The historical Son of David, ideally a *type* of the Christ that was to come, was in his actual life, the most strangely contrasted. It was reserved for the true, the later Son of David, to fulfil the prophetic yearnings which had gathered round the birth of the earlier. He was the true Shĕlômôh, the prince of peace, the true Jedid-jah, the well-beloved of the Father. [E. H. P.]

SOLOMON'S PORCH. [PALACE.]

SOLOMON'S SERVANTS (CHILDREN OF). (בְּנֵי עַבְדֵי שְׁלֹמֹה: *υἱοὶ Ἀβδησελμά*, Ezr. ii. 58; *υἱοὶ δούλων Σαλωμών*, Ezr. ii. 55; Neh. vii. 57, 60: *filii servorum Salomonis*). The persons thus named appear in the lists of the exiles who returned from the Captivity. They occupy all but the lowest places in those lists, and their position indicates some connexion with the services of the Temple. First come the priests, then Levites, then Nethinim, then "the children of Solomon's servants." In the Greek of 1 Esdr. v. 33, 35, the order is the same, but instead of Nethinim we meet with *ἱεροδοῦλοι*, "servants" or "ministers," of the Temple. In the absence of any definite statement as to their office we are left to conjecture and inference. (1.) The name, as well as the order, implies inferiority even to the Nethinim. They are the descendants of the *slaves* of Solomon. The servitude of the Nethinim, "*given* to the Lord," was softened by the idea of dedication. [NETHINIM.] (2.) The starting point of their history is to be found probably in 1 K. v. 13, 14, ix. 20, 21; 2 Chr. viii. 7, 8. Canaanites, who had been living till then with a certain measure of freedom, were reduced by Solomon to the helot state, and compelled to labour in the king's stone-quarries, and in building his palaces and cities. To some extent, indeed, the change had been effected under David, but it appears to have been then connected specially with the Temple, and the servitude under his successor was at once harder and more extended (1 Chr. xxii. 2). (3.) The last passage throws

[h] Two of these strange books have been reprinted in *facsimile* by Scheible (*Kloster*, v.). The *Clavicula Salomonis Necromantica* consists of incantations made up of Hebrew words; and the mightiest spell of the enchanter is the *Sigillum Salomonis*, engraved with Hebrew characters, such as might have been handed down through a long succession of Jewish exorcists. It is singular (unless this too was part of the imposture) that both the books profess to be published with the special licence of Popes Julius II and Alexander VI. Was this *the* form of Hebrew literature which they were willing to encourage?

[i] A pleasant Persian apologue teaching a like lesson deserves to be rescued from the mass of fables. The king of Israel met one day the king of the ants, took the insect on his hand, and held converse with it, asking, Croesus-like, "Am not I the mightiest and most glorious of men?" "Not so," replied the ant-king, "Thou sittest on a throne of gold, but I make thy hand my throne, and thus am greater than thou" (Chardin, iii. p. 199).

some light on their special office. The Nethinim, as in the case of the Gibeonites, were appointed to be hewers of *wood* (Josh. ix. 23), and this was enough for the services of the Tabernacle. For the construction and repairs of the Temple another kind of labour was required, and the new slaves were set to the work of hewing and squaring *stones* (1 K. v. 17, 18). Their descendants appear to have formed a distinct order, inheriting probably the same functions and the same skill. The prominence which the erection of a new Temple on their return from Babylon would give to their work, accounts for the special mention of them in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah. Like the Nethinim, they were in the position of proselytes, outwardly conforming to the Jewish ritual, though belonging to the hated race, and, even in their names, bearing traces of their origin (Ezr. ii. 55-58). Like them, too, the great mass must either have perished, or given up their position, or remained at Babylon. The 392 of Ezr. ii. 55 (Nethinim included) must have been but a small fragment of the descendants of the 150,000 employed by Solomon (1 K. v. 15). [E. H. P.]

SOLOMON'S SONG. [CANTICLES.]

SOLOMON, WISDOM OF. [WISDOM, BOOK OF.]

SON.[a] The term "son" is used in Scripture language to imply almost any kind of descent or succession, as *ben shânâh*, "son of a year," *i. e.* a year old, *ben kesheth*, "son of a bow," *i. e.* an arrow. The word *bar* is often found in N. T. in composition, as Bar-timaeus. [CHILDREN.] [H. W. P.]

SON OF GOD (*υἱὸς θεοῦ*),[b] the Second Person of the Ever-blessed Trinity, who is coequal, coeternal, and consubstantial with the Father; and who took the nature of man in the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and as Man bears the name of JESUS, or Saviour, and who proved Himself to be the MESSIAH or CHRIST, the Prophet, Priest, and King of all true Israelites, the seed of faithful Abraham, the universal Church of God.

The title SON OF GOD was gradually revealed to the world in this its full and highest significance. In the Book of Genesis the term occurs in the plural number, "Sons of God," בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים (Gen. vi. 2, 4), and there the appellation is applied to the potentates of the earth, and to those who were set in authority over others (according to the exposition in Cyril Alex. *Adv. Julian.* p. 296, and *Adv. Anthropomorph.* c. 17), or (as some have held) the sons of the family of Seth—those who had been most distinguished by piety and virtue. In Job i. 6, and ii. 1, this title, "Sons of God," is used as a designation of the Angels. In Psalm lxxxii. 6, "I have said, ye are gods; and ye are all sons of the Highest" (בְּנֵי עֶלְיוֹן), the title is explained by Theodoret and others to signify those persons whom God invests with a portion of His own dignity and authority as rulers of His people, and who have clearer revelations of His will, as our Lord intimates (John x. 35); and therefore the children of Israel, the favoured people of God, are specially called collectively, by God, His *Son* (Ex. iv. 22, 23; Hos. xi. 1).

But, in a still higher sense, that title is applied by God to His only Son, begotten by eternal generation (see Ps. ii. 7), as interpreted in the Epistle to the Hebrews (i. 5, v. 5); the word הַיּוֹם, "to-day," in that passage, being expressive of the act of God, with whom is no yesterday, nor to-morrow. "In aeterno nec praeteritum est, nec futurum, sed perpetuum hodie" (Luther). That text evidently refers to the Messiah, who is crowned and anointed as King by God (Ps. ii. 2, 6), although resisted by men, Ps. ii. 21, 23, compared with Acts iv. 25-27, where that text is applied by St. Peter to the crucifixion of Christ and His subsequent exaltation; and the same Psalm is also referred to Christ by St. Paul, when preaching in the Jewish synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 33); whence it may be inferred that the Jews might have learnt from their own Scriptures that the Messiah is in a special sense the Son of God; and this is allowed by Maimonides in *Portâ Mosis*, ed. Pococke, p. 160, 239. This truth might have been deduced by logical inference from the Old Testament, but in no passage of the Hebrew Scriptures is the Messiah clearly and explicitly designated by the title "Son of God." The words, "The form of the fourth is like the Son of God," are in the Chaldee portion of the Book of Daniel (Dan. iii. 25), and were uttered by a heathen and idolatrous king, Nebuchadnezzar, and cannot therefore be understood as expressing a clear appreciation, on the part of the speaker, of the divinity of the Messiah, although we may readily agree that, like Caiaphas and Pilate, the king of Babylon, especially as he was perhaps in habits of intercourse with Daniel, may have delivered a true prophecy concerning Christ.

We are now brought to the question, whether the Jews, in our Lord's age, generally believed that the Messiah, or Christ, was also the Son of God in the highest sense of the term, viz. as a Divine Person, coequal, coeternal, and consubstantial with the Father?

That the Jews entertained the opinion that the Messiah would be the Son of God, in the *subordinate* senses of the term already specified (viz. as a holy person, and as invested with great power by God), cannot be doubted; but the point at issue is, whether they supposed that the Messiah would be what the Universal Church believes Jesus Christ to be? Did they believe (as some learned persons suppose they did) that the terms Messiah and Son of God are "equivalent and inseparable"?

It cannot be denied that the Jews *ought* to have deduced the doctrine of the Messiah's divinity from their own Scriptures, especially from such texts as Psalm xlv. 6, 7, "Thy throne, *O God*, is for ever and ever; the sceptre of Thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness; therefore God, Thy God, *anointed* Thee with the *oil of gladness* above Thy fellows;" a text to which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews

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[a] 1. בֵּן; *υἱός*; *filius*; from בָּנָה, "build" (see Jer. xxxiii. 7).

2. בַּר, from בָּרַר, "pure;" *τέκνον*; *dilectus* (Prov. xxxi. 2).

3. יֶלֶד; *παιδίον*; *puer*.

4. יָלִיד; *γέννημα*; *stirps*; *genus*.

5. נִין; *σπέρμα*; *posteri*.

6. מָנוֹן, like a son, *i. e.* a successor.

[b] The present article, in conjunction with that of SAVIOUR, forms the supplement to the life of our Lord. [See JESUS CHRIST, vol. I. p. 1039.]

appeals (Heb. i. 8); and the doctrine of the Messiah's Godhead might also have been inferred from such texts as Isaiah ix. 6, "Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given . . . . and His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the *Mighty God*;" and vii. 14, "Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and shall call His name Immanuel" (with us, God); and from Jer. xxiii. 5, "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto *David* a righteous *Branch*, and a *King* shall reign and prosper . . . ; and this is the name whereby He shall be called, the LORD (Jehovah) our Righteousness;" and from Micah v. 2, "Out of thee (Bethlehem Ephratah) shall He come forth unto me that is to be Ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting;" and from Zech. xi. 13, "And the Lord said unto me, Cast it unto the potter: a goodly price that I was prised at of them."

But the question is not, whether the Jews *might not and ought not* to have inferred the Divine Sonship of the Messiah from their own Scriptures, but whether, for the most part, they really *did*-deduce that doctrine from those Scriptures? They ought doubtless to have been prepared by those Scriptures for a *suffering* Messiah; but this we know was *not* the case, and the Cross of Christ was to them a stumbling-block (1 Cor. i. 23); and one of the strongest objections which they raised against the Christians was that they worshipped a man who died a death which is declared to be an accursed one in the Law of Moses, which was delivered by God Himself (Deut. xxi. 23).

May it not also be true, that the Jews of our Lord's age failed likewise of attaining to the true sense of their own Scriptures, in the opposite direction? May it not also be true, that they did not acknowledge the *Divine* Sonship of the Messiah, and that they were not prepared to admit the claims of one who asserted Himself to be the Christ, and also affirmed Himself to be the Son of God, coequal with the Father?

In looking at this question *à priori*, it must be remembered that the Hebrew Scriptures declare in the strongest and most explicit terms the Divine *Unity*. "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is *one* Lord" (Deut. vi. 4), this is the solemn declaration which the Jews recite daily, morning and evening (see Mishnah, *Barachoth*, chap. i.). They regarded themselves as set apart from all the nations of earth to be a witness of God's *unity*, and to protest against the polytheism of the rest of mankind. And having suffered severe chastisements in the Babylonish Captivity for their own idolatries, they shrunk—and still shrink—with fear and abhorrence from everything that might seem in any degree to trench upon the doctrine of the unity of the Godhead.

To this consideration we must add, *à posteriori*, the external evidence derived from the testimony of ancient writers who lived near to our Lord's age.

Trypho, the learned Jew, who debated with Justin Martyr at Ephesus about A.D. 150, on the points of controversy between the Jews and Christians expressly states, "that it seems to him not only paradoxical but silly (*ωρόν*), to say that the Messiah, or Christ, pre-existed from eternity as God, and that He condescended to be born as man, and"—Trypho explodes the notion—that Christ is "not man begotten of man" (Justin M. *Dialog. c. Tryphon*. §48, vol. ii. p. 154, ed. Otto, Jen. 1842). Here is a distinct assertion on the part of the Jew that the Messiah is merely *man*; and here also is a denial of the Christian doctrine, that He is God, pre-existing from eternity, and took the nature of man. In the same Dialogue the Jewish interlocutor, Trypho, approves the tenets of the Ebionite heretics, who asserted that the Christ was a mere man (*ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος*), and adds this remarkable declaration: "all we (Jews) expect that the Messiah will come as *a man from man* (*i. e.* from human parents), and that Elias will anoint Him when He is come" (*πάντες ἡμεῖς τὸν χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων προσδοκῶμεν γενήσεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἠλίαν χρίσαι αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα*, Trypho Judaeus ap. Justin M. *Dialog.* §49, p. 156). And in §54, St. Justin Martyr, speaking in the name of the Christian believers, combats that assertion, and affirms that the Hebrew prophecies themselves, to which he appeals, testify that the Messiah is *not* a man born of man, according to the ordinary manner of human generation, *ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεννηθείς*. And there is a remarkable passage in a subsequent portion of the same dialogue, where Justin says, "*If*, O Trypho, ye understood who He is that is sometimes called the Messenger of mighty counsel, and a Man by Ezekiel, and designated as the Son of Man by Daniel, and as a Child by Isaiah, and the Messiah and God by Daniel, and a Stone by many, and Wisdom by Solomon, and a Star by Moses, and the Day-spring by Zechariah, and who is represented as suffering, by Isaiah, and is called by him a Rod, and a Flower and Corner Stone, and the Son of God, you would not have spoken blasphemy against Him, who is already come, and who has been born, and has suffered, and has ascended into heaven and will come again" (Justin M. *a. Tryphon.* §126, p. 409), and Justin affirms that he has proved, against the Jews, that "Christ, who is the Lord and God, and Son of God," appeared to their Fathers, the Patriarchs, in various forms, under the old dispensation (§128, p. 425). Compare the authorities in Dorner, *On the Person of Christ*, i. pp. 265-271, Engl. transl.

In the middle of the third century, Origen wrote his apologetic work in defence of Christianity against Celsus, the Epicurean, and in various places of that treatise he recites the allegations of the Jews against the Gospel. In one passage, when Celsus, speaking in the person of a Jew, had said that one of the Hebrew prophets had predicted that the Son of God would come to judge the righteous and to punish the wicked, Origen rejoins, that such a notion is most improperly ascribed to a *Jew*; inasmuch as the Jews did indeed look for a Messiah, but *not* as the Son of God. "No Jew," he says, "would allow that any prophet ever said that a Son of God would come; but what the Jews do say, is, that the Christ of God will come; and they often dispute with us Christians, as to this very question for instance, concerning the Son of God, on the plea that no such Person exists or was ever foretold" (Origen, *Adv. Cels.* i. §49, vol. i. p. 365, B., see p. 38 and p. 79; ed. Spencer and other places, *e. g.* pp. 22, 30, 51, 62, 71, 82, 110, 136).

In the 4th century Eusebius testified that the Jews of that age would *not* accept the title Son of God as applicable to the Messiah (Euseb. *Dem. Evang.* iv. 1), and in later days they charge Christians with impiety and blasphemy for designating Christ by that title (Leontius, *Conc. Nicen.* ii. Act. iv.).

Lastly, a learned Jew, Orobio, in the 17th

penturv, in his conference with Limborch, affirms that if a prophet, or even, if it were possible, the Messiah Himself, were to work miracles, and yet lay claim to *divinity*, he ought to be put to death by stoning, as one guilty of blasphemy (*Orobio* ap. Limborch, *Amica Collatio*, p. 295, ed. Goud, 1688).

Hence, therefore, on the whole, there seems to be sufficient reason for concluding (with Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, iv. c. 24), that although the Jews of our Lord's age might have inferred, and ought to have inferred, from their own Scriptures, that the Messiah, or Christ, would be a Divine Person, and the Son of God in the highest sense of the term; and although some among them, who were more enlightened than the rest, entertained that opinion; yet it was not the popular and generally received doctrine among the Jews that the Messiah would be other than a man, born of human parents, and not a divine being, and Son of God.

This conclusion reflects much light upon certain important questions of the Gospel History, and clears up several difficulties with regard to the evidences of Christianity.

1. It supplies an answer to the question, "Why was Jesus Christ put to death?" He was accused by the Jews before Pilate as guilty of sedition and rebellion against the power of Rome (Luke xxiii. 1-5; cf. John xix. 12); but it is hardly necessary to observe that this was a mere pretext, to which the Jews resorted for the sake of exasperating the Roman governor against Him, and even of compelling Pilate, against his will, to condemn Him, in order that he might not lay himself open to the charge of "not being Caesar's friend" (John xix. 12); whereas, if our Lord had really announced an intention of emancipating the Jews from the Roman yoke, He would have procured for Himself the favour and support of the Jewish rulers and people.

Nor does it appear that Jesus Christ was put to death because He claimed to be the Christ. The Jews were at that time anxiously looking for the Messiah; the Pharisees asked the Baptist whether he was the Christ (John i. 20-25); "and all men mused in their hearts of John whether he were the Christ, or not" (Luke iii. 15).

On this it may be observed, in passing, that the people well knew that John the Baptist was the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth; they knew him to be a *mere man*, born after the ordinary manner of human generation; and yet they all thought it probable that *he* might be the *Christ*.

This circumstance proves, that, according to their notions, the Christ was *not* to be a *divine* person; certainly not the Son of God, in the Christian sense of the term. The same conclusion may be deduced from the circumstance that the Jews of that age eagerly welcomed the appearance of those *false Christs* (Matt. xxiv. 24), who promised to deliver them from the Roman yoke, and whom they knew to be mere men, and who did not claim divine origin, which they certainly would have done, if the Christ was generally expected to be the Son of God.

We see also that after the miraculous feeding, the people were desirous of "making Jesus a King" (John vi. 15); and after the raising of Lazarus at Bethany they met Him with enthusiastic acclamations, "Hosanna to the Son of David; blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Matt. xxi. 9; Mark xi. 9; John xii. 13). And the eager and restless facility with which the Jews admitted the pretensions of almost every fanatical adventurer who professed to be the Messiah at that period, seems to show that they would have willingly allowed the claims of one who "wrought many miracles," as, even by the confession of the chief priests and Pharisees, Jesus of Nazareth did (John xi. 47), if He had been content with such a title as the Jews assigned to their expected Messiah, namely that of a great Prophet, distinguished by mighty works.

We find that when our Lord put to the Pharisees this question, "What think ye of Christ, whose Son is He?" their answer was *not*, "He is the Son of God," *but* "He is the Son of David;" and they could not answer the second question which He next propounded to them, "How then doth David, speaking in the Spirit, call Him *Lord*?" The reason was, because the Pharisees did not expect the Messiah to be the Son of God; and when He, who is the Messiah, claimed to be God, they rejected His claim to be the Christ.

The reason, therefore, of His condemnation by the Jewish Sanhedrim, and of His delivery to Pilate for crucifixion, was not that He claimed to be the Messiah or Christ, but because He asserted Himself to be *much more* than that: in a word, because He claimed to be the *Son of God*, and to be *God*.

This is further evident from the words of the Jews to Pilate, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God" (John xix. 7); and from the previous resolution of the Jewish Sanhedrim, "Then said they all, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am. And they said, What need we any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth. And the whole multitude of them arose and led him unto Pilate" (Luke xxii. 70, 71, xxiii. 1).

In St. Matthew's Gospel the question of the High Priest is as follows:—"I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God" (Matt. xxvi. 63). This question does not intimate that in the opinion of the High Priest the Christ was the Son of God, but it shows that Jesus claimed both titles, and in claiming them for Himself asserted that the Christ was the Son of God; but that this was not the popular opinion, is evident from the considerations above stated, and also from His words to St. Peter when the Apostle confessed Him to be the "Christ, the Son of the living God" (Matt. xvi. 16); He declared that Peter had received this truth, not from human testimony, but by extraordinary revelation: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in heaven" (Matt. xvi. 17).

It was the claim which He put forth to be the Christ *and* Son of God, that led to our Lord's condemnation by the unanimous verdict of the Sanhedrim: "They all condemned Him to be guilty of death" (Mark xiv. 64; Matt. xxvi. 63-66); and the sense in which He claimed to be Son of God is clear from the narrative of John v. 15. The Jews sought the more to kill Him because He not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was His own Father (πατέρα ἴδιον ἔλεγε τὸν θεὸν), making Himself "equal unto God;" and when He claimed Divine pre-existence, saying, "Before Abraham was (ἐγένετο), I am, then took they up stones to cast at him" (John viii. 58, 59); and when He asserted His own unity with God, "I and the Father are *one*"—one *substance* (ἕν), not one *person* (εἷς)—"then the Jews

took up stones again to stone him" (John x. 30, 31); and this is evident again from their own words, "For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God" (John x. 33).

Accordingly we find that, after the Ascension, the Apostles laboured to bring the Jews to acknowledge that Jesus was not only the *Christ*, but was *also* a *Divine* Person, even the *Lord* Jehovah. Thus, for example, St. Peter, after the outpouring of the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost by Christ, says, "*Therefore* let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, *both* LORD (Κύριον, JEHOVAH) *and Christ*" (Acts ii. 36).

2. This conclusion supplies a convincing proof of Christ's Godhead. *If* He is not the Son of God, equal with God, then there is no other alternative but that He was guilty of blasphemy; for He claimed "God as His own Father, making Himself equal with God," and by doing so He proposed Himself as an object of divine worship. And in that case He would have rightly been put to death; and the Jews in rejecting and killing Him would have been acting in obedience to the Law of God which commanded them to put to death any prophet, however distinguished he might be by the working of miracles, if he were guilty of blasphemy (Deut. xiii. 1-11); and the crucifixion of Jesus would have been an act of pious zeal on their part for the honour of God, and would have commended them to His favour and protection, whereas we know that it was that act which filled the cup of their national guilt and has made them outcasts from God to this day (Matt. xxiii. 32-38; Luke xiii. 33-35; 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16; James v. 6).

When they repent of this sin, and say, "Blessed (εὐλογημένος) is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," and acknowledge Jesus to be Christ and the Son of God, coequal with God, then Israel shall be saved (Rom. xi. 26).

3. This conclusion also explains the fact—which might otherwise have perplexed and staggered us—that the miracles which Jesus wrought, and which the Jews and their rulers acknowledged to have been wrought by Him, did not have their due influence upon them; those mighty and merciful works did not produce the effect upon them which they ought to have produced, and which those works would have produced, if the Jews and their rulers had been prepared, as they ought to have been, by an intelligent study of their own Scriptures, to regard their expected Messiah as the Son of God, coequal with God.

Not being so prepared, they applied to those miracles the test supplied by their own law, which enjoined that, if a prophet arose among them, and worked miracles, and endeavoured to draw them away from the worship of the true God, those miracles were to be regarded as trials of their own stedfastness, and were not to be accepted as proofs of a divine mission, "but the prophet himself was to be put to death" (Deut. xiii. 1-11). The Jews tried our Lord and His miracles by this law. Some of the Jews ventured to say that "Jesus of Nazareth was specially in the mind of the Divine Lawgiver when He framed that law" (see Fagius on the Chaldee Paraphrase of Deut. xiii., and his note on Deut. xviii. 15), and that it was provided expressly to meet His case. Indeed they do not hesitate to say that, in the words of the law, "if thy brother, the *son of thy mother*, entice thee secretly" (Deut. xiii. 6), there was a prophetic reference to the case of Jesus, who "said that he had a human mother, but not a human father, but was the Son of God and was God" (see Fagius, *l. c.*).

Jesus claimed to be the Messiah; but according to the popular view and preconceived notions of the Jews, the Messiah was to be merely a human personage, and would not claim to be God and to be entitled to divine power. Therefore, though they admitted his miracles to be really wrought, yet they did not acknowledge the claim grounded on those miracles to be true, but rather regarded those miracles as trials of their loyalty to the One True God, whose prerogatives, they thought, were infringed and invaded by Him who wrought those miracles; and they even ascribed those miracles to the agency of the Prince of the Devils (Matt. xii. 24, 27; Mark iii. 22; Luke xi. 15), and said that He, who wrought those miracles, had a devil (John vii. 20, viii. 48), and they called Him Beelzebub (Matt. x. 25), because they thought that he was setting Himself in opposition to God.

4. "They *all* condemned Him to be guilty of death" (Mark xiv. 64). The Sanhedrim was unanimous in the sentence of condemnation. This is remarkable. We cannot suppose that there were not some conscientious persons in so numerous a body. Indeed, it may readily be allowed that many of the members of the Sanhedrim were actuated by an earnest zeal for the honour of God when they condemned Jesus to death, and that they did what they did with a view to God's glory, which they supposed to be disparaged by our Lord's pretensions; and that they were guided by a desire to comply with God's law, which required them to put to death every one who was guilty of blasphemy in arrogating to himself the power which belonged to God.

Hence we may explain our Lord's words on the cross, "Father, forgive them, for they *know not* what they do" (Luke xxiii. 34), "Father, they are not aware that He whom they are crucifying is Thy Son:" and St. Peter said at Jerusalem to the Jews after the crucifixion, "Now, brethren, I wot that *through ignorance* ye did it (*i. e.* rejected and crucified Christ), as did also your rulers" (Acts iii. 17); and St. Paul declared in the Jewish synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia, "they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew Him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets, which are read every Sabbath-day, have fulfilled them in condemning Him" (Acts xiii. 27).

Hence it is evident that the predictions of Holy Scripture may be accomplished before the eyes of men, while they are unconscious of that fulfilment; and that the prophecies may be even accomplished by persons who have the prophecies in their hands, and do not know that they are fulfilling them. Hence also it is clear that men may be guilty of enormous sins when they are acting according to their consciences and with a view to God's glory, and while they hold the Bible in their hands and hear its voice sounding in their ears (Acts xiii. 27); and that it is therefore of unspeakable importance not only to hear the words of the Scriptures, but to mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, with humility, docility, earnestness, and prayer, in order to understand their *true meaning*.

Therefore the Christian student has great reason

to thank God that He has given in the *New* Testament a divinely-inspired interpretation of the *Old* Testament, and also has sent the Holy Spirit to teach the Apostles all things (John xiv. 26), to abide for ever with His Church (John xiv. 16), the body of Christ (Col. i. 24), which He has made to be the pillar and ground of truth (1 Tim. iii. 15), and on whose interpretations, embodied in the creeds generally received among Christians, we may safely rely, as declaring the *true sense* of the Bible.

If the Jews and their rulers had not been swayed by prejudice, but in a careful, candid, and humble spirit had considered the evidence before them, they would have known that their promised Messiah was to be the Son of God, coequal with God, and that He was revealed as such in their own Scriptures, and thus His miracles would have had their due effect upon their minds.

5. Those persons who now deny Christ to be the Son of God, coequal and coeternal with the Father, are followers of the Jews, who, on the plea of zeal for the Divine *Unity*, rejected and crucified Jesus, who claimed to be God. Accordingly we find that the Ebionites, Cerinthians, Nazarenes, Photinians, and others who denied Christ's divinity, arose from the ranks of Judaism (cf. Waterland, *Works*, v. 240, ed. Oxf. 1823: on these heresies the writer of this article may perhaps be permitted to refer to his *Introduction* to the First Epistle of St. John, in his edition of the Greek Testament). It has been well remarked by the late Professor Blunt that the arguments by which the ancient Christian Apologists, such as Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and others, confuted the Jews, afford the strongest armour against the modern Socinians (see also the remark of St. Athanasius, *Orat.* ii., adv. Arianos, pp. 377-383, where he compares the Arians to the Jews).

The Jews sinned against the comparatively dim light of the *Old* Testament: they who have fallen into their error reject the evidence of both Testaments.

6. Lastly, the conclusion stated in this article supplies a strong argument for the Divine origin and truth of Christianity. The doctrine of Christ, *the Son of God* as well as *Son of Man*, reaches from the *highest pole of Divine glory to the lowest pole of human suffering*. No *human mind* could *ever have devised* such a scheme as that: and when it was presented to the mind of the Jews, the favoured people of God, they could not reach to *either of these two poles*; they could not mount to the height of the Divine exaltation in Christ the *Son of God*, nor descend to the depth of human suffering in Christ the *Son of Man*. They invented the theory of *two* Messiahs, in order to escape from the imaginary contradiction between a suffering and triumphant Christ; and they rejected the doctrine of Christ's Godhead in order to cling to a defective and unscriptural Monotheism. They failed of grasping the true sense of their own Scriptures in both respects. But in the Gospel, Jesus Christ, Son of God and Son of Man, reaches from one pole to the other, and *filleth all in all* (Eph. i. 23). The Gospel of Christ ran counter to the Jewish zeal for Monotheism, and incurred the charge of Polytheism, by preaching Christ the Son of God, coequal with the Father; and also contravened and challenged all the complex and dominant systems of Gentile Polytheism, by proclaiming the Divine Unity. It boldly confronted the World, and it has conquered the World; because "the excellency of the power of the Gospel is not of man, but of God" (2 Cor. iv. 7).

The Author of the above article may refer for further confirmation of his statements, to an excellent work by the Rev. W. Wilson, B.D., and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, entitled *An Illustration of the Method of explaining the New Testament by the early Opinions of Jews and Christians concerning Christ*, Cambridge, 1797; and to Dr. J. A. Dorner's *History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, of which an English translation has been printed at Edinburgh, 1861, 2 vols.; and to Hagenbach, *Dogmen-Geschichte*, §42, §65, §66, 4te Auflage, Leipz. 1857. [C. W.]

SON OF MAN (בֶּן־אָדָם, and in Chaldee בַּר־אֱנָשׁ: *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, or *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*), the name of the Second Person of the Ever-blessed Trinity, the Eternal Word, the Everlasting Son, becoming Incarnate, and so made the Son of Man, the second Adam, the source of all grace to all men, united in His mystical body, the Christian Church.

1. In a general sense every descendant of Adam bears the name "Son of Man" in Holy Scripture, as in Job xxv. 6; Ps. cxliv. 3, cxlvi. 3; Is. li. 12, lvi. 2. But in a more restricted signification it is applied by way of distinction to particular persons. Thus the prophet Ezekiel is addressed by Almighty God as *Ben-Adam*, or "Son of Man," about eighty times in his prophecies. This title appears to be assigned to Ezekiel as a memento from God—(*μέμνησο ἄνθρωπος ὤν*)—in order that the prophet, who had been permitted to behold the glorious manifestation of the Godhead, and to hold converse with the Almighty, and to see visions of futurity, should not be "exalted above measure by the abundance of his revelations," but should remember his own weakness and mortality, and not impute his prophetic knowledge to himself, but ascribe all the glory of it to God, and be ready to execute with meekness and alacrity the duties of his prophetic office and mission from God to his fellow-men.

2. In a still more emphatic and distinctive sense the title "Son of Man" is applied in the Old Testament to the Messiah. And, inasmuch as the Messiah is revealed in the Old Testament as a Divine Person and the Son of God (Ps. ii. 7, lxxxix. 27; Is. vii. 14, ix. 6), it is a prophetic pre-announcement of His *incarnation* (compare Ps. viii. 4 with Heb. ii. 6, 7, 8, and 1 Cor. xv. 27).

In the Old Testament the Messiah is designated by this title, "Son of Man," in His royal and judicial character, particularly in the prophecy of Dan. vii. 13:—"Behold One like the *Son of Man* came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days . . . and there was given Him dominion and glory . . . His dominion is an everlasting dominion." Here the title is not *Ben-ish*, or *Ben-Adam*, but *Bar-enosh*, which represents humanity in its greatest frailty and humility, and is a significant declaration that the exaltation of Christ in His kingly and judicial office is due to His previous condescension, obedience, self-humiliation, and suffering in His human nature (comp. Phil. ii. 5-11).

The title "Son of Man," derived from that passage of Daniel, is applied by St. Stephen to Christ in His heavenly exaltation and royal majesty:

"Behold I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God" (Acts vii. 56). This title is also applied to Christ by St. John in the Apocalypse, describing our Lord's priestly office, which He executes in heaven (Rev. i. 13): "In the midst of the seven golden candlesticks" (or golden lamps, which are the emblems of the churches, i. 20) "one like the Son of Man clothed with a garment down to the foot" (His priestly attire); "His head and His hairs were white like wool, as white as snow" (attributes of divinity; comp. Dan. vii. 9). St. John also in the Apocalypse (xiv. 14) ascribes the title "Son of Man" to Christ when he displays His kingly and judicial office: "I looked and beheld a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of Man, having on His head a golden crown, and in His hand a sharp sickle"—to reap the harvest of the earth.

3. It is observable that Ezekiel never *calls himself* "Son of Man;" and in the Gospels Christ is never called "Son of Man" by the Evangelists; but wherever that title is applied to Him there, it is *applied by Himself*.

The only passages in the New Testament where Christ is called "Son of Man" by anyone *except Himself*, are those just cited, and they relate to Him, not in His humiliation upon earth, but in His heavenly exaltation consequent upon that humiliation. The passage in John xii. 34, "Who is this Son of Man?" is an inquiry of the people concerning Him who applied this title to Himself.

The reason of what has been above remarked seems to be, that, as on the one hand it was expedient for Ezekiel to be reminded of his own humanity, in order that he should not be elated by his revelations; and in order that the readers of his prophecies might bear in mind that the revelations in them are not due to Ezekiel, but to God the Holy Ghost, who spake by him (see 2 Pet. i. 21); so, on the other hand, it was necessary that they who saw Christ's miracles, the evidences of His divinity, and they who read the evangelic histories of them, might indeed adore Him as God, but might never forget that He is Man.

4. The two titles "Son of God" and "Son of Man," declaring that in the one Person of Christ there are two natures, the nature of God and the nature of man, joined together, but not confused, are presented to us in two memorable passages of the Gospel, which declare the will of Christ that all men should confess Him to be God and man, and which proclaim the blessedness of this confession.

(1.) "Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" was our Lord's question to His Apostles; and "Whom say ye that I am? Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Our Lord acknowledged this confession to be true, and to have been revealed from heaven, and He blessed him who uttered it: "Blessed art thou, Simon *Bar-jona* . . ."—"Thou art son of Jonas, *Bar-jona* (comp. John xxi. 15); and as truly as *thou* art *Bar-jona*, so truly am I *Bar-enosh*, Son of Man, and *Ben-Elohim*, Son of God; and *My Father*, who is in heaven, hath revealed this truth unto thee. Blessed is every one who holds this faith; for I Myself, Son of God and Son of Man, am the living *Rock* on which the Church is built; and he who holds this faith is a genuine *Petros*, a lively *stone*, hewn out of Me the Divine *Petra*, the Everlasting *Rock*, and built upon Me" (see the authorities cited in the note on Matt xvi. 18, in the present writer's edition).

(2.) The other passage, where the two titles (Son of God and Son of Man) are found in the Gospels, is no less significant. Our Lord, standing before Caiaphas and the chief priests, was interrogated by the high-priest, "Art thou the Christ, the Son of God?" (Matt. xxvi. 63; comp. Mark xiv. 61). "Art Thou, what Thou claimest to be, the Messiah? *and* art Thou, as Thou professest to be, a *Divine* Person, the Son of God, the Son of the Blessed?" "Jesus saith unto him, Thou sayest it; I am" (Matt. xxvi. 64; Mark xiv. 62).

But, in order that the high-priest and the council might *not* suppose Him to be a *Divine* Person *only*, and *not* to be also really and truly *Man*, our Lord added of *His own accord*, "Nevertheless" (πλήν, *besides*, or, as St. Mark has it, καί, *also*, in addition to the avowal of My Divinity) "I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven" (Matt. xxvi. 64; Mark xiv. 62). That is, "I am indeed the Son of God, but do not forget that I am also the Son of Man. Believe and confess the true faith, that I, who claim to be the Christ, am Very God and Very Man."

5. The Jews, in our Lord's age, were not disposed to receive either of the truths expressed in those words. They were so tenacious of the doctrine of the Divine Unity (as they understood it), that they were not willing to accept the assertion that *Christ* is the "Son of God;" Very God of Very God (see above, article SON OF GOD), and they were not disposed to admit that God could become Incarnate, and that the Son of God could be also the Son of Man: (see the remarks on this subject by Dorner, *On the Person of Christ*, Introduction, throughout).

Hence we find that no sooner had our Lord asserted these truths, than "the high-priest rent his clothes, saying, He hath spoken blasphemy. What think ye? and they all condemned Him to be guilty of death" (Matt. xxvi. 65, 66; Mark xiv. 63, 64). And when St. Stephen had said, "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God," *then* they "cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, and cast him out of the city, and stoned him" (Acts vii. 57, 58). They could no longer restrain their rage against him as guilty of blasphemy, because he asserted that Jesus, who had claimed to be the Son of God, and who had been put to death because He made this assertion, is also the Son of Man, and was then glorified; and that therefore they were mistaken in looking for *another* Christ, and that they had been guilty of putting to death the Messiah.

6. Here, then, we have a clear view of the difficulties which the Gospel had to overcome, in proclaiming Jesus to be the Christ, and to be the Son of God, and to be the Son of Man; and in the building up of the Christian Church on this foundation. It had to encounter the prejudices of the whole world, both Jewish and Heathen, in this work. It did encounter them, and has triumphed over them. Here is a proof of its divine origin.

7. If we proceed to analyze the various passages in the Gospel where Christ speaks of Himself as the Son of Man, we shall find that they not only teach the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God (and thus afford a prophetic protest against the heresies which afterwards impugned that doctrine

such as the heresy of the Docetae, Valentinus, and Marcion, who denied that *Jesus Christ was come in the flesh*, see on 1 John iv. 2, and 2 John 7); but they also declare the consequences of the Incarnation, both in regard to Christ, and in regard also to all mankind.

The consequences of Christ's Incarnation are described in the Gospels, as a capacity of being a perfect pattern and example of godly life to men (Phil. ii. 5; 1 Pet. ii. 21); and of suffering, of dying, of "giving His life as a ransom for all," of being "the propitiation for the sins of the whole world" (1 John ii. 2, iv. 10), of being the source of life and grace, of Divine Sonship (John i. 12), of Resurrection and Immortality to all the family of Mankind, as many as receive Him (John iii. 16, 36, xi. 25), and are engrafted into His body, and cleave to Him by faith and love, and participate in the Christian sacraments, which derive their virtue and efficacy from His Incarnation and Death, and which are the appointed instruments for conveying and imparting the benefits of His Incarnation and Death to us (comp. John iii. 5, vi. 53), who are "made partakers of the Divine nature" (2 Pet. i. 4), by virtue of our union with Him who is God and Man.

The infinite value and universal applicability of the benefits derivable from the Incarnation and sacrifice of the Son of God are described by our Lord, declaring the perfection of the union of the two natures, the human nature and the Divine, in His own person. "No man hath ascended up to heaven but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven; and as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life; for God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life; for God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through Him might be saved" (John iii. 13-17); and again, "What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where He was before?" (John vi. 62, compared with John i. 1-3).

8. By His perfect obedience in our nature, and by His voluntary submission to death in that nature, Christ acquired new dignity and glory, due to His obedience and sufferings. This is the dignity and glory of His mediatorial kingdom; *that* kingdom which He has as God-man, "the only Mediator between God and man"—(as partaking perfectly of the nature of both, and as making an *At-one-ment* between them), "the Man Christ Jesus" (1 Tim. ii. 5; Heb. ix. 15, xii. 24).

It was as Son of Man that He humbled Himself, it is as Son of Man that He is exalted; it was as Son of Man, born of a woman, that He was made under the Law (Gal. iv. 4), and as Son of Man He was Lord of the Sabbath-day (Matt. xii. 8); as Son of Man He suffered for sins (Matt. xvii. 12; Mark viii. 31), and as Son of Man He has authority on earth to forgive sins (Matt. ix. 6). It was as Son of Man that He had not where to lay His head (Matt. viii. 20; Luke ix. 58), it is as Son of Man that He wears on his head a golden crown (Rev. xiv. 14); it was as Son of Man that He was betrayed into the hands of sinful men, and suffered many things, and was rejected, and condemned and crucified (see Matt. xvii. 22, xx. 18, xxvi. 2, 24; Mark viii. 31, ix. 31, x. 33; Luke ix. 22, 44, xviii. 31, xxiv. 7), it is as Son of Man that He now sits at the right hand of God, and as Son of Man He will come in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory, in His own glory, and in the glory of His Father, and all His holy angels with Him, and it is as Son of Man that He will "sit on the throne of His glory," and "before Him will be gathered all nations" (Matt. xvi. 27, xxiv. 30, xxv. 31, 32; Mark xiv. 62; Luke xxi. 27); and He will send forth His angels to gather His elect from the four winds (Matt. xxiv. 31), and to root up the tares from out of His Field, which is the World (Matt. xiii. 38, 41); and to bind them in bundles to burn them, and to gather His wheat into His barn (Matt. xiii. 30). It is as Son of Man that He will call all from their graves, and summon them to His judgment-seat, and pronounce their sentence for everlasting bliss or woe; "for, *the Father* judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto *the Son*; . . . and hath given Him authority to execute judgment also, *because* He is the *Son of Man*" (John v. 22, 27). Only "the pure in heart will *see God*" (Matt. v. 8; Heb. xii. 14); but the evil as well as the good will see their Judge: "*every eye* shall see Him" (Rev. i. 7). This is fit and equitable; and it is also fit and equitable that He, who as Son of Man, was judged by the world, should also judge the world; and that He who was rejected openly, and suffered death for all, should be openly glorified by all, and be exalted in the eyes of all, as King of kings, and Lord of lords.

9. Christ is represented in Scripture as the second Adam (1 Cor. xv. 45, 47; comp. Rom. v. 14), inasmuch as He is the *Father* of the new race of mankind; and, as we are all by nature in Adam, so are we by grace in Christ; and "as in Adam all die, even so in Christ all are made alive" (1 Cor. xv. 22); and "if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature" (2 Cor. v. 17; Eph. iv. 24); and He, who is the *Son*, is also in this respect a *Father*; and therefore Isaiah joins both titles in one, "To us a *Son* is given . . . and His name shall be called the Mighty God, the Everlasting *Father*" (Isa. ix. 6). Christ is the second *Adam*, as the Father of the new race; but in another respect He is unlike Adam, because Adam was formed in mature manhood *from the earth*; but Christ, the second Adam, is *Ben-Adam*, the *Son* of Adam; and therefore St. Luke, writing specially for the Gentiles, and desirous to show the universality of the redemption wrought by Christ, traces His genealogy to Adam (Luke iii. 23-38). He is Son of Man, inasmuch as he was the Promised Seed, and was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and took our nature, the nature of us all, and became "Emmanuel, God with us" (Matt. i. 23), "God manifested in the flesh" (1 Tim. iii. 16). Thus the new Creation sprung out of the old; and He made "all things new" (Rev. xxi. 5). *The Son of God* in Eternity became the *Son of Man* in Time. He turned back, as it were, the streams of pollution and of death, flowing in the innumerable channels of the human family, and introduced into them a new element, the element of life and health, of divine incorruption and immortality; which would not have been the case, if He had been merely like Adam, having an independent origin, springing by a separate efflux out of the earth, and had not been *Ben-Adam* as well as *Ben-Elohim*, the *Son of Adam*, as well as the *Son of God*. And this is what St. Paul observes in his comparison—and contrast—between Adam and Christ (Rom. v. 15-18), "Not as was the transgression (in Adam) so likewise was

the free gift (in Christ). For if (as is the fact) the many (*i. e.* all) died by the transgression of the one (Adam), much more the grace of God, and the gift by the grace that is of the one Man Jesus Christ, overflowed to the many; and *not*, as by one who sinned, so is the gift; for the judgment came from one man to condemnation, but the free gift came forth from many transgressions to their state of justification. For if by the transgression of the one (Adam), Death reigned by means of the one, much more they who receive the abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness will reign in life through the one, Jesus Christ . . . Thus, where Sin abounded, Grace did much more abound (Rom. v. 20); for, as, by the disobedience of the one man (Adam), the many were made sinners, so by the obedience of the one (Christ), the many were made righteous. . . ."

10. The benefits accruing to mankind from the Incarnation of the Son of God are obvious from these considerations:—

We are not so to conceive of Christ as of a Deliverer *external* to humanity, but as incorporating humanity in Himself, and uniting it to God; as rescuing our nature from Sin, Satan, and Death; and as carrying us through the grave and gate of death to a glorious immortality; and bearing mankind, His lost sheep, on His shoulders; as bearing us and our sins in His own body on the tree (1 Pet. ii. 24); as bringing us through suffering to glory; as raising our nature to a dignity higher than that of angels; as exalting us by His Ascension into heaven; and as making us to "sit together with Himself in heavenly places" (Eph. ii. 6), even at the right hand of God. "To him that overcometh," He says, "will I grant to sit with Me on My throne, even as I also overcame and am set down with My Father on His throne" (Rev. iii. 21). These are the hopes and privileges which we derive from the Incarnation of Christ, who is the Life (John i. 4, xi. 25, xiv. 6; 1 John i. 2); from our filial adoption by God in Him (John i. 12; 1 John iii. 1, 2); and from our consequent capacity of receiving the Spirit of adoption in our hearts (Gal. iv. 6); and from our membership and indwelling in Him, who is the Son of God from all eternity, and who became, for our sakes and for our salvation, the Son of Man, and submitted to the weakness of our humanity, in order that we might partake in the glory of His immortality.

11. These conclusions from Holy Scripture have been stated clearly by many of the ancient Fathers, among whom it may suffice to mention S. Irenaeus (*Adv. Haereses*, iii. 20, p. 247, Grabe): ἤνωσεν Χριστὸς) ἄνθρωπον τῷ Θεῷ· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἄνθρωπος ἐνίκησεν τὸν ἀντίπαλον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ἐνικήθη ὁ ἐχθρός· πάλιν τε εἰ μὴ ὁ Θεὸς ἐδωρήσατο τὴν σωτηρίαν, οὐκ ἂν βεβαίως ἔσχομεν αὐτήν· καὶ εἰ μὴ συνηνώθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῷ Θεῷ, οὐκ ἂν ἠδυνήθη μετασχεῖν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας· ἔδει γὰρ τὸν μεσίτην Θεοῦ τε καὶ ἀνθρώπου, διὰ τῆς ἰδίας πρὸς ἑκατέρους οἰκειότητος εἰς φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἑκατέρους συναγαγεῖν. And iii. 21, p. 250: "Hic igitur Filius Dei, existens Verbum Patris . . . quoniam ex Mariâ factus est Filius hominis . . . primitias resurrectionis hominis in Seipso faciens, ut quemadmodum Caput resurrexit a mortuis, sic et reliquum corpus omnis hominis, qui invenitur in vitâ . . . resurgat per compagines et conjunctiones coalescens, et confirmatum augmento Dei" (Eph. iv. 16). And S. Cyprian (*De Idolorum Vanitate*, p. 538, ed. Venet. 1758): "Hujus gratiae disciplinaeque arbiter et magister Sermo (Λόγος) et *Filius Dei* mittitur, qui per prophetas omnes retro Illuminator et Doctor humani generis praedicabatur. Hic est virtus Dei . . . carnem Spiritu Sancto cooperante induitur . . . Hic Deus noster, Hic Christus est, qui Mediator duorum hominem induit, quem perducat ad Patrem. Quod homo est, esse Christus volvit, ut et homo possit esse, quod Christus est." And S. Augustine (*Serm.* 121): "Filius Dei factus est Filius hominis, ut vos, qui eratis filii hominis, efficeremini filii Dei." [C. W.]

SOOTHSAYER. [DIVINATION.]

SO'PATER (Σώπατρος: *Sopater*). Sopater the son of Pyrrhus of Beroea was one of the companions of St. Paul on his return from Greece into Asia, as he came back from his third missionary journey (Acts xx. 4). Whether he is the same with Sosipater, mentioned in Rom. xvi. 21, cannot be positively determined. The name of his father, Pyrrhus, is omitted in the received text, though it has the authority of the oldest MSS., A, B, D, E, and the recently discovered Codex Sinaiticus, as well as of the Vulgate, Coptic, Sahidic, Philoxenian-Syriac, Armenian, and Slavonic versions. Mill condemns it, apparently without reason, as a traditional gloss. [W. A. W.]

SOPHER'ETH (סֹפֶרֶת: Σεφηρά, Σαφαράτ; Alex. Ἀσεφηράθ, Σαφαράθ: *Sopheret, Sophereth*). "The children of Sophereth" were a family who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel among the descendants of Solomon's servants (Ezr. ii. 55 Neh. vii. 57). Called AZAPHION in 1 Esdr. v. 33.

SOPHONI'AS (*Sophonias*). The Prophet ZEPHANIAH (2 Esd. i. 40).

SORCERER. [DIVINATION.]

SO'REK, THE VALLEY OF (נַחַל שֹׂרֵק: Ἀλσωρήχ; Alex. χειμαρρους Σωρηχ: *Vallis Sorec*). A wady (to use the modern Arabic term which precisely answers to the Hebrew *nachal*), in which lay the residence of Dalilah (Judg. xvi. 4). It appears to have been a Philistine place, and possibly was nearer Gaza than any other of the chief Philistine cities, since thither Samson was taken after his capture at Dalilah's house. Beyond this there are no indications of its position, nor is it mentioned again in the Bible. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* Σωρήχ) state that a village named Capharsorech was shown in their day "on the north of Eleutheropolis, near the town of Saar (or Saraa), *i. e.* Zorah, the native place of Samson." Zorah is now supposed to have been fully 10 miles N. of *Beit-Jibrin*, the modern representative of Eleutheropolis, though it is not impossible that there may have been a second further south. No trace of the name of Sorek has been yet discovered either in the one position or the other.[b] But the district is comparatively unexplored, and doubtless it will ere long be discovered.

The word *Sorek* in Hebrew signifies a pecu-

[a] The Αλ is no doubt the last relic of Ναχαλ: comp. JEBABARIM; and KANAH, RIVER.

[b] M. Van de Velde (*Mem.* 350) proposes the Wady *Simsim*, which runs from near *Beit Jibrin* to Ashdod, but this he adds is to be mere conjecture.

llarly choice kind of vine, which is said to have derived its name from the dusky colour of its grapes, that perhaps being the meaning of the root (Gesenius, *Thes.* 1342). It occurs in three passages of the Old Test. (Is. v. 2; Jer. ii. 21; and, with a modification, in Gen. xlix. [c] 11). It appears to be used in modern Arabic for a certain purple grape, grown in Syria, and highly esteemed; which is noted for its small raisins, and minute, soft pips, and produces a red wine. This being the case, the valley of Sorek may have derived its name from the growth of such vines, though it is hardly safe to affirm the fact in the unquestioning manner in which Gesenius (*Thes.* ib.) does. Ascalon was celebrated among the ancients for its wine; and, though not in the neighbourhood of Zorah, was the natural port by which any of the productions of that district would be exported to the west. [G.]

SOSIP'ATER. (Σωσίπατρος: *Sosipater.*) **1.** A general of Judas Maccabaeus, who in conjunction with Dositheus defeated Timotheus and took him prisoner, c. B.C. 164 (2 Macc. xii. 19-24).

2. Kinsman or fellow tribesman of St. Paul, mentioned in the salutations at the end of the Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 21). He is probably the same person as SOPATER of Beroea. [B. F. W.]

SOS'THENES (Σωσθένης: *Sosthenes*) was a Jew at Corinth, who was seized and beaten in the presence of Gallio, on the refusal of the latter to entertain the charge of heresy which the Jews alleged against the Apostle Paul (see Acts xviii. 12-17). His precise connexion with that affair is left in some doubt. Some have thought that he was a Christian, and was maltreated thus by his own countrymen, because he was known as a special friend of Paul. But it is improbable if Sosthenes was a believer, that Luke would mention him merely as "the ruler of the synagogue" (ἀρχισυνάγωγος), without any allusion to his change of faith. A better view is, that Sosthenes was one of the bigoted Jews; and that "the crowd" (πάντες simply, and not πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, is the true reading) were Greeks who, taking advantage of the indifference of Gallio, and ever ready to show their contempt of the Jews, turned their indignation against Sosthenes. In this case he must have been the successor of Crispus (Acts xviii. 8) as chief of the synagogue (possibly a colleague with him, in the looser sense of ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, as in Mark v. 22), or, as Biscoe conjectures, may have belonged to some other synagogue at Corinth. Chrysostom's notion that Crispus and Sosthenes were names of the same person, is arbitrary and unsupported.

Paul wrote the First Epistle to the Corinthians jointly in his own name and that of a certain Sosthenes whom he terms "the brother" (1 Cor. i. 1). The mode of designation implies that he was well known to the Corinthians; and some have held that he was identical with the Sosthenes mentioned in the Acts. If this be so, he must have been converted at a later period (Wetstein, *N. Test.* vol. ii. p. 576), and have been at Ephesus and not at Corinth, when Paul wrote to the Corinthians. The name was a common one, and but little stress can be laid on that coincidence. Eusebius says (*H. E.* i. 12, §1) that this Sosthenes (1 Cor. i. 1) was one of the seventy disciples, and a later tradition adds that he became bishop of the church at Colophon in Ionia. [H. B. H.]

[c] The Arabic versions of this passage retain the term Sorek as a proper name.

SOS'TRATUS (Σώστρατος: *Sostratus*), a commander of the Syrian garrison in the Acra at Jerusalem (ὁ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἔπαρχος) in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (c. B.C. 172: 2 Macc. iv. 27, 29). [B. F. W.]

SOTA'I (סוֹטַי: Σωταΐ, Σουτεΐ; Alex. Σουτιεί in Neh.: *Sotaï, Sothaï*). The children of Sotai were a family of the descendants of Solomon's servants who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 55; Neh. vii. 57).

SOUTH RAM'OTH (רְמוֹת נֶגֶב: ἐν Ῥαμὰ νότου; Alex. ἐν βαμαθ ν.: *Ramoth ad meridiem*). One of the places frequented by David and his band of outlaws during the latter part of Saul's life, and to his friends in which he showed his gratitude when opportunity offered (1 Sam. xxx. 27). The towns mentioned with it show that Ramoth must have been on the southern confines of the country—the very border of the desert. Bethel, in ver. 27, is almost certainly not the well-known sanctuary, but a second of the same name, and Hebron was probably the most northern of all the places in the list. It is no doubt identical with RAMATH OF THE SOUTH, a name the same in every respect except that by a dialectical or other change it is made plural, Ramoth instead of Ramath. [G.]

SOW. [SWINE.]

SOWER, SOWING. The operation of sowing with the hand is one of so simple a character, as to need little description. The Egyptian paintings furnish many illustrations of the mode in which it was conducted. The sower held the vessel or basket containing the seed, in his left hand, while with his right he scattered the seed broadcast (Wilkinson's *Anc. Eg.* ii. 12, 18, 39; see AGRICULTURE for one of these paintings). The "drawing out" of the seed is noticed, as the most characteristic action of the sower, in Ps. cxxvi. 6 (A. V "precious") and Am. ix. 13: it is uncertain whether this expression refers to drawing out the handful of seed from the basket, or to the dispersion of the seed in regular rows over the ground (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 827). In some of the Egyptian paintings the sower is represented as preceding the plough: this may be simply the result of bad perspective, but we are told that such a practice actually prevails in the East in the case of sandy soils, the plough serving the purpose of the harrow for covering the seed (Russell's *Aleppo*, i. 74). In wet soils the seed was trodden in by the feet of animals (Is. xxxii. 20), as represented in Wilkinson's *Anc. Eg.* ii. 12. The sowing season commenced in October and continued to the end of February, wheat being put in before, and barley after the beginning of January (Russell, i. 74). The Mosaic law prohibited the sowing of mixed seed (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 9): Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, §20) supposes this prohibition to be based on the repugnancy of nature to intermixture, but there would appear to be a further object of a moral character, viz. to impress on men's minds the general lesson of purity. The regulation offered a favourable opportunity for Rabbinical refinement, the results of which are embodied in the treatise of the Mishna, entitled *Kilaim*, §§1-3. That the ancient Hebrews did not consider themselves prohibited from planting several kinds of seeds in the same field, appears from Is. xxviii. 25. A distinction is made in Lev. xi. 37, 38 between dry and wet seed, in respect to contact with a corpse: the latter, as being more susceptible

of contamination, would be rendered unclean thereby, the former would not. The analogy between the germination of seed and the effects of a principle or a course of action on the human character for good or for evil is frequently noticed in Scripture (Prov. xi. 18; Matt. xiii. 19, 24; 2 Cor. ix. 6; Gal. vi. 7). [W. L. B.]

SPAIN (Σπανία: *Hispania*). The Hebrews were acquainted with the position and the mineral wealth of Spain from the time of Solomon, whose alliance with the Phoenicians enlarged the circle of their geographical knowledge to a very great extent. [TARSHISH.] The local designation, Tarshish, representing the *Tartessus* of the Greeks, probably prevailed until the fame of the Roman wars in that country reached the East, when it was superseded by its classical name, which is traced back by Bochart to the Shemitic *tsáphán*, "rabbit," and by Humboldt to the Basque *Ezpaña*, descriptive of its position on the *edge* of the continent of Europe (*Dict. of Geog.* i. 1074). The Latin form of this name is represented by the Ἱσπανία of 1 Macc. viii. 3 (where, however, some copies exhibit the Greek form), and the Greek by the Σπανία of Rom. xv. 24, 28. The passages cited contain all the Biblical notices of Spain: in the former the conquests of the Romans are described in somewhat exaggerated terms; for though the Carthaginians were expelled as early as B.C. 206, the native tribes were not finally subdued until B.C. 25, and not until then could it be said with truth that "they had conquered all the place" (1 Macc. viii. 4). In the latter, St. Paul announces his intention of visiting Spain. Whether he carried out this intention is a disputed point connected with his personal history. [PAUL.] The mere intention, however, implies two interesting facts, viz. the establishment of a Christian community in that country, and this by means of Hellenistic Jews resident there. We have no direct testimony to either of these facts; but as the Jews had spread along the shores of the Mediterranean as far as Cyrene in Africa and Rome in Europe (Acts ii. 10), there would be no difficulty in assuming that they were also found in the commercial cities of the eastern coast of Spain. The early introduction of Christianity into that country is attested by Irenaeus (i. 3) and Tertullian (*adv. Jud.* 7). An inscription, purporting to record a persecution of the Spanish Christians in the reign of Nero, is probably a forgery (Gieseler's *Eccl. Hist.* i. 82, note 5). [W. L. B.]

SPARROW (צִפּוֹר, *tzippôr*: ὄρνεον, ὀρνίδιον, τὸ πετεινόν, στρουθίον: χίμαρος in Neh. v. 18, where LXX. probably read צְפִיר: *avis, volucris, passer*). The above Heb. word occurs upwards of forty times in the O. T. In all passages excepting two it is rendered by A. V. indifferently "bird" or "fowl." In Ps. lxxxiv. 3, and Ps. cii. 7, A. V. renders it "sparrow." The Greek Στρουθίον ("sparrow," A. V.) occurs twice in N. T., Matt. x. 29, Luke xii. 6, 7, where the Vulg. has *passeres*. *Tzippór* (צִפּוֹר), from a root signifying to "chirp" or "twitter," appears to be a phonetic representation of the call note of any passerine bird.[a] Similarly the modern Arabs use the term زاوش (*zaoush*) for all small birds which chirp, and زرزور (*zerzour*) not only for the starling, but for any other bird with a harsh, shrill twitter, both these being evidently phonetic names.

Tzippôr is therefore exactly translated by the LXX. στρουθίον, explained by Moschopulus τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων. although it may sometimes have been used in a more restricted sense. See Athen. *Deipn.* ix. 391, where two kinds of στρουθία in the more restricted signification are noted.

It was reserved for later naturalists to discriminate the immense variety of the smaller birds of the passerine order. Excepting in the cases of the thrushes and the larks, the natural history of Aristotle scarcely comprehends a longer catalogue than that of Moses.

Yet in few parts of the world are the species of passerine birds more numerous or more abundant than in Palestine. A very cursory survey has supplied a list of above 100 different species of this order. See *Ibis*, vol. i. p. 26 seqq., and vol. iv. p. 277 seqq.

But although so numerous, they are not generally noticeable for any peculiar brilliancy of plumage beyond the birds of our own climate. In fact, with the exception of the denizens of the mighty forests and fertile alluvial plains of the tropics, it is a popular error to suppose that the nearer we approach the equator, the more gorgeous necessarily is the coloration of the birds. There are certain tropical families with a brilliancy of plumage which is unrivalled elsewhere; but any outlying members of these groups, as for instance the kingfisher of Britain, or the bee-eater and roller of Europe, are not surpassed in brightness of dress by any of their southern relations. Ordinarily in the warmer temperate regions, especially in those which like Palestine possess neither dense forests nor morasses, there is nothing in the brilliancy of plumage which especially arrests the attention of the unobservant. It is therefore no matter for surprise if, in an unscientific age, the smaller birds were generally grouped indiscriminately under the term *tzippôr*, ὀρνιδίον or *passer*. The proportion of bright to obscure coloured birds is not greater in Palestine than in England; and this is especially true of the southern portion, Judaea, where the wilderness with its bare hills and arid ravines affords a home chiefly to those species which rely for safety and concealment on the modesty and inconspicuousness of their plumage.

Although the common sparrow of England (*Passer domesticus*, L.) does not occur in the Holy Land, its place is abundantly supplied by two very closely allied Southern species (*Passer salicicola*, Vieill., and *Passer cisalpina*, Tem.). Our English Tree Sparrow (*Passer montanus*, L.) is also very common, and may be seen in numbers on Mount Olivet, and also about the sacred enclosure of the mosque of Omar. This is perhaps the exact species referred to in Ps. lxxxiv. 3, "Yea, the sparrow hath found an house."

Though in Britain it seldom frequents houses, yet in China, to which country its eastward range extends, Mr. Swinhoe, in his 'Ornithology of Amoy,' informs us its habits are precisely those of our familiar house sparrow. Its shyness here may be the result of persecution; but in the East the Mussulmans hold in respect any bird which resorts to their houses, and in reverence such as build in or about the mosques, considering them to be under the Divine protection. This natural veneration has doubtless been inherited from antiquity. We learn from Aelian (*Var. Hist.* v. 17) that the Athenians

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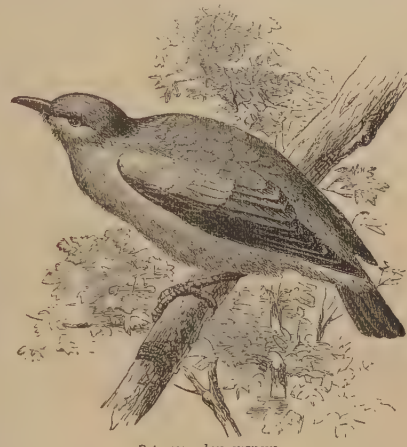
[a] Comp. the Arabic عصفور (*'asfúr*), "a sparrow."

condemned a man to death for molesting a sparrow in the temple of Aesculapius. The story of Aristotimus of Cyme, who rebuked the cowardly advice of the oracle of Branchidae to surrender a suppliant, by his symbolical act of driving the sparrows out of the temple, illustrates the same sentiment (Herod. i. 159), which was probably shared by David and the Israelites, and is alluded to in the Psalm. There can be no difficulty in interpreting מִזְבְּחוֹת, not as the altar of sacrifice exclusively, but as the place of sacrifice, the sacred enclosure generally, τὸ τέμενος, "fanum." The interpretation of some commentators, who would explain צִפּוֹר in this passage of certain sacred birds, kept and preserved by the priests in the temple like the Sacred Ibis of the Egyptians, seems to be wholly without warrant. See Bochart. iii. 21, 22.

Most of our commoner small birds are found in Palestine. The starling, chaffinch, greenfinch, linnet, goldfinch, corn bunting, pipits, blackbird, song thrush, and the various species of wagtail abound. The woodlark (*Alauda arborea*, L.), crested lark (*Galerida cristata*, Boie.), Calandra lark (*Melanocorypha calandra*, Bp.), short-toed lark (*Calandrella brachydactyla*, Kaup.), Isabel lark (*Alauda deserti*, Licht.), and various other desert species, which are snared in great numbers for the markets, are far more numerous on the southern plains than the skylark in England. In the olive-yards, and among the brushwood of the hills, the Ortolan bunting (*Emberiza hortulana*, L.), and especially Cretzschmaer's bunting (*Emberiza caesia*, Cretz.), take the place of our common yellow-hammer, an exclusively northern species. Indeed, the second is seldom out of the traveller's sight, hopping before him from bough to bough with its simple but not unpleasing note. As most of our warblers (*Sylviadae*) are summer migrants, and have a wide eastern range, it was to be expected that they should occur in Syria; and accordingly upwards of twenty of those on the British list have been noted there, including the robin, redstart, whitethroat, blackcap, nightingale, willow-wren, Dartford warbler, whinchat, and stonechat. Besides these, the Palestine lists contain fourteen others, more southern species, of which the most interesting are perhaps the little fantail (*Cisticola schoenicola*, Bp.), the orphean (*Curruca orphaea*, Boie.), and the Sardinian warbler (*Sylvia melanocephala*, Lath.).

The chats (*Saxicolae*), represented in Britain by the wheatear, whinchat, and stonechat, are very numerous in the southern parts of the country. At least nine species have been observed, and by their lively motions and the striking contrast of black and white in the plumage of most of them, they are the most attractive and conspicuous bird-inhabitants which catch the eye in the hill country of Judaea, the favourite resort of the genus. Yet they are not recognised among the Bedouin inhabitants by any name to distinguish them from the larks.

The rock sparrow (*Petronia stulta*, Strickl.) is a common bird in the barer portions of Palestine, eschewing woods, and generally to be seen perched alone on the top of a rock or on any large stone. From this habit it has been conjectured to be the bird alluded to in Ps. cii. 7, as "the sparrow that sitteth alone upon the housetop;" but as the rock sparrow, though found among ruins, never resorts to inhabited buildings, it seems more probable that the bird to which the psalmist alludes is the blue thrush (*Petrocossyphus cyaneus*, Boie.), a bird so conspicuous that it cannot fail to attract attention by its dark-blue dress and its plaintive monotonous note; and which may frequently be observed perched on houses and especially on outbuildings in the villages of Judaea. It is a solitary bird, eschewing the society of its own species, and rarely more than a pair are seen together. Certainly the allusion of the psalmist will not apply to the sociable and garrulous house- or tree-sparrows.



Petrocossyphus cyaneus.

Among the most conspicuous of the small birds of Palestine are the shrikes (Lanii), of which the red-backed shrike (*Lanius collurio*, L.) is a familiar example in the south of England, but there represented by at least five species, all abundantly and generally distributed, viz., *Enneoctonus rufus*, Bp., the woodchat shrike, *Lanius meridionalis*, L.; *L. minor*, L.; *L. personatus*, Tem.; and *Telephonus cucullatus*, Gr.

There are but two allusions to the singing of birds in the Scriptures, Eccles. xii. 4 and Ps. civ. 12, "By them shall the fowls (עוֹף) of the heaven have their habitation which sing among the branches." As the psalmist is here speaking of the sides of streams and rivers ("By them"), he probably had in his mind the bulbul (بلبل) of the country, or Palestine nightingale (*Ixos xanthopygius*, Hempr.), a bird not very far removed from the thrush tribe, and a closely allied species of which is the true bulbul of Persia and India. This lovely songster, whose notes, for volume and variety, surpass those of the nightingale, wanting only the final cadence, abounds in all the wooded districts of Palestine, and especially by the banks of the Jordan, where in the early morning it fills the air with its music.

In one passage (Ez. xxxix. 4), *tzippôr* is joined with the epithet עַיִט (ravenous), which may very well describe the raven and the crow, both passerine birds, yet carrion feeders. Nor is it necessary to stretch the interpretation so as to include raptorial birds, which are distinguished in Hebrew and Arabic by so many specific appellations.

With the exception of the raven tribe, there is no prohibition in the Levitical law against any passerine birds being used for food; while the wanton destruction or extirpation of any species was guarded

against by the humane provision in Deut. xxii. 6. Small birds were therefore probably as ordinary an article of consumption among the Israelites as they still are in the markets both of the Continent and of the East. The inquiry of our Lord, "Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings?" (Luke xii. 6), "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing?" (Matt. x. 29), points to their ordinary exposure for sale in His time. At the present day the markets of Jerusalem and Jaffa are attended by many "fowlers" who offer for sale long strings of little birds of various species, chiefly sparrows, wagtails, and larks. These are also frequently sold ready plucked, trussed in rows of about a dozen on slender wooden skewers, and are cooked and eaten like kabobs.

It may well excite surprise how such vast numbers can be taken, and how they can be vended at a price too small to have purchased the powder required for shooting them. But the gun is never used in their pursuit. The ancient methods of fowling to which we find so many allusions in the Scriptures are still pursued, and, though simple, are none the less effective. The art of fowling is spoken of no less than seven times in connexion with צִפּוֹר, *e. g.* "a bird caught in the snare," "bird hasteth to the snare," "fall in a snare," "escaped out of the snare of the fowler." There is also one still more precise allusion, in Ecclus. xi. 30, to the well-known practice of using decoy or call birds, *πέρδιξ θηρευτὴς ἐν καρτάλλῳ*. The reference in Jer. v. 27, "As a cage is full of birds" (עוֹפִים), is probably to the same mode of snaring birds.

There are four or five simple methods of fowling practised at this day in Palestine which are probably identical with those alluded to in the O. T. The simplest, but by no means the least successful, among the dexterous Bedouins, is fowling with the throw-stick. The only weapon used is a short stick, about 18 inches long and half an inch in diameter, and the chase is conducted after the fashion in which, as we read, the Australian natives pursue the kangaroo with their boomerang. When the game has been discovered, which is generally the red-legged great partridge (*Cuccabis saxatilis*, Mey.), the desert partridge (*Ammoperdix Heyi*, Gr.), or the little bustard (*Otis tetrax*, L.), the stick is hurled with a revolving motion so as to strike the legs of the bird as it runs, or sometimes at a rather higher elevation, so that when the victim, alarmed by the approach of the weapon, begins to rise, its wings are struck and it is slightly disabled. The fleet pursuers soon come up, and, using their burnouses as a sort of net, catch and at once cut the throat of the game. The Mussulmans rigidly observe the Mosaic injunction (Lev. xvii. 13) to spill the blood of every slain animal on the ground. This primitive mode of fowling is confined to those birds which, like the red-legged partridges and bustards, rely for safety chiefly on their running powers, and are with difficulty induced to take flight. The writer once witnessed the capture of the little desert partridge (*Ammoperdix Heyi*) by this method in the wilderness near Hebron: an interesting illustration of the expression in 1 Sam. xxvi. 20, "as when one doth hunt a partridge in the mountains."

A more scientific method of fowling is that alluded to in Ecclus. xi. 30, by the use of decoy-birds. The birds employed for this purpose are very carefully trained and perfectly tame, that they may utter their natural call-note without any alarm from the neighbourhood of man. Partridges, quails, larks, and plovers are taken by this kind of fowling, especially the two former. The decoy-bird, in a cage, is placed in a concealed position, while the fowler is secreted in the neighbourhood, near enough to manage his gins and snares. For game birds a common method is to construct of brushwood a narrow run leading to the cage, sometimes using a sort of bag-net within the brushwood. This has a trap-door at the entrance, and when the dupe has entered the run, the door is dropped. Great numbers of quail are taken in this manner in spring. Sometimes, instead of the more elaborate decoy of a run, a mere cage with an open door is placed in front of the decoy-bird, of course well concealed by grass and herbage, and the door is let fall by a string, as in the other method. For larks and other smaller birds the decoy is used in a somewhat different manner. The cage is placed without concealment on the ground, and springes, nets, or horse-hair nooses are laid round it to entangle the feet of those whom curiosity attracts to the stranger; or a net is so contrived as to be drawn over them, if the cage be placed in a thicket or among brushwood. Immense numbers can be taken by this means in a very short space of time. Traps, the door of which overbalances by the weight of the bird, exactly like the traps used by the shepherds on the Sussex downs to take wheatears and larks, are constructed by the Bedouin boys, and also the horse-hair springes so familiar to all English schoolboys, though these devices are not wholesale enough to repay the professional fowler. It is to the noose on the ground that reference is made in Ps. cxxiv. 7, "The snare is broken and we are escaped." In the towns and gardens great numbers of birds, starlings and others, are taken for the markets at night by means of a large loose net on two poles, and a lanthorn, which startles the birds from their perch, when they fall into the net.

At the season of migration immense numbers of birds, and especially quails, are taken by a yet more simple method. When notice has been given of the arrival of a flight of quails, the whole village turns out. The birds, fatigued by their long flight, generally descend to rest in some open space a few acres in extent. The fowlers, perhaps twenty or thirty in number, spread themselves in a circle round them, and, extending their loose large burnouses with both arms before them, gently advance towards the centre, or to some spot where they take care there shall be some low brushwood. The birds, not seeing their pursuers, and only slightly alarmed by the cloaks spread before them, begin to run together without taking flight, until they are hemmed into a very small space. At a given signal the whole of the pursuers make a din on all sides, and the flock, not seeing any mode of escape, rush huddled together into the bushes, when the burnouses are thrown over them, and the whole are easily captured by hand.

Although we have evidence that dogs were used by the ancient Egyptians, Assyrians, and Indians in the chase, yet there is no allusion in Scripture to their being so employed among the Jews, nor does it appear that any of the ancients employed the sagacity of the dog, as we do that of the pointer and setter, as an auxiliary in the chase of winged game. At the present day the Bedouins of Palestine employ, in the pursuit of larger game, a very valuable race of greyhounds, equalling the Scottish staghound in

size and strength; but the inhabitants of the towns have a strong prejudice against the unclean animal, and never cultivate its instinct for any further purpose than that of protecting their houses and flocks (Is. lvi. 10; Job xxx. 1), and of removing the offal from their towns and villages. No wonder, then, that its use has been neglected for purposes which would have entailed the constant danger of defilement from an unclean animal, besides the risk of being compelled to reject as food game which might be torn by the dogs (cf. Ex. xxii. 31; Lev. xxii. 8, &c.).

Whether falconry was ever employed as a mode of fowling or not is by no means so clear. Its antiquity is certainly much greater than the introduction of dogs in the chase of birds; and from the statement of Aristotle (*Anim. Hist.* ix. 24), "In the city of Thrace formerly called Cedropolis, men hunt birds in the marshes with the help of hawks," and from the allusion to the use of falconry in India, according to Photius' abridgement of Ctesias, we may presume that the art was known to the neighbours of the ancient Israelites (see also Aelian, *Hist. An.* iv. 26, and Pliny, x. 8). Falconry, however, requires an open and not very rugged country for its successful pursuit, and Palestine west of the Jordan is in its whole extent ill adapted for this species of chase. At the present day falconry is practised with much care and skill by the Arab inhabitants of Syria, though not in Judaea proper. It is indeed the favourite amusement of all the Bedouins of Asia and Africa, and esteemed an exclusively noble sport, only to be indulged in by wealthy sheiks. The rarest and most valuable species of hunting falcon (*Falco Lanarius*, L.), the Lanner, is a native of the Lebanon and of the northern hills of Palestine. It is highly prized by the inhabitants, and the young are taken from the nest and sold for a considerable price to the chieftains of the Hauran. Forty pounds sterling is no uncommon price for a well-trained falcon. A description of falconry as now practised among the Arabs would be out of place here, as there is no direct allusion to the subject in the O. T. or N. T. [H. B. T.]

SPARTA (Σπάρτη, 1 Macc. xiv. 16; Λακεδαιμόνιοι, 2 Macc. v. 9: A. V. "Lacedaemonians"). In the history of the Maccabees mention is made of a remarkable correspondence between the Jews and the Spartans, which has been the subject of much discussion. The alleged facts are briefly these. When Jonathan endeavoured to strengthen his government by foreign alliances (c. B.C. 144), he sent to Sparta to renew a friendly intercourse which had been begun at an earlier time between Areus and Onias [AREUS; ONIAS], on the ground of their common descent from Abraham (1 Macc. xii. 5-23). The embassy was favourably received, and after the death of Jonathan "the friendship and league" was renewed with Simon (1 Macc. xiv. 16-23). No results are deduced from this correspondence, which is recorded in the narrative without comment; and imperfect copies of the official documents are given as in the case of similar negociations with the Romans. Several questions arise out of these statements as to (1) the people described under the name Spartans, (2) the relationship of the Jews and Spartans, (3) the historic character of the events, and (4) the persons referred to under the names Onias and Areus.

1. The whole context of the passage, as well as the independent reference to the connexion of the "Lacedaemonians" and Jews in 2 Macc. v. 9, seem to prove clearly that the reference is to the Spartans, properly so called; Josephus evidently understood the records in this sense, and the other interpretations which have been advanced are merely conjectures to avoid the supposed difficulties of the literal interpretation. Thus Michaelis conjectured that the words in the original text were ספרדים, ספרד (Obad. ver. 20; Ges. *Thes.* s. v.), which the translators read erroneously as ספרט, ספרטים, and thus substituted *Sparta* for *Sapharad* [SEPHARAD]. And Frankel, again (*Monatsschrift*, 1853, p. 456), endeavours to show that the name *Spartans* may have been given to the Jewish settlement at Nisibis, the chief centre of the Armenian Dispersion. But against these hypotheses it may be urged conclusively that it is incredible that a Jewish colony should have been so completely separated from the mother state as to need to be reminded of its kindred, and also that the vicissitudes of the government of this strange city (1 Macc. xii. 20, βασιλεύς; xiv. 20, ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ πόλις) should have corresponded with those of Sparta itself.

2. The actual relationship of the Jews and Spartans (2 Macc. v. 9, συγγένεια) is an ethnological error, which it is difficult to trace to its origin. It is possible that the Jews regarded the Spartans as the representatives of the Pelasgi, the supposed descendants of Peleg the son of Eber (Stillingfleet, *Origines Sacrae*, iii. 4, 15; Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 277, note), just as in another place the Pergamenes trace back their friendship with the Jews to a connexion in the time of Abraham (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, §22); if this were so, they might easily spread their opinion. It is certain, from an independent passage, that a Jewish colony existed at Sparta at an early time (1 Macc. xv. 23); and the important settlement of the Jews in Cyrene may have contributed to favour the notion of some intimate connexion between the two races. The belief in this relationship appears to have continued to later times (Jos. *B. J.* i. 26, §1), and, however mistaken, may be paralleled by other popular legends of the eastern origin of Greek states. The various hypotheses proposed to support the truth of the statement are examined by Wernsdorff (*De fide Lib. Macc.* §94), but probably no one now would maintain it.

3. The incorrectness of the opinion on which the intercourse was based is obviously no objection to the fact of the intercourse itself; and the very obscurity of Sparta at the time makes it extremely unlikely that any forger would invent such an incident. But it is urged that the letters said to have been exchanged are evidently not genuine, since they betray their fictitious origin negatively by the absence of characteristic forms of expression, and positively by actual inaccuracies. To this it may be replied that the Spartan letters (1 Macc. xii 20-23, xiv. 20-23) are extremely brief, and exist only in a translation of a translation, so that it is unreasonable to expect that any Doric peculiarities should have been preserved. The Hellenistic translator of the Hebrew original would naturally render the text before him without any regard to what might have been its original form (xii. 22-25, εἰρήνη, κτήνη; xiv. 20, ἀδελφοί). On the other hand the absence of the name of the second king of Sparta in the first letter (1 Macc. xii. 20), and of both kings in the second (1 Macc. xiv. 20), is probably to be explained by the political circumstances under

which the letters were written. The text of the first letter, as given by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4, §10), contains some variations, and a very remarkable additional clause at the end. The second letter is apparently only a fragment.

4. The difficulty of fixing the date of the first correspondence is increased by the recurrence of the names involved. Two kings bore the name Areus, one of whom reigned B.C. 309-265, and the other, his grandson, died B.C. 257, being only eight years old. The same name was also borne by an adventurer, who occupied a prominent position at Sparta, c. B.C. 184 (Polyb. xxiii. 11, 12). In Judaea, again, three high priests bore the name Onias, the first of whom held office B.C. 330-309 (or 300); the second B.C. 240-226; and the third c. B.C. 198-171. Thus Onias I. was for a short time contemporary with Areus I., and the correspondence has been commonly assigned to them (Palmer, *De Epist., etc.*, Darmst. 1828; Grimm, on 1 Macc. xii.). But the position of Judaea at that time was not such as to make the contraction of foreign alliances a likely occurrence; and the special circumstances which are said to have directed the attention of the Spartan king to the Jews as likely to effect a diversion against Demetrius Poliorcetes when he was engaged in the war with Cassander, B.C. 302 (Palmer, quoted by Grimm, *l. c.*), are not completely satisfactory, even if the priesthood of Onias can be extended to the later date.[a] This being so, Josephus is probably correct in fixing the event in the time of Onias III. (*Ant.* xii. 4, §10). The last-named Areus may have assumed the royal title, if that is not due to an exaggerated translation, and the absence of the name of a second king is at once explained (Ussher, *Annales*, A. C. 183; Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* i. 215-218). At the time when Jonathan and Simon made negociations with Sparta, the succession of kings had ceased. The last absolute ruler was Nabis, who was assassinated in B.C. 192. (Wernsdorff, *De fide Lib. Macc.* §§93-112; Grimm, *l. c.*; Herzfeld, *l. c.* The early literature of the subject is given by Wernsdorff.) [B. F. W.]

SPEAR. [ARMS.]

SPEARMEN (δεξιολάβοι). The word thus rendered in the A. V. of Acts xxiii. 23 is of very rare occurrence, and its meaning is extremely obscure. Our translators followed the *lancearii* of the Vulgate, and it seems probable that their rendering approximates most nearly to the true meaning. The reading of the Codex Alexandrinus is δεξιοβόλους, which is literally followed by the Peshito-Syriac, where the word is translated "darters with the right hand." Lachmann adopts this reading, which appears also to have been that of the Arabic in Walton's Polyglot. Two hundred δεξιολάβοι formed part of the escort which accompanied St. Paul in the night-march from Jerusalem to Caesarea. They are clearly distinguished both from the στρατιῶται, or heavy-armed legionaries, who only went as far as Antipatris, and from the ἱππεῖς, or cavalry, who continued the journey to Caesarea. As nothing is said of the return of the δεξιολάβοι to Jerusalem after their arrival at Antipatris, we may infer that they accompanied the cavalry to Caesarea, and this strengthens the supposition that they were irregular light-armed troops, so lightly armed, indeed, as to be able to keep pace on the march with mounted soldiers. Meyer (*Kommentar*, II. 3 s. 404, 2te Aufl.) conjectures that they were a particular kind of light-armed troops (called by the Romans *Velites*, or *Rorarii*), probably either javelin-men or slingers. In a passage quoted by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenneta (*Them.* i. 1) from John of Philadelphia they are distinguished both from the archers and from the peltasts, or targeteers, and with these are described as forming a body of light-armed troops, who in the 10th century were under the command of an officer called a *turmarch*. Grotius, however, was of opinion that at this late period the term had merely been adopted from the narrative in the Acts, and that the usage in the 10th century is no safe guide to its true meaning. Others regard them as body-guards of the governor, and Meursius, in his *Glossarium Graeco-barbarum*, supposes them to have been a kind of military lictors, who had the charge of arresting prisoners; but the great number (200) employed is against both these suppositions. In Suidas and the Etymologicum Magnum παραφύλαξ is given as the equivalent of δεξιολάβος. The word occurs again in one of the Byzantine Historians, Theophylactus Simocatta (iv. 1), and is used by him of soldiers who were employed on skirmishing duty. It is probable, therefore, that the δεξιολάβοι were light-armed troops of some kind, but nothing is certainly known about them. [W. A. W.]

SPICE, SPICES. Under this head it will be desirable to notice the following Hebrew words, *bâsâm*, *nĕcôth*, and *sammîm*.

1. *Bâsâm*, *besem*, or *bôsem* (בָּשָׂם, בֶּשֶׂם, or בֹּשֶׂם: ἡδύσματα, θυμιάματα: *aromata*). The first-named form of the Hebrew term, which occurs only in Cant. v. 1, "I have gathered my myrrh with my spice," points apparently to some definite substance. In the other places, with the exception perhaps of Cant. i. 13, vi. 2, the words refer more generally to sweet aromatic odours, the principal of which was that of the balsam, or balm of Gilead; the tree which yields this substance is now generally admitted to be the *Amyris* (*Balsamodendron*) *opobalsamum*; though it is probable that other species of *Amyridaceae* are included under the terms. The identity of the Hebrew name with the Arabic

Basham (بشام) or *Balasân* (بلسان) leaves no reason to doubt that the substances are identical. The *Amyris opobalsamum* was observed by Forskâl near Mecca; it was called by the Arabs *Abuscham*, i. e. "very odorous." But whether this was the same plant that was cultivated in the plains of Jericho, and celebrated throughout the world (Pliny, *N. H.* xii. 25; Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* ix. 6; Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 4, §2; Strabo, xvi. 367; &c.), it is difficult to determine; but being a tropical plant, it cannot be supposed to have grown except in the warm valleys of the S. of Palestine. The shrub mentioned by Burckhardt (*Trav.* p. 323) as growing in gardens near Tiberias, and which he was informed was the balsam, cannot have been the tree in question. The A. V. never renders *Bâsâm* by "balm;" it gives this word as the representative of the Hebrew *tzeri*, or *tzori* [BALM]. The form *Besem* or *Bôsem*, which is of frequent occurrence in

[a] Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 276, 277, note) supposes that the letter was addressed to Onias II. during his minority (B.C. 290-240), in the course of the wars with Demetrius.

the O. T., may well be represented by the general term of "spices," or "sweet odours," in accordance with the renderings of the LXX. and Vulg. The balm of Gilead tree grows in some parts of Arabia and Africa, and is seldom more than fifteen feet high, with straggling branches and scanty foliage. The balsam is chiefly obtained from incisions in the bark, but the substance is procured also from the green and ripe berries. The balsam orchards near Jericho appear to have existed at the time of Titus by whose legions they were taken formal possession of, but no remains of this celebrated plant are now to be seen in Palestine. (See *Scripture Herbal*, p. 33.)

Balsam of Gilead (*Amyris Gileadensis*).

2. *Nĕcôth* (נְכֹאת: θυμίαμα. *aromata*). The company of Ishmaelitish merchants to whom Joseph was sold were on their way from Gilead to Egypt, with their camels bearing *nĕcôth*, *tzeri* [BALM], and *lôt* (*ladanum*) (Gen. xxxvii. 25); this same substance was also among the presents which Jacob sent to Joseph in Egypt (see Gen. xliii. 11). It is probable from both these passages that *nĕcôth*, if a name for some definite substance, was a product of Palestine, as it is named with other "best fruits of the land," the *lôt* in the former passage being the gum of the *Cistus creticus*, and not "myrrh," as the A. V. renders it. [MYRRH.] Various opinions have been formed as to what *nĕcôth* denotes, for which see Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 548, and Rosenmüller, *Schol. in Gen.* (l. c.); the most probable explanation is that which refers the word to the Arabic

naka'at (نكعة), *i. e.* "the gum obtained from the Tragacanth" (*Astragalus*), three or four species of which genus are enumerated as occurring in Palestine; see Strand's *Flora Palaestina*, No. 413-416. The gum is a natural exudation from the trunk and branches of the plant, which on being "exposed to the air grows hard, and is formed either into lumps or slender pieces curled and winding like worms, more or less long according as matter offers" (Tournefort, *Voyage*, i. 59. ed. Lond. 1741).

Astragalus Tragacantha.

It is uncertain whether the word נכת in 2 K. xx. 13; Is. xxxix. 2, denotes spice of any kind. The A. V. reads in the text "the house of his precious things," the margin gives "spicery," which has the support of the Vulg., Aq., and Symm. It is clear from the passages referred to that Hezekiah possessed a house or treasury of precious and useful vegetable productions, and that *nâcôth* may in these places denote, though perhaps not exclusively, Tragacanth gum. Keil (*Comment.* l. c.) derives the word from an unused root (נכת, "implevit loculum"), and renders it by "treasure."

3. *Sammîm* (סַמִּים: ἥδυσμα, ἡδυσμός, ἄρωμα, θυμίαμα: *suave fragrans, boni odoris, gratissimus, aromata*). A general term to denote those aromatic substances which were used in the preparation of the anointing oil, the incense offerings, &c. The root of the word, according to Gesenius, is to be referred to the Arabic *Samm*, "olfecit," whence *Samûm*, "an odoriferous substance." For more particular information on the various aromatic substances mentioned in the Bible the reader is referred to the articles which treat of the different kinds: FRANKINCENSE, GALBANUM, MYRRH, SPIKENARD, CINNAMON, &c.

The spices mentioned as being used by Nicodemus for the preparation of our Lord's body (John xix. 39, 40) are "myrrh and aloes," by which latter word must be understood, not the aloes of medicine (*Aloe*), but the highly-scented wood of the *Aquilaria agallochum* (but see ALOES, App. A). The enormous quantity of 100 lbs. weight of which St. John speaks, has excited the incredulity of some authors. Josephus, however, tells us that there were five hundred spicebearers at Herod's funeral (*Ant.* xvii. 8, §3), and in the Talmud it is said

that 80 lbs. of opobalsamum were employed at the funeral of a certain Rabbi; still there is no reason to conclude that 100 lbs. weight of pure myrrh and aloes was consumed; the words of the Evangelist imply a preparation (*μίγμα*) in which perhaps the myrrh and aloes were the principal or most costly aromatic ingredients; again, it must be remembered that Nicodemus was a rich man, and perhaps was the owner of large stores of precious substances; as a constant though timid disciple of our Lord, he probably did not scruple at any sacrifice so that he could show his respect for Him. [W. H.]

SPIDER. The representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew words *'accâbîsh* and *semâmîth*.

1. *'Accâbîsh* (עַכָּבִישׁ: ἀράχνη: *aranea*) occurs in Job viii. 14, where of the ungodly (A. V. hypocrite) it is said his "hope shall be cut off, and his trust shall be the house of an *'accâbîsh*," and in Is. lix. 5, where the wicked Jews are allegorically said to "weave the web of the *'accâbîsh*." There is no doubt of the correctness of our translation in rendering this word "spider." In the two passages quoted above, allusion is made to the fragile nature of the spider's web, which, though admirably suited to fulfil all the requirements of the animal, is yet most easily torn by any violence that may be offered to it. In the passage in Is. (*l. c.*), however, there is probably allusion also to the lurking habits of the spider for his prey: "The wicked hatch viper's eggs and weave the spider's web . . . their works are works of iniquity, wasting and destruction are in their paths." We have no information as to the species of *Araneidae* that occur in Palestine, but doubtless this order is abundantly represented.

2. *Sĕmâmîth* (שְׁמָמִית: καλαβώτης: *stellio*), wrongly translated by the A. V. "spider" in Prov. xxx. 28, the only passage where the word is found, has reference, it is probable, to some kind of lizard (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 510). The *Sĕmâmîth* is mentioned by Solomon as one of the four things that are exceeding clever, though they be little upon earth. "The *Sĕmâmîth* taketh hold with her hands, and is in kings' palaces." This term exists in the modern Greek language under the form *σαμιάμινθος*. "Quem Graeci hodie *σαμιάμινθον* vocant, antiquae Graeciae est *ἀσκαλαβώτης*, id est stellio—quae vox pura Hebraica est et reperitur in Prov. cap. xxx. 28, שְׁמָמִית" (Salmasii *Plin. Exercit.* p. 817, b. G.). The lizard indicated is evidently some species of Gecko, some notice of which genus of animals is given under the article LIZARD, where the *Letâêh* was referred to the *Ptyodactylus Gecko*. The *Sĕmâmîth* is perhaps another species. [W. H.]

SPIKENARD (נֵרְדְּ, *nêrd*: νάρδος: *nardus*). We are much indebted to the late lamented Dr. Royle for helping to clear up the doubts that had long existed as to what particular plant furnished the aromatic substance known as "spikenard." Of this substance mention is made twice in the O. T., viz. in Cant. i. 12, where its sweet odour is alluded to, and in iv. 13, 14, where it is enumerated with various other aromatic substances which were imported at an early age from Arabia or India and the far East. The ointment with which our Lord was anointed as He sat at meat in Simon's house at Bethany consisted of this precious substance, the costliness of which may be inferred from the indignant surprise manifested by some of the witnesses of the transaction (see Mark xiv. 3-5; John xii. 3-5). With this may be compared Horace, 4 *Carm.* xii. 16, 17—

"Nardo vina merebere.
Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum."

Dioscorides speaks of several kinds of *νάρδος* and gives the names of various substances which composed the ointment (i. 77). The Hebrew *nêrd*, according to Gesenius, is of Indian origin, and signifies the *stalk* of a plant; hence one of the Arabic names given by Avicenna as the equivalent of nard is *sunbul*, "spica;" comp. the Greek *ναδδόσταχυς*, and our "*spike*nard." But whatever may be the derivation of the Heb. נֵרְדְּ, there is no doubt that *sunbul* is by Arabian authors used as the representative of the Greek *nardos*, as Sir Wm. Jones has shown (*Asiat. Res.* ii. 416). It appears, however, that this great Oriental scholar was unable to obtain the plant from which the drug is procured, a wrong plant having been sent him by Roxburgh. Dr. Royle when director of the E. I. Company's botanic garden at Saharunpore, about 30 miles from the foot of the Himalayan Mountains, having ascertained that the *jatamansee*, one of the Hindu synonyms for the *sunbul*, was annually brought from the mountains overhanging the Ganges and Jumna rivers down to the plains, purchased some of these fresh roots and planted them in the botanic gardens. They produced the same plant which in 1825 had been described by Don from specimens sent by Dr. Wallich from Nepal, and named by him *Patrinia jatamansi* (see the *Prodromus Florae Nepalensis, &c., accedunt plantae a Wallichio nuperius missae*, Lond. 1825). The identity of the *jatamansi* with the *Sunbul hindae* of the Arabs is established beyond a doubt by the form of a portion of the rough stem of the plant, which the Arabs describe as being like the tail of an ermine (see woodcut). This plant, which has

Spikenard.

been called *Nardostachys jatamansi* by De Candolle, is evidently the kind of *nardos* described by Dioscorides (i. 6) under the name of *γαγγῖτις*, *i. e.* "the Ganges nard." Dioscorides refers especially to its having many haggy (*πολυκόμους*) spikes

growing from one root. It is very interesting to note that Dioscorides gives the same locality for the plant as is mentioned by Royle, ἀπό τινος ποταμοῦ παραῤῥέοντος τοῦ ὄρους, Γάγγου καλουμένου παρ' ᾧ φύεται: though he is here speaking of lowland specimens, he also mentions plants obtained from the mountains. [W. H.]

SPINNING (טָוָה: νήθειν). The notices of spinning in the Bible are confined to Ex. xxxv. 25, 26; Matt. vi. 28; and Prov. xxxi. 19. The latter passage implies (according to the A. V.) the use of the same instruments which have been in vogue for hand-spinning down to the present day, viz. the distaff and spindle. The distaff, however, appears to have been dispensed with, and the term [a] so rendered means the spindle itself, while that rendered "spindle" [b] represents the *whirl* (*verticillus*, Plin. xxxvii. 11) of the spindle, a button or circular rim which was affixed to it, and gave steadiness to its circular motion. The "whirl" of the Syrian women was made of amber in the time of Pliny (*l. c.*). The spindle was held perpendicularly in the one hand, while the other was employed in drawing out the thread. The process is exhibited in the Egyptian paintings (Wilkinson, ii. 85). Spinning was the business of women, both among the Jews (Ex. *l. c.*), and for the most part among the Egyptians (Wilkinson, ii. 84). [W. L. B.]

SPIRIT, THE HOLY. In the O. T. He is generally called רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים, or רוּחַ יְהוָה, the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Jehovah; sometimes the Holy Spirit of Jehovah, as Ps. li. 11; Is. lxiii. 10, 11; or the Good Spirit of Jehovah, as Ps. cxliii. 10; Neh. ix. 20. In the N. T. He is generally τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, or simply τὸ πνεῦμα, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit; sometimes the Spirit of God, of the Lord, of Jesus Christ, as in Matt. iii. 16; Acts v. 9; Phil. i. 19, &c.

In accordance with what seems to be the general rule of Divine Revelation, that the knowledge of heavenly things is given more abundantly and more clearly in later ages, the person, attributes, and operations of the Holy Ghost are made known to us chiefly in the New Testament. And in the light of such later revelation, words which when heard by patriarchs and prophets were probably understood imperfectly by them, become full of meaning to Christians.

In the earliest period of Jewish history the Holy Spirit was revealed as co-operating in the creation of the world (Gen. i. 2), as the Source, Giver, and Sustainer of life (Job xxvii. 3, xxxiii. 4; Gen. ii. 7); as resisting (if the common interpretation be correct) the evil inclinations of men (Gen. vi. 3); as the Source of intellectual excellence (Gen. xli. 38; Deut. xxxiv. 9); of skill in handicraft (Ex. xxviii. 3, xxxi. 3, xxxv. 31); of supernatural knowledge and prophetic gifts (Num. xxiv. 2); of valour and those qualities of mind or body which give one man acknowledged superiority over others (Judg. iii. 10, vi. 34, xi. 29, xiii. 25).

In that period which began with Samuel, the effect of the Spirit coming on a man is described in the remarkable case of Saul as change of heart (1 Sam. x. 6, 9), shown outwardly by prophesying (1 Sam. x. 10; comp. Num. xi. 25, and 1 Sam. xix. 20). He departs from a man whom He has once changed (1 Sam. xvi. 14). His departure is the departure of God (xvi. 14, xviii. 12, xxviii. 15) His presence is the presence of God (xvi. 13, xviii 12). In the period of the Kingdom the operation of the Spirit was recognised chiefly in the inspiration of the prophets (see Witsius, *Miscellanea Sacra*, lib. i.; J. Smith's *Select Discourses*, 6. *Of Prophecy*; Knobel, *Prophetismus der Hebräer*). Separated more or less from the common occupations of men to a life of special religious exercise (Bp. Bull's *Sermons*, x. p. 187, ed. 1840), they were sometimes workers of miracles, always foretellers of future events, and guides and advisers of the social and political life of the people who were contemporary with them (2 K. ii. 9; 2 Chr. xxiv. 20; Ez. ii. 23; Neh. ix. 30, &c.). In their writings are found abundant predictions of the ordinary operations of the Spirit which were to be most frequent in later times, by which holiness, justice, peace, and consolation were to be spread throughout the world (Is. xi. 2, xlii. 1, lxi. 1, &c.).

Even after the closing of the canon of the O. T. the presence of the Holy Spirit in the world continued to be acknowledged by Jewish writers (Wisd. i. 7, ix. 17; Philo, *De Gigant.* 5; and see Ridley, *Moyer Lectures*, Serm. ii. p. 81, &c.).

In the N. T., both in the teaching of our Lord and in the narratives of the events which preceded His ministry and occurred in its course, the existence and agency of the Holy Spirit are frequently revealed, and are mentioned in such a manner as shows that these facts were part of the common belief of the Jewish people at that time. Theirs was, in truth, the ancient faith, but more generally entertained, which looked upon prophets as inspired teachers, accredited by the power of working signs and wonders (see Nitzsch, *Christl. Lehre*, §84). It was made plain to the understanding of the Jews of that age that the same Spirit who wrought of old amongst the people of God was still at work. "The Dove forsook the ark of Moses and fixed its dwelling in the Church of Christ" (Bull, *On Justification*, Diss. ii. ch. xi. §7). The gifts of miracles, prediction, and teaching, which had cast a fitful lustre on the times of the great Jewish prophets, were manifested with remarkable vigour in the first century after the birth of Christ. Whether in the course of eighteen hundred years miracles and predictions have altogether ceased, and, if so, at what definite time they ceased, are questions still debated among Christians. On this subject reference may be made to Dr. Conyers Middleton's *Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers of the Christian Church*; Dr. Brooke's *Examination of Middleton's Free Enquiry*; W. Dodwell's *Letter to Middleton* Bp. Douglas's *Criterion*; J. H. Newman's *Essay on Miracles*, &c. With respect to the gifts of teaching bestowed both in early and later ages, compare Neander, *Planting of Christianity*, b. iii. ch. v., with Horsley, *Sermons*, xiv., Potter, *On Church Government*, ch. v., and Hooker, *Eccl. Polity*, v. 72, §§5-8.

The relation of the Holy Spirit to the Incarnate Son of God (see Oxford translation of *Treatises of Athanasius*, p. 196, note *d*) is a subject for reverent contemplation rather than precise definition. By the Spirit the redemption of mankind was made known, though imperfectly, to the prophets of old (2 Pet. i. 21), and through them to the people of God. And when the time for the Incarnation had arrived, the miraculous conception of the Redeemer (Matt. i. 18) was the work of the Spirit; by the Spirit He was anointed in the womb or at baptism

[a] פֶּלֶךְ. [b] כִּישׁוֹר.

(Acts x. 38; cf. Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. i. p. 126, ed. Oxon. 1843); and the gradual growth of His perfect human nature was in the Spirit (Luke ii. 40, 52). A visible sign from heaven showed the Spirit descending on and abiding with Christ, whom He thenceforth filled and led (Luke iv. 1), co-operating with Christ in His miracles (Matt. xii. 18). The multitude of disciples are taught to pray for and expect the Spirit as the best and greatest boon they can seek (Luke xi. 13). He inspires with miraculous powers the first teachers whom Christ sends forth, and He is repeatedly promised and given by Christ to the Apostles (Matt. x. 20, xii. 28; John xiv. 16, xx. 22; Acts i. 8).

Perhaps it was in order to correct the grossly defective conceptions of the Holy Spirit which prevailed commonly among the people, and to teach them that this is the most awful possession of the heirs of the kingdom of heaven, that our Lord Himself pronounced the strong condemnation of blasphemers of the Holy Ghost (Matt. xii. 31). This has roused in every age the susceptibility of tender consciences, and has caused much inquiry to be made as to the specific character of the sin so denounced, and of the human actions which fall under so terrible a ban. On the one hand it is argued that no one now occupies the exact position of the Pharisees whom our Lord condemned, for they had not entered into covenant with the Holy Spirit by baptism; they did not merely disobey the Spirit, but blasphemously attributed His works to the devil; they resisted not merely an inward motion but an outward call, supported by the evidence of miracles wrought before their eyes. On the other hand, a morbid conscience is prone to apprehend the unpardonable sin in every, even unintentional, resistance of an inward motion which may proceed from the Spirit. This subject is referred to in Article XVI. of the Church of England, and is discussed by Burnet, Beveridge, and Harold Browne, in their *Expositions of the Articles*. It occupies the greater part of Athanasius' *Fourth Epistle to Serapion*, ch. 8–22 (sometimes printed separately as a Treatise on Matt. xii. 31). See also Augustine, *Ep. ad Rom. Expositio inchoata*, §§14-23, tom. iii. pt. 2, p. 933. Also Odo Cameracensis (A.D. 1113), *De Blasphemia in Sp. Sanctum*, in Migne's *Patrologia Lat.* vol. 163; J. Denison (A.D. 1611), *The Sin against the Holy Ghost*; Waterland's *Sermons*, xxvii. in *Works*, vol. v. p. 706; Jackson, *On the Creed*, bk. viii. ch. iii. p. 770.

But the Ascension of our Lord is marked (Eph. iv. 8; John vii. 39, &c.) as the commencement of a new period in the history of the inspiration of men by the Holy Ghost. The interval between that event and the end of the world is often described as the Dispensation of the Spirit. It was not merely (as Didymus Alex. *De Trinitate*, iii. 34, p. 431, and others have suggested) that the knowledge of the Spirit's operations became more general among mankind. It cannot be allowed (though Bp. Heber, *Lectures*, viii. 514 and vii. 488, and Warburton have maintained it) that the Holy Spirit has sufficiently redeemed His gracious promise to every succeeding age of Christians only by presenting us with the New Testament. Something more was promised, and continues to be given. Under the old dispensation the gifts of the Holy Spirit were uncovenanted, not universal, intermittent, chiefly external. All this was changed. Our Lord, by ordaining (Matt. xxviii. 19) that every Christian should be baptized in the name of the Holy Ghost, indicated at once the absolute necessity from that time forth of a personal connexion of every believer with the Spirit; and (in John xvi. 7-15) He declares the internal character of the Spirit's work, and (in John xiv. 16, 17, &c.) His permanent stay. And subsequently the Spirit's operations under the new dispensation are authoritatively announced as universal and internal in two remarkable passages (Acts ii. 16-21; Heb. viii. 8-12). The different relations of the Spirit to believers severally under the old and new dispensation are described by St. Paul under the images of a master to a servant, and a father to a son (Rom. viii. 15); so much deeper and more intimate is the union, so much higher the position (Matt. xi. 11) of a believer, in the later stage than in the earlier (see J. G. Walchius, *Miscellanea Sacra*, p. 763, *De Spiritu Adoptionis*, and the opinions collected in note H in Hare's *Mission of the Comforter*, vol. ii. p. 433). The rite of imposition of hands, not only on teachers, but also on ordinary Christians, which has been used in the Apostolic (Acts vi. 6, xiii. 3, xix. 6, &c.) and in all subsequent ages, is a testimony borne by those who come under the new dispensation to their belief of the reality, permanence, and universality of the gift of the Spirit.

Under the Christian dispensation it appears to be the office of the Holy Ghost to enter into and dwell within every believer (Rom. viii. 9, 11; 1 John iii. 24). By Him the work of Redemption is (so to speak) appropriated and carried out to its completion in the case of every one of the elect people of God. To believe, to profess sincerely the Christian faith, and to walk as a Christian, are His gifts (2 Cor. iv. 13; 1 Cor. xii. 3; Gal. v. 18) to each person severally: not only does He bestow the power and faculty of acting, but He concurs (1 Cor iii. 9; Phil. ii. 13) in every particular action so far as it is good (see South's *Sermons*, xxxv., vol. ii. p. 292). His inspiration brings the true knowledge of all things (1 John ii. 27). He unites the whole multitude of believers into one regularly organized body (1 Cor. xii., and Eph. iv. 4-16). He is not only the source of life to us on earth (2 Cor. iii. 6; Rom. viii. 2), but also the power by whom God raises us from the dead (Rom. viii. 11). All Scripture, by which men in every successive generation are instructed and made wise unto salvation, is inspired by Him (Eph. iii. 5; 2 Tim. iii. 16; 2 Pet. i. 21); He co-operates with suppliants in the utterance of every effectual prayer that ascends on high (Eph. ii. 18, vi. 18; Rom. viii. 26); He strengthens (Eph. iii. 16), sanctifies (2 Thess. ii. 13), and seals the souls of men unto the day of completed redemption (Eph. i. 13, iv. 30).

That this work of the Spirit is a real work, and not a mere imagination of enthusiasts, may be shown (1) from the words of Scripture to which reference has been made, which are too definite and clear to be explained away by any such hypothesis; (2) by the experience of intelligent Christians in every age, who are ready to specify the marks and tokens of His operation in themselves, and even to describe the manner in which they believe He works, on which see Barrow's *Sermons*, lxxvii. and lxxviii., towards the end; Waterland's *Sermons*, xxvi., vol. v. p. 686; (3) by the superiority of Christian nations over heathen nations, in the possession of those characteristic qualities which are gifts of the Spirit, in the establishment of such customs, habits, and laws as are agreeable thereto, and in the exercise of an enlightening and purifying

influence in the world. Christianity and civilization are never far asunder: those nations which are now eminent in power and knowledge are all to be found within the pale of Christendom, not indeed free from national vices, yet on the whole manifestly superior both to contemporary unbelievers and to Paganism in its ancient palmy days. (See Hare's *Mission of the Comforter*, Serm. 6, vol. i. p. 202; Porteus on the *Beneficial Effects of Christianity on the Temporal Concerns of Mankind*, in *Works*, vol. vi. pp. 375-460.)

It has been inferred from various passages of Scripture that the operations of the Holy Spirit are not limited to those persons who either by circumcision or by baptism have entered into covenant with God. Abimelech (Gen. xx. 3), Melchizedek (xiv. 18), Jethro (Ex. xviii. 12), Balaam (Num. xxii. 9), and Job in the O. T.; and the Magi (Matt. ii. 12) and the case of Cornelius, with the declaration of St. Peter (Acts x. 35) thereon, are instances showing that the Holy Spirit bestowed His gifts of knowledge and holiness in some degree even among heathen nations; and if we may go beyond the attestation of Scripture, it might be argued from the virtuous actions of some heathens, from their ascription of whatever good was in them to the influence of a present Deity (see the references in Heber's *Lectures*, vi. p. 446), and from their tenacious preservation of the rite of animal sacrifice, that the Spirit whose name they knew not must have girded them, and still girds such as they were, with secret blessedness.

Thus far it has been attempted to sketch briefly the work of the Holy Spirit among men in all ages as it is revealed to us in the Bible. But after the closing of the canon of the N. T. the religious subtilty of Oriental Christians led them to scrutinize, with the most intense accuracy, the words in which God has, incidentally as it were, revealed to us something of the mystery of the Being of the Holy Ghost. It would be vain now to condemn the superfluous and irreverent curiosity with which these researches were sometimes prosecuted, and the scandalous contentions which they caused. The result of them was the formation and general acceptance of certain statements as inferences from Holy Scripture which took their place in the established creeds and in the teaching of the Fathers of the Church, and which the great body of Christians throughout the world continue to adhere to, and to guard with more or less vigilance.

The Sadducees are sometimes mentioned as preceding any professed Christians in denying the personal existence of the Holy Ghost. Such was the inference of Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, xli.), Gregory Nazianzen (*Oratio* xxxi. §5, p. 558, ed. Ben.), and others, from the testimony of St. Luke (Acts xxxiii. 8). But it may be doubted whether the error of the Sadducees did not rather consist in asserting a corporeal Deity. Passing over this, in the first youthful age of the Church, when, as Neander observes (*Ch. Hist.* ii. 327, Bohn's edit.), the power of the Holy Spirit was so mightily felt as a new creative, transforming principle of life, the knowledge of this Spirit, as identical with the Essence of God, was not so thoroughly and distinctly impressed on the understanding of Christians. Simon Magus, the Montanists, and the Manicheans, are said to have imagined that the promised Comforter was personified in certain human beings. The language of some of the primitive Fathers, though its deficiencies have been greatly exaggerated, occasionally comes short of a full and complete acknowledgment of the Divinity of the Spirit. Their opinions are given in their own words, with much valuable criticism, in Dr. Burton's *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Doctrine of the Trinity and the Divinity of the Holy Ghost* (1831). Valentinus believed that the Holy Spirit was an angel. The Sabellians denied that He was a distinct Person from the Father and the Son. Eunomius, with the Anomaeans and the Arians, regarded Him as a created Being. Macedonius, with his followers the Pneumatomachi, also denied His Divinity, and regarded Him as a created Being attending on the Son. His Procession from the Son as well as from the Father was the great point of controversy in the Middle Ages. In modern times the Socinians and Spinosa have altogether denied the Personality, and have regarded Him as an influence or power of the Deity. It must suffice in this article to give the principal texts of Scripture in which these erroneous opinions are contradicted, and to refer to the principal works in which they are discussed at length. The documents in which various existing communities of Christians have stated their belief are specified by G. B. Winer, *Comparative Darstellung des Lehrbegriffs*, &c., pp. 41 and 80.

The Divinity of the Holy Ghost is proved by the fact that He is called God. Compare 1 Sam. xvi. 13 with xviii. 12; Acts v. 3 with v. 4; 2 Cor. iii. 17 with Ex. xxxiv. 34; Acts xxviii. 25 with Is. vi. 8; Matt. xii. 28 with Luke xi. 20; 1 Cor. iii. 16 with vi. 19. The attributes of God are ascribed to Him. He creates, works miracles, inspires prophets, is the Source of holiness (see above), is everlasting (Heb. ix. 14), omnipresent, and omniscient (Ps. cxxxix. 7; and 1 Cor. ii. 10).

The Personality of the Holy Ghost is shown by the actions ascribed to Him. He hears and speaks (John xvi. 13; Acts x. 19, xiii. 2, &c.). He wills and acts on His decision (1 Cor. xii. 11). He chooses and directs a certain course of action (Acts xv. 28). He knows (1 Cor. ii. 11). He teaches (John xiv. 26). He intercedes (Rom. viii. 26). The texts 2 Thess. iii. 5, and 1 Thess. iii. 12, 13, are quoted against those who confound the three Persons of the Godhead.

The Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father is shown from John xiv. 26, xv. 26, &c. The tenet of the Western Church that He proceeds from the Son is grounded on John xv. 26, xvi. 7; Rom. viii. 9; Gal. iv. 6; Phil. i. 19; 1 Pet. i. 11; and on the action of our Lord recorded by St. John xx. 22. The history of the long and important controversy on this point has been written by Pfaff, by J. G. Walchius, *Historia Controversiae de Processione*, 1751, and by Neale, *History of the Eastern Church*, ii. 1093.

Besides the *Expositions of the Thirty-nine Articles* referred to above, and Pearson, *On the Creed*, art. viii., the work of Barrow (*De Spiritu Sancto*) contains an excellent summary of the various heresies and their confutation. The following works may be consulted for more detailed discussion:—Athanasius, *Epistolae IV. ad Serapionem*; Didymus Alex. *De Spiritu Sancto*; Basil the Great, *De Spiritu Sancto*, and *Adversus Eunomium*; Gregory Nazianzen, *Orationes de Theologia*; Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* lib. xiii.; Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto*, lib. iii.; Augustine, *Contra Maximinum*, and *De Trinitate*; Paschasius Diaconus, *De Sp. Sanc.*; Isidorus, Hisp. *Etymologia*, vii. 3, *De Sp. Sanc*; Ratramnus Corbeiensis, *Contra*

Graecorum, &c. lib. iv.; Alcuin, P. Damian, and Anselm, *De Processione*; Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* i. 36-43; Owen, *Treatise on the Holy Spirit*; J. Howe, *Office and Works of the Holy Spirit*; W. Clagett, *On the Operations of the Spirit*, 1678; M. Hole, *On the Gifts and Graces of the H. S.*; Bp. Warburton, *Doctrine of Grace*; Gl. Ridley, *Moyer Lectures on the Divinity and Operations of the H. S.* 1742; S. Ogden, *Sermons*, pp. 157-176; Faber, *Practical Treatise on the Ordinary Operations of the H. S.* 1813; Bp. Heber, *Bampton Lectures on the Personality and Office of the Comforter*, 1816; Archd. Hare, *Mission of the Comforter*, 1846. [W. T. B.]

SPONGE (*σπόγγος*: *spongia*) is mentioned only in the N. T. in those passages which relate the incident of "a sponge filled with vinegar and put on a reed" (Matt. xxvii. 48; Mark xv. 36), or "on hyssop" (John xix. 29) being offered to our Lord on the cross. The commercial value of the sponge was known from very early times; and although there appears to be no notice of it in the O. T., yet it is probable that it was used by the ancient Hebrews, who could readily have obtained it good from the Mediterranean. Aristotle mentions several kinds, and carefully notices those which were useful for economic purposes (*Hist. Anim.* v. 14). His speculations on the nature of the sponge are very interesting. [W. H.]

STACH'YS (Στάχυς: *Stachys*). A Christian at Rome, saluted by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 9). The name is Greek. According to a tradition recorded by Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* viii. 6) he was appointed bishop of Byzantium by St. Andrew, held the office for sixteen years, and was succeeded by Onesimus.

SPOUSE. [MARRIAGE.]

STACTE (נָטָף, *nâtâf*: *στακτή*: *stacte*), the name of one of the sweet spices which composed the holy incense (see Ex. xxx. 34). The Heb. word occurs once again (Job xxxvi. 27), where it is used to denote simply "a drop" of water. For the various opinions as to what substance is intended by *nâtâf*, see Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 529); Rosenmüller (*Bib. Bot.* p. 164) identifies the *nâtâf* with the gum of the storax tree (*Styrax officinale*); the LXX. *στακτή* (from *στάζω*, "to drop") is the exact translation of the Heb. word. Now Dioscorides describes two kinds of *στακτή*: one is the fresh gum of the myrrh tree (*Balsamodendron myrrha*) mixed with water and squeezed out through a press (i. 74); the other kind, which he calls, from the manner in which it is prepared, *σκωληκίτης στύραξ*, denotes the resin of the storax adulterated with wax and fat. The true stacte of the Greek writers points to the distillation from the myrrh tree, of which, according to Theophrastus (*Fr.* iv. 29, ed. Schneider), both a natural and an artificial kind were known; this is the *môr dĕrôr* (מוֹר דְּרוֹר) of Ex. xxx. 23. Perhaps the *nâtâf* denotes the *storax* gum; but all that is positively known is that it signifies an odorous distillation from some plant. For some account of the styrax tree see under POPLAR. [W. H.]

STANDARDS. [ENSIGNS.]

STAR OF THE WISE MEN. Until the last few years the interpretation of St. Matt. ii. 1-12, by theologians in general, coincided in the main with that which would be given to it by any person of ordinary intelligence who read the account with due attention. Some supernatural light resembling a star had appeared in some country (possibly Persia) far to the East of Jerusalem, to men who were versed in the study of celestial phenomena, conveying to their minds a supernatural impulse to repair to Jerusalem, where they would find a new-born king. It supposed them to be followers, and possibly priests, of the Zend religion, whereby they were led to expect a Redeemer in the person of the Jewish infant. On arriving at Jerusalem, after diligent inquiry and consultation with the priests and learned men who could naturally best inform them, they are directed to proceed to Bethlehem. The star which they had seen in the East re-appeared to them and preceded them (*προῆγεν αὐτούς*), until it took up its station over the place where the young child was: (*ἕως ἐλθων ἐστάθη ἐπάνω οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον*). The whole matter, that is, was supernatural; forming a portion of that divine pre-arrangement, whereby, in his deep humiliation among men, the child Jesus was honoured and acknowledged by the Father, as His beloved Son in whom He was well pleased. Thus the lowly shepherds who kept their nightly watch on the hills near to Bethlehem, together with all that remained of the highest and best philosophy of the East, are alike the partakers and the witnesses of the glory of Him who was "born in the city of David, a Saviour which is Christ the Lord." Such is substantially the account which, until the earlier part of the present century would have been given by orthodox divines, of the Star of the Magi. Latterly, however, a very different opinion has gradually become prevalent upon the subject. The star has been displaced from the category of the supernatural, and has been referred to the ordinary astronomical phenomenon of a conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn. The idea originated with Kepler, who, among many other brilliant but untenable fancies, supposed that if he could identify a conjunction of the above named planets with the Star of Bethlehem, he would thereby be able to determine, on the basis of certainty, the very difficult and obscure point of the Annus Domini. Kepler's suggestion was worked out with great care and no very great inaccuracy by Dr. Ideler of Berlin, and the results of his calculations certainly do, on the first impression, seem to show a very specious accordance with the phenomena of the star in question. We purpose, then, in the first place, to state what celestial phenomena did occur with reference to the planets Jupiter and Saturn, at a date assuredly not very distant from the time of our Saviour's birth; and then to examine how far they fulfil, or fail to fulfil, the conditions required by the narrative in St. Matthew.

In the month of May, B.C. 7, a conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn occurred, not far from the first point of Aries, the planets rising in Chaldaea about 3½ hours before the sun. It is said that on astrological grounds such a conjunction could not fail to excite the attention of men like the Magi, and that in consequence partly of their knowledge of Balaam's prophecy, and partly from the uneasy persuasion then said to be prevalent that some great one was to be born in the East, these Magi commenced their journey to Jerusalem. Supposing them to have set out at the end of May B.C. 7 upon a journey for which the circumstances

will be seen to require at least seven months, the planets were observed to separate slowly until the end of July, when their motions becoming retrograde, they again came into conjunction by the end of September. At that time there can be no doubt Jupiter would present to astronomers, especially in so clear an atmosphere,[a] a magnificent spectacle. It was then at its most brilliant apparition, for it was at its nearest approach both to the sun and to the earth. Not far from it would be seen its duller and much less conspicuous companion Saturn. This glorious spectacle continued almost unaltered for several days, when the planets again slowly separated, then came to a halt, when, by re-assuming a direct motion, Jupiter again approached to a conjunction for the third time with Saturn, just as the Magi may be supposed to have entered the Holy City. And, to complete the fascination of the tale, about an hour and a half after sunset, the two planets might be seen from Jerusalem, hanging as it were in the meridian, and suspended over Bethlehem in the distance. These celestial phenomena thus described are, it will be seen, beyond the reach of question, and at the first impression they assuredly appear to fulfil the conditions of the Star of the Magi.

The first circumstance which created a suspicion to the contrary, arose from an exaggeration, unaccountable for any man having a claim to be ranked among astronomers, on the part of Dr. Ideler himself, who described the two planets as wearing the appearance of one bright but diffused light *to persons having weak eyes.* "*So dass für ein schwaches Auge der eine Planet fast in den Zerstreuungskreis des andern trat, mithin beide als ein einziger Stern erscheinen konnten,*" p. 407, vol. ii. Not only is this imperfect eyesight inflicted upon the Magi, but it is quite certain that had they possessed any remains of eyesight at all, they could not have failed to see, not a single star, but two planets, at the very considerable distance of double the moon's apparent diameter. Had they been even twenty times closer, the duplicity of the two stars must have been apparent; Saturn, moreover, rather confusing than adding to the brilliance of his companion. This forced blending of the two lights into one by Ideler was still further improved by Dean Alford, in the first edition of his very valuable and suggestive Greek Testament, who indeed restores ordinary sight to the Magi, but represents the planets as forming a single star of surpassing brightness, although they were certainly at more than double the distance of the sun's apparent diameter. Exaggerations of this description induced the writer of this article to undertake the very formidable labour of calculating afresh an *ephemeris* of the planets Jupiter and Saturn, and of the sun, from May to December B.C. 7. The result was to confirm the fact of there being three conjunctions during the above period, though somewhat to modify the dates assigned to them by Dr. Ideler. Similar results, also, have been obtained by Encke, and the December conjunction has been confirmed by the Astronomer-Royal; no celestial phenomena, therefore, of ancient date are so certainly ascertained as the conjunctions in question. We shall now proceed to examine to what extent, or, as it will be seen, to how slight an extent the December conjunction fulfils the conditions of the narrative of St. Matthew. We can hardly avoid a feeling of regret at the dissipation of so fascinating an illusion: but we are in quest of the truth, rather than of a picture, however beautiful.

(*a.*) The writer must confess himself profoundly ignorant of any system of astrology; but supposing that some system did exist, it nevertheless is inconceivable that solely on the ground of astrological reasons men would be induced to undertake a seven months' journey. And as to the widely-spread and prevalent expectation of some powerful personage about to show himself in the East, the fact of its existence depends on the testimony of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Josephus. But it ought to be very carefully observed that all these writers speak of this expectation as applying to Vespasian, in A.D. 69, which date was seventy-five years, or two generations after the conjunctions in question! The well-known and often quoted words of Tacitus are, "eo ipso tempore;" of Suetonius, "eo tempore;" of Josephus, "κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον;" all pointing to A.D. 69, and not to B.C. 7. Seeing, then, that these writers refer to no general uneasy expectation as prevailing in B.C. 7, it can have formed no reason for the departure of the Magi. And, furthermore, it is quite certain that in the February of B.C. 66 (Pritchard, in *Trans. R. Ast. Soc.* vol. xxv.), a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn occurred in the constellation *Pisces*, closer than the one on Dec. 4, B.C. 7. If, therefore, astrological reasons alone impelled the Magi to journey to Jerusalem in the latter instance, similar considerations would have impelled their fathers to take the same journey fifty-nine years before.

(*b.*) But even supposing the Magi did undertake the journey at the time in question, it seems impossible that the conjunction of Dec. B.C. 7 can on any reasonable grounds be considered as fulfilling the conditions in St. Matt. ii. 9. The circumstances are as follows: On Dec. 4, the sun set at Jerusalem at 5 p.m. Supposing the Magi to have then commenced their journey to Bethlehem, they would first see Jupiter and his dull and somewhat distant companion 1½ hour distant from the meridian, in a S.E. direction, and decidedly to the East of Bethlehem. By the time they came to Rachel's tomb (see Robinson's *Bib. Res.* ii. 568) the planets would be due south of them, on the meridian, and no longer over the hill of Bethlehem (see the maps of Van de Velde and of Tobler), for that village (see Robinson, as above) bears from Rachel's tomb S. 5° E. + 8° declension = S. 13° E. The road then takes a turn to the east, and ascends the hill near to its western extremity; the planets therefore would now be on their right hands, and a little *behind* them: the "star," therefore, ceased altogether to go "before them" as a guide. Arrived on the hill and in the village, it became physically impossible for the star to stand over any house whatever close to them, seeing that it was now visible far away beyond the hill to the west, and far off in the heavens at an altitude of 57°. As they advanced, the star would of necessity recede, and under no circumstances could it be said to stand "over" ("ἐπάνω") any house, unless at the distance of miles from the place where they were. Thus the two heavenly bodies altogether fail to fulfil either of the conditions implied in the words "προῆγεν αὐτούς," or "ἐστάθη ἐπάνω." A star, if vertical, would appear to stand over any house or object to which a spectator might chance

[a] The atmosphere in parts of Persia is so transparent that the Magi may have seen the satellites of Jupiter with their naked eyes.

to be near; but a star at an altitude of 57° could appear to stand over no house or object in the immediate neighbourhood of the observer. It is scarcely necessary to add that if the Magi had left the Jaffa Gate before sunset, they would not have seen the planets at the outset; and if they had left Jerusalem later, the "star" would have been a more useless guide than before. Thus the beautiful phantasm of Kepler and Ideler, which has fascinated so many writers, vanishes before the more perfect daylight of investigation.

A modern writer of great ability (Dr. Wordsworth) has suggested the antithesis to Kepler's speculation regarding the star of the Magi, viz. that the star was visible to the Magi alone. It is difficult to see what is gained or explained by the hypothesis. The song of the multitude of the heavenly host was published abroad in Bethlehem; the journey of the Magi thither was no secret whispered in a corner. Why, then, should the heavenly light, standing as a beacon of glory over the place where the young child was, be concealed from all eyes but theirs, and form no part in that series of wonders which the Virgin Mother kept and pondered in her heart?

The original authorities on this question are Kepler, *De Jesu Christi vero anno natalitio*, Frankfurt, 1614; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, ii. 399; Pritchard, *Memoirs of Royal Ast. Society*, vol. xxv. [C. P.]

STATER (στατήρ: *stater*: A. V. "a piece of money;" margin, "stater").

1. The term stater, from ἵστημι, is held to signify a coin of a certain weight, but perhaps means a standard coin. It is not restricted by the Greeks to a single denomination, but is applied to standard coins of gold, electrum, and silver. The gold staters were didrachms of the later Phoenician and the Attic talents, which, in this denomination, differ only about four grains troy. Of the former talent were the Daric staters or Darics (στατῆρες Δαρεικοί, Δαρεικοί), the famous Persian gold pieces, and those of Croesus (Κροισεῖοι), of the latter, the stater of Athens. The electrum staters were coined by the Greek towns on the west coast of Asia Minor; the most famous were those of Cyzicus (στατῆρες Κυζικηνοί, Κυζικηνοί), which weigh about 248 grains. They are of gold and silver mixed, in the proportion, according to ancient authority—for we believe these rare coins have not been analysed—of three parts of gold to one of silver. The gold was alone reckoned in the value, for it is said that one of these coins was equal to 28 Athenian silver drachms, while the Athenian gold stater, weighing about 132 grains, was equal to 20 (20 : 132 :: 28 : 184 + or $\frac{2}{3}$ of a Cyzicene stater). This stater was thus of 184 + grains, and equivalent to a didrachm of the Aeginetan talent. Thus far the stater is always a didrachm. In silver, however, the term is applied to the tetradrachm of Athens, which was of the weight of two gold staters of the same currency. There can therefore be no doubt that the name stater was applied to the standard denomination of both metals, and does not positively imply either a didrachm or a tetradrachm.

2. In the N. T. the stater is once mentioned, in the narrative of the miracle of the sacred tribute-money. At Capernaum the receivers of the didrachms (οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες) asked St. Peter whether his master paid the didrachmum. The didrachm refers to the yearly tribute paid by every Hebrew into the treasury of the Temple.[a] The sum was half a shekel, called by the LXX. τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ διδράχμου. The plain inference would therefore be, that the receivers of sacred tribute took their name from the ordinary coin or weight of metal, the shekel, of which each person paid half. But it has been supposed that as the coined equivalent of this didrachm at the period of the Evangelist was a tetradrachm, and the payment of each person was therefore a current didrachm [of account], the term here applies to single payments of didrachms. This opinion would appear to receive some support from the statement of Josephus, that Vespasian fixed a yearly tax of two drachms on the Jews instead of that they had formerly paid into the treasury of the Temple (*B. J.* vii. 6, §6). But this passage loses its force when we remember that the common current silver coin in Palestine at the time of Vespasian, and that in which the civil tribute was paid, was the denarius, *the tribute-money*, then equivalent to the debased Attic drachm. It seems also most unlikely that the use of the term didrachm should have so remarkably changed in the interval between the date of the LXX. translation of the Pentateuch and that of the writing of St. Matthew's Gospel. To return to the narrative. St. Peter was commanded to take up a fish which should be found to contain a stater, which he was to pay to the collectors of tribute for Our Lord and himself (Matt. xvii. 24-27). The stater must here mean a silver tetradrachm; and the only tetradrachms then current in Palestine were of the same weight as the Hebrew shekel. And it is observable, in confirmation of the minute accuracy of the Evangelist, that at this period the silver currency in Palestine consisted of Greek imperial tetradrachms, or staters, and Roman denarii of a quarter their value, didrachms having fallen into disuse. Had two didrachms been found by St. Peter the receivers of tribute would scarcely have taken them; and, no doubt, the ordinary coin paid was that miraculously supplied. [R. S. P.]

STEEL. In all cases where the word "steel" occurs in the A. V. the true rendering of the Hebrew is "copper." נְחוּשָׁה, *nĕchûshâh*, except in 2 Sam. xxii. 35, Job xx. 24, Ps. xviii. 34 [35], is always translated "brass;" as is the case with the cognate word נְחֹשֶׁת, *nĕchôsheth*, with the two exceptions of Jer. xv. 12 (A. V. "steel"), and Ezr. viii. 27 (A. V. "copper"). Whether the Ancient Hebrews were acquainted with steel is not perfectly certain. It has been inferred from a passage in Jeremiah (xv. 12), that the "iron from the north" there spoken of denoted a superior kind of metal, hardened in an unusual manner, like the steel obtained from the Chalybes of the Pontus, the ironsmiths of the ancient world. The hardening of iron for cutting instruments was practised in Pontus, Lydia, and Laconia (Eustath. *Il.* ii. p. 294, 6B, quoted in Müller, *Hand. d. Arch. d. Kunst*, §307, *n* 4). Justin (xliv. 3, §8) mentions two rivers in Spain, the Bilbilis (the Salo, or Xalon, a tributary of the Ebro) and Chalybs, the water of which was used for hardening iron (comp. Plin. xxxiv. 41). The same practice is alluded to both by Homer (*Od.* ix. 393) and Sophocles (*Aj.*

[a] It has been supposed by some ancient and modern commentators that the civil tribute is here referred to: but by this explanation the force of our Lord's reason for freedom from the payment seems to be completely missed

650). The Celtiberians, according to Diodorus Siculus (v. 33), had a singular custom. They buried sheets of iron in the earth till the weak part, as Diodorus calls it, was consumed by rust, and what was hardest remained. This firmer portion was then converted into weapons of different kinds. The same practice is said by Beckmann (*Hist. of Inv.* ii. 328, ed. Bohn) to prevail in Japan. The last mentioned writer is of opinion that of the two methods of making steel, by fusion either from iron-stone or raw iron, and by cementation, the ancients were acquainted only with the former.

There is, however, a word in Hebrew, פַּלְדָּה, *paldâh*, which occurs only in Nah. ii. 3 [4], and is there rendered "torches," but which most probably denotes steel or hardened iron, and refers to the flashing scythes of the Assyrian chariots. In Syriac and Arabic the cognate words (ڦُولَا, *pôldô*, فَالُوذ, *fâlûdh*, فُولَاذ, *fûlâdh*) signify a kind of iron of excellent quality, and especially steel.

Steel appears to have been known to the Egyptians. The steel weapons in the tomb of Rameses III., says Wilkinson, are painted blue, the bronze red (*Anc. Eg.* iii. 247). [W. A. W.]

STEPH'ANAS (Στεφανᾶς: *Stephanas*). A Christian convert of Corinth whose household Paul baptised as the "first fruits of Achaia" (1 Cor. i. 16, xvi. 15). He was present with the Apostle at Ephesus when he wrote his First Epistle to the Corinthians, having gone thither either to consult him about matters of discipline connected with the Corinthian Church (Chrysost. *Hom.* 44), or on some charitable mission arising out of the "service for the saints" to which he and his family had devoted themselves (1 Cor. xvi. 16, 17). [W. L. B.]

STE'PHEN (Στέφανος: *Stephanus*), the First Martyr. His Hebrew[a] (or rather Syriac) name is traditionally said to have been Chelil, or Cheliel (a crown).

He was the chief of the Seven (commonly called DEACONS) appointed to rectify the complaints in the early Church of Jerusalem, made by the Hellenistic against the Hebrew Christians. His Greek name indicates his own Hellenistic origin.

His importance is stamped on the narrative by a reiteration of emphatic, almost superlative phrases: "full of faith and of the Holy Ghost" (Acts vi. 5); "full of grace[b] and power" (ib. 8); irresistible "spirit and wisdom" (ib. 10); "full of the Holy Ghost"[c] (vii. 55). Of his ministrations amongst the poor we hear nothing. But he seems to have been an instance, such as is not uncommon in history, of a new energy derived from a new sphere. He shot far ahead of his six companions, and far above his particular office. First, he arrests attention by the "great wonders and miracles that he did." Then begins a series of disputations with the Hellenistic Jews of North Africa, Alexandria, and Asia Minor, his companions in race and birthplace. The subject of these disputations is not expressly mentioned; but, from what follows, it is evident that he struck into a new vein of teaching, which eventually caused his martyrdom.

Down to this time the Apostles and the early Christian community had clung in their worship, not merely to the Holy Land and the Holy City, but to the Holy Place of the Temple. This local worship, with the Jewish customs belonging to it, he now denounced. So we must infer from the accusations brought against him, confirmed as they are by the tenor of his defence. The actual words of the charge may have been false, as the sinister and malignant intention which they ascribed to him was undoubtedly false. "Blasphemous" (βλάσφημα), that is, "*calumnious*" words, "against Moses and against God" (vi. 11), he is not likely to have used. But the overthrow of the Temple, the cessation of the Mosaic ritual, is no more than St. Paul preached openly, or than is implied in Stephen's own speech: "against this holy place and the Law"—"that Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs that Moses delivered us" (vi. 13, 14).

For these sayings he was arrested at the instigation of the Hellenistic Jews, and brought before the Sanhedrin, where, as it would seem, the Pharisaic party had just before this time (v. 34, vii. 51) gained an ascendancy.

When the charge was formally lodged against him, his countenance kindled as if with the view of the great prospect which was opening for the Church; the whole body even of assembled judges was transfixed by the sight, and "saw his face as it had been the face of an angel" (vi. 15).

For a moment, the account seems to imply, the judges of the Sanhedrin were awed at his presence.[d] Then the High Priest that presided appealed to him (as Caiaphas had in like manner appealed in the Great Trial in the Gospel History) to know his own sentiments on the accusations brought against him. To this Stephen replied in a speech which has every appearance of being faithfully reported. The peculiarities of the style, the variations from the Old Testament history, the abruptness which, by breaking off the argument, prevents us from easily doing it justice, are all indications of its being handed down to us substantially in its original form.

The framework in which his defence is cast is a summary of the history of the Jewish Church. In this respect it has only one parallel in the N. T., the 11th chapter[e] of the Epistle to the Hebrews—a likeness that is the more noticeable, as in all probability the author of that Epistle was, like Stephen, a Hellenist.

In the facts which he selects from this history he is guided by two principles—at first more or less latent, but gradually becoming more and more apparent as he proceeds. The first is the endeavour to prove that, even in the previous Jewish history, the presence and favour of God had not been confined to the Holy Land or the Temple of Jerusalem. This he illustrates with a copiousness of detail which makes his speech a summary almost as much of sacred geography as of sacred history—the appearance of God to Abraham "*in Mesopotamia before he dwelt in Haran*" (vii. 2); his successive migrations *to Haran* and to Canaan (vii. 4); his want of even *a resting place for his foot* in Canaan (vii. 5); the dwelling of his seed in a *strange land*

[a] Basil of Seleucia, *Orat. de S. Stephano.* See Lexicons in voce כְּלִיל.

[b] A, B, D, and most of the versions, read χάριτος. The Rec. Text reads πίστεως.

[c] Traditionally he was reckoned amongst the Seventy disciples.

[d] Well described in Conybeare and Howson, *Life of S. Paul*, i. 74; the poetic aspect of it beautifully given in Tennyson's *Two Voices.*

[e] Other verbal likenesses to this Epistle are pointed out by Dr. Howson, i. 77 (quoting from Mr. Humphry, *Comm. on the Acts*).

(vii. 6); the details of the stay *in Egypt* (vii. 8-13); the education of Moses *in Egypt* (vii. 20-22); his exile *in Midian* (vii. 29); the appearance *in Sinai*, with the declaration that the *desert ground* was holy earth (γῆ ἁγία) (vii. 30-33); the forty years in the *wilderness* (vii. 36, 44); the long delay before the preparation for the Tabernacle of David (vii. 45); the proclamation of spiritual worship even after the building of the Temple (vii. 47-50).

The second principle of selection is based on the attempt to show that there was a tendency from the earliest times towards the same ungrateful and narrow spirit that had appeared in this last stage of their political existence. And this rigid, suspicious, disposition he contrasts with the freedom of the Divine Grace and of the human will, which were manifested in the exaltation of Abraham (vii. 4), Joseph (vii. 10), and Moses (vii. 20), and in the jealousy and rebellion of the nation against these their greatest benefactors, as chiefly seen in the bitterness against Joseph (vii. 9) and Moses (vii. 27), and in the long neglect of true religious worship in the wilderness (vii. 39-43).

Both of these selections are worked out on what may almost be called critical principles. There is no allegorizing of the text, nor any forced constructions. Every passage quoted yields fairly the sense assigned to it.

Besides the direct illustration of a freedom from local restraints involved in the general argument, there is also an indirect illustration of the same doctrine, from his mode of treating the subject in detail. No less than twelve of his references to the Mosaic history differ from it either by variation or addition.

1. The call of Abraham *before the migration* to Haran (vii. 2), not, as according to Gen. xii. 1, in Haran.

2. The death of his father *after the call* (vii. 4), not, as according to Gen. xi. 32, before it.

3. The 75 souls of Jacob's migration (vii. 14), not (as according to Gen. xlvi. 27) 70.

4. The *godlike* loveliness (ἀστεῖος τῷ Θεῷ) of Moses (vii. 20), not, simply, as according to Ex. ii. 2, the statement that "he was a goodly child."

5. His Egyptian education (vii. 22) as contrasted with the silence on this point in Ex. iv. 10.

6. The same contrast with regard to his secular greatness, "mighty in words and deeds" (vii. 22, comp. Ex. ii. 10).

7. The distinct mention of the three periods of forty years (vii. 23, 30, 36) of which only the last is specified in the Pentateuch.

8. The terror of Moses at the bush (vii. 32), not mentioned in Ex. iii. 3.

9. The supplementing of the Mosaic narrative by the allusions in Amos to their neglect of the true worship in the desert (vii. 42, 43).

10. The intervention of the angels in the giving of the Law (vii. 53), not mentioned in Ex. xix. 16.

11. The burial of the twelve Patriarchs at Shechem (vii. 16), not mentioned in Ex. i. 6.

12. The purchase of the tomb at Shechem by Abraham from the sons of Emmor (vii. 16), not, as according to Gen. xxiii. 15, the purchase of the cave at Machpelah from Ephron the Hittite.

To which may be added

13. The introduction of Remphan from the LXX. of Amos v. 26, not found in the Hebrew.

The explanation and source of these variations must be sought under the different names to which they refer; but the general fact of their adoption by Stephen is significant as showing the freedom with which he handled the sacred history, and the comparative unimportance assigned by him and by the sacred historian who records his speech, to minute accuracy. It may almost be said that the whole speech is a protest against a rigid view of the mechanical exactness of the inspired records of the O. T. "He had regard," as St. Jerome says, "to the meaning, not to the words."

It would seem that, just at the close of his argument, Stephen saw a change in the aspect of his judges, as if for the first time they had caught the drift of his meaning. He broke off from his calm address, and turned suddenly upon them in an impassioned attack which shows that he saw what was in store for him. Those heads thrown back on their unbending necks, those ears closed against any penetration of truth, were too much for his patience:—"Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears! *ye* do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do *ye*. Which of the prophets did not *your* fathers persecute? . . . the Just One: of whom *ye* are the betrayers and murderers." As he spoke they showed by their faces that their hearts (to use the strong language of the narrative) "were being sawn asunder," and they kept gnashing their set teeth against him; but still, though with difficulty, restraining themselves. He, in this last crisis of his fate, turned his face upwards to the open sky, and as he gazed the vault of heaven seemed to him to part asunder (διηνοιγμένους): and the Divine Glory appeared through the rending of the earthly veil—the Divine Presence, seated on a throne, and on the right hand the human form of "Jesus," not, as in the usual representations, sitting in repose, but standing erect as if to assist His suffering servant. Stephen spoke as if to himself, describing the glorious vision; and, in so doing, alone of all the speakers and writers in the N. T., except only Christ Himself, uses the expressive phrase, "the Son of Man." As his judges heard the words, expressive of the Divine exaltation of Him whom they had sought so lately to destroy, they could forbear no longer. They broke into a loud yell; they clapped their hands to their ears, as if to prevent the entrance of any more blasphemous words; they flew as with one impulse upon him, and dragged him out of the city to the place of execution.

It has been questioned by what right the Sanhedrin proceeded to this act without the concurrence of the Roman government; but it is enough to reply that the whole transaction is one of violent excitement. On one occasion, even in our Lord's life, the Jews had nearly stoned Him even within the precincts of the Temple (John viii. 59). "Their vengeance in other cases was confined to those subordinate punishments which were left under their own jurisdiction: imprisonment, public scourging in the synagogue, and excommunication" (Milman's *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, i. 400). See Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, i. 74.

On this occasion, however, they determined for once to carry out the full penalties enjoined by the severe code of the Mosaic ritual.

Any violator of the law was to be taken outside the gates, and there, as if for the sake of giving to each individual member of the community a sense of his responsibility in the transaction, he was to be crushed by stones, thrown at him by all the people.

Those, however, were to take the lead in this wild and terrible act who had taken upon them

selves the responsibility of denouncing him (Deut. xvii. 7; comp. John viii. 7). These were, in this instance, the witnesses who had reported or misreported the words of Stephen. They, according to the custom, for the sake of facility in their dreadful task, stripped themselves, as is the Eastern practice on commencing any violent exertion; and one of the prominent leaders in the transaction was deputed by custom to signify his assent[f] to the act by taking the clothes into his custody, and standing over them whilst the bloody work went on. The person who officiated on this occasion was a young man from Tarsus—one probably of the Cilician Hellenists who had disputed with Stephen. His name, as the narrative significantly adds, was Saul.

Everything was now ready for the execution. It was outside the gates of Jerusalem. The earlier tradition[g] fixed it at what is now called the Damascus gate. The later, which is the present tradition, fixed it at what is hence called St. Stephen's gate, opening on the descent to the Mount of Olives; and in the red streaks of the white limestone rocks of the sloping hill used to be shown the marks of his blood, and on the first rise of Olivet, opposite, the eminence on which the Virgin stood to support him with her prayers.

The sacred narrative fixes its attention only on two figures—that of Saul of Tarsus already noticed, and that of Stephen himself.

As the first volley of stones burst upon him, he called upon the Master whose human form he had just seen in the heavens, and repeated almost the words with which He himself had given up His life on the cross, "O Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

Another crash of stones brought him on his knees. One loud piercing cry (ἔκραξε μεγάλῃ φωνῇ)—answering to the loud shriek or yell with which his enemies had flown upon him—escaped his dying lips. Again clinging to the spirit of his Master's words, he cried "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge," and instantly sank upon the ground, and, in the touching language of the narrator, who then uses for the first time the word, afterwards applied to the departure of all Christians, but here the more remarkable from the bloody scenes in the midst of which the death took place—ἐκοιμήθη, "*fell asleep.*"[h]

His mangled body was buried by the class of Hellenists and proselytes to which he belonged (*οἱ εὐσεβεῖς*), with an amount of funeral state and lamentation expressed in two words used here only in the N. T. (*συνεκόμισαν* and *κοπετός*).

This simple expression is enlarged by writers of the 5th century into an elaborate legend. The High-Priest it is said, had intended to leave the corpse to be devoured by beasts of prey. It was rescued by Gamaliel, carried off in his own chariot by night, and buried in a new tomb on his property at Caphar Gamala (village of the Camel), 8 leagues from Jerusalem. The funeral lamentations lasted for forty days. All the Apostles attended. Gamaliel undertook the expense, and, on his death, was interred in an adjacent cave.

This story was probably first drawn up on the occasion of the remarkable event which occurred in A.D. 415, under the name of the Invention and Translation of the Relics of S. Stephen. Successive visions of Gamaliel to Lucian, the parish priest of Caphar Gamala, on the 3rd and 18th of December in that year, revealed the spot where the martyr's remains would be found. They were identified by a tablet bearing his name *Cheliel*, and were carried in state to Jerusalem, amidst various portents, and buried in the church on Mount Zion, the scene of so many early Christian traditions. The event of the Translation is celebrated in the Latin Church on August 3, probably from the tradition of that day being the anniversary of the dedication of a chapel of S. Stephen at Ancona.

The story itself is encompassed with legend, but the event is mentioned in all the chief writers of the time. Parts of his remains were afterwards transported to different parts of the coast of the West—Minorca, Portugal, North Africa, Ancona, Constantinople—and in 460 what were still left at Jerusalem were translated by the Empress Eudocia to a splendid church called by his name on the supposed scene of his martyrdom (Tillemont, *S. Etienne*, art. 5-9, where all the authorities are quoted).

The importance of Stephen's career may be briefly summed up under three heads:—

I. He was the first great Christian ecclesiastic. The appointment of "the Seven," commonly (though not in the Bible) called Deacons, formed the first direct institution of the nature of an organised Christian ministry, and of these Stephen was the head—"the Archdeacon," as he is called in the Eastern Church—and in this capacity represented as the companion or precursor of Laurence, Archdeacon of Rome in the Western Church. In this sense allusion is made to him in the Anglican Ordination of Deacons.

II. He is the first *martyr*—the proto-martyr. To him the name "martyr" is first applied (Acts xxii. 20). He, first of the Christian Church, bore witness to the truth of his convictions by a violent and dreadful death. The veneration which has accrued to his name in consequence is a testimony of the Bible to the sacredness of truth, to the nobleness of sincerity, to the wickedness and the folly of persecution. It also contains the first germs of the reverence for the character and for the relics of martyrs, which afterwards grew to a height, now regarded by all Christians as excessive. A beautiful hymn by Reginald Heber commemorates this side of Stephen's character.

III. He is the forerunner of St. Paul. So he was already regarded in ancient times. Παύλου ὁ διδάσκαλος is the expression used for him by Basil of Seleucia. But it is an aspect that has been much more forcibly drawn out in modern times. Not only was his martyrdom (in all probability) the first means of converting St. Paul—his prayer for his murderers not only was fulfilled in the conversion of St. Paul—the blood of the first martyr, the seed of the greatest Apostle—the pangs of remorse for his death, amongst the stings of conscience, against which the Apostle vainly writhed (Acts ix. 5); not only thus, but in his doctrine also he was the

[f] Comp. "I was standing by and consenting to his death, and kept the raiment of those that slew him" (Acts xxii. 20).

[g] These conflicting versions are well given in Conybeare and Howson, *S. Paul*, i. 80.

[h] The date of Stephen's death is unknown. But ecclesiastical tradition fixes it in the same year as the Crucifixion, on the 26th of December, the day after Christmas-day. It is beautifully said by Augustine (in allusion to the juxtaposition of the two festivals), that men would not have had the courage to die for God, if God had not become man to die for them (Tillemont, *S. Etienne*, art. 4).

anticipator, as, had he lived, he would have been the propagator, of the new phase of Christianity, of which St. Paul became the main support. His denunciations of local worship—the stress which he lays on the spiritual side of the Jewish history—his freedom in treating that history—the very turns of expression that he uses—are all Pauline.

The history of the above account is taken from Acts (vi. 1–viii. 2; xxii. 19, 20); the legends from Tillemont (ii. p. 1-24); the more general treatment from Neander's *Planting of the Christian Church*, and from Howson and Conybeare in *The Life of St. Paul*, ch. 2. [A. P. S.]

STOCKS (מַהְפֶּכֶת, סַד: ξύλον). The term "stocks" is applied in the A. V. to two different articles, one of which (the Hebrew *mahpeceth*) answers rather to our pillory, inasmuch as its name implies that the body was placed in a *bent* position by the confinement of the neck and arms as well as the legs; while the other (*sad*) answers to our "stocks," the feet alone being confined in it. The former may be compared with the Greek κύφων, as described in the Scholia ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 476: the latter with the Roman *nervus* (Plaut. *Asin.* iii. 2, 5; *Capt.* v. 3, 40), which admitted, however, of being converted into a species of torture, as the legs could be drawn asunder at the will of the jailor (Biscoe *on Acts*, p. 229). The prophet Jeremiah was confined in the first sort (Jer. xx. 2), which appears to have been a common mode of punishment in his day (Jer. xxix. 26), as the prisons contained a chamber for the special purpose, termed "the house of the pillory" (2 Chr. xvi. 10; A. V. "prison-house"). The stocks (*sad*) are noticed in Job xiii. 27, xxxiii. 11, and Acts xvi. 24. The term used in Prov. vii. 22 (A. V. "stocks") more properly means a fetter. [W. L. B.]

STOICS. The Stoics and Epicureans, who are mentioned together in Acts xvii. 18, represent the two opposite schools of practical philosophy which survived the fall of higher speculation in Greece [PHILOSOPHY]. The Stoic school was founded by Zeno of Citium (c. B.C. 280), and derived its name from the painted portico (ἡ ποικίλη στοά, Diog. L. vii.) in which he taught. Zeno was followed by Cleanthes (c. B.C. 260), Cleanthes by Chrysippus (c. B.C. 240), who was regarded as the intellectual founder of the Stoic system (Diog. L. vii. 183). Stoicism soon found an entrance at Rome. Diogenes Babylonius, a scholar of Chrysippus, was its representative in the famous embassy of philosophers, B.C. 161 (Aulus Gellius, *N. A.* vii. 14); and not long afterwards Panaetius was the friend of Scipio Africanus the younger, and many other leading men at Rome. His successor Posidonius numbered Cicero and Pompey among his scholars; and under the Empire stoicism was not unnaturally connected with republican virtue. Seneca († A.D. 65) and Musonius (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 81) did much to popularize the ethical teaching of the school by their writings; but the true glory of the later Stoics is Epictetus († c. A.D. 115), the records of whose doctrine form the noblest monument of heathen morality (*Epicteteae Philos. Monum. ed.* Schweighäuser, 1799). The precepts of Epictetus were adopted by Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 121-180) who endeavoured to shape his public life by their guidance. With this last effort stoicism reached its climax and its end. [PHILOSOPHY.]

The ethical system of the Stoics has been commonly supposed to have a close connexion with Christian morality (Gataker, *Antoninus Praef.*; Meyer, *Stoic. Eth. c. Christ. compar.*, 1823), and the outward similarity of isolated precepts is very close and worthy of notice.[a] But the morality of stoicism is essentially based on pride, that of Christianity on humility; the one upholds individual independence, the other absolute faith in another; the one looks for consolation in the issue of fate, the other in Providence; the one is limited by periods of cosmical ruin, the other is consummated in a personal resurrection (Acts xvii. 18).

But in spite of the fundamental error of stoicism, which lies in a supreme egotism,[b] the teaching of this school gave a wide currency to the noble doctrines of the Fatherhood of God (Cleanthes, *Hymn.* 31–38; comp. Acts xvii. 28), the common bonds of mankind (Anton. iv. 4), the sovereignty of the soul. Nor is it to be forgotten that the earlier Stoics were very closely connected with the East, from which much of the form, if not of the essence, of their doctrines seems to have been derived. Zeno himself was a native of Citium, one of the oldest Phoenician settlements, [CHITTIM.] His successor Chrysippus came from Soli or Tarsus; and Tarsus is mentioned as the birthplace of a second Zeno and Antipater. Diogenes came from Seleucia in Babylonia, Posidonius from Apamea in Syria, and Epictetus from the Phrygian Hierapolis (comp. Sir A. Grant, *The Ancient Stoics*, *Oxford Essays*, 1858, p. 82).

The chief authorities for the opinions of the Stoics are Diog. Laert. vii.; Cicero, *De Fin.*; Plutarch, *De Stoic. repugn.*; *De pluc. Philos. adv. Stoic.*; Sextus Empiricus; and the remains of Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. Gataker, in his edition of the *Meditations of M. Aurelius*, has traced out with the greatest care the parallels which they offer to Christian doctrine. [B. F. W.]

STOMACHER (פְּתִיגִיל). The Heb. *pethtyil* describes some article of female attire (Is. iii. 24), the character of which is a mere matter of conjecture. The LXX. describes it as a variegated tunic (χιτὼν μεσοπόρφυρος); the Vulg. as a species of girdle (*fascia pectoralis*). The word is evidently a compound, but its elements are uncertain. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1137) derives it from פְּתִיךְ גֵּיל, with very much the same sense as in the LXX.; Saalschütz (*Archäol.* i. 30) from פֶּתִי גֵּיל, with the sense of "undisguised lust," as applied to some particular kind of dress. Other explanations are given in Gesen. *Thes.* l. c. [W. L. B.]

STONES (אֶבֶן). The uses to which stones were applied in ancient Palestine were very various.

[a] *E. g.* Seneca, *De Clem.* §5: "Peccavimus omnes .... nec deliquimus tantum sed ad extremum aevi delinquemus." Rom. iii. 23: "*Peccaverunt omnes*" .... *Ep.* i.: "Quem mihi dabis .... qui intelligat se *quotidie mori?*" Rom. xv. 31: "*Quotidie morior.*"

De Vit. beata, §12: "Laudant enim [Epicurei] ea quibus erubescebant et vitio gloriantur." Phil. iii. 19: "Quorum .... gloria in confusione eorum."

Id. §15: "In regno nati sumus: Deo parere libertas est."

Epict. *Diss.* ii. 17, 22: ἁπλῶς μηδὲν ἄλλο θέλε ἢ ἃ ὁ θεὸς θέλει.

Anton. vii. 74: μὴ οὖν κάμνε ὠφελούμενος ἐν ᾧ ὠφελεῖς.

[b] Seneca, *De Vit. beat.* §8: "Incorruptus vir sit externis et insuperabilis *miratorque tantum sui*, fiderit animo atque in naturam artifex vitae."

1. They were used for the ordinary purposes of building, and in this respect the most noticeable point is the very large size to which they occasionally run (Mark xiii. 1). Robinson gives the dimensions of one as 24 feet long by 6 feet broad and 3 feet high (*Res.* i. 233; see also p. 284, note). For most public edifices hewn stones were used: an exception was made in regard to altars, which were to be built of unhewn stone (Ex. xx. 25; Deut. xxvii. 5; Josh. viii. 31), probably as being in a more natural state. The Phoenicians were particularly famous for their skill in hewing stone (2 Sam. v. 11; 1 K. v. 18). Stones were selected of certain colours in order to form ornamental string-courses: in 1 Chr. xxix. 2 we find enumerated "onyx stones and stones to be set, glistering stones (lit. stones of *eye-paint*), and of divers colours (*i. e.* streaked with veins), and all manner of precious stones, and marble stones" (comp. 2 Chr. iii. 6). They were also employed for pavements (2 K. xvi. 17; comp. Esth. i. 6). 2. Large stones were used for closing the entrances of caves (Josh. x. 18; Dan. vi. 17), sepulchres (Matt. xxvii. 60; John xi. 38, xx. 1), and springs (Gen. xxix. 2). 3. Flint-stones[a] occasionally served the purpose of a knife, particularly for circumcision and similar objects (Ex. iv. 25; Josh. v. 2, 3; comp. Herod. ii. 86; Plutarch, *Nicias*, 13; Catull. *Carm.* lxii. 5). 4. Stones were further used as a munition of war for slings (1 Sam. xvii. 40, 49), catapults (2 Chr. xxvi. 14), and bows (Wisd. v. 22; comp. 1 Macc. vi. 51); as boundary marks (Deut. xix. 14, xxvii. 17; Job xxiv. 2; Prov. xxii. 28, xxiii. 10); such were probably the stone of Bohan (Josh. xv. 6, xviii. 17), the stone of Abel (1 Sam. vi. 15, 18), the stone Ezel (1 Sam. xx. 19), the great stone by Gibeon (2 Sam. xx. 8), and the stone Zoheleth (1 K. i. 9); as weights for scales (Deut. xxv. 13; Prov. xvi. 11); and for mills (2 Sam. xi. 21). 5. Large stones were set up to commemorate any remarkable events, as by Jacob at Bethel after his interview with Jehovah (Gen. xxviii. 18, xxxv. 14), and again when he made the covenant with Laban (Gen. xxxi. 45); by Joshua after the passage of the Jordan (Josh. iv. 9); and by Samuel in token of his victory over the Philistines (1 Sam. vii. 12). Similarly the Egyptian monarchs erected their *stelae* at the farthest point they reached (Herod. ii. 106). Such stones were occasionally consecrated by anointing, as instanced in the stone erected at Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 18). A similar practice existed in heathen countries, and by a singular coincidence these stones were described in Phoenicia by a name very similar to Bethel, viz. *baetylia* (βαιτύλια), whence it has been surmised that the heathen name was derived from the Scriptural one, or *vice versâ* (Kalisch's *Comm. in Gen.* l. c.). But neither are the names actually identical, nor are the associations of a kindred nature; the *baetylia* were meteoric stones, and derived their sanctity from the belief that they had fallen from heaven, whereas the stone at Bethel was simply commemorative. [BETHEL; IDOL.] The only point of resemblance between the two consists in the custom of anointing—the anointed stones (λίθοι λιπαροί), which are frequently mentioned by ancient writers as objects of divine honour (Arnob. *adv. Gent.* i. 39; Euseb. *Praep. Evan.* i. 10, §18; Plin. xxxvii. 51), being probably aërolites. 6. That the worship of stones prevailed among the heathen nations surrounding Palestine, and was borrowed from them by apostate Israelites, appears from Is. lvii. 6, according to the ordinary rendering of the passage; but the original[b] admits of another sense, "in the smooth (clear of wood) places of the valley," and no reliance can be placed on a peculiar term introduced partly for the sake of alliteration. The *eben mascîth*,[c] noticed in Lev. xxvi. 1 (A. V. "image of stone"), has again been identified with the *baetylia*, the doubtful term *mascîth* (comp. Num. xxxiii. 52, "picture;" Ez. viii. 12, "imagery") being supposed to refer to devices engraven on the stone. [IDOL.] The statue (*matstsêbâh*[d]) of Baal is said to have been of stone and of a conical shape (Movers, *Phoen.* i. 673), but this is hardly reconcileable with the statement of its being burnt in 2 K. x. 26 (the correct reading of which would be *matstsêbâh*, and not *matstsêbôth*). 7. Heaps of stones were piled up on various occasions, as in token of a treaty (Gen. xxxi. 46), in which case a certain amount of sanctity probably attached to them (cf. Hom. *Od.* xvi. 471); or over the grave of some notorious offender (Josh. vii. 26, viii. 29; 2 Sam. xviii. 17; see Propert. iv. 5, 75, for a similar custom among the Romans). The size of some of these heaps becomes very great from the custom prevalent among the Arabs that each passer-by adds a stone;[e] Burckhardt mentions one near Damascus 20 ft. long, 2 ft. high, and 3 ft. broad (*Syria*, p. 46). 8. The "white stone" noticed in Rev. ii. 17 has been variously regarded as referring to the pebble of acquittal used in the Greek courts (Ov. *Met.* xv. 41); to the lot cast in elections in Greece; to both these combined, the *white* conveying the notion of acquittal, the *stone* that of election (Bengel, *Gnom.*); to the stones in the high-priest's breastplate (Züllig); to the tickets presented to the victors at the public games, securing them maintenance at the public expense (Hammond); or, lastly, to the custom of writing on stones (Alford *in l. c.*). 9. The use of stones for tablets is alluded to in Ex. xxiv. 12, and Josh. viii. 32. 10. Stones for striking fire are mentioned in 2 Macc. x. 3. 11. Stones were prejudicial to the operations of husbandry: hence the custom of spoiling an enemy's field by throwing quantities of stones upon it (2 K. iii. 19, 25), and, again, the necessity of gathering stones previous to cultivation (Is. v. 2): allusion is made to both these practices in Eccl. iii. 5 ("a time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones"). 12. The notice in Zech. xii. 3 of the "burdensome stone" is referred by Jerome to the custom of lifting stones as an exercise of strength, which he describes as being practised in Judaea in his day (comp. Ecclus. vi. 21); but it may equally well be explained of a large corner-stone as a symbol of strength (Is. xxviii. 16).

Stones are used metaphorically to denote hardness or insensibility (1 Sam. xxv. 37; Ez. xi. 19, xxxvi. 26), as well as firmness or strength, as in Gen. xlix. 24, where "the *stone* of Israel" is equivalent to "the rock of Israel" (2 Sam. xxiii. 3; Is. xxx. 29). The members of the Church are called "living stones," as contributing to rear that living temple in which Christ, himself "a living *stone*," is the

[a] צֹר or צוּר. [b] בְּחַלְקֵי־נַחַל חֶלְקֵךְ.
[c] אֶבֶן מַשְׂכִּית. [d] מַצֵּבָה.

A reference to this practice is supposed by Gesenius to be contained in Prov. xxvi. 8, which he renders 'as a bag of gems in a heap of stones.' (*Thes.* p. 1263). The Vulgate has a curious version of this passage. "Sicut qui mittit lapidem in acervum Mercurii."

chief or head of the corner (Eph. ii. 20-22, 1 Pet. ii. 4-8). [W. L. B.]

STONES, PRECIOUS. The reader is referred to the separate articles, such as AGATE, CARBUNCLE, SARDONYX, &c., for such information as it has been possible to obtain on the various gems mentioned in the Bible. The identification of many of the Hebrew names of precious stones is a task of considerable difficulty: sometimes we have no further clue to aid us in the determination of a name than the mere derivation of the word, which derivation is always too vague to be of any service, as it merely expresses some quality often common to many precious stones. As far, however, as regards the stones of the high-priest's breastplate, it must be remembered that the authority of Josephus, who had frequent opportunities of seeing it worn, is preferable to any other. The Vulgate agrees with his nomenclature, and in Jerome's time the breastplate was still to be inspected in the Temple of Concord: hence this agreement of the two is of great weight.[a] The modern Arabic names of the more usual gems, which have probably remained fixed the last 2000 years, afford us also some approximations to the Hebrew nomenclature; still, as it was intimated above, there is much that can only be regarded as conjecture in attempts at identification. Precious stones are frequently alluded to in the Holy Scriptures; they were known and very highly valued in the earliest times. The onyx-stone, fine specimens of which are still of great value, is expressly mentioned by Moses as being found in the land of Havilah. The sard and sardonyx, the amethyst or rose-quartz, with many agates and other varieties of quartz, were doubtless the best known and most readily procured. "Onyx-stones, and stones to be set, glistering stones and of divers colours, and all manner of precious stones," were among the articles collected by David for the temple (1 Chr. xxix. 2). The Tyrians traded in precious stones supplied by Syria (Ez. xxvii. 16), and the robes of their king were covered with the most brilliant gems. The merchants of Sheba and Raamah in South Arabia, and doubtless India and Ceylon, supplied the markets of Tyre with various precious stones.

The art of engraving on precious stones was known from the very earliest times. Sir G. Wilkinson says (*Anc. Egypt.* ii. 67, Lond. 1854), "The Israelites learnt the art of cutting and engraving stones from the Egyptians." There can be no doubt that they did learn much of the art from this skilful nation, but it is probable that it was known to them long before their sojourn in Egypt; for we read in Gen. xxxviii. 18, that when Tamar desired a pledge Judah gave her his signet, which we may safely conclude was engraved with some device. The twelve stones of the breastplate were engraved each one with the name of one of the tribes (Ex. xxviii. 17-21). The two onyx (or sardonyx) stones which formed the high-priest's shoulder-pieces were engraved with the names of the twelve tribes, six on one stone and six on the other, "with the work of an engraver in stone like the *engravings of a signet.*" See also ver. 36, "like the engravings of a signet." It is an undecided question whether the diamond was known to the early nations of antiquity. The A. V. gives it as the rendering of the Heb. *Yahălôm*, (יַהֲלֹם), but it is probable that the jasper is intended. Sir G. Wilkinson is of opinion that the ancient Egyptians were acquainted with the diamond, and used it for engraving (ii. p. 67). Beckmann, on the other hand, maintains that the use of the diamond was unknown even to the Greeks and Romans: "I must confess that I have found no proofs that the ancients cut glass with a diamond" (*Hist. of Inventions*, ii. p. 87, Bohn's ed.). The substance used for polishing precious stones by the ancient Hebrews and Egyptians was emery powder or the emery stone (*Corundum*), a mineral inferior only to the diamond in hardness [ADAMANT, App. A.]. There is *no proof* that the diamond was known to the ancient Orientals, and it certainly must be banished from the list of *engraved* stones which made the sacerdotal breastplate; for the diamond can be cut only by abrasion with its own powder, or by friction with another diamond; and this, even in the hands of a well-practised artist, is a work of most patient labour and of considerable difficulty; and it is not likely that the Hebrews, or any other Oriental people, were able to engrave a name upon a diamond as upon a signet ring.[b] Again, Josephus tells us (*Ant.* iii. 7, §5) that the twelve stones of the breastplate were of great size and extraordinary beauty. We have no means of ascertaining their size; probably they were nearly an inch square; at any rate a diamond only half that size, with the five letters of זְבוּלֻן (Zebulun) engraved on it—for, as he was the sixth son of Jacob (Gen. xxx. 20), his name would occupy the third place in the second row—is quite out of the question, and cannot possibly be the *Yahălôm* of the breastplate.

Perhaps the stone called "ligure" by the A. V. has been the subject of more discussion than any other of the precious stones mentioned in the Bible. In our article on that subject we were of opinion that the stone denoted was probably *tourmaline*. We objected to the "hyacinth stone" representing the *lyncurium* of the ancients, because of its not possessing attractive powers in any marked degree, as we supposed and had been informed by a well-known jeweller. It appears, however, from a communication kindly made to us by Mr. King, that the *hyacinth* (*zircon*) *is* highly electric when rubbed. He states he is practically convinced of this fact, although he allows that highly electric powers are not usually attributed to it by mineralogists. Mr. King asserts that *our hyacinth* (*jacinth*, *zircon*) was greatly used for engraving on by Greeks, Romans, and Persians, and that numerous intaglios in it exist of the age of Theophrastus. The *ancient hyacinthus* was our *sapphire*, as Solinus shows.

Precious stones are used in Scripture in a figurative sense, to signify value, beauty, durability, &c., in those objects with which they are compared (see Cant. v. 14; Is. liv. 11, 12; Lam. iv.

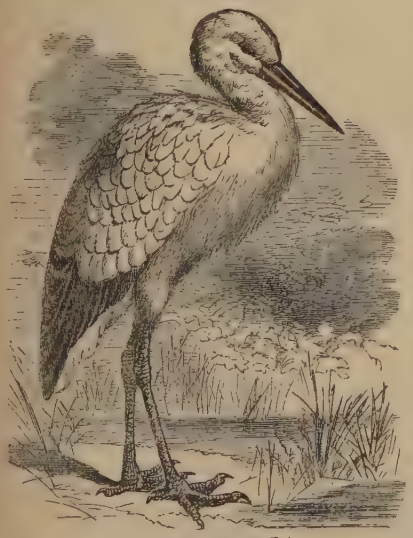
[a] The LXX., Vulg., and Josephus, are all agreed as to the names of the stones; there is, however, some little difference as to their relative positions in the breastplate: thus the ἴασπις, which, according to Josephus, occupies the second place in the third row, is by the LXX. and Vulg. put in the third place; a similar transposition occurs with respect to the ἀμέθυστος and the ἀχάτης in the third row.

[b] "The artists of the Renaissance actually succeeded in engraving on the diamond; the discovery is assigned to Clement Birago, by others to J. da Trezzo, Philip II.'s engraver." [C. W. King.]

7; Rev. iv. 3, xxi. 10-21). As to the precious stones in the breastplate of the high-priest, see Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7, §5; Epiphanius, *περὶ τῶν ιβ' λίθων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τ. στολ. τ. Ἀαρών*, in Epiphanii *Opusc.* ed. Petavius, ii. p. 225-232, Cologne, 1682, (this treatise has been edited separately by Conr. Gesner, *De omni rerum fossil. genere*, &c. Tiguri, 1565; and by Mat. Hiller, the author of the *Hierophyticon*, in his *Syntagmata Hermeneutica*, p. 83, Tubing. 1711); Braun, *De Vestitu Sacerdotum Hebraeorum* (Amstel. 1680, and 2nd ed. 1698), lib. ii. capp. 7 and 8; Bellermann, *Die Urim und Thummim die Aeltesten Gemmen*, Berlin, 1824; Rosenmüller, 'The Mineralogy of the Bible,' *Biblical Cabinet*, vol. xxvii. [W. H.]

STONING. [PUNISHMENTS.]

STORK (חֲסִידָה, *chasidâh*: translated indifferently by LXX. *ἀσίδα, ἔποψ, ἐρωδίος, πελεκάν*: Vulg. *herodio, herodius, milvus*: A. V. "stork," except in Job xxxix. 13, where it is translated "wing" ("stork" in the margin). But there is some question as to the correct reading in this passage. The LXX. do not seem to have recognised the stork under the Hebrew term חֲסִידָה; otherwise they could scarcely have missed the obvious rendering of *πελαργός*, or have adopted in two instances the phonetic representation of the original, *ἀσίδα* (whence no doubt Hesych. *ἄσις, εἶδος ὀρνέου*). It is singular that a bird so conspicuous and familiar as the stork must have been both in Egypt and Palestine should have escaped notice by the LXX., but there can be no doubt of the correctness of the rendering of A. V. The Heb. term is derived from the root חָסַד, whence חֶסֶד, "kindness," from the maternal and filial affection of which this bird has been in all ages the type).



White Stork (*Ciconia alba*).

The White Stork (*Ciconia alba*, L.) is one of the largest and most conspicuous of land birds, standing nearly four feet high, the jet black of its wings and its bright red beak and legs contrasting finely with the pure white of its plumage (Zech. v. 9, "They had wings like the wings of a stork"). It is placed by naturalists near the Heron tribe, with which it has some affinity, forming a connecting link between it and the spoonbill and ibis, like all of which, the stork feeds on fish and reptiles, especially on the latter. In the neighbourhood of man it devours readily all kinds of offal and garbage. For this reason, doubtless, it is placed in the list of unclean birds by the Mosaic law (Lev. xi. 19; Deut. xiv. 18). The range of the white stork extends over the whole of Europe, except the British Isles, where it is *now* only a rare visitant, and over Northern Africa and Asia, as far at least as Birmah.

The Black Stork (*Ciconia nigra*, L.), though less abundant in places, is scarcely less widely distributed, but has a more easterly range than its congener. Both species are very numerous in Palestine, the white stork being universally distributed, generally in pairs, over the whole country, the black stork living in large flocks after the fashion of herons, in the more secluded and marshy districts. The writer met with a flock of upwards of fifty black storks feeding near the west shore of the Dead Sea. They are still more abundant by the Sea of Galilee, where also the white stork is so numerous as to be gregarious; and in the swamps round the waters of Merom.

While the black stork is never found about buildings, but prefers marshy places in forests, and breeds on the tops of the loftiest trees, where it heaps up its ample nest far from the haunts of man; the white stork attaches itself to him, and for the service which it renders in the destruction of reptiles and the removal of offal has been repaid from the earliest times by protection and reverence. This is especially the case in the countries where it breeds. In the streets of towns in Holland, in the villages of Denmark, and in the bazaars of Syria and Tunis, it may be seen stalking gravely among the crowd, and woe betide the stranger either in Holland or in Palestine who should dare to molest it. The claim of the stork to protection seems to have been equally recognized by the ancients. Sempr. Rufus, who first ventured to bring young storks to table, gained the following epigram, on the failure of his candidature for the praetorship:—

> "Quanquam est duobus elegantior Plancis
> Suffragiorum puncta non tulit septem.
> Ciconiarum populus ultus est mortem."

Horace contemptuously alludes to the same sacrilege in the lines

> "Tutoque ciconia nido,
> Donec vos auctor docuit praetorius" (*Sat.* ii. 2, 49).

Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* x. 21) tells us that in Thessaly it was a capital crime to kill a stork, and that they were thus valued equally with human life, in consequence of their warfare against serpents. They were not less honoured in Egypt. It is said that at Fez in Morocco, there is an endowed hospital for the purpose of assisting and nursing sick cranes and storks, and of burying them when dead. The Marocains hold that storks are human beings in that form from some distant islands (see note to Brown's *Pseud. Epid.* iii. 27, §3). The Turks in Syria point to the stork as a true follower of Islam, from the preference he always shows for the Turkish and Arab over the Christian quarters. For this undoubted fact, however, there may be two other reasons—the greater amount of offal to be found about the Moslem houses, and the persecutions suffered from the sharp

tical Greeks, who rob the nests, and show none of the gentle consideration towards the lower animals which often redeems the Turkish character. Strickland, *Mem. and Papers*, vol. ii. p. 227, states that it is said to have quite deserted Greece, since the expulsion of its Mohammedan protectors. The observations of the writer corroborated this remark. Similarly the rooks were said to be so attached to the old régime, that most of them left France at the Revolution; a true statement, and accounted for by the clearing of most of the fine old timber which used to surround the chateaux of the noblesse.

The derivation of חֲסִידָה points to the paternal and filial attachment of which the stork seems to have been a type among the Hebrews no less than the Greeks and Romans. It was believed that the young repaid the care of their parents by attaching themselves to them for life, and tending them in old age. Hence it was commonly called among the Latins "avis pia." (See Laburnus in Petronius Arbiter; Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* ix. 14; and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 32.)

Pliny also notices their habit of always returning to the same nest. Probably there is no foundation for the notion that the stork so far differs from other birds as to recognise its parents after it has become mature; but of the fact of these birds returning year after year to the same spot, there is no question. Unless when molested by man, storks' nests all over the world are rebuilt, or rather repaired, for generations on the same site, and in Holland the same individuals have been recognised for many years. That the parental attachment of the stork is very strong, has been proved on many occasions. The tale of the stork which, at the burning of the town of Delft, vainly endeavoured to carry off her young, and at length sacrificed her life with theirs rather than desert them, has been often repeated, and seems corroborated by unquestionable evidence. Its watchfulness over its young is unremitting, and often shown in a somewhat droll manner. The writer was once in camp near an old ruined tower in the plain of Zana, south of the Atlas, where a pair of storks had their nest. The four young might often be seen from a little distance, surveying the prospect from their lonely height; but whenever any of the human party happened to stroll near the tower, one of the old storks, invisible before, would instantly appear, and, lighting on the nest, put its foot gently on the necks of all the young, so as to hold them down out of sight till the stranger had passed, snapping its bill meanwhile, and assuming a grotesque air of indifference and unconsciousness of there being anything under its charge.

Few migratory birds are more punctual to the time of their reappearance than the white stork, or at least, from its familiarity and conspicuousness, its migrations have been more accurately noted. "The stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times" (see Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 319, and Petron. *Sat.*). Pliny states that it is rarely seen in Asia Minor after the middle of August. This is probably a slight error, as the ordinary date of its arrival in Holland is the second week in April, and it remains until October. In Denmark Judge Boie noted its arrival from 1820 to 1847. The earliest date was the 26th March, and the latest the 12th April (Kjaerbolling, *Danmarks Fugle*, p. 262). In Palestine it has been observed to arrive on the 22nd March. Immense flocks of storks may be seen on the banks of the Upper Nile during winter, and some few further west, in the Sahara; but it does not appear to migrate very far south, unless indeed the birds that are seen at the Cape of Good Hope in December be the same which visit Europe.

The stork has no note, and the only sound it emits is that caused by the sudden snapping of its long mandibles, well expressed by the epithet "crotalistria" in Petron. (quasi κροταλίζω, to rattle the castanets). From the absence of voice probably arose the error alluded to by Pliny, "Sunt qui ciconiis non inesse linguas confirment."

Some unnecessary difficulty has been raised respecting the expression in Ps. civ. 17, "As for the stork, the fir-trees are her house." In the west of Europe the home of the stork is connected with the dwellings of man, and in the East, as the eagle is mentally associated with the most sublime scenes in nature, so, to the traveller at least, is the stork with the ruins of man's noblest works. Amid the desolation of his fallen cities throughout Eastern Europe and the classic portions of Asia and Africa, we are sure to meet with them surmounting his temples, his theatres or baths. It is the same in Palestine. A pair of storks have possession of the only tall piece of ruin in the plain of Jericho; they are the only tenants of the noble tower of Richard Coeur de Lion at Lydda; and they gaze on the plain of Sharon from the lofty tower of Ramleh (the ancient Arimathea). So they have a pillar at Tiberias, and a corner of a ruin at Nebi Mousseh. And no doubt in ancient times the sentry shared the watch-tower of Samaria or of Jezreel with the cherished storks. But the instinct of the stork seems to be to select the loftiest and most conspicuous spot he can find where his huge nest may be supported; and whenever he can combine this taste with his instinct for the society of man, he naturally selects a tower or a roof. In lands of ruins, which from their neglect and want of drainage supply him with abundance of food, he finds a column or a solitary arch the most secure position for his nest; but where neither towers nor ruins abound he does not hesitate to select a tall tree, as both storks, swallows, and many other birds must have done before they were tempted by the artificial conveniences of man's buildings to desert their natural places of nidification. Thus the golden eagle builds, according to circumstances, in cliffs, on trees, or even on the ground; and the common heron, which generally associates on the tops of the tallest trees, builds in Westmoreland and in Galway on bushes. It is therefore needless to interpret the text of the stork merely *perching* on trees. It probably was no less numerous in Palestine when David wrote than now; but the number of suitable towers must have been far fewer, and it would therefore resort to trees. Though it does not frequent trees in South Judaea, yet it still builds on trees by the Sea of Galilee, according to several travellers; and the writer may remark, that while he has never seen the nest except on towers or pillars in that land of ruins, Tunis, the only nest he ever saw in Morocco was on a tree. Varro (*Re Rustica*, iii. 5) observes, "Advenae volucres pullos faciunt, *in agro ciconiae*, in tecto hirundines." All modern authorities give instances of the white stork building on trees. Degland mentions several pairs which still breed in a marsh near Châlons-sur-Marne (*Orn. Europ.* ii. 153). Kjaerbolling makes a similar statement with respect to Denmark, and Nillson also as to Sweden. Bädeker observes "that in Germany the white stork build

in the gables, &c., and in trees, chiefly the tops of poplars and the strong upper branches of the oak, binding the branches together with twigs, turf, and earth, and covering the flat surface with straw, moss, and feathers" (*Eier Eur.* pl. xxxvi.).

The black stork, no less common in Palestine, has never relinquished its natural habit of building upon trees. This species, in the north-eastern portion of the land, is the most abundant of the two (Harmer's *Obs.* iii. 323). Of either, however, the expression may be taken literally, that "the fir-trees are a dwelling for the stork." [H. B. T.]

STRAIN AT. The A. V. of 1611 renders Matt. xxiii. 24, "Ye blind guides! which *strain at* a gnat, and swallow a camel." There can be little doubt, as Dean Trench has supposed, that this obscure phrase is due to a printer's error, and that the true reading is "strain out." Such is the sense of the Greek διϋλίζειν, as used by Plutarch (*Op. Mor.* p. 692 D, *Symp. Probl.* vi. 7, §1) and Dioscorides (ii. 86), viz. to clarify by passing through a strainer (ὑλιστήρ). "Strain out," is the reading of Tyndale's (1539), Cranmer's (1539), the Bishops' (1568), and the Geneva (1557) Bibles, and "strain *at*," which is neither correct nor intelligible, could only have crept into our A. V., and been allowed to remain there, by an oversight. Dean Trench gives an interesting illustration of the passage from a private letter written to him by a recent traveller in North Africa, who says: "In a ride from Tangier to Tetuan, I observed that a Moorish soldier who accompanied me, when he drank, always unfolded the end of his turban and placed it over the mouth of his *bota*, drinking through the muslin, to strain *out* the *gnats*, whose larvae swarm in the water of that country" (*On the Auth. Vers. of the N. T.* pp. 172, 173). If one might conjecture the cause which led, even erroneously, to the substitution of *at* for *out*, it is perhaps to be found in the marginal note of the Geneva Version, which explains the verse thus: "Ye stay *at* that which is nothing, and let pass that which is of greater importance."

STRANGER (תּוֹשָׁב, גֵּר). A "stranger" in the technical sense of the term may be defined to be a person of foreign, *i. e.* non-Israelitish, extraction resident within the limits of the promised land. He was distinct from the proper "foreigner," [a] inasmuch as the latter still belonged to another country, and would only visit Palestine as a traveller: he was still more distinct from the "nations," [b] or non-Israelite peoples, who held no relationship with the chosen people of God. The term answers most nearly to the Greek *μέτοικος*, and may be compared with our expression "naturalized foreigner," in as far as this implies a certain political *status* in the country where the foreigner resides: it is opposed to one "born in the land," [c] or, as the term more properly means, "not transplanted," in the same way that a naturalized foreigner is opposed to a *native*. The terms applied to the "stranger" have special reference to the fact of his *residing* [d] in the land. The existence of such a class of persons among the Israelites is easily accounted for: the "mixed multitude" that accompanied them out of Egypt (Ex. xii. 38) formed one element; the Canaanitish population, which was never wholly extirpated from their native soil, formed another and a still more important one; captives taken in war formed a third; fugitives, hired servants, merchants, &c., formed a fourth. The number from these various sources must have been at all times very considerable; the census of them in Solomon's time gave a return of 153,600 males (2 Chr. ii. 17), which was equal to about a tenth of the whole population. The enactments of the Mosaic Law, which regulated the political and social position of resident strangers, were conceived in a spirit of great liberality. With the exception of the Moabites and Ammonites (Deut. xxiii. 3), all nations were admissible to the rights of citizenship under certain conditions. It would appear, indeed, to be a consequence of the prohibition of intermarriage with the Canaanites (Deut. vii. 3), that these would be excluded from the rights of citizenship; but the Rabbinical view that this exclusion was superseded in the case of proselytes seems highly probable, as we find Doeg the Edomite (1 Sam. xxi. 7, xxii. 9), Uriah the Hittite (2 Sam. xi. 6), and Araunah the Jebusite (2 Sam. xxiv. 18), enjoying to all appearance the full rights of citizenship. Whether a stranger could ever become legally a landowner is a question about which there may be doubt. Theoretically the whole of the soil was portioned out among the twelve tribes, and Ezekiel notices it as a peculiarity of the division which he witnessed in vision, that the strangers were to share the inheritance with the Israelites, and should thus become as those "born in the country" (Ez. xlvii. 22). Indeed the term "stranger" is more than once applied in a pointed manner to signify one who was not a landowner (Gen. xxiii. 4; Lev. xxv. 23); while on the other hand *ezrach* (A. V. "born in the land") may have reference to the possession of the soil, as it is borrowed from the image of a tree *not transplanted*, and so occupying its native soil. The Israelites, however, never succeeded in obtaining possession of the whole, and it is possible that the Canaanitish occupants may in course of time have been recognised as "strangers," and had the right of retaining their land conceded to them. There was of course nothing to prevent a Canaanite from becoming the mortgagee in possession of a plot, but this would not constitute him a proper landowner, inasmuch as he would lose all interest in the property when the year of Jubilee came round. That they possessed land in one of these two capacities is clear from the case of Araunah above cited. The stranger appears to have been eligible to all civil offices, that of king excepted (Deut. xvii. 15). In regard to religion, it was absolutely necessary that the stranger should not infringe any of the fundamental laws of the Israelitish state: he was forbidden to blaspheme the name of Jehovah (Lev. xxiv. 16), to work on the Sabbath (Ex. xx. 10), to eat leavened bread at the

[a] נָכְרִי. [b] גּוֹיִם. [c] אֶזְרָח.

[d] תּוֹשָׁב, גֵּר. These terms appear to describe, not two different classes of strangers, but the stranger under two different aspects, *gêr* rather implying his foreign origin, or the fact of his having *turned aside* to abide with another people, *tôshâb* implying his permanent *residence* in the land of his adoption. Winer (*Realwb* "Fremde") regards the latter as equivalent to hireling. Jahn (*Archaeol.* i. 11, §181) explains *tôshâb* of one who, whether Hebrew or foreigner, was destitute of a home. We see no evidence for either of these opinions. In the LXX. these terms are most frequently rendered by παροικος, the Alexandrian substitute for the classical μέτοικος Sometimes προσήλυτος is used, and in two passages (Ex xii. 19; Is. xiv. 1) γειώρας, as representing the Chaldee form of the word *gêr*

time of the Passover (Ex. xii. 19), to commit any breach of the marriage laws (Lev. xviii. 26), to worship Molech (Lev. xx. 2), or to eat blood or the flesh of any animal that had died otherwise than by the hand of man (Lev. xvii. 10, 15). He was required to release a Hebrew servant in the year of Jubilee (Lev. xxv. 47-54), to observe the day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 29), to perform the rites of purification when necessary (Lev. xvii. 15; Num. xix. 10), and to offer sin-offerings after sins of ignorance (Num. xv. 29). If the stranger was a bondsman he was obliged to submit to circumcision (Ex. xii. 44); if he was independent, it was optional with him; but if he remained uncircumcised, he was prohibited from partaking of the Passover (Ex. xii. 48), and could not be regarded as a full citizen. Liberty was also given in regard to the use of prohibited food to an uncircumcised stranger; for on this ground alone can we harmonise the statements in Deut. xiv. 21 and Lev. xvii. 10, 15. Assuming, however, that the stranger was circumcised, no distinction existed in regard to legal rights between the stranger and the Israelite: "one law" for both classes is a principle affirmed in respect to religious observances (Ex. xii. 49; Num. xv. 16), and to legal proceedings (Lev. xxiv. 22), and the judges are strictly warned against any partiality in their decisions (Deut. i. 16, xxiv. 17, 18). The Israelite is also enjoined to treat him as a brother (Lev. xix. 34; Deut. x. 19), and the precept is enforced in each case by a reference to his own state in the land of Egypt. Such precepts were needed in order to counteract the natural tendency to treat persons in the position of strangers with rigour. For, though there was the possibility of a stranger acquiring wealth and becoming the owner of Hebrew slaves (Lev. xxv. 47), yet his normal state was one of poverty, as implied in the numerous passages where he is coupled with the fatherless and the widow (*e. g.* Ex. xxii. 21-23; Deut. x. 18, xxiv. 17), and in the special directions respecting his having a share in the feasts that accompanied certain religious festivals (Deut. xvi. 11, 14, xxvi. 11), in the leasing of the corn-field, the vineyard, and the olive-yard (Lev. xix. 10, xxiii. 22; Deut. xxiv. 20), in the produce of the triennial tithe (Deut. xiv. 28, 29), in the forgotten sheaf (Deut. xxiv. 19), and in the spontaneous production of the soil in the sabbatical year (Lev. xxv. 6). It also appears that the "stranger" formed the class whence the hirelings were drawn: the terms being coupled together in Ex. xii. 45; Lev. xxii. 10, xxv. 6, 40. Such labourers were engaged either by the day (Lev. xix. 13; Deut. xxiv. 15), or by the year (Lev. xxv. 53), and appear to have been considerately treated, for the condition of the Hebrew slave is favourably compared with that of the hired servant and the sojourner in contradistinction to the bondman (Lev. xxv. 39, 40). A less fortunate class of strangers, probably captives in war or for debt, were reduced to slavery, and were subject to be bought and sold (Lev. xxv. 45), as well as to be put to task-work, as was the case with the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 21) and with those whom Solomon employed in the building of the Temple (2 Chr. ii. 18). The liberal spirit of the Mosaic regulations respecting strangers presents a strong contrast to the rigid exclusiveness of the Jews at the commencement of the Christian era. The growth of this spirit dates from the time of the Babylonish captivity, and originated partly in the outrages which the Jews suffered at the hands of foreigners, and partly through a fear lest their nationality should be swamped by constant admixture with foreigners: the latter motive appears to have dictated the stringent measures adopted by Nehemiah (Neh. ix. 2, xiii. 3). Our Lord condemns this exclusive spirit in the parable of the good Samaritan, where He defines the term "neighbour" in a sense new to His hearers (Luke x. 36). It should be observed, however, that the proselyte* of the New Testament is the true representative of the stranger of the Old Testament, and towards this class a cordial feeling was manifested. [PROSELYTE.] The term "stranger" (ξένος) is generally used in the New Testament in the general sense of *foreigner*, and occasionally in its more technical sense as opposed to a citizen (Eph. ii. 19). [W. L. B.]

STRAW (תֶּבֶן, *teben*: ἄχυρον: *palea*). Both wheat and barley straw were used by the ancient Hebrews chiefly as fodder for their horses, cattle, and camels (Gen. xxiv. 25; 1 K. iv. 28; Is. xi. 7, lxv. 25). The straw was probably often chopped and mixed with barley, beans, &c., for provender (see Harmer's *Observations*, i. 423-4; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 48, Lond. 1854). There is no intimation that straw was used for litter; Harmer thinks it was not so employed; the litter the people now use in those countries is the animals' dung, dried in the sun and bruised between their hands, which they heap up again in the morning, sprinkling it in the summer with fresh water to keep it from corrupting (*Obs.* p. 424, Lond. 1797). Straw was employed by the Egyptians for making bricks (Ex. v. 7, 16): it was chopped up and mixed with the clay to make them more compact and to prevent their cracking (*Anc. Egypt.* ii. 194). [BRICKS.] The ancient Egyptians reaped their corn close to the ear, and afterwards cut the straw close to the ground (*Id.* p. 48) and laid it by. This was the straw that Pharaoh refused to give to the Israelites, who were therefore compelled to gather "stubble" (קַשׁ, *Kash*) instead, a matter of considerable difficulty, seeing that the straw itself had been cut off near to the ground. The *Stubble* frequently alluded to in the Scriptures may denote either the short standing straw, mentioned above, which was commonly set on fire, hence the allusions in Is. v. 24; Joel ii. 5, or the small fragments that would be left behind after the reapings, hence the expression, "as the *Kash* before the wind" (Ps. lxxxiii. 13; Is. xli. 2; Jer. xiii. 24). [W. L.]

STREAM OF EGYPT (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם: ῥινοκόρουρα (pl.): *torrens Aegypti*), once occurs in the A. V. instead of "the river of Egypt," apparently to avoid tautology (Is. xxvii. 12). It is the best translation of this doubtful name, for it expresses the sense of the Hebrew while retaining the vagueness it has, so long as we cannot decide whether it is applied to the Pelusian branch of the Nile or the stream of the Wadi-l-'Areesh. [RIVER OF EGYPT; NILE.] [R. S. P.]

STREET (שׁוּק, רְחוֹב, חוּץ: πλατεῖα, ῥύμη). The streets of a modern Oriental town present a great contrast to those with which we are familiar; being generally narrow, tortuous, and gloomy, even in the best towns, such as Cairo (Lane, i. 25), Damascus (Porter, i. 30), and Aleppo (Russell, 14). Their character is mainly fixed by the cli-

* The term προσήλυτος occurs in the LXX. as = גֵּר in Ex. xii. 19, xx. 10, xxii. 21, xxiii. 9.

mate and the style of architecture, the narrowness being due to the extreme heat, and the gloominess to the circumstance of the windows looking for the most part into the inner court. As these same influences existed in ancient times, we should be inclined to think that the streets were much of the same character as at present. The opposite opinion has, indeed, been maintained on account of the Hebrew term *rĕchôb*, frequently applied to streets, and properly meaning a *wide* place. The specific signification of this term, however, is rather a court-yard or square: it is applied in this sense to the broad open space adjacent to the gate of a town, where public business was transacted (Deut. xiii. 16), and, again, to the court before the Temple (Ezr. x. 9) or before a palace (Esth. iv. 6). Its application to the street may point to the *comparative* width of the main street, or it may perhaps convey the idea of *publicity* rather than of width, a sense well adapted to the passages in which it occurs (*e. g.* Gen. xix. 2; Judg. xix. 15; 2 Sam. xxi. 12). The street called "Straight," in Damascus (Acts ix. 11), was an exception to the rule of narrowness: it was a noble thoroughfare, 100 feet wide, divided in the Roman age by colonnades into three avenues, the central one for foot passengers, the side passages for vehicles and horsemen going in different directions (Porter, i. 47). The shops and warehouses were probably collected together into bazars in ancient as in modern times: we read of the bakers' bazar (Jer. xxxvii. 21), and of the wool, brazier, and clothes bazars (ἀγορά) in Jerusalem (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 8, §1), and perhaps the agreement between Benhadad and Ahab that the latter should "make streets in Damascus" (1 K. xx. 34), was in reference rather to bazars (the term *chûts* here used being the same as in Jer. xxxvii. 21), and thus amounted to the establishment of a *jus commercii*. A lively description of the bazars at Damascus is furnished us by Porter (i. 58-60). The broad and narrow streets are distinguished under the terms *rĕchôb* and *chûts* in the following passages, though the point is frequently lost in the A. V. by rendering the latter term "abroad" or "without":—Prov. v. 16, vii. 12, xxii. 13; Jer. v. 1, ix. 21; Am. v. 16; Nah. ii. 4. The same distinction is apparently expressed by the terms *rĕchôb* and *shûk* in Cant. iii. 2, and by πλατεῖα and ῥύμη in Luke xiv. 21: but the etymological sense of *shûk* points rather to a place of *concourse*, such as a market-place, while ῥύμη is applied to the "Straight" street of Damascus (Acts ix. 11), and is also used in reference to the Pharisees (Matt. vi. 2) as a place of the greatest publicity: it is therefore doubtful whether the contrast can be sustained: Josephus describes the alleys of Jerusalem under the term στενωποί (*B. J.* v. 8, §1). The term *shûk* occurs elsewhere only in Prov. vii. 8; Eccl. xii. 4, 5. The term *chûts*, already noticed, applies generally to that which is *outside* the residence (as in Prov. vii. 12, A. V. "she is without"), and hence to other places than streets, as to a pasture-ground (Job xiii. 17, where the A. V. requires emendation). That streets occasionally had names appears from Jer. xxxvii. 21; Acts ix. 11. That they were generally unpaved may be inferred from the notices of the pavement laid by Herod the Great at Antioch (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 5, §3), and by Herod Agrippa II. at Jerusalem (*Ant.* xx. 9, §7). Hence pavement forms one of the peculiar features of the ideal Jerusalem (Tob. xiii. 17; Rev. xxi. 21). Each street and bazar in a modern town is locked up at night (Lane, i. 25; Russell, i. 21), and hence a person cannot pass without being observed by the watchman: the same custom appears to have prevailed in ancient times (Cant. iii. 3). [W. L. B.]

STRIPES. [PUNISHMENTS.]

SU'AH (סוּחַ: Σουέ: *Sue*). Son of Zophah, an Asherite (1 Chr. vii. 36).

SU'BA (Σαβιή; Alex. Σουβάς: *Suba*). The sons of Suba were among the sons of Solomon's servants who returned with Zerubbabel (1 Esd. v. 34). There is nothing corresponding to the name in the Hebrew lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

SUBA'I (Συβαΐ; Alex. Συβαεί: *Obai*) = SHALMAI (1 Esd. v. 30; comp. Ezr. ii. 46).

SUC'COTH (סֻכּוֹת: Σκηναί in Gen. in both MSS., elsewhere Σοκχώθ, Σοκχωθᾶ, Σεκχώθ; Alex. Σοκχωθ: in Gen. *Sochoth, id est, tabernacula*; *Soccoth, Socchoth*). A town of ancient date in the Holy Land, which is first heard of in the account of the homeward journey of Jacob from Padan-aram (Gen. xxxiii. 17). The name is fancifully derived from the fact of Jacob's having there put up "booths" (*Succôth*, סֻכּוֹת) for his cattle, as well as a house for himself. Whether that occurrence originated the name of Succoth (and, following the analogy of other history, it is not probable that it did), the mention of the house and the booths in contrast to the "tents" of the wandering life indicates that the Patriarch made a lengthened stay there—a fact not elsewhere alluded to.

From the itinerary of Jacob's return it seems that Succoth lay between PENIEL, near the ford of the torrent Jabbok, and Shechem (comp. xxxii. 30, and xxxiii. 18, which latter would be more accurately rendered "Came safe to the city Shechem"). In accordance with this is the mention of Succoth in the narrative of Gideon's pursuit of Zebah and Zalmunna (Judg. viii. 5-17). His course is eastward—the reverse of Jacob's—and he comes first to Succoth, and then to Penuel, the latter being further up the mountain than the former (ver. 8, "went up thence"). Its importance at this time is shown by the organisation and number of its seventy-seven head-men—chiefs and[a] sheikhs—and also by the defiance with which it treated Gideon on his first application.

It would appear from this passage that it lay on the east of Jordan, which is corroborated by the fact that it was allotted to the tribe of Gad (Josh. xiii. 27). In the account of Jacob's journey, all mention of the Jordan is omitted.

Succoth is named once again after this—in 1 K. vii. 46; 2 Chr. iv. 17—as marking the spot at which the brass foundries were placed for casting the metal-work of the Temple, "in the district of Jordan, in the fat or soft ground between Succoth and Zarthan." But, as the position of Zarthan is not yet known, this notice has no topographical value beyond the mention of the Jordan.

It appears to have been known in the time of Jerome, who says (*Quaest. in Gen.* xxxiii. 16) that there was then a town named Sochoth beyond the Jordan (*trans Jordanem*), in the district (*parte*) of Scythopolis. Nothing more, however, was heard of it till Burckhardt's journey. He mentions it in

[a] זְקֵנִים, A.V. "elders." The word has exactly the signification of the Arabic *sheikh*, an old man, and hence the head of a tribe.

a note to p. 345 (July 2). He is speaking of the places about the Jordan, and, after naming three ruined towns "on the west side of the river to the north of Bysan," he says: "Near where we crossed to the south are the ruins of Sukkot (سقط). On the western bank of the river there are no ruins between Ain Sultan (which he has just said was the southernmost of the three ruined places north of Bysan) and Rieha or Jericho." There can, therefore, be no doubt that the Sukkot of Burckhardt was on the east of the Jordan. The spot at which he crossed he has already stated (p. 343, 4) to have been "two hours from Bysan, which bore N.N.W."

Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* iii. 309, &c.) and Mr. Van de Velde (*Syr. and Pal.* ii. 343) have discovered a place named *Sâkût* (ساكوت), evidently entirely distinct both in name and position from that of Burckhardt. In the accounts and maps of these travellers it is placed on the west side of the Jordan, less than a mile from the river, and about 10 miles south of *Beisân*. A fine spring bubbles out on the east side of the low bluff on which the ruins stand. The distance of *Sâkût* from *Beisân* is too great, even if it were on the other side of the Jordan, to allow of its being the place referred to by Jerome. The *Sukkot* of Burckhardt is more suitable. But it is doubtful whether either of them can be the Succoth of the Old Test. For the events of Gideon's story the latter of the two is not unsuitable. It is in the line of flight and pursuit which we may suppose the Midianites and Gideon to have taken, and it is also near a ford. *Sâkût*, on the other hand, seems too far south, and is also on the west of the river. But both appear too far to the north for the Succoth of Jacob, lying as that did between the Jabbok and Shechem, especially if we place the *Wady Zerka* (usually identified with the Jabbok) further to the south than it is placed in Van de Velde's map, as Mr. Beke[b] proposes to do. Jacob's direct road from the *Wady Zerka* to Shechem would have led him by the *Wady Ferrah*, on the one hand, or through *Yanûn*, on the other. If he went north as far as *Sâkût*, he must have ascended by the *Wady Maleh* to *Teyasîr*, and so through *Tubâs* and the *Wady Bidân*. Perhaps his going north was a *ruse* to escape the dangerous proximity of Esau; and if he made a long stay at Succoth, as suggested in the outset of this article, the détour from the direct road to Shechem would be of little importance to him.

Until the position of Succoth is more exactly ascertained, it is impossible to say what was the VALLEY OF SUCCOTH mentioned in Ps. lx. 6 and cviii. 7. The word rendered "Valley" is *'êmek* in both cases (ἡ κοίλας τῶν σκηνῶν; *Vallis Soccoth*). The same word is employed (Josh. xiii. 27) in specifying the position of the group of towns amongst which Succoth occurs, in describing the allotment of Gad. So that it evidently denotes some marked feature of the country. It is not probable, however, that the main valley of the Jordan, the *Ghôr*, is intended, that being always designated in the Bible by the name of "the Arabah." [G.]

[b] This gentleman, an old and experienced traveller, has lately returned from a journey between Damascus, the Wady Zerka, and Nablus. It was undertaken with the view of testing his theory that Haran was in the neighbourhood of Damascus. Without going into that question, all that concerns us here is to say that he has fixed the latitude of the mouth of the Wady Zerka at 32° 13′, or more than ten miles south of its position in Van de Velde's map. Mr. Beke's paper and map will be published in the *Journal* of the R. Geogr. Society for 1863.

SUC'COTH (סֻכּוֹת: Σοκχώθ: *Socoth, Socooth*) "booths," or "tents"), the first camping-place of the Israelites when they left Egypt (Ex. xii. 37 xiii. 20; Num. xxxiii. 5, 6). This place was apparently reached at the close of the first day's march. It can scarcely be doubted that each of the first three stations marks the end of a single journey. Rameses, the starting-place, we have shown was probably near the western end of the Wâdi-t-Tumeylât. We have calculated the distance traversed in each day's journey to have been about fifteen miles, and as Succoth was not in the desert, the next station, Etham, being "in the edge of the wilderness" (Ex. xiii. 20; Num. xxxiii. 6), it must have been in the valley, and consequently nearly due east of Rameses, and fifteen miles distant in a straight line. If Rameses may be supposed to have been near the mound called El-'Abbâseeyeh, the position of Succoth can be readily determined within moderate limits of uncertainty. It was probably, to judge from its name, a resting-place of caravans, or a military station, or a town named from one of the two. We find similar names in Scenae Mandrae (*Itin. Ant.*), Scenae Mandrorum (*Not. Dign.*) or Σκηνὴ Μανδρῶν (*Not. Graec. Episcopatuum*), Scenae Veteranorum (*It. Ant. Not. Dign.*), and *Scenae extra Gerasa* (*sic*: *Not. Dign.*). See, for all these places, Parthey, *Zur Erdkunde des alten Aegyptens*, p. 535. It is, however, evident that such a name would be easily lost, and even if preserved, hard to recognize, as it might be concealed under a corresponding name of similar signification, though very different in sound, as that of the settlement of Ionian and Carian mercenaries, called τὰ Στρατόπεδα (Herod. ii. 154).

We must here remark upon the extreme carelessness with which it has been taken for granted that the whole journey to the Red Sea was through the desert, and an argument against the authenticity of the sacred narrative based upon evidence which it not only does not state but contradicts. For, as we have seen, Etham, the second camping-place, was "in the edge of the wilderness," and the country was once cultivated along the valley through which passed the canal of the Red Sea. The demand that Moses was commissioned to make, that the Israelites might take "three days' journey into the wilderness" (Ex. iii. 18), does not imply that the journey was to be of three days through the wilderness, but rather that it would be necessary to make three days' journey in order to sacrifice in the wilderness. [EXODUS, THE; RED SEA, PASSAGE OF.] [R. S. P.]

SUC'COTH-BEN'OTH (סֻכּוֹת־בְּנוֹת: Σωκχὼθ-Βενίθ: *Sochoth-benoth*) occurs only in 2 K. xvii. 30, where the Babylonish settlers in Samaria are said to have set up the worship of Succoth-benoth on their arrival in that country. It has generally been supposed that this term is pure Hebrew, and signifies the "tents of daughters;" which some explain as "the booths in which the daughters of the Babylonians prostituted themselves in honour of their idol," others as "small tabernacles in which were contained images of female deities" (compare Gesenius and S. Newman, *ad voc.* סֻכָּה; Winer,

Realwörterbuch, ii. p. 543; Calmet, *Commentaire Littéral*, ii. 837). It is a strong objection to both these explanations, that Succoth-benoth, which in the passage in Kings occurs in the same construction with Nergal and various other gods, is thus not a deity at all, nor, strictly speaking, an object of worship. Perhaps therefore the suggestion of Sir H. Rawlinson, against which this objection does not lie, may be admitted to deserve some attention. This writer thinks that Succoth-benoth represents the Chaldaean goddess *Zir-banit*, the wife of Merodach, who was especially worshipped at Babylon, in conjunction with her husband, and who is called the "queen" of the place. *Succoth* he supposes to be either "a Hamitic term equivalent to *Zir*," or possibly a Shemitic mistranslation of the term—*Zirat*, "supreme," being confounded with *Zarat*, "tents." (See the *Essay* of Sir H. Rawlinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 630.) [G. R.]

SUCHA'THITES (שׁוּתָתִי: Σωκαθιείμ: *in tabernaculis commorantes*). One of the families of scribes at Jabez (1 Chr. ii. 55).

SUD (Σούδ: *Sodi*). A river in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon, on the banks of which Jewish exiles lived (Bar. i. 4). No such river is known to geographers: but if we assume that the first part of the book of Baruch was written in Hebrew, the original text may have been Sur, the final ר having been changed into ד. In this case the name would represent, not the town of Sora, as suggested by Bochart (*Phaleg*, i. 8), but the river Euphrates itself, which is always named by Arab geographers "the river of Sura," a corruption probably of the "Sippara" of the inscriptions (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 611, note [4]). [W. L. B.]

SUD (Σουδά; Alex. Σουσά: *Su*) = SIA, or SIAHA (1 Esd. v. 29; comp. Neh. vii. 47; Ezr. ii. 44).

SU'DIAS (Σουδίας: *Serebias et Edias*) = HODAVIAH 3 and HODEVAH (1 Esd. v. 26; comp. Ezr. iii. 40; Neh. vii. 43).

SUK'KIIMS (סֻכִּיִּים: Τρωγλοδύται: *Trogloditae*), a nation mentioned (2 Chr. xii. 3) with the Lubim and Cushim as supplying part of the army which came with Shishak out of Egypt when he invaded Judah. Gesenius (*Lex.* s. v.) suggests that their name signifies "dwellers in tents," in which case it might perhaps be better to suppose them to have been an Arab tribe like the Scenitae, than Ethiopians. If it is borne in mind that Zerah was apparently allied with the Arabs south of Palestine [ZERAH], whom we know Shishak to have subdued [SHISHAK], our conjecture does not seem to be improbable. The Sukkiims may correspond to some one of the shepherd or wandering races mentioned on the Egyptian monuments, but we have not found any name in hieroglyphics resembling their name in the Bible, and this somewhat favours the opinion that it is a Shemitic appellation. [R. S. P.]

SUN (שֶׁמֶשׁ). In the history of the creation the sun is described as the "greater light" in contradistinction to the moon or "lesser light," in conjunction with which it was to serve "for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years," while its special office was "to rule the day" (Gen. i. 14–16). The "signs" referred to were probably such extraordinary phenomena as eclipses, which were regarded as conveying premonitions of coming events (Jer. x. 2; Matt. xxiv. 29, with Luke xxi. 25). The joint influence assigned to the sun and moon in deciding the "seasons," both for agricultural operations and for religious festivals, and also in regulating the length and subdivisions of the "years," correctly describes the combination of the lunar and solar year, which prevailed at all events subsequently to the Mosaic period—the moon being the *measurer* (κατ' ἐξοχήν) of the lapse of time by the subdivisions of months and weeks, while the sun was the ultimate *regulator* of the length of the year by means of the recurrence of the feast of Pentecost at a fixed agricultural season, viz. when the corn became ripe. The sun "ruled the day" alone, sharing the dominion of the skies with the moon, the brilliancy and utility of which for journeys and other purposes enhances its value in Eastern countries. It "ruled the day," not only in reference to its powerful influences, but also as deciding the length of the day and supplying the means of calculating its progress. Sun-rise and sun-set are the only defined points of time in the absence of artificial contrivances for telling the hour of the day: and as these points are less variable in the latitude of Palestine than in our country, they served the purpose of marking the commencement and conclusion of the working day. Between these two points the Jews recognized three periods, viz. when the sun became hot, about 9 A.M. (1 Sam. xi. 9; Neh. vii. 3); the double light or noon (Gen. xliii. 16; 2 Sam. iv. 5), and "the cool of the day" shortly before sunset (Gen. iii. 8). The sun also served to fix the quarters of the hemisphere, east, west, north, and south, which were represented respectively by the rising sun, the setting sun (Is. xlv. 6; Ps. l. 1), the dark quarter (Gen. xiii. 14; Joel ii. 20), and the brilliant quarter (Deut. xxxiii. 23; Job xxxvii. 17; Ez. xl. 24); or otherwise by their position relative to a person facing the rising sun—before, behind, on the left hand, and on the right hand (Job xxiii. 8, 9). The apparent motion of the sun is frequently referred to in terms that would imply its reality (Josh. x. 13; 2 K. xx. 11; Ps. xix. 6; Eccl. i. 5; Hab. iii. 11). The ordinary name for the sun, *shemesh*, is supposed to refer to the extreme brilliancy of its rays, producing *stupor* or *astonishment* in the mind of the beholder; the poetical names, *chammâh*[a] (Job xxx. 28; Cant. vi. 10; Is. xxx. 26), and *cheres*[b] (Judg. xiv. 18; Job ix. 7) have reference to its heat, the beneficial effects of which are duly commemorated (Deut. xxxiii. 14; Ps. xix. 6), as well as its baneful influence when in excess (Ps. cxxi. 6; Is. xlix. 10; Jon. iv. 8; Ecclus. xliii. 3, 4). The vigour with which the sun traverses the heavens is compared to that of a "bridegroom coming out of his chamber," and of a "giant rejoicing to run his course" (Ps. xix. 5). The speed with which the beams of the rising sun dart across the sky, is expressed in the term "wings" applied to them (Ps. cxxxix. 9; Mal. iv. 2).

The worship of the sun, as the most prominent and powerful agent in the kingdom of nature, was widely diffused throughout the countries adjacent to Palestine. The Arabians appear to have paid direct worship to it without the intervention of any statue or symbol (Job xxxi. 26, 27; Strab. xvi. p. 784), and this simple style of worship was probably familiar to the ancestors of the Jews in

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[a] חַמָּה. [b] חֶרֶס.

Chaldæa and Mesopotamia. In Egypt the sun was worshipped under the title of Rê or Ra, and not as was supposed by ancient writers under the form of Osiris (Diod. Sic. i. 11; see Wilkinson's *Anc. Eg.* iv. 289): the name came conspicuously forward as the title of the kings, Pharaoh, or rather Phra, meaning "the sun" (Wilkinson, iv. 287). The Hebrews must have been well acquainted with the idolatrous worship of the sun during the captivity in Egypt, both from the contiguity of On, the chief seat of the worship of the sun as implied in the name itself (On = the Hebrew Bethshemesh, "house of the sun," Jer. xliii. 13), and also from the connexion between Joseph and Poti-pherah ("he who belongs to Ra"), the priest of On (Gen. xli. 45). After their removal to Canaan, the Hebrews came in contact with various forms of idolatry, which originated in the worship of the sun; such as the Baal of the Phœnicians (Movers, *Phön.* i. 180), the Molech or Milcom of the Ammonites, and the Hadad of the Syrians (Plin. xxxvii. 71). These idols were, with the exception of the last, introduced into the Hebrew commonwealth at various periods (Judg. ii. 11; 1 K. xi. 5); but it does not follow that the object symbolized by them was known to the Jews themselves. If we have any notice at all of conscious sun-worship in the early stages of their history, it exists in the doubtful term *chammânîm*[c] (Lev. xxvi. 30; Is. xvii. 8, &c.), which was itself significant of the sun, and probably described the stone pillars or statues under which the solar Baal (Baal-Haman of the Punic inscriptions, Gesen. *Thes.* i. 489) was worshipped at Baal-Hamon (Cant. viii. 11) and other places. Pure sun-worship appears to have been introduced by the Assyrians, and to have become formally established by Manasseh (2 K. xxi. 3, 5), in contravention of the prohibitions of Moses (Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3). Whether the practice was borrowed from the Sepharvites of Samaria (2 K. xvii. 31), whose gods Adrammelech and Anammelech are supposed to represent the male and female sun, and whose original residence (the Heliopolis of Berosus) was the chief seat of the worship of the sun in Babylonia (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 611), or whether the kings of Judah drew their model of worship more immediately from the East, is uncertain. The dedication of chariots and horses to the sun (2 K. xxiii. 11) was perhaps borrowed from the Persians (Herod. i. 189; Curt. iii. 3, §11; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 3, §24), who honoured the sun under the form of Mithras (Strab. xv. p. 732). At the same time it should be observed that the horse was connected with the worship of the sun in other countries, as among the Massagetae (Herod. i. 216), and the Armenians (Xen. *Anab.* iv. 5, §35), both of whom used it as a sacrifice. To judge from the few notices we have on the subject in the Bible, we should conclude that the Jews derived their mode of worshipping the sun from several quarters. The practice of burning incense on the house-tops (2 K. xxiii. 5, 12; Jer. xix. 13; Zeph. i. 5) might have been borrowed from the Arabians (Strab. xvi. p. 784), as also the simple act of adoration directed towards the rising sun (Ez. viii. 16; comp. Job xxxi. 27). On the other hand, the use of the chariots and horses in the processions on festival days came, as we have observed, from Persia; and so also the custom of "putting the branch to the nose" (Ez. viii. 17) according to the generally received explanation, which identifies it with the Persian practice of holding in the left hand a bundle of twigs called Bersam while worshipping the sun (Strab. xv. p. 733; Hyde, *Rel. Pers.* p. 345). This, however, is very doubtful, the expression being otherwise understood of "putting the knife to the nose," *i. e.* producing self-mutilation (Hitzig, *On Ezek.*). An objection lies against the former view from the fact that the Persians are not said to have held the branch to the nose. The importance attached to the worship of the sun by the Jewish kings, may be inferred from the fact that the horses were stalled within the precincts of the temple (the term *parvar*[d] meaning not "suburb" as in the A. V., but either a portico or an outbuilding of the temple). They were removed thence by Josiah (2 K. xxiii. 11).

In the metaphorical language of Scripture the sun is emblematic of the law of God (Ps. xix. 7), of the cheering presence of God (Ps. lxxxiv. 11), of the person of the Saviour (John i. 9; Mal. iv. 2), and of the glory and purity of heavenly beings (Rev. i. 16, x. 1, xii. 1). [W. L. B.]

SUR (Σούρ: Vulg. omits). One of the places on the sea-coast of Palestine, which are named as having been disturbed at the approach of Holofernes with the Assyrian army (Jud. ii. 28). It cannot be Tyre, the modern *Sûr*, since that is mentioned immediately before. Some have suggested Dor, others a place named Sora, mentioned by Steph. Byz. as in Phœnicia, which they would identify with *Athlit*; others, again, *Sûrafend*. But none of these are satisfactory.

SURETISHIP. (1.) The A. V. rendering for *tôkê'îm*,[a] lit. in marg. "those that strike (hands)." (2.) The phrase[b] *tĕsûmeth yâd*, "depositing in the hand," *i. e.* giving in pledge, may be understood to apply to the act of pledging, or virtual though not personal suretiship (Lev. vi. 2, in Hebr. v. 21). In the entire absence of commerce the law laid down no rules on the subject of suretiship, but it is evident that in the time of Solomon commercial dealings had become so multiplied that suretiship in the commercial sense was common (Prov. vi. 1, xi. 15, xvii. 18, xx. 16, xxii. 26, xxvii. 13). But in older times the notion of one man becoming a surety for a service to be discharged by another was in full force (see Gen. xliv. 32), and it is probable that the same form of undertaking existed, viz. the giving the hand to (striking hands with), not, as Michaelis represents, the person who was to discharge the service—in the commercial sense the debtor—but the person to whom it was due, the creditor (Job xvii. 3; Prov. vi. 1; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, §151, ii. 322, ed. Smith). The surety of course became liable for his client's debts in case of his failure. In later Jewish times the system had become common, and caused much distress in many instances, yet the duty of suretiship in certain cases is recognised as valid (Ecclus. viii. 13, xxix. 14, 15, 16, 18, 19). [LOAN.] [H. W. P.]

SUSA (*Susan*). Esth. xi. 3. xvi. 18. [SHUSHAN.]

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[c] חַמָּנִים.

[a] תּוֹקְעִים Vulg. *laqueos*; from תָּקַע, "strike" (Ges. 1517).

[d] פַּרְוָר.

[b] תְּשׂוּמֹת יָד; παραθήκη.

SUSANCH'ITES (שׁוּשַׁנְכִיא: Σ. παναχαῖοι: *Susanechaei*) is found once only—in Ezr. iv. 9, where it occurs among the list of the nations whom the Assyrians had settled in Samaria, and whose descendants still occupied the country in the reign of the Pseudo-Smerdis. There can be no doubt that it designates either the inhabitants of the city Susa (שׁוּשַׁן), or those of the country—Susis or Susiana—whereof Susa was the capital. Perhaps as the Elamites are mentioned in the same passage, and as Daniel (viii. 2) seems to call the country Elam and the city Shushan (or Susa), the former explanation is preferable. (See SHUSHAN.) [G. R.]

SUSAN'NA (Σωσάννα, Σουσάννα, *i. e.* שׁוֹשַׁנָּה, "a lily"). 1. The heroine of the story of the Judgment of Daniel. [DANIEL, APOCRYPHAL ADDITIONS TO.] The name occurs in Diod. Sic. as that of the daughter of Ninus (ii. 6), and Sheshan (1 Chr. ii. 31, 34, 35) is of the same origin and meaning (Ges. *Thes.* s. v.).

2. One of the women who ministered to the Lord (Luke viii. 3). [B. F. W.]

SU'SI (סוּסִי: Σουσί: *Susi*). The father of Gaddi the Manassite spy (Num. xiii. 11).

SWALLOW, דְּרוֹר, *dĕrôr*, and עָגוּר, *âgûr*, both thus translated in A. V. דְּרוֹר occurs twice, Ps. lxxxiv. 3, and Prov. xxvi. 2: transl. by LXX. τρωγών and στρουθός; Vulg. *turtur* and *passer*. עָגוּר also twice, Is. xxxviii. 14, and Jer. viii. 7, both times in conjunction with סִיס or סוּס, and rendered by LXX. περιστερά and στρουθίον, Vulg. "columba" and "ciconia." In each passage סִיס is rendered, probably correctly, by LXX. χελιδών (swallow), A. V. *crane* [CRANE], which is more probably the true signification of עָגוּר סִיס is, perhaps, connected with Arab. مسيسى (*'msissi*), applied to many warbling birds.

The rendering of A. V. for דְּרוֹר seems less open to question, and the original (quasi דְּרוֹר, "freedom") may include the swallow with other swiftly flying or free birds. The old commentators, except Bochart, who renders it "columba fera," apply it to the swallow from the love of freedom in this bird and the impossibility of retaining it in captivity.

Whatever be the precise rendering, the characters ascribed in the several passages where the names occur, are strictly applicable to the swallow, viz. its swiftness of flight, its nesting in the buildings of the Temple, its mournful, garrulous note, and its regular migration, shared indeed in common with several others. But the turtle-dove, for which the LXX. have taken דְּרוֹר, was scarcely likely to be a familiar resident in the Temple enclosure. On Is. xxxviii. 14, "Like a swallow, so did I chatter," we may observe that the garrulity of the swallow was proverbial among the ancients (see Nonn. Dionys. ii. 133, and Aristoph. *Batr.* 93). Hence its epithet κωτιλάς, "the twitterer," κωτιλάδας δὲ τὰς χελιδόνας, Athen. 622. See Anacr. 104, and ὀρθρογόη, Hes. *Op.* 566; and Virg. *Georg.* iv. 306.

Although Aristotle in his 'Natural History,' and Pliny following him, have given currency to the fable that many swallows bury themselves during winter, yet the regularity of their migration alluded to by the Prophet Jeremiah was familiarly recognised by the ancients. See Anacreon (*Od.* xxxiii.)

The ditty quoted by Athen. (360) from Theognis is well known—

> Ηλθ' ἦλθε χελιδων, καλας ὥρας ἄγουσα,
> καλοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς, ἐπὶ γαστέρα λευκὰ, ἐπὶ νῶτα μέλαινα.

So Ovid (*Fast.* ii. 853), "Praenuntia veris hirundo."

Many species of swallow occur in Palestine. All those familiar to us in Britain are found. The swallow (*Hirundo rustica*, L., var. *Cahirica*, Lichst.), martin (*Chelidon urbica*, L.), sand martin (*Cotyle riparia*, L.), abound. Besides these the eastern swallow (*Hir. rufula*, Tem.), which nestles generally in fissures in rocks, and the crag martin (*Cotyle rupestris*, L.), which is confined to mountain gorges and desert districts, are also common. See *Ibis*, vol. i. p. 27, vol. ii. p. 386. The crag martin is the only member of the genus which does not migrate from Palestine in winter. Of the genus *Cypselus* (swift), our swift (*Cypselus apus*, L.) is common, and the splendid alpine swift (*Cyps. melba*, L.) may be seen in all suitable localities. A third species, peculiar, so far as is yet known, to the north-east of Palestine, has recently been described under the name of *Cypselus Galileensis*.

Whatever be the true appellation for the swallow tribe in Hebrew, it would perhaps include the bee-eaters, so similar to many of the swallows, at least in the eyes of a cursory observer, in flight, note, and habits. Of this beautiful genus three species occur in Palestine, *Merops apiaster*, L., *Merops Persicus*, L., and in the valley of the Jordan *only*, the eastern sub-tropical form *Merops viridis*, L. [H. B. T.]

SWAN (תִּנְשֶׁמֶת, *tinshemeth*). Thus rendered by A. V. in Lev. xi. 18, Deut. xiv. 16, where it occurs in the list of unclean birds; LXX. πορφυρίων, ἶβις; Vulg. *porphyrio*, *ibis*. Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 290) explains it *noctua* (owl), and derives the name from שָׁמַם, "to astonish," because other birds are startled at the apparition of the owl. Gesenius suggests the *pelican*, from נָשַׁם, "to breathe, to puff," with reference to the inflation of its pouch. Whatever may have been the bird intended by Moses, these conjectures cannot be admitted as satisfactory, the owl and pelican being both distinctly expressed elsewhere in the catalogue. Nor is the A. V. translation likely to be correct. It is not probable that the swan was known to Moses or the Israelites, or at least that it was sufficiently familiar to have obtained a place in this list. Hasselquist indeed mentions his having seen a swan on the coast of Damietta; but though a regular winter visitant to Greece, only accidental stragglers wander so far south as the Nile, and it has not been observed by recent naturalists either in Palestine or Egypt. Nor, if it had been known to the Israelites, is it easy to understand why the swan should have been classed among the unclean birds. The renderings of the LXX., "porphyrio" and "ibis," are either of them more probable. Neither of these birds occur elsewhere in the catalogue, both would be familiar to residents in Egypt, and

the original seems to point to some water-fowl. The Samaritan Version also agrees with the LXX. Πορφυρίων, *porphyrio antiquorum*, Bp., the purple water-hen, is mentioned by Aristotle (*Hist. An.* viii. 8), Aristophanes (*Av.* 707), Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* x. 63), and more fully described by Athenaeus (*Deipn.* ix. 388). It is allied to our corn-crake and water-hen, and is the largest and most beautiful of the family *Rallidae*, being larger than the domestic fowl, with a rich dark-blue plumage, and brilliant red beak and legs. From the extraordinary length of its toes it is enabled, lightly treading on the flat leaves of water-plants, to support itself without immersion, and apparently to run on the surface of the water. It frequents marshes and the sedge by the banks of rivers in all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and is abundant in Lower Egypt. Athenaeus has correctly noted its singular habit of grasping its food with its very long toes, and thus conveying it to its mouth. It is distinguished from all the other species of *Rallidae* by its short powerful mandibles, with which it crushes its prey, consisting often of reptiles and young birds. It will frequently seize a young duck with its long feet, and at once crunch the head of its victim with its beak. It is an omnivorous feeder, and from the miscellaneous character of its food, might reasonably find a place in the catalogue of unclean birds. Its flesh is rank, coarse, and very dark-coloured. [H. B. T.]

SWEARING. [OATH.]

SWEAT, BLOODY. One of the physical phenomena attending our Lord's agony in the garden of Gethsemane is described by St. Luke (xxii. 44): "His sweat was as it were great drops (lit. clots, θρόμβοι) of blood falling down to the ground." The genuineness of this verse and of the preceding has been doubted, but is now generally acknowledged. They are omitted in A and B, but are found in the Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ), Codex Bezae, and others, and in the Peshito, Philoxenian, and Curetonian Syriac (see Tregelles, *Greek New Test.*; Scrivener, *Introd. to the Crit. of the N. T.* p. 434), and Tregelles points to the notation of the section and canon in ver. 42 as a trace of the existence of the verse in the Codex Alexandrinus.

Of this malady, known in medical science by the term *diapedesis*, there have been examples recorded both in ancient and modern times. Aristotle was aware of it (*De Part. Anim.* iii. 5). The cause assigned is generally violent mental emotion. "Kannegiesser," quoted by Dr. Stroud (*Phys. Cause of the Death of Christ*, p. 86), "remarks, 'Violent mental excitement, whether occasioned by uncontrollable anger or vehement joy, and in like manner sudden terror or intense fear, forces out a sweat, accompanied with signs either of anxiety or hilarity.' After ascribing this sweat to the unequal constriction of some vessels and dilatation of others, he further observes: 'If the mind is seized with a sudden fear of death, the sweat, owing to the excessive degree of constriction, often becomes bloody.'" Dr. Millingen (*Curiosities of Medical Experience*, p. 489, 2nd ed.) gives the following explanation of the phenomenon: "It is probable that this strange disorder arises from a violent commotion of the nervous system, turning the streams of blood out of their natural course, and forcing the red particles into the cutaneous excretories. A mere relaxation of the fibres could not produce so powerful a revulsion. It may also arise in cases of extreme debility in connexion with a thinner condition of the blood."

The following are a few of the instances on record which have been collected by Calmet (*Diss. sur la Sueur du Sang*), Millingen, Stroud, Trusen (*Die Sitten, Gebräuche, und Krankheiten d. alt. Hebr.*, Breslau, 1853). Schenkius (*Obs. Med.* lib. iii. p. 458) mentions the case of a nun who was so terrified at falling into the hands of soldiers that blood oozed from all the pores of her body. The same writer says that in the plague of Miseno in 1554 a woman who was seized sweated blood for three days. In 1552, Conrad Lycosthenes (*de Prodigiis*, p. 623, ed. 1557) reports, a woman sick of the plague sweated blood from the upper part of her body. Maldonato (*Comm. in Evang.*) gives an instance, attested by eyewitnesses, of a man at Paris in full health and vigour, who, hearing the sentence of death, was covered with a bloody sweat. According to De Thou (lib. xi. vol. i. p. 326, ed. 1626), the governor of Montemaro, being seized by stratagem and threatened with death, was so moved thereat that he sweated blood and water. Another case, recorded in the same historian (lib. lxxxii. vol iv. p. 44), is that of a Florentine youth who was unjustly condemned to death by Pope Sixtus V. The death of Charles IX. of France was attended by the same phenomenon. Mezeray (*Hist. de France*, ii. p. 1170, ed. 1646) says of his last moments, "Il s'agitoit et se remuoit sans cesse, et le sang luy jaillissoit par tous les conduits, mesme par les pores, de sorte qu' on le trouva une fois qui baignoit dedans." A sailor, during a fearful storm, is said to have fallen with terror, and when taken up his whole body was covered with a bloody sweat (Millingen, p. 488). In the *Mélanges d'Histoire* (iii. 179), by Dom Bonaventure d'Argonne, the case is given of a woman who suffered so much from this malady that, after her death, no blood was found in her veins. Another case, of a girl of 18 who suffered in the same way, is reported by Mesaporiti,[a] a physician at Genoa, accompanied by the observations of Valisneri, Professor of Medicine at Padua. It occurred in 1703 (*Phil. Trans.* No. 303, p. 2144). There is still, however, wanted a well-authenticated instance in modern times, observed with all the care and attested by all the exactness of later medical science. That given in Caspar's *Wochenschrift*, 1848, as having been observed by Dr. Schneider, appears to be the most recent, and resembles the phenomenon mentioned by Theophrastus (*London Med. Gaz.*, 1848, vol. ii. p. 953). For further reference to authorities, see Copeland's *Dict. of Medicine*, ii. 72. [W. A. W.]

SWINE (חֲזִיר, *chăzîr*: ὗς, ὕειος, σῦς; χοῖρος in N. T.: *sus*, *aper*). Allusion will be found in the Bible to these animals, both (1) in their domestic and (2) in their wild state.

(1.) The flesh of swine was forbidden as food by the Levitical law (Lev. xi. 7; Deut. xiv. 8); the abhorrence which the Jews as a nation had of it may be inferred from Is. lxv. 4, where some of the idolatrous people are represented as "eating swine's flesh," and as having the "broth of abominable things in their vessels;" see also lxvi. 3, 17, and 2 Macc. vi. 18, 19, in which passage we read that Eleazar, an aged scribe, when compelled by

[a] So the name is given in the *Philos. Trans.*; Calmet writes it "M. Saporitius."

Antiochus to receive in his mouth swine's flesh, "spit it forth, choosing rather to die gloriously than to live stained with such an abomination." The use of swine's flesh was forbidden to the Egyptian priests, to whom, says Sir G. Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.* i. 322), "above all meats it was particularly obnoxious" (see Herodotus, ii. 47; Aelian, *de Nat. Anim.* x. 16; Josephus, *Contr. Apion.* ii. 14), though it was occasionally eaten by the people. The Arabians also were disallowed the use of swine's flesh (see Pliny, *N. H.* viii. 52; Koran, ii. 175), as were also the Phoenicians, Aethiopians, and other nations of the East.

No other reason for the command to abstain from swine's flesh is given in the law of Moses beyond the general one which forbade any of the mammalia as food which did not literally fulfil the terms of the definition of a "clean animal," viz. that it was to be a cloven-footed ruminant. The pig, therefore, though it divides the hoof, but does not chew the cud, was to be considered unclean; and consequently, inasmuch as, unlike the ass and the horse in the time of the Kings, no use could be made of the animal when alive, the Jews did not breed swine (Lactant. *Instit.* iv. 17). It is, however, probable that dietetical considerations may have influenced Moses in his prohibition of swine's flesh; it is generally believed that its use in hot countries is liable to induce cutaneous disorders; hence in a people liable to leprosy the necessity for the observance of a strict rule. "The reason of the meat not being eaten was its unwholesomeness, on which account it was forbidden to the Jews and Moslems" (Sir G. Wilkinson's *note* in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. 47). Ham. Smith, however (Kitto's *Cycl.* art. '*Swine*'), maintains that this reputed unwholesomeness of swine's flesh has been much exaggerated; and recently a writer in Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine* (July 1, 1862, p. 266) has endorsed this opinion. Other conjectures for the reason of the prohibition, which are more curious than valuable, may be seen in Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. 806, *seq.*). Callistratus (apud Plutarch. *Sympos.* iv. 5) suspected that the Jews did not use swine's flesh for the same reason which, he says, influenced the Egyptians, viz. that this animal was sacred, inasmuch as by turning up the earth with its snout it first taught men the art of ploughing (see Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. 806, and a dissertation by Cassel, entitled *De Judaeorum odio et abstinentia a porcina ejusque causis*, Magdeb.; also Michaelis, *Comment. on the Laws of Moses*, art. 203, iii. 230, Smith's transl.). Although the Jews did not breed swine, during the greater period of their existence as a nation, there can be little doubt that the heathen nations of Palestine used the flesh as food.

At the time of our Lord's ministry it would appear that the Jews occasionally violated the law of Moses with respect to swine's flesh. Whether "the herd of swine" into which the devils were allowed to enter (Matt. viii. 32; Mark v. 13) were the property of the Jewish or Gentile inhabitants of Gadara does not appear from the sacred narrative; but that the practice of keeping swine did exist amongst some of the Jews seems clear from the enactment of the law of Hyrcanus, "ne cui porcum alere liceret" (Grotius, *Annot. ad Matt. l. c.*). Allusion is made in 2 Pet. ii. 22 to the fondness which swine have for "wallowing in the mire;" this, it appears, was a proverbial expression, with which may be compared the "amica luto sus" of Horace (*Ep.* i. 2, 26). Solomon's comparison of a "jewel of gold in a swine's snout" to a "fair woman without discretion" (Prov. xi. 22), and the expression of our Lord, "neither cast ye your pearls before swine," are so obviously intelligible as to render any remarks unnecessary. The transaction of the destruction of the herd of swine already alluded to, like the cursing of the barren fig-tree, has been the subject of most unfair cavil: it is well answered by Trench (*Miracles*, p. 173), who observes that "a man is of more value than many swine;" besides which it must be remembered that it is not necessary to suppose that our Lord *sent* the devils into the swine. He merely permitted them to go, as Aquinas says, "quod autem porci in mare praecipitati sunt non fuit operatio divini miraculi, sed operatio daemonum e permissione divinâ;" and if these Gadarene villagers were Jews and owned the swine, they were rightly punished by the loss of that which they ought not to have had at all.

Wild Boar.

(2.) The wild boar of the wood (Ps. lxxx. 13) is the common *Sus scrofa* which is frequently met with in the woody parts of Palestine, especially in Mount Tabor. The allusion in the psalm to the injury the wild boar does to the vineyards is well borne out by fact. "It is astonishing what havoc a wild boar is capable of effecting during a single night; what with eating and trampling under foot, he will destroy a vast quantity of grapes" (Hartley's *Researches in Greece*, p. 234). [W. H.]

SWORD. [ARMS.]

SYCAMINE-TREE (*συκάμινος*: *morus*) is mentioned once only, viz., in Luke xvii. 6, "If ye had faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye might say to this sycamine-tree, Be thou plucked up," &c. There is no reason to doubt that the *συκάμινος* is distinct from the *συκομωραία* of the same Evangelist (xix. 4) [SYCAMORE], although we learn from Dioscorides (i. 180) that this name was sometimes given to the *συκόμορος*. The sycamine is the mulberry-tree (*Morus*), as is evident from Dioscorides, Theophrastus (*H. P.* i. 6, §1; 10, §10; 13, §4, &c.), and various other Greek writers; see Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 288. A form of the same word, *συκαμηνγά*, is still one of the names for the mulberry-tree in Greece (see Heldreich's *Nutzpflanzen Griechenlands*, Athen. 1862, p. 19 "Morus alba L. und M. nigra L. *ἡ Μορρά, Μουργγά*, und *Μουργά*, auch *Συκαμηνγά*—pelasg. *mure*,—*id.*"). Both black and white mulberry-

trees are common in Syria and Palestine, and are largely cultivated there for the sake of supplying food to the caterpillars of the silk-worm, which are bred in great numbers. The mulberry-tree is too well known to render further remarks necessary. [W. H.]

Morus nigra (Mulberry).

SYCAMORE (שִׁקְמָה, *Shik'mâh*: συκάμινος, συκομορέα or συκομοραία, in the N. T.: *Sycamorus, morus, ficetum*). The Hebrew word occurs in the O. T. only in the plural form masc. and once fem., Ps. lxxviii. 47; and it is in the LXX. always translated by the Greek word συκάμινος. The two Greek words occur only once each in the N. T., συκάμινος (Luke xvii. 6), and συκομωρέα (Luke xix. 4). Although it may be admitted that the *Sycamine* is properly, and in Luke xvii. 6, the *Mulberry*, and the *Sycamore* the *Fig-mulberry*, or Sycamore-fig (*Ficus Sycomorus*), yet the latter is the tree generally referred to in the O. T., and called by the Sept. *sycamine*, as 1 K. x. 27; 1 Chr. xxvii. 28; Ps. lxxviii. 47; Am. vii. 14. Dioscorides expressly says Συκόμορον, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο συκάμινον λέγουσι, lib. i. cap. 180. Compare Gesenius, *Thesaurus Heb.* p. 1476 *b*; Winer, *Rwb.* ii. 65 ff.; Rosenmüller, *Alterthumskunde*, B. iv. s. 281 ff.; Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 310.

The *Sycamore*, or *Fig-mulberry* (from σῦκον, *fig.* and μόρον, *mulberry*), is in Egypt and Palestine a tree of great importance and very extensive use. It attains the size of a walnut-tree, has wide-spreading branches, and affords a delightful shade. On this account it is frequently planted by the waysides. Its leaves are heart-shaped, downy on the under side, and fragrant. The fruit grows directly from the trunk itself on little sprigs, and in clusters like the grape. To make it eatable, each fruit, three or four days before gathering, must, it is said, be punctured with a sharp instrument or the finger-nail. Comp. Theophrastus, *De Caus Plant.* i. 17, §9; *Hist. Pl.* iv. 2, §1; Pliny, *N. H.* xiii. 7; Forskål, *Descr. Plant.* p. 182. This was the original employment of the prophet Amos, as he says vii. 14.[a] Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 260 Lond. 1766) says, "the fruit of this tree tastes pretty well; when quite ripe it is soft, watery, somewhat sweet, with a very little portion of an aromatic taste." It appears, however, that a species of gall insect (*Cynips Sycomori*) often spoils much of the fruit. "The tree," Hasselquist adds, "is wounded or cut by the inhabitants at the time it buds, for without this precaution, as they say, it will not bear fruit" (p. 261). In form and smell and inward structure it resembles the fig, and hence its name. The tree is always verdant, and bears fruit several times in the year without being confined to fixed seasons, and is thus, as a permanent food-bearer, invaluable to the poor. The wood of the tree, though very porous, is exceedingly durable. It suffers neither from moisture nor heat. The Egyptian mummy coffins, which are made of it, are still perfectly sound after an entombment of thousands of years. It was much used for doors, and large furniture, such as sofas, tables, and chairs.[b]

Ficus Sycomorus.

[a] Amos says of himself he was בּוֹלֵס שִׁקְמִים: LXX. κνίζων συκάμινα: Vulg. *vellicans sycamina*; *i. e.* a cutter of the fruit for the purpose of ripening it. Κνίζω is the very word used by Theophrastus

[b] See Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 110, Lond. 1854. "For coffins, boxes tables, doors, and other objects which required large and thick planks, for idols and wooden statues, the sycamore was principally employed; and from the quantity discovered in the tombs alone, it is evident that the tree was cultivated to a great extent." Don, however, believed that the mummy-cases of the Egyptians were made of the wood of the *Cordia Myxa*, a tree which furnishes the Sebesten

So great was the value of these trees, that David appointed for them in his kingdom a special overseer, as he did for the olives (1 Chr. xxvii. 28); and it is mentioned as one of the heaviest of Egypt's calamities, that her sycamores were destroyed by hailstones (Ps. lxxviii. 47). That which is called Sycamore in N. America, the *Occidental Plane* or *Button-wood* tree, has no resemblance whatever to the sycamore of the Bible; the name is also applied to a species of maple (the *Acer Pseudo-platanus* or *False-plane*), which is much used by turners and millwrights. [C. E. S.]

SY'CHAR (Συχάρ in ℵ A C D; but Rec. Text Σιχάρ with B: *Sichar*; but Codd. Am. and Fuld. *Sychar*: Syriac, *Socar*). A place named only in John iv. 5. It is specified as "a city of Samaria called Sychar, near the ground which Jacob gave to Joseph his son; and there was the well of Jacob."

Jerome believed that the name was merely a copyist's error for Sychem; but the unanimity of the MSS. is sufficient to dispose of this supposition.

Sychar was either a name applied to the town of Shechem, or it was an independent place. 1. The first of these alternatives is now almost universally accepted. In the words of Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 290), "In consequence of the hatred which existed between the Jews and the Samaritans, and in allusion to their idolatry, the town of Sichem received, among the Jewish common people, the by-name Sychar." This theory may be correct, but the only support which can be found for it is the very imperfect one afforded by a passage in Isaiah (xxviii. 1, 7), in which the prophet denounces the Ephraimites as *shiccôrîm*—"drunkards;" and by a passage in Habakkuk (ii. 18) in which the words *môreh sheker*, "a teacher of lies," are supposed to contain an allusion to Moreh, the original name of the district of Shechem, and to the town itself. But this is surely arguing in a circle. And had such a nickname been applied to Shechem so habitually as its occurrence in St. John would seem to imply, there would be some trace of it in those passages of the Talmud which refer to the Samaritans, and in which every term of opprobrium and ridicule that can be quoted or invented is heaped on them. It may be affirmed, however, with certainty that neither in Targum nor Talmud is there any mention of such a thing. Lightfoot did not know of it. The numerous treatises on the Samaritans are silent about it, and recent close search has failed to discover it.

Presuming that Jacob's well was then, where it is now shown, at the entrance of the valley of *Nablus*, Shechem would be too distant to answer to the words of St. John, since it must have been more than a mile off.

"A city of Samaria called Sychar, near to the plot of ground which Jacob gave to Joseph"—surely these are hardly the terms in which such a place as Shechem would be described; for though it was then perhaps at the lowest ebb of its fortunes, yet the tenacity of places in Syria to name and fame is almost proverbial.

There is not much force in the argument that St. Stephen uses the name Sychem in speaking of Shechem, for he is recapitulating the ancient history, and the names of the Old Testament narrative (in the LXX. form) would come most naturally to his mouth. But the earliest Christian tradition, in the persons of Eusebius and the Bourdeaux Pilgrim—both in the early part of the 4th century—discriminates Shechem from Sychar. Eusebius (*Onomast.* Συχάρ and Λουζά) says that Sychar was in front of the city of Neapolis; and, again, that it lay by the side of Luza, which was [a] three miles from Neapolis. Sychem, on the other hand, he places in the suburbs of Neapolis by the tomb of Joseph. The Bourdeaux Pilgrim describes Sechim as at the foot of the mountain, and as containing Joseph's monument [b] and plot of ground (*villa*). And he then proceeds to say that a thousand paces thence was the place called Sechar.

And notwithstanding all that has been said of the predilection of Orientals for the water of certain springs or wells (Porter, *Handbook*, 342), it does appear remarkable, when the very large number of sources in Nablus itself is remembered, that a woman should have left them and come out a distance of more than a mile. On the other hand, we need not suppose that it was her habit to do so; it may have been a casual visit.

2. In favour of Sychar having been an independent place is the fact that a village named *'Askar* (عسكر) still exists [c] at the south-east foot of Ebal, about north-east of the Well of Jacob, and about half a mile from it. Whether this is the village alluded to by Eusebius, and Jerome, and the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, it is impossible to tell. The earliest notice of it which the writer has been able to discover is in Quaresmius (*Elucidatio*, ii. 808 *b*). It is uncertain if he is speaking of himself or quoting Brocardus. If the latter, he had a different copy from that which is [d] published. It is an important point, because there is a difference of more than four centuries between the two, Brocardus having written about 1280, and Quaresmius about 1630. The statement is, that "on the left of the well," *i. e.* on the north, as Gerizim has just been spoken of as on the right, "is a large city (*oppidum magnum*), but deserted and in ruins, which is believed to have been the ancient Sichem. . . . . The natives told me that they called the place *Istar*."

A village like *'Askar* [e] answers much more appropriately to the casual description of St. John than so large and so venerable a place as Shechem.

On the other hand there is an etymological difficulty in the way of this identification. *'Askar* begins with the letter *'Ain*, which Sychar does not appear to have contained; a letter too stubborn and enduring to be easily either dropped or assumed in a name.

In favour of the theory that Sychar was a "nickname" of Shechem, it should not be overlooked that St. John appears always to use the expression λεγόμενος, "called," to denote a soubriquet or title

plums. There can be no doubt, however, that the wood of the *Ficus Sycomorus* was extensively used in ancient days. The dry climate of Egypt might have helped to have preserved the timber, which must have been valuable in a country where large timber-trees are scarce.

[a] The text of Eusebius reads θ = 9 miles; but this is corrected by Jerome to 3.

[b] The tomb or monument alluded to in these two passages must have occupied the place of the Moslem tomb of *Yusuf*, now shown at the foot of Gerizim, not far from the east gate of *Nablus*.

[c] Dr. Rosen, in *Zeitschrift der D. M. G.* xiv. 634. Van de Velde (*S. & P.* ii. 333) proposes *'Askar* as the native place of Judas Iscariot.

[d] Perhaps this is one of the variations spoken of by Robinson (ii. 539).

[e] The identity of Askar with Sychar is supported by Dr. Thomson (*Land and Book*, ch. xxxi.), and by Mr. Williams in the *Dict. of Geogr.* (ii. 412 *b*).

borne by place or person in addition to the name, or to attach it to a place remote and little known. Instances of the former practice are xi. 16, xx. 24, xix. 13, 17; of the latter, xi. 54.

These considerations have been stated not so much with the hope of leading to any conclusion on the identity of Sychar, which seems hopeless, as with the desire to shew that the ordinary explanation is not nearly so obvious as it is usually assumed to be. [G.]

SY'CHEM (Συχέμ: *Sichem*; Cod. Amiat. *Sychem*). The Greek form of the word Shechem, the name of the well known city of Central Palestine. It occurs in Acts vii. 16 only. The main interest of the passage rests on its containing two of those numerous and singular variations from the early history, as told in the Pentateuch, with which the speech of St. Stephen* abounds. [STEPHEN.] This single verse exhibits an addition to, and a discrepancy from, the earlier account. (1) The patriarchs are said in it to have been buried at Sychem, whereas in the O. T. this is related of the bones of Joseph alone (Josh. xxiv. 32). (2) The sepulchre at Sychem is said to have been bought from Emmor by Abraham; whereas in the O. T. it was the cave of Machpelah at Kirjath-arba which Abraham bought and made into his sepulchre, and Jacob who bought the plot of ground at Shechem from Hamor (Gen. xxxiii. 19). In neither of these cases is there any doubt of the authenticity of the present Greek text, nor has any explanation been put forward which adequately meets the difficulty—if difficulty it be. That no attempt should have been made to reconcile the numerous and obvious discrepancies contained in the speech of St. Stephen by altering the MSS. is remarkable, and a cause of great thankfulness. Thankfulness because we are thus permitted to possess at once a proof that it is possible to be as thoroughly inspired by the Spirit of God as was Stephen on this occasion, and yet have remained ignorant or forgetful of minute facts, —and a broad and conspicuous seal to the unimportance of such slight variations in the different accounts of the Sacred History, as long as the general tenor of the whole remains harmonious.

A bastard variation of the name Sychem, viz. SICHEM, is found, and its people are mentioned as—

SY'CHEMITE, THE (τὸν Συχέμ: *Hevaeus*), in Jud. v. 16. This passage is remarkable for giving the inhabitants of Shechem an independent place among the tribes of the country who were dispossessed at the conquest. [G.]

SYE'LUS (Συῆλος; Alex. Ἡσυῆλος: om. in Vulg.) = JEHIEL 3 (1 Esd. i. 8; comp. 2 Chr. xxxv. 8).

SYE NE, properly SEVENEH (סְוֵנָה; Συήνη: *Syene*), a town of Egypt on the frontier of Cush or Ethiopia. The prophet Ezekiel speaks of the desolation of Egypt "from Migdol to Seveneh, even unto the border of Cush" (xxix. 10), and of its people being slain "from Migdol to Seveneh" (xxx. 6). Migdol was on the eastern border [MIGDOL], and Seveneh is thus rightly identified with the town of Syene, which was always the last town of Egypt on the south, though at one time included in the nome Nubia. Its ancient Egyptian name is SUN (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschrift.* i. 155, tab. i., No. 55), preserved in the Coptic COYAN, CEHOH, and the Arabic Aswán. The modern town is slightly to the north of the old site, which is marked by an interesting early Arab burial-ground, covered with remarkable tombstones, having inscriptions in the Cufic character. Champollion suggests the derivation CA, causative, OYHN OYEN, "to open," as though it signified the opening or key of Egypt (*L'Égypte*, i. 161-166), and this is the meaning of the hieroglyphic name. [R. S. P.]

* These are examined at great length, and elaborately reconciled, in the *New Testament* of Canon Wordsworth, 1860, pp. 65-69.

SYNAGOGUE (Συναγωγή: *Synagoga*).—It may be well to note at the outset the points of contact between the history and ritual of the synagogues of the Jews, and the facts to which the inquiries of the Biblical student are principally directed. (1.) They meet us as the great characteristic institution of the later phase of Judaism. More even than the Temple and its services, in the time of which the N. T. treats, they at once represented and determined the religious life of the people. (2.) We cannot separate them from the most intimate connexion with our Lord's life and ministry. In them He worshipped in His youth, and in His manhood. Whatever we can learn of the ritual which then prevailed tells us of a worship which He recognised and sanctioned; which for that reason, if for no other, though, like the statelier services of the Temple, it was destined to pass away, is worthy of our respect and honour. They were the scenes, too, of no small portion of His work. In them were wrought some of His mightiest works of healing (Mark i. 23; Matt. xii. 9; Luke xiii. 11). In them were spoken some of the most glorious of His recorded words (Luke iv. 16; John vi. 59); many more, beyond all reckoning, which are not recorded (Matt. iv. 23, xiii. 54; John xviii. 20, etc., etc.). (3.) There are the questions, leading us back to a remoter past: In what did the worship of the synagogue originate? what type was it intended to reproduce? what customs, alike in nature, if not in name, served as the starting-point for it? (4.) The synagogue, with all that belonged to it, was connected with the future as well as with the past. It was the order with which the first Christian believers were most familiar, from which they were most likely to take the outlines, or even the details, of the worship, organisation, government of their own society. Widely divergent as the two words and the things they represented afterwards became, the Ecclesia had its starting-point in the Synagogue.

Keeping these points in view, it remains to deal with the subject in a somewhat more formal manner.

I. *Name.*—(1.) The Aramaic equivalent כנשתא first appears in the Targum of Onkelos as a substitute for the Hebrew עֵדָה (=congregation) in the Pentateuch (Leyrer, *ut infr.*). The more precise local designation, בֵּית הַכְּנֶסֶת (*Beth ha-Cenneseth*=House of gathering), belongs to a yet later date. This is, in itself, tolerably strong evidence that nothing precisely answering to the later synagogue was recognised before the Exile. If it had been, the name was quite as likely to have been perpetuated as the thing.

(2.) The word συναγωγή, not unknown in classical Greek (Thuc. ii. 18, Plato, *Republ.* 526 D), became prominent in that of the Hellenists. It appears in the LXX. as the translation of not less than twenty-one Hebrew words in which the idea of a gathering is implied (Tromm. *Concordant.* s. v.)

With most of these we have nothing to do. Two of them are more noticeable. It is used 130 times for עֵדָה, where the prominent idea is that of an *appointed* meeting (Gesenius, *s. v.*), and 25 times for קָהָל, a meeting *called* together, and therefore more commonly translated in the LXX. by ἐκκλησία. In one memorable passage (Prov. v. 14), the two words, ἐκκλησία and συναγωγή, destined to have such divergent histories, to be representatives of such contrasted systems, appear in close juxtaposition. In the books of the Apocrypha the word, as in those of the O. T., retains its general meaning, and is not used specifically for any recognised place of worship. For this the received phrase seems to be τόπος προσευχῆς (1 Macc. iii. 46, 3 Macc. vii. 20). In the N. T., however, the local meaning is the dominant one. Sometimes the word is applied to the tribunal which was connected with or sat in the synagogue in the narrower sense (Matt. x. 17, xxiii. 34; Mark xiii. 9; Luke xxi. 12, xii. 11). Within the limits of the Jewish Church it perhaps kept its ground as denoting the *place* of meeting of the Christian brethren (Jas. ii. 2). It seems to have been claimed by some of the pseudo-Judaising, half-Gnostic sects of the Asiatic Churches for their meetings (Rev. ii. 9). It was not altogether obsolete, as applied to Christian meetings, in the time of Ignatius (*Ep. ad Trall.* c. 5, *ad Polyc.* c. 3). Even in Clement of Alexandria the two words appear united as they had done in the LXX. (ἐπὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐκκλησίας, *Strom.* vi. p. 633). Afterwards when the chasm between Judaism and Christianity became wider, Christian writers were fond of dwelling on the meanings of the two words which practically represented them, and showing how far the Synagogue was excelled by the Ecclesia (August. *Enarr.* in Ps. lxxx.; Trench, *Synonyms of N. T.* §i.). The cognate word, however, σύναξις, was formed or adopted in its place, and applied to the highest act of worship and communion for which Christians met (Suicer, *Thes.* s. v.).

II. *History.*—(1.) Jewish writers have claimed for their synagogues a very remote antiquity. In well-nigh every place where the phrase "before the Lord" appears, they recognise in it a known sanctuary, a fixed place of meeting, and therefore a synagogue (Vitringa, *De Synag.* pp. 271 *et seq.*). The Targum of Onkelos finds in Jacob's "dwelling in tents" (Gen. xxv. 27) his attendance at a synagogue or house of prayer. That of Jonathan finds them in Judg. v. 9, and in "the calling of assemblies" of Is. i. 13 (Vitringa, pp. 271-315).

(2.) Apart from these far-fetched interpretations, we know too little of the life of Israel, both before and under the monarchy, to be able to say with certainty whether there was anything at all corresponding to the synagogues of later date. On the one hand, it is probable that if new moons and sabbaths were observed at all, they must have been attended by some celebration apart from, as well as at, the Tabernacle or the Temple (1 Sam. xx. 5; 2 K. iv. 23). On the other, so far as we find traces of such local worship, it seems to have fallen too readily into a fetich-religion, sacrifices to ephods and teraphim (Judg. viii. 27, xvii. 5) in groves and on high-places, offering nothing but a contrast to the "reasonable service," the prayers, psalms, instruction in the Law, of the later synagogue. The special mission of the Priests and Levites under Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xvii. 7-9) shows that there was no regular provision for reading the "book of the law of the Lord" to the people, and makes it probable that even the rule which prescribed that it should be read once every seven years at the feast of Tabernacles had fallen into disuse (Deut. xxxi. 10). With the rise of the prophetic order we trace a more distinct though still a partial approximation. Wherever there was a company of such prophets there must have been a life analogous in many of its features to that of the later Essenes and Therapeutae, to that of the *coenobia* and monasteries of Christendom. In the abnormal state of the polity of Israel under Samuel, they appear to have aimed at purifying the worship of the high-places from idolatrous associations, and met on fixed days for sacrifice and psalmody (1 Sam. ix. 12, x. 5). The scene in 1 Sam. xix. 20-24 indicates that the meetings were open to any worshippers who might choose to come, as well as to "the sons of the prophets," the brothers of the order themselves. Later on, in the time of Elisha, the question of the Shunammite's husband (2 K. iv. 23), "Wherefore wilt thou go to him (the prophet) to-day? It is neither new moon nor sabbath," implies frequent periodical gatherings, instituted or perhaps revived by Elijah and his successors, as a means of sustaining the religious life of the northern kingdom, and counteracting the prevalent idolatry. The date of Ps. lxxiv. is too uncertain for us to draw any inference as to the nature of the "synagogues of God" (מוֹעֲדֵי אֵל, meeting-places of God), which the invaders are represented as destroying (v. 8) It may have belonged to the time of the Assyrian or Chaldaean invasion (Vitringa, *Synag.* pp. 396 405). It has been referred to that of the Maccabees (De Wette, *Psalmen*, in loc.), or to an intermediate period when Jerusalem was taken and the land laid waste by the army of Bagoses, under Artaxerxes II. (Ewald, *Poet. Bücher.* ii. 358). The "assembly of the elders," in Ps. cvii. 32, leaves us in like uncertainty.

(3.) During the exile, in the abeyance of the Temple-worship, the meetings of devout Jews probably became more systematic (Vitringa, *De Synag.* pp. 413-429; Jost, *Judenthum*, i. 168; Bornitius, *De Synagog.* in Ugolini, *Thes.* xxi.), and must have helped forward the change which appears so conspicuously at the time of the return. The repeated mention of gatherings of the elders of Israel, sitting before the prophet Ezekiel, and hearing his word (Ez. viii. 1, xiv. 1, xx. 1, xxxiii. 31), implies the transfer to the land of the captivity of the custom that had originated in the schools of the prophets. One remarkable passage may possibly contain a more distinct reference to them. Those who still remained in Jerusalem taunted the prophet and his companions with their exile, as outcasts from the blessings of the sanctuary. "Get ye far from the Lord; unto us is this land given in a possession." The prophet's answer is, that it was not so. Jehovah was as truly with them in their "little sanctuary" as He had been in the Temple at Jerusalem. His presence, not the outward glory, was itself the sanctuary (Ez. xi. 15, 16).[a] The whole history of Ezra presupposes the habit of solemn,

[a] The passage is not without its difficulties. The interpretation given above is supported by the LXX., Vulg., and A.V. It is confirmed by the general *consensus* of Jewish interpreters. (Vatablus, in *Crit. Sac.* in loco Calmet, s. v. *Synagogue.*) The other renderings (comp. Ewald and Rosenmüller, *in loc.*), "I will be to them a

probably of periodic meetings (Ezr. viii. 15; Neh. viii. 2, ix. 1; Zech. vii. 5). To that period accordingly we may attribute the revival, if not the institution of synagogues. The "ancient days" of which St. James speaks (Acts xv. 21) may, at least, go back so far. Assuming Ewald's theory as to the date and occasion of Ps. lxxiv., there must, at some subsequent period, have been a great destruction of the buildings, and a consequent suspension of the services. It is, at any rate, striking that they are not in any way prominent in the Maccabaean history, either as objects of attack, or rallying points of defence, unless we are to see in the gathering of the persecuted Jews at Maspha (Mizpah) as at a "place where they prayed aforetime in Israel" (1 Macc. iii. 46), not only a reminiscence of its old glory as a holy place, but the continuance of a more recent custom. When that struggle was over, there appears to have been a freer development of what may be called the synagogue parochial system among the Jews of Palestine and other countries. The influence of John Hyrcanus, the growing power of the Pharisees, the authority of the Scribes, the example, probably, of the Jews of the "dispersion" (Vitringa, p. 426), would all tend in the same direction. Well-nigh every town or village had its one or more synagogues. Where the Jews were not in sufficient numbers to be able to erect and fill a building, there was the προσευχή, or place of prayer, sometimes open, sometimes covered in, commonly by a running stream or on the sea-shore, in which devout Jews and proselytes met to worship, and, perhaps, to read (Acts xvi. 13; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, 23; Juven. *Sat.* iii. 296).[b] Sometimes the term προσευχή (=בֵּית תְּפִלָּה) was applied even to an actual synagogue (Jos. *Vit.* c. 54).

(4.) It is hardly possible to overestimate the influence of the system thus developed. To it we may ascribe the tenacity with which, after the Maccabaean struggle, the Jews adhered to the religion of their fathers, and never again relapsed into idolatry. The people were now in no danger of forgetting the Law, and the external ordinances that hedged it round. If pilgrimages were still made to Jerusalem at the great feasts, the habitual religion of the Jews in, and yet more out of Palestine was connected much more intimately with the synagogue than with the Temple. Its simple, edifying devotion, in which mind and heart could alike enter, attracted the heathen proselytes who might have been repelled by the bloody sacrifices of the Temple, or would certainly have been driven from it unless they could make up their minds to submit to circumcision (Acts xxi. 28; comp. PROSELYTES). Here too, as in the cognate order of the Scribes, there was an influence tending to diminish and ultimately almost to destroy the authority of the hereditary priesthood. The services of the synagogue required no sons of Aaron; gave them nothing more than a complimentary precedence. [PRIESTS; SCRIBES.] The way was silently prepared for a new and higher order, which should rise in "the fulness of time" out of the decay and abolition of both the priesthood and the Temple. In another way too the synagogues everywhere prepared the way for that order. Not "Moses" only but "the Prophets" were read in them every Sabbath day, and thus the Messianic hopes of Israel, the expectation of a kingdom of Heaven, were universally diffused.

III. *Structure.*—(1.) The size of a synagogue, like that of a church or chapel, varied with the population. We have no reason for believing that there were any fixed laws of proportion for its dimensions, like those which are traced in the Tabernacle and the Temple. Its position was, however, determinate. It stood, if possible, on the highest ground, in or near the city to which it belonged. Failing this, a tall pole rose from the roof to render it conspicuous (Leyrer, *s. v. Synag.* in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.*). And its direction too was fixed. Jerusalem was the *Kibleh* of Jewish devotion. The synagogue was so constructed, that the worshippers as they entered, and as they prayed, looked toward it[c] (Vitringa, pp. 178, 457). The building was commonly erected at the cost of the district, whether by a church-rate levied for the purpose, or by free gifts, must remain uncertain (Vitringa, p. 229). Sometimes it was built by a rich Jew, or even as in Luke vii. 5, by a friendly proselyte. In the later stages of Eastern Judaism it was often erected, like the mosques of Mahometans, near the tombs of famous Rabbis or holy men. When the building was finished it was set apart, as the Temple had been, by a special prayer of dedication. From that time it had a consecrated character. The common acts of life, eating, drinking, reckoning up accounts, were forbidden in it. No one was to pass through it as a short cut. Even if it ceased to be used, the building was not to be applied to any base purpose—might not be turned, *e. g.* into a bath, a laundry, or a tannery. A scraper stood outside the door that men might rid themselves, before they entered, of anything that would be defiling (Leyrer, *l. c.*, and Vitringa).

(2.) In the internal arrangement of the synagogue we trace an obvious analogy, *mutatis mutandis*, to the type of the Tabernacle. At the upper or Jerusalem end stood the Ark, the chest which, like the older and more sacred Ark, contained the Book of the Law. It gave to that end the name and character of a sanctuary (הֵיכָל). The same thought was sometimes expressed by its being called

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sanctuary, for a little time," or "in a little measure," give a less satisfactory meaning. The language of the later Jews applied the term "sanctuary" to the ark-end of the synagogue (*infra*).

[b] We may trace perhaps in this selection of localities, like the "sacri fontis *nemus*" of Juv. *Sat.* iii. 13, the re-appearance, freed from its old abominations, of the attachment of the Jews to the worship of the groves, of the charm which led them to bow down under "every green tree" (Is. lvii. 5; Jer. ii. 20).

[c] The practice of a fixed *Kibleh* (= direction) in prayer was clearly very ancient, and commended itself to some special necessities of the Eastern character. In Ps. xxviii., ascribed to David, we have probably the earliest trace of it (De Wette, *in loc.*). It is recognised in the dedication prayer of Solomon (1 K. viii. 29 et al.). It appears as a fixed rule in the devotions of Daniel (Dan. vi. 10). It was adopted afterwards by Mahomet, and the point of the Kibleh, after some lingering reverence to the Holy City, transferred from Jerusalem to the Kaaba of Mecca. The early Christian practice of praying towards the East indicates a like feeling, and probably originated in the adoption by the Churches of Europe and Africa of the structure of the synagogue. The position of the altar in those churches rested on a like analogy. The table of the Lord, bearing witness of the blood of the New Covenant, took the place of the Ark which contained the Law that was the groundwork of the Old.

after the name of Aaron (Buxtorf, *Synag. Jud.* ch. x.), and was developed still further in the name of *Cápporeth*, or Mercy-seat, given to the lid, or door of the chest, and in the Veil which hung before it (Vitringa, p. 181). This part of the synagogue was naturally the place of honour. Here were the πρωτοκαθεδρίαι, after which Pharisees and Scribes strove so eagerly (Matt. xxiii. 6), to which the wealthy and honoured worshipper was invited (James ii. 2, 3). Here too, in front of the Ark, still reproducing the type of the Tabernacle, was the eight-branched lamp, lighted only on the greater festivals. Besides this, there was one lamp kept burning perpetually. Others, brought by devout worshippers, were lighted at the beginning of the Sabbath, *i. e.* on Friday evening (Vitringa, p. 198).[d] A little further towards the middle of the building was a raised platform, on which several persons could stand at once, and in the middle of this rose a pulpit, in which the Reader stood to read the lesson or sat down to teach. The congregation were divided, men on one side, women on the other, a low partition, five or six feet high, running between them (Philo, *De Vit. Contempl.* ii. 476). The arrangements of modern synagogues, for many centuries, have made the separation more complete by placing the women in low side-galleries, screened off by lattice-work (Leo of Modena, in Picart, *Cérém. Relig.* i.). Within the Ark, as above stated, were the rolls of the sacred books. The rollers round which they were wound were often elaborately decorated, the cases for them embroidered or enamelled, according to their material. Such cases were customary offerings from the rich when they brought their infant-children on the first anniversary of their birthday, to be blessed by the Rabbi of the synagogue.[e] As part of the fittings we have also to note (1.) another chest for the *Haphtaroth*, or rolls of the prophets. (2.) Alms-boxes at or near the door, after the pattern of those at the Temple, one for the poor of Jerusalem, the other for local charities.[f] (3.) Notice-boards, on which were written the names of offenders who had been "put out of the synagogue." (4.) A chest for trumpets and other musical instruments, used at the New Years, Sabbaths, and other festivals (Vitringa, Leyrer, *l. c.*).

IV. *Officers.*—(1.) In smaller towns there was often but one Rabbi (Vitringa, p. 549). Where a fuller organization was possible, there was a college of Elders (זְקֵנִים = πρεσβύτεροι, Luke vii. 3) presided over by one who was κατ' ἐξοχήν, ὁ ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Luke viii. 41, 49, xiii. 14; Acts xviii. 8, 17). To these elders belonged a variety of synonymes, each with a special significance. They were פַּרְנָסִים (Parnasim = ποιμένες, Eph. iv. 11), watching over their flock, προεστῶτες, ἡγούμενοι, as ruling over it (1 Tim. v. 17; Heb. xiii. 7). With their head, they formed a kind of Chapter, managed the affairs of the synagogue, possessed the power of excommunicating (Vitringa, pp. 549-621, 727).

(2.) The most prominent functionary in a large synagogue was known as the שְׁלִיחַ (*Shéliach* = legatus), the officiating minister who acted as the delegate of the congregation, and was therefore the chief reader of prayers, &c., in their name. The conditions laid down for this office remind us of St. Paul's rule for the choice of a bishop. He was to be active, of full age, the father of a family, not rich or engaged in business, possessing a good voice, apt to teach (comp. 1 Tim. iii. 1-7; Tit. i. 6-9). In him we find, as the name might lead us to expect, the prototype of the ἄγγελος ἐκκλησίας of Rev. i. 20, ii. 1, &c. (Vitringa, p. 934).

(3.) The *Chazzân* (חַזָּן), or ὑπηρετής of the synagogue (Luke iv. 20) had duties of a lower kind resembling those of the Christian deacon, or sub-deacon. He was to open the doors, to get the building ready for service. For him too there were conditions like those for the *legatus*. Like the *legatus* and the *elders*, he was appointed by the imposition of hands (Vitringa, p. 836). Practically he often acted during the week as schoolmaster of the town or village, and in this way came to gain a prominence which placed him nearly on the same level as the *legatus*.

(4.) Besides these there were ten men attached to every synagogue, whose functions have been the subject-matter of voluminous controversy.[g] They were known as the Batlanim (בטלנים = *Otiosi*), and no synagogue was complete without them. They were to be men of leisure, not obliged to labour for their livelihood, able therefore to attend the week-day as well as the Sabbath services. By some (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in *Matt.* iv. 23, and, in part, Vitringa, p. 532) they have been identified with the above officials, with the addition of the alms-collectors.[h] Rhenferd, however (Ugolini, *Thes.* vol. xxi.), sees in them simply a body of men, permanently on duty, making up a congregation (ten being the minimum number[i]), so that there might be no delay in beginning the service at the proper hours, and that no single worshipper might go away disappointed. The latter hypothesis is supported by the fact that there was a like body of men, the Stationarii or Viri Stationis of Jewish Archaeologists, appointed to act as permanent representatives of the congregation in the services of the Temple (Jost, *Gesch. Judenth.* i. 168-172). It is of course possible that, in many cases the same persons may have united both characters, and been, *e. g.* at once *Otiosi* and alms-collectors.

(5.) It will be seen at once how closely the organization of the synagogue was reproduced in that of the Ecclesia. Here also there was the single

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[d] Here also the customs of the Eastern Church, the votive silver lamps hanging before the shrines and holy places, bring the old practice vividly before our eyes.

[e] The custom, it may be noticed, connects itself with the memorable history of those who "brought young children" to Jesus that He should touch them (Mark x. 13).

[f] If this practice existed, as is probable, in the first century, it throws light upon the special stress laid by St. Paul on the collection for the "poor saints" in Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. &c.). The Christian Churches were not to be behind the Jewish Synagogues in their contributions to the Palestine Relief Fund.

[g] The two treatises *De decem Otiosis*, by Rhenferd and Vitringa, in Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, vol. xxi., occupy more than 700 folio pages. The present writer has not read them through. Is there any one living who has?

[h] Lightfoot's classification is as follows. The Ten consisted of three Judges, the Legatus, whom this writer identifies with the Chazzân, three Parnasim, whom he identifies with alms-collectors and compares to the deacons of the church, the Targumist or interpreter, the schoolmaster and his assistant. The whole is, however very conjectural.

[i] This was based on a fantastic inference from Num. xiv. 27 The ten unfaithful spies were spoken of as an "evil *congregation*" *Sanhedr.* iv. 5, in Lightfoot. *l. c.*

presbyter-bishop [BISHOP] in small towns, a council of presbyters under one head in large cities. The *legatus* of the synagogue appears in the ἄγγελος (Rev. i. 20, ii. 1), perhaps also in the ἀπόστολος of the Christian Church. To the elders as such is given the name of Shepherds (Eph. iv. 11; 1 Pet. v. 1). They are known also as ἡγούμενοι (Heb. xiii. 7). Even the transfer to the Christian proselytes of the once distinctively sacerdotal name of ἱερεύς, foreign as it was to the feelings of the Christians of the Apostolic Age, was not without its parallel in the history of the synagogue. Sceva, the exorcist Jew of Ephesus, was probably a "chief priest" in this sense (Acts xix. 14). In the edicts of the later Roman emperors, the terms ἀρχιερεύς and ἱερευς are repeatedly applied to the rulers of synagogues (Cod. Theodos. *De Jud.*, quoted by Vitringa, *De decem Otiosis*, in Ugolini, *Thes.* xxi.). Possibly, however, this may have been, in part, owing to the presence of the scattered priests, after the destruction of the Temple, as the Rabbis or elders of what was now left to them as their only sanctuary. To them, at any rate, a certain precedence was given in the synagogue services. They were invited first to read the lessons for the day. The benediction of Num. vi. 22, was reserved for them alone.

V. *Worship.*—(1.) The ritual of the synagogue was to a large extent the reproduction (here also, as with the fabric, with many inevitable changes) of the statelier liturgy of the Temple. This is not the place for an examination of the principles and structure of that liturgy, or of the baser elements, wild Talmudic legends, curses against Christians under the name of Epicureans, and other extravagances which have mingled with it (McCaul, *Old Paths*, ch. xvii., xix.). It will be enough, in this place, to notice in what way the ritual, no less than the organization, was connected with the facts of the N. T. history, and with the life and order of the Christian Church. Here too we meet with multiplied coincidences. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the worship of the Church was identical with that of the Synagogue, modified (1.) by the new truths, (2.) by the new institution of the Supper of the Lord, (3.) by the spiritual *Charismata*.

(2.) From the synagogue came the use of fixed forms of prayer. To that the first disciples had been accustomed from their youth. They had asked their Master to give them a distinctive one, and he had complied with their request (Luke xi. 1), as the Baptist had done before for his disciples, as every Rabbi did for his. The forms might be and were abused. The Pharisee might in synagogues, or, when the synagogues were closed, in the open street, recite aloud the devotions appointed for hours of prayer, might gabble through the *Shema* ("Hear O Israel," &c. from Deut. vi. 4), his *Kaddish*, his *Shemôneh Esrêh*, the eighteen *Berachoth* or blessings, with the "vain repetition" which has reappeared in Christian worship. But for the disciples this was, as yet, the true pattern of devotion, and their Master sanctioned it. To their minds there would seem nothing inconsistent with true heart worship in the recurrence of a fixed order (κατὰ τάξιν, 1 Cor. xiv. 40), of the same prayers, hymns, doxologies, such as all liturgical study leads us to think of as existing in the Apostolic Age. If the gifts of utterance which characterised the first period of that age led for a time to greater freedom, to unpremeditated prayer, if that was in its turn succeeded by the renewed predominance of a formal fixed order, the alternation and the struggle which have reappeared in so many periods of the history of the Church were not without their parallel in that of Judaism. There also, was a protest against the rigidity of an unbending form. Eliezer of Lydda, a contemporary of the second Gamaliel (circ. A.D. 80-115), taught that the *legatus* of the synagogue should discard even the *Shemôneh Esrêh*, the eighteen fixed prayers and benedictions of the daily and Sabbath services, and should pray as his heart prompted him. The offence against the formalism into which Judaism stiffened, was apparently too great to be forgiven. He was excommunicated (not, indeed, avowedly on this ground), and died at Caesarea (Jost, *Gesch. Judenth.* ii. 36, 45).

(3.) The large admixture of a didactic element in Christian worship, that by which it was distinguished from all Gentile forms of adoration, was derived from the older order. "Moses" was "read in the synagogues every Sabbath-day" (Acts xv. 21), the whole Law being read consecutively, so as to be completed, according to one cycle, in three years, according to that which ultimately prevailed and determined the existing divisions of the Hebrew text (BIBLE, and Leyrer, *l. c.*), in the 52 weeks of a single year. The writings of the Prophets were read as second lessons in a corresponding order. They were followed by the *Derash*, the λόγος παρακλήσεως (Acts xiii. 15), the exposition, the sermon of the synagogue. The first Christian synagogues, we must believe, followed this order with but little deviation. It remained for them before long to add "the other Scriptures" which they had learnt to recognise as more precious even than the Law itself, the "prophetic word" of the New Testament, which not less truly than that of the Old, came, in epistle or in narrative, from the same Spirit [SCRIPTURE]. The synagogue use of Psalms again, on the plan of selecting those which had a special fitness for special times, answered to that which appears to have prevailed in the Church of the first three centuries, and for which the simple consecutive repetition of the whole Psalter, in a day as in some Eastern monasteries, in a week as in the Latin Church, in a month as in the English Prayer-book is, perhaps, a less satisfactory substitute.

(4.) To the ritual of the synagogue we may probably trace a practice which has sometimes been a stumbling-block to the student of Christian antiquity, the subject-matter of fierce debate among Christian controversialists. Whatever account may be given of it, it is certain that Prayers for the Dead appear in the Church's worship as soon as we have any trace of it after the immediate records of the Apostolic age. It has well been described by a writer, whom no one can suspect of Romish tendencies, as an "immemorial practice." Though "Scripture is silent, yet antiquity plainly speaks." The prayers "have found a place in every early liturgy of the world" (Ellicott, *Destiny of the Creature*, Serm. vi.). How, indeed, we may ask, could it have been otherwise? The strong feeling shown in the time of the Maccabees, that it was not "superfluous and vain" to pray for the dead (2 Macc. xii. 44), was sure, under the influence of the dominant Pharisaic Scribes, to shew itself in the devotions of the synagogue. So far as we trace back these devotions, we may say that there also the practice is "immemorial," as old at least as

the traditions of the Rabbinic fathers (Buxtorf, *De Synag.* pp. 709, 710; McCaul, *Old Paths*, ch. xxxviii.). There is a probability indefinitely great that prayers for the departed (the *Kaddish* of later Judaism) were familiar to the synagogues of Palestine and other countries, that the early Christian believers were not startled by them as an innovation, that they passed uncondemned even by our Lord Himself. The writer already quoted sees a probable reference to them in 2 Tim. i. 18 (Ellicott, *Past. Epistles*, in loc.). St. Paul, remembering Onesiphorus as one whose "house" had been bereaved of him, prays that he may find mercy of the Lord "in that day." Prayers for the dead can hardly, therefore, be looked upon as anti-Scriptural. If the English Church has wisely and rightly eliminated them from her services, it is not because Scripture says nothing of them, or that their antiquity is not primitive, but because, in such a matter, experience is a truer guide than the silence or the hints of Scripture, or than the voice of the most primitive antiquity.

(5.) The conformity extends also to the times of prayer. In the hours of service this was obviously the case. The third, sixth, and ninth hours were, in the times of the N. T. (Acts iii. 1, x. 3, 9), and had been, probably, for some time before (Ps. lv. 17; Dan. vi. 10), the fixed times of devotion, known then, and still known, respectively as the *Shachărith*, the *Mincha*, and the *'Arâbith*; they had not only the *prestige* of an authoritative tradition, but were connected respectively with the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to whom, as to the first originators, their institution was ascribed (Buxtorf, *Synag.* p. 280). The same hours, it is well known, were recognised in the Church of the second, probably in that of the first century also (Clem. Al. *Strom.* l. c.; Tertull. *De Orat.* c. xxv.). The sacred days belonging to the two systems seem, at first, to present a contrast rather than a resemblance; but here, too, there is a symmetry which points to an original connexion. The solemn days of the synagogue were the second, the fifth, and the seventh, the last or Sabbath being the conclusion of the whole. In whatever way the change was brought about, the transfer of the sanctity of the Sabbath to the Lord's Day involved a corresponding change in the order of the week, and the first, the fourth, and the sixth became to the Christian society what the other days had been to the Jewish.

(6.) The following suggestion as to the mode in which this transfer was effected, involves, it is believed, fewer arbitrary assumptions than any other [comp. LORD'S DAY, SABBATH], and connects itself with another interesting custom, common to the Church and the Synagogue. It was a Jewish custom to end the Sabbath with a feast, in which they did honour to it as to a parting king. The feast was held in the synagogue. A cup of wine, over which a special blessing had been spoken, was handed round (Jost, *Gesch. Judenth.* i. 180). It is obvious that, so long as the Apostles and their followers continued to use the Jewish mode of reckoning, so long *i. e.* as they fraternized with their brethren of the stock of Abraham, this would coincide in point of time with their δεῖπνον on the *first* day of the week. A supper on what we should call Sunday evening would have been to them on the *second*. By degrees, as has been shown elsewhere [LORD'S SUPPER], the time became later, passed on to midnight, to the early dawn of the next day. So the Lord's Supper ceased to be a supper really. So, as the Church rose out of Judaism, the supper *gave* its holiness to the coming, instead of *deriving* it from the departing day. The day came to be κυριακή, because it began with the δεῖπνον κυριακόν.[k] Gradually the Sabbath ceased as such to be observed at all. The practice of observing both, as in the Church of Rome up to the fifth century, gives us a trace of the transition period.

(7.) From the synagogue lastly came many less conspicuous practices, which meet us in the liturgical life of the first three centuries. Ablution, entire or partial, before entering the place of meeting (Heb. x. 22; John xiii. 1-15; Tertull. *De Orat.* cap. xi.); standing and not kneeling, as the attitude of prayer (Luke xviii. 11; Tertull. *ibid.* cap. xxiii.); the arms stretched out (Tertull. *ibid.* cap. xiii.); the face turned towards the Kibleh of the East (Clem. Al. *Strom.* l. c.); the responsive Amen of the congregation to the prayers and benedictions of the elders (1 Cor. xiv. 16).[m] In one strange exceptional custom of the Church of Alexandria we trace the wilder type of Jewish, of Oriental devotion. There, in the closing responsive chorus of the prayer, the worshippers not only stretched out their necks and lifted up their hands, but leapt up with wild gestures (τούς τε πόδας ἐπεγείρομεν), as if they would fain rise with their prayers to heaven itself (Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. 40).[n] This, too, reproduced a custom of the synagogue. Three times did the whole body of worshippers leap up simultaneously as they repeated the great Ter-sanctus hymn of Isaiah vi. (Vitringa, p. 1100 et seq.; Buxtorf, cap. x.).

VI. *Judicial Functions.*—(1.) The language of the N.T. shows that the officers of the synagogue exercised in certain cases a judicial power. The synagogue itself was the place of trial (Luke xii. 11; xxi. 12); even, strange as it may seem, of the actual punishment of scourging (Matt. x. 17; Mark xiii. 9). They do not appear to have had the right of inflicting any severer penalty, unless, under this head, we may include that of excommunication, or "putting a man out of the synagogue" (John xii. 42, xvi. 2), placing him under an anathema (1 Cor. xvi. 22; Gal. i. 8, 9), "delivering him to Satan" (1 Cor. v. 5; 1 Tim. i. 20). (Meyer and Stanley, *in loc.*) In some cases they exercised the right, even outside the limits of Palestine, of seizing the persons of the accused, and sending them in chains to take their trial before the Supreme Council at Jerusalem (Acts ix. 2; xxii. 5).

(2.) It is not quite so easy, however, to define the nature of the tribunal, and the precise limits of

[k] It has always to be borne in mind that the word was obviously coined for the purposes of Christian life, and is applied in the first instance to the supper (1 Cor. xi. 20), afterwards to the day (Rev. i. 10).

[m] One point of contrast is as striking as these points of resemblance. The Jew prayed with his head covered, with the *Tallith* drawn over his ears and reaching to the shoulders. The Greek, however, habitually in worship as in other acts, went bare-headed; and the Apostle of the Gentile Churches, renouncing all early prejudices, recognises this as more fitting, more natural, more in harmony with the right relation of the sexes (1 Cor. xi. 4).

[n] The same curious practice existed in the 17th century, and is perhaps not yet extinct in the Church of Abyssinia, in this, as in other things, preserving more than any other Christian society, the type of Judaism (Ludolf, *Hist. Aethiop.* iii. 6; Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 12).

its jurisdiction. In two of the passages referred to (Matt. x. 17; Mark xiii. 9) they are carefully distinguished from the *συνέδρια*, or councils, yet both appear as instruments by which the spirit of religious persecution might fasten on its victims. The explanation commonly given that the council sat in the synagogue, and was thus identified with it, is hardly satisfactory (Leyrer, in Herzog's *Real-Encyc.* "Synedrien"). It seems more probable that the council was the larger tribunal of 23, which sat in every city [COUNCIL], identical with that of the seven, with two Levites as assessors to each, which Josephus describes as acting in the smaller provincial towns (*Ant.* iv. 8, §14; *B. J.* ii. 20, §5),[o] and that under the term synagogue we are to understand a smaller court, probably that of the Ten judges mentioned in the Talmud (Gem. Hieros. *Sanhedr.* l. c.), consisting either of the elders, the chazzan, and the legatus, or otherwise (as Herzfeld conjectures, i. 392) of the ten Batlanim, or *Otiosi* (see above, IV. 4).

(3.) Here also we trace the outline of a Christian institution. The *ἐκκλησία*, either by itself or by appointed delegates, was to act as a Court of Arbitration in all disputes among its members. The elders of the Church were not, however, to descend to the trivial disputes of daily life (*τὰ βιωτικά*). For these any men of common sense and fairness, however destitute of official honour and position (*οἱ ἐξουθενημένοι*), would be enough (1 Cor. vi. 1-8). For the elders, as for those of the synagogue, were reserved the graver offences against religion and morals. In such cases they had power to excommunicate, to "put out of" the Ecclesia, which had taken the place of the synagogue, sometimes by their own authority, sometimes with the consent of the whole society (1 Cor. v. 4). It is worth mentioning that Hammond and other commentators have seen a reference to these judicial functions in James ii. 2-4. The special sin of those who fawned upon the rich was, on this view, that they were "*judges* of evil thoughts," carrying respect of persons into their administration of justice. The interpretation, however, though ingenious, is hardly sufficiently supported. [E. H. P.]

SYNAGOGUE, THE GREAT (כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה). The institution thus described, though not Biblical in the sense of occurring as a word in the Canonical Scriptures, is yet too closely connected with a large number of Biblical facts and names to be passed over. In the absence of direct historical *data*, it will be best to put together the traditions or conjectures of Rabbinic writers.

(1.) On the return of the Jews from Babylon, a great council was appointed, according to these traditions, to re-organise the religious life of the people. It consisted of 120 members (*Megilloth*, 17*b*, 18*c*), and these were known as the men of the Great Synagogue, the successors of the prophets, themselves, in their turn, succeeded by scribes prominent, individually, as teachers (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1). Ezra was recognised as president. Among the other members, in part together, in part successively, were Joshua, the High Priest, Zerubbabel, and their companions, Daniel and the three "children," the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, the rulers Nehemiah and Mordecai. Their aim was to restore again the *crown*, or *glory* of Israel, *i. e.* to reinstate in its majesty the name of God as Great, Mighty, Terrible (Deut. vii. 21. x. 17; Neh. i. 5, ix. 32; Jer. xxxii. 18; Dan. ix. 4). To this end they collected all the sacred writings of former ages and their own, and so completed the canon of the O.T. Their work included the revision of the text, and this was settled by the introduction of the vowel points, which have been handed down to us by the Masoretic editors. They instituted the feast of Purim. They organised the ritual of the synagogue, and gave their sanction to the *Shemôneh Esrêh*, the eighteen solemn benedictions in it (Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 193). Their decrees were quoted afterwards as those of the elders (the *πρεσβύτεροι* of Mark vii. 3, the *ἀρχαῖοι* of Matt. v. 21, 27, 33), the *Dibrê Sôphêrim* (= words of the scribes), which were of more authority than the Law itself. They left behind them the characteristic saying, handed down by Simon the high-priest, the last member of the order, "Be cautious in judging; train up many scholars; set a hedge about the Law" (*Pirke Aboth*, i. 1). [SCRIBES.]

(2.) Much of this is evidently uncertain. The absence of any historical mention of such a body, not only in the O.T. and the Apocrypha, but in Josephus, Philo, and the *Seder Olam*, so that the earliest record of it is found in the *Pirke Aboth*, circ. the second century after Christ, had led some critics (*e.g.* De Wette, J. D. Michaelis) to reject the whole statement as a Rabbinic invention, resting on no other foundation than the existence, after the exile, of a Sanhedrim of 71 or 72 members, charged with supreme executive functions. Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* iv. 192) is disposed to adopt this view, and looks on the number 120 as a later element, introduced for its symbolic significance. Jost (*Gesch. des Jud.* i. 41) maintains that the Greek origin of the word Sanhedrim points to its later date, and that its functions were prominently judicial, while those of the so-called Great Synagogue were prominently legislative. He recognises, on the other hand, the probability that 120 was used as a round number, never actually made up, and thinks that the germ of the institution is to be found in the 85 names of those who are recorded as having joined in the solemn league and covenant of Neh. x. 1-27. The narrative of Neh. viii. 13 clearly implies the existence of a body of men acting as counsellors under the presidency of Ezra, and these may have been (as Jost, following the idea of another Jewish critic, suggests) an assembly of delegates from all provincial synagogues—a synod (to use the terminology of a later time) of the National Church. The *Pirke Aboth*, it should be mentioned, speaks of the Great Synagogue as ceasing to exist before the historical origin of the Sanhedrim (x. 1), and it is more probable that the latter rose out of an attempt to reproduce the former than that the former was only the mythical transfer of the latter to an earlier time. (Comp. Leyrer, s. v. *Synagoge, die grosse*, in Herzog's *Encyclop.*) [E. H. P.]

SYNTYCHE (Συντύχη: *Syntyche*), a female member of the Church of Philippi, mentioned (Phil. iv. 2, 3) along with another named EUODIAS (or rather Euodia). To what has been said under the latter head the following may be added. The Apostle's injunction to these two women is, that they should live in harmony with one another; from which we

[o] The identification of these two is due to an ingenious conjecture by Grotius (on Matt. v 21) The addition of two scribes or secretaries makes the numbers in both cases equal.

infer that they had, more or less, failed in this respect. Such harmony was doubly important, if they held an office, as deaconesses, in the Church: and it is highly probable that this was the case. They had afforded to St. Paul active co-operation under difficult circumstances (*ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι*, ver. 2), and perhaps there were at Philippi other women of the same class (*αἵτινες*, ib.). At all events this passage is an illustration of what the Gospel did for women, and women for the Gospel, in the Apostolic times: and it is the more interesting, as having reference to that Church which was the first founded by St. Paul in Europe, and the first member of which was LYDIA. Some thoughts on this subject will be found in Rilliet, *Comm. sur l'Epître aux Philipp.* pp. 311-314. [J. S. H.]

SY'RACUSE (Συρακοῦσαι: *Syracusa*). The celebrated city on the eastern coast of Sicily. St. Paul arrived thither in an Alexandrian ship from Melita, on his voyage to Rome (Acts xxviii. 12). The magnificence which Cicero describes as still remaining in his time, was then no doubt greatly impaired. The whole of the resources of Sicily had been exhausted in the civil wars of Caesar and Pompey, and the piratical warfare which Sextus Pompeius, the youngest son of the latter, subsequently carried on against the triumvir Octavius. Augustus restored Syracuse, as also Catana and Centoripa, which last had contributed much to the successful issue of his struggle with Sextus Pompeius. Yet the island Ortygia, and a very small portion of the mainland adjoining, sufficed for the new colonists and the remnant of the former population. But the site of Syracuse rendered it a convenient place for the African corn-ships to touch at, for the harbour was an excellent one, and the fountain Arethusa in the island furnished an unfailing supply of excellent water. The prevalent wind in this part of the Mediterranean is the W.N.W. This would carry the vessels from the corn region lying eastward of Cape Bon, round the southern point of Sicily, Cape Pachynus, to the eastern shore of the island. Creeping up under the shelter of this, they would lie either in the harbour of Messana, or at Rhegium, until the wind changed to a southern point and enabled them to fetch the Campanian harbours, Puteoli or Gaeta, or to proceed as far as Ostia. In crossing from Africa to Sicily, if the wind was excessive, or varied two or three points to the northward, they would naturally bear up for Malta,—and this had probably been the case with the "Twins," the ship in which St. Paul found a passage after his shipwreck on the coast of that island. Arrived in Malta, they watched for the opportunity of a wind to take them westward, and with such a one they readily made Syracuse. To proceed further while it continued blowing would have exposed them to the dangers of a lee-shore, and accordingly they remained "three days." They then, the wind having probably shifted into a westerly quarter so as to give them smooth water, coasted the shore and made (*περιελθόντες κατηντήσαμεν εἰς*) Rhegium. After one day there, the wind got round still more and blew from the south; they therefore weighed, and arrived at Puteoli in the course of the second day of the run (Acts xxviii. 12-14).

In the time of St. Paul's voyage, Sicily did not supply the Romans with corn to the extent it had done in the time of King Hiero, and in a less degree as late as the time of Cicero. It is an error, however, to suppose that the soil was exhausted; for Strabo expressly says, that for *corn*, and some other productions, Sicily even surpassed Italy. But the country had become depopulated by the long series of wars, and when it passed into the hands of Rome her great nobles turned vast tracts into pasture. In the time of Augustus, the whole of the centre of the island was occupied in this manner, and among its exports (except from the neighbourhood of the volcanic region, where excellent wine was produced), fat stock, hides, and wool appear to have been the prominent articles. These grazing and horse-breeding farms were kept up by slave labour; and this was the reason that the whole island was in a chronic state of disturbance, owing to the slaves continually running away and forming bands of brigands. Sometimes these became so formidable as to require the aid of regular military operations to put them down; a circumstance of which Tiberius Gracchus made use as an argument in favour of his measure of an Agrarian law (Appian, *B. C.* i. 9), which would have reconverted the spacious grass-lands into small arable farms cultivated by Roman freemen.

In the time of St. Paul there were only five Roman colonies in Sicily, of which Syracuse was one. The others were Catana, Tauromenium, Thermae, and Tyndaris. Messana too, although not a colony, was a town filled with a Roman population. Probably its inhabitants were merchants connected with the wine trade of the neighbourhood, of which Messana was the shipping port. Syracuse and Panormus were important as strategical points, and a Roman force was kept up at each. Sicels, Sicani, Morgetes, and Iberes (aboriginal inhabitants of the island, or very early settlers), still existed in the interior, in what exact political condition it is impossible to say; but most likely in that of villeins. Some few towns are mentioned by Pliny as having the Latin franchise, and some as paying a fixed tribute; but with the exception of the five colonies, the owners of the soil of the island were mainly great absentee proprietors, and almost all its produce came to Rome (Strabo, vi. c. 2; Appian, *B. C.* iv. 84 seqq., v. 15-118; Cicero, *Verr.* iv. 53; Plin. *N. H.* iii. 8). [J. W. B.]

SYRIA (אֲרָם: Συρία: *Syria*) is the term used throughout our version for the Hebrew *Aram*, as well as for the Greek Συρία. The Greek writers generally regarded it as a contraction or corruption of Assyria (Herod. vii. 63; Scylax, *Peripl.* p. 80; Dionys. Perieg. 970-975; Eustath. *Comment.* ad loc. &c.). But this derivation is exceedingly doubtful. Most probably Syria is for *Tsyria*, the country about *Tsur* (צוּר), or Tyre, which was the first of the Syrian towns known to the Greeks. The resemblance to Assyria (אַשּׁוּר) is thus purely accidental; and the two words must be regarded as in reality completely distinct.

1. *Geographical extent.*—It is very difficult to fix the limits of Syria. The Hebrew Aram seems to commence on the northern frontier of Palestine, and to extend thence northward to the skirts of Taurus, westward to the Mediterranean, and eastward probably to the Khabour river. Its chief divisions are Aram-Dammesek, or "Syria of Damascus," Aram-Zobah, or "Syria of Zobah," Aram-Naharaim, "Mesopotamia," or "Syria of the Two Rivers," and Padan-Aram, "the plain Syria," or "the plain at the foot of the mountains." Of these we cannot be mistaken in identifying the first with the rich country about Damascus, lying between Anti-libanus and the desert, and the last with the

district about Harran and Orfah, the flat country stretching out from the western extremity of Mons Masius towards the true source of the Khabour at *Ras-el-Ain*. Aram-Naharaim seems to be a term including this last tract, and extending beyond it, though how far beyond is doubtful. The "two rivers" intended are probably the Tigris and the Euphrates, which approach very near each other in the neighbourhood of Diarbekr; and Aram-Naharaim may have originally been applied especially to the mountain tract which here separates them. If so, it no doubt gradually extended its meaning; for in Gen. xxiv. 10 it clearly includes the district about Harran, the Padan-Aram of other places. Whether the Scriptural meaning ever extends much beyond this is uncertain. It is perhaps most probable that, as the Mesopotamia of the later Greeks, so the Aram-Naharaim of the Hebrews was limited to the north-western portion of the country contained between the two great streams. [See MESOPOTAMIA.] Aram-Zobah seems to be the tract between the Euphrates and Coelesyria; since, on the one hand, it reaches down to the Great River (2 Sam. viii. 3, x. 16), and on the other excludes Hamath (2 Sam. viii. 9, 10). The other divisions of Aram, such as Aram-Maachah and Aram-beth-Rechob, are more difficult to locate with any certainty. Probably they were portions of the tract intervening between Anti-libanus and the desert.

The Greek writers used the term Syria still more vaguely than the Hebrews did Aram. On the one hand they extended it to the Euxine, including in it Cappadocia, and even Bithynia (Herod. i. 72, 76, ii. 104; Strab. xvi. 1, §2; Dionys. Perieg. 972); on the other they carried it to the borders of Egypt, and made it comprise Philistia and Edom (Herod. iii. 5; Strab. xvi. 2, §2). Again, through the confusion in their minds between the Syrians and the Assyrians, they sometimes included the country of the latter, and even its southern neighbour Babylonia, in Syria (Strab. xvi. 1, §2). Still they seem always to have had a feeling that Syria Proper was a narrower region. Herodotus, while he calls the Cappadocians and the Assyrians Syrians, gives the name of Syria only to the country lying on the Mediterranean between Cilicia and Egypt (ii. 106, 157, 159, iii. 6, 91). Dionysius, who speaks of two Syrias, an eastern and a western, assigns the first place to the latter (*Perieg.* 895). Strabo, like Herodotus, has one Syria only, which he defines as the maritime tract between Egypt and the Gulf of Issus. The ordinary use of the term Syria, by the LXX. and New Testament writers, is even more restricted than this. They distinguish Syria from Phoenicia on the one hand, and from Samaria, Judaea, Idumaea, &c., on the other. In the present article it seems best to take the word in this narrow sense, and to regard Syria as bounded by Amanus and Taurus on the north, by the Euphrates and the Arabian desert on the east, by Palestine, or the Holy Land, on the south, by the Mediterranean near the mouth of the Orontes, and then by Phoenicia upon the west. The tract thus circumscribed is about 300 miles long from north to south, and from 50 to 150 miles broad. It contains an area of about 30,000 square miles.

2. *General physical features.*—The general character of the tract is mountainous, as the Hebrew name Aram (from a root signifying "height") sufficiently implies. On the west, two longitudinal chains, running parallel with the coast at no great distance from one another, extend along two-thirds of the length of Syria, from the latitude of Tyre to that of Antioch. These chains, towards the south, were known respectively as Libanus and Anti-libanus, after which, about lat. 35°, the more western chain, Libanus, became Bargylus; while the eastern, sinking into comparative insignificance, was without any special appellation. In the latitude of Antioch the longitudinal chains are met by the chain of Amanus, an outlying barrier of Taurus, having the direction of that range, which in this part is from south-west to north-east. From this point northwards to the true Taurus, which here bounded Syria, and eastward to the Euphrates about *Bireh-jik* and *Sumeisat*, the whole tract appears to consist of mountains infinitely ramified; below which, towards *Sajur* and Aleppo, are some elevated plains, diversified with ranges of hills, while south of these, in about lat. 36°, you enter the desert. The most fertile and valuable tract of Syria is the long valley intervening between Libanus and Anti-libanus, which slopes southward from a point a little north of Baalbek, and is there drained by the *Litany*; while above that point the slope is northward, and the streams form the Orontes, whose course is in that direction. The northern mountain region is also fairly productive; but the soil of the plains about Aleppo is poor, and the eastern flank of the Anti-libanus, except in one place, is peculiarly sterile. The exception is at the lower or southern extremity of the chain, where the stream of the Barada forms the rich and delightful tract already described under the head of DAMASCUS.

3. *The Mountain Ranges.*—(*a*) Lebanon. Of the various mountain ranges of Syria, Lebanon possesses the greatest interest. It extends from the mouth of the Litany to *Arka*, a distance of nearly 100 miles, and is composed chiefly of Jura limestone, but varied with sandstone and basalt. It culminates towards its northern extremity, half-way between Tripoli and Beyrut, and at this point attains an elevation of nearly 10,000 feet (Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, iii. 547). Anciently it was thickly wooded with cypresses, cedars, and firs; but it is now very scantily clothed. As a minute description of its present condition has been already given in the proper place, it is unnecessary to prolong the present account. [LEBANON.] (*b*) Anti-libanus. This range, as the name implies, stands over against Lebanon, running in the same direction, *i.e.* nearly north and south, and extending the same length. It is composed of Jura limestone, oolite, and Jura dolomite. The culminating point is Hermon, at the southern, or rather the south-eastern end of the chain; for Anti-libanus, unlike Libanus, bifurcates at its lower extremity, dividing into two distinct ridges, between which flows the stream of the *Hasbeya*. Hermon is thought to exceed the height of 9000 feet. (*c*) Bargylus. Mount Bargylus, called now *Jebel Nosairi* towards the south, and towards the north *Jebel Kraad*, extends from the mouth of the *Nahr-el-Kebir* (Eleutherus), nearly opposite Hems, to the vicinity of Antioch, a distance of rather more than 100 miles. It is separated from Lebanon by a comparatively level tract, 15 or 20 miles broad (*El-Bukeva*), through which flows the stream called *El-Kebir*. Mount Bargylus is broader than Lebanon, and throws out a number of short spurs east and west, both towards the sea and towards the valley of the Orontes. One of the western spurs terminates in a

remarkable headland, known to the ancients as Mount Casius, and now called *Jebel-el-Akra*, or the "Bald Mountain," which rises abruptly from the sea to a height exceeding 5000 feet. At the northern extremity of Bargylus, where it overhangs the lower course of the Orontes, was Daphne, the delicious suburb of Antioch, and the favourite haunt of its luxurious populace. (*d*) Amanus. North of the mouth of the Orontes, between its course and the eastern shore of the Gulf of Issus (*Iskanderun*), lies the range of Amanus, which extends from the south-west end of the gulf, in a north-easterly direction, a distance of 85 or 90 miles, and finally forms a junction with Taurus in about long. 36° 25′. Amanus divides Syria from Cilicia, and is a stony range with bold rugged peaks and conical summits, formed of serpentines and other secondary rocks supporting a tertiary formation. Its average elevation is 5000 feet, and it terminates abruptly at *Ras-el-Khanzir*, in a high cliff overhanging the sea. There are only two or three passes across it; and one alone, that of *Beilan*, is tolerably commodious. Amanus, like Anti-libanus, bifurcates at its south-western extremity, having, besides its termination at the *Ras-el-Khanzir*, another, now called *Musa Dagh*, which approaches within about six miles of the mouth of the Orontes, and seems to be the Pieria of Strabo (xvi. 2, §8). This spur is of limestone formation. The flanks of Amanus are well clothed with forests of pine, oak, and larch, or copses of myrtle, arbutus, oleander, and other shrubs. The range was well known to the Assyrians, who called it *Khamana*, and not unfrequently cut timber in it, which was conveyed thence to their capital.

4. *The Rivers.*—The principal rivers of Syria are the Litany and the Orontes. The Litany springs from a small lake situated in the middle of the Coele-syrian valley, about six miles to the south-west of Baalbek. Hence it descends the valley called *El-Bŭkaa*, with a course a little west of south, sending out on each side a number of canals for irrigation, and receiving rills from the opposite ranges of Libanus and Anti-libanus, which compensate for the water given off. The chief of these is called *El-Bŭrdony*, and descends from Lebanon near *Zahleh*. The *Bŭkaa* narrows as it proceeds southwards, and terminates in a gorge, through which the Litany forces itself with a course which is still to the south-west, flowing deep between high precipices, and spanned by a bold bridge of a single arch, known as the *Jisr Burghus*. Having emerged from the ravine, it flows first south-west by west, and then nearly due south, till it reaches the latitude of Tyre, when meeting the mountains of Upper Galilee, it is forced to bend to the west, and, passing with many windings through the low coast tract, enters the sea about 5 miles north of the great Phoenician city. The entire course of the stream, exclusive of small windings, is about 80 miles. The source of the Orontes is but about 15 miles from that of the Litany. A little north of Baalbek, the highest point or water-shed of the Coele-syrian valley is reached, and the ground begins to descend northwards. A small rill breaks out from the foot of Anti-libanus, which, after flowing nearly due north for 15 miles across the plain, meets another greater source given out by Lebanon in lat. 34° 22′, which is now considered the true "head of the stream." The Orontes from this point flows down the valley to the north-east, and passing through the *Bahr-el-Kades*—a lake about 6 miles long and 2 broad—approaches *Hems* (Emesa), which it leaves on its right bank. It then flows for 20 miles nearly due north; after which, on approaching *Hamah* (Hamath), it makes a slight bend to the east round the base of the *Jebel Erbayn*, and then, entering the rich pasture country of *El-Ghab*, runs north-west and north to *Jisr Hadid*. The tributaries which it receives in this part of its course are many but small, the only one of any importance being the *Wady-el-Saruj*, which enters it from the west a little below Hamath. At *Jisr Hadid*, or "the Iron Bridge," the course of the Orontes suddenly changes. Prevented by the range of Amanus from flowing any further to the north, it sweeps round boldly to the west, and receiving a large tributary—the *Kara-Su*—from the north-east, the volume of whose water exceeds its own, it enters the broad valley of Antioch, "doubling back here upon itself, and flowing to the south-west." In this part of its course the Orontes has been compared to the Wye (Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 409). The entire length of the stream is estimated at above 200 miles. Its modern name is the *Nahr-el-Asi*, or "Rebel Stream," an appellation given to it on account of its violence and impetuosity in many parts of its course.

The other Syrian streams of some consequence, besides the Litany and the Orontes, are the *Barada*, or river of Damascus, the *Koweik*, or river of Aleppo, and the *Sajur*, a tributary of the Euphrates. The course of the *Barada* has already been described under the head of Damascus. [DAMASCUS.] The *Koweik* rises in the highlands south of *Ain Tab*, from two sources, one of which is known as the *Baloklu-Su*, or "Fish-River." It seems to be the Chalus of Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 4, §9). Its course is at first east, but soon becomes south, or a little west of south, to Aleppo, after which it meanders considerably through the high plain south of that city, finally terminating in a marsh known as *El-Matkh*. The *Sajur* rises a little further to the north, in the mountains north of *Ain-Tab*. Its course for the first 25 miles is south-east, after which it runs east for 15 or 20 miles, finally resuming its first direction, and flowing by the town of *Sajur* into the Euphrates. It is a larger river than the *Koweik*, though its course is scarcely so long.

5. *The Lakes.*—The principal lakes of Syria are the *Agh-Dengiz*, or Lake of Antioch; the *Sabakhah*, or Salt Lake, between Aleppo and Balis; the *Bahr-el-Kades*, on the upper Orontes; and the *Bahr-el-Merj*, or Lake of Damascus. (*a*) The Lake of Antioch is an oblong fresh-water basin, 10 miles long by 7 broad, situated to the north of the Orontes, where it sweeps round through the plain of *Umk*, before receiving the *Kara-Su*. It is formed by the waters of three large streams—the *Kara-Su*, the *Afrin*, and the *Aswad*—which collect the drainage of the great mountain tract lying north-east and east of Antioch, between the 36th and 37th parallels. It has been argued, from the silence of Xenophon and Strabo, that this lake did not exist in ancient times (Rennell, *Illustrations of the Expedition of Cyrus*, p. 65), but modern investigations pursued upon the spot are thought to disprove this theory (Ainsworth, *Researches in Mesopotamia*, p. 299). The waters flow into the lake on the east and north, and flow out of it at its south-west angle by a broad and deep stream, known as the *Kara-Su*, which falls into the Orontes a few miles

above Antioch. (*b*) The *Sabkhah* is a salt lake, into which only insignificant streams flow, and which has no outlet. It lies midway between Balis and Aleppo, the route between these places passing along its northern shore. It is longer than the Lake of Antioch, but narrower, being about 13 miles from east to west, and 4 miles only from north to south, even where it is widest. (*c*) The *Bahr-el-Kades* is smaller than either of the foregoing lakes. It has been estimated at 8 miles long and 3 broad (Pococke, *Description of the East*, i. 140), and again at 6 miles long and 2 broad (Chesney, *Euphrates Exp.* i. 394), but has never been accurately measured. Pococke conjectures that it is of recent formation; but his only reason seems to be the silence of ancient writers, which is scarcely sufficient to prove the point. (*d*) The *Bahr-el-Merj*, like the piece of water in which the *Koweik* or river of Aleppo ends, scarcely deserves to be called a lake, since it is little better than a large marsh. The length, according to Col. Chesney, is 9 miles, and the breadth 2 miles (*Euphrat. Exp.* i. 503); but the size seems to vary with the seasons, and with the extent to which irrigation is used along the course of the *Barada*. A recent traveller, who traced the Barada to its termination, found it divide a few miles below Damascus, and observed that each branch terminated in a marsh of its own; while a neighbouring stream, the *Awaadj*, commonly regarded as a tributary of the Barada, also lost itself in a third marsh separate from the other two (Porter in *Geograph. Journ.* xxvi. 43-46).

6. *The Great Valley.*—By far the most important part of Syria, and on the whole its most striking feature, is the great valley which reaches from the plain of *Umk*, near Antioch, to the narrow gorge on which the *Litany* enters in about lat. 33° 30′. This valley, which runs nearly parallel with the Syrian coast, extends the length of 230 miles, and has a width varying from 6 or 8 to 15 or 20 miles. The more southern portion of it was known to the ancients as Coele-Syria, or "the Hollow Syria," and has been already described. [COELESYRIA.] In length this portion is rather more than 100 miles, terminating with a screen of hills a little south of Hems, at which point the north-eastern direction of the valley also ceases, and it begins to bend to the north-west. The lower valley from Hems downward is broader, generally speaking, and richer than the upper portion. Here was "Hamath the Great" (Am. vi. 2), now Hamah; and here too was Apameia, a city but little inferior to Antioch, surrounded by rich pastures, where Seleucus Nicator was wont to feed 500 elephants, 300 stallion horses, and 30,000 mares (Strab. xvi. 2, §10). The whole of this region is fertile, being watered not only by the Orontes, but by the numerous affluents which flow into it from the mountain ranges enclosing the valley on either side.

7. *The Northern Highlands.*—Northern Syria, especially the district called Commagênê, between Taurus and the Euphrates, is still very insufficiently explored. It seems to be altogether an elevated tract, consisting of twisted spurs from Taurus and Amanus, with narrow valleys between them, which open out into bare and sterile plains. The valleys themselves are not very fertile. They are watered by small streams, producing often abundant fish, and, for the most part, flowing into the Orontes or the Euphrates. A certain number of the more central ones, however, unite, and constitute the "river of Aleppo," which, unable to reach either of the Oceanic streams, forms (as we have seen) a lake or marsh, wherein its waters evaporate. Along the course of the Euphrates there is rich land and abundant vegetation; but the character of the country thence to the valley of the Orontes is bare and woodless, except in the vicinity of the towns, where fruit-trees are cultivated, and orchards and gardens make an agreeable appearance. Most of this region is a mere sheep-walk, which grows more and more harsh and repulsive as we approach the south, where it gradually mingles with the desert. The highest elevation of the plateau between the two rivers is 1500 feet; and this height is reached soon after leaving the Euphrates, while towards the west the decline is gradual.

8. *The Eastern Desert.*—East of the inner mountain-chain, and south of the cultivable ground about Aleppo, is the great Syrian Desert, an "elevated dry upland, for the most part of gypsum and marls, producing nothing but a few spare bushes of wormwood, and the usual aromatic plants of the wilderness." Here and there bare and stony ridges of no great height cross this arid region, but fail to draw water from the sky, and have, consequently, no streams flowing from them. A few wells supply the nomad population with a brackish fluid. The region is traversed with difficulty, and has never been accurately surveyed. The most remarkable oasis is at Palmyra, where there are several small streams and abundant palm-trees. [See TADMOR.] Towards the more western part of the region along the foot of the mountain-range which there bounds it, is likewise a good deal of tolerably fertile country, watered by the streams which flow eastward from the range, and after a longer or a shorter course are lost in the desert. The best known and the most productive of these tracts, which seem stolen from the desert, is the famous plain of Damascus—the *el-Ghutah* and *el-Merj* of the Arabs—already described in the account given of that city. [DAMASCUS.] No rival to this "earthly paradise" is to be found along the rest of the chain, since no other stream flows down from it at all comparable to the Barada; but wherever the eastern side of the chain has been visited, a certain amount of cultivable territory has been found at its foot; corn is grown in places, and olive-trees are abundant (Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, pp. 124-129; Pococke, *Description of the East*, vol. ii. p. 146). Further from the hills all is bare and repulsive; a dry hard desert like that of the Sinaitic peninsula, with a soil of marl and gravel, only rarely diversified with sand.

9. *Chief Divisions.*—According to Strabo, Syria Proper was divided into the following districts:—1. Commagênê; 2. Cyrrhestica; 3. Seleucis; 4. Coele-syria; and 5. Damascênê. If we take its limits, however, as laid down above (§ 1), we must add to these districts three others: Chalybonitis or the country about Aleppo; Chalcis or Chalcidicê, a small tract south of this, about the lake in which the river of Aleppo ends; and Palmyrênê, or the desert so far as we consider it to have been Syrian. (*a*) Commagênê[a] lay to the north. Its capital was Samosata or *Sumeisat*. The territory is said

[a] The root of this name appears in the early Assyrian inscriptions as that of a people, the *Qummukh*, or *Qummukki*. They dwell, however, east of the Euphrates between *Sumeisat* and Diarbekr.

to have been fairly fertile, but small; and from this we may gather that it did not descend lower than about *Ain-Tab*. (*b*) From *Ain-Tab*, or perhaps from a point higher up, commenced Cirrhestica or Cyristica. It was bounded on the north by Commagêné, on the north-west by Amanus, on the west and south-west by Seleucis, and on the south by Chalybonitis or the region of Chalybon. Both it and Commagêné reached eastward to the Euphrates. Cyrrhestica was so called from its capital Cyrrhus, which seems to be the modern *Corus*. It included Hierapolis (*Bumbuk*), Batnae (*Dahab*?), and Gindarus (*Gindaries*). (*c*) Chalybonitis adjoined Cyrrhestica on the south, lying between that region and the desert. It extended probably from the Euphrates, about *Balis*, to Mount St. Simeon (*Amguli Dagh*). Like Cyrrhestica, it derived its name from its capital city, which was Chalybon, now corrupted into *Haleb*, or Aleppo. (*d*) Chalcidicé was south of the more western portion of Chalybonitis, and was named from its capital, Chalcis, which seems to be marked by the modern *Kennasserin*, a little south of the lake in which the river of Aleppo ends (Pococke, *Travels*, ii. 149). (*e*) Seleucis lay between Cyrrhestica, Chalybonitis, and Chalcis on the one side, and the Mediterranean on the other. It was a large province, and contained four important subdivisions, 1. Seleucis Proper or Pieria, the little corner between Amanus and the Orontes, with its capital, Seleucia, on the coast, above the mouth of the Orontes; 2. Antiochis, the region about Antioch; 3. Laodicêné, the coast tract between the mouth of the Orontes and Phoenicia, named after its capital, Laodiceia (still called *Ladikiyeh*), which was an excellent port, and situated in a most fertile district (Strab. xvi. 2, §9); and 4. Apamêné, consisting of the valley of the Orontes from *Jisr Hadid* to *Hamah*, or perhaps to *Hems*, and having Apamea (now *Famieh*) for its chief city. (*f*) Coele-syria lay south of Apamea, being the continuation of the Great Valley, and extending from *Hems* to the gorge in which the valley ends. The chief town of this region was Heliopolis (*Baalbek*). (*g*) Damascêné included the whole cultivable tract between the bare range which breaks away from Anti-libanus in lat. 33° 30′, and the hills which shut in the valley of the Awaj on the south. It lay east of Coele-syria and south-west of Palmyrêné. (*h*) Palmyrêné was the name applied to the whole of the Syrian Desert. It was bounded on the east by the Euphrates, on the north by Chalybonitis and Chalcidicé, on the west by Apamêné and Coele-syria, and on the south by the great desert of Arabia.

10. *Principal towns.*—The chief towns of Syria may be thus arranged, as nearly as possible in the order of their importance: 1. Antioch; 2. Damascus; 3. Apameia; 4. Seleucia; 5. Tadmor or Palmyra; 6. Laodiceia; 7. Epiphaneia (Hamath) 8. Samosata; 9. Hierapolis (Mabog); 10. Chalybon; 11. Emesa; 12. Heliopolis; 13. Laodiceia ad Libanum; 14. Cyrrhus; 15. Chalcis; 16. Poseideium; 17. Heracleia; 18. Gindarus; 19. Zeugma; 20. Thapsacus. Of these, Samosata, Zeugma, Thapsacus, are on the Euphrates; Seleucia, Laodiceia, Poseideium, and Heracleia, on the seashore; Antioch, Apameia, Epiphaneia, and Emesa (*Hems*) on the Orontes; Heliopolis and Laodiceia ad Libanum, in Coele-syria; Hierapolis, Chalybon, Cyrrhus, Chalcis, and Gindarus, in the northern highlands; Damascus on the skirts, and Palmyra in the centre of the eastern desert.

11. *History.*—The first occupants of Syria appear to have been of Hamitic descent. The Canaanitish races, the Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, &c., are connected in Scripture with Egypt and Ethiopia, Cush and Mizraim (Gen. x. 6 and 15-18); and even independently of this evidence, there seems to be sufficient reason for believing that the races in question stood in close ethnic connexion with the Cushite stock (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, iv. 243-245). These tribes occupied not Palestine only, but also Lower Syria, in very early times, as we may gather from the fact that Hamath is assigned to them in Genesis (x. 18). Afterwards they seem to have become possessed of Upper Syria also, for when the Assyrians first push their conquests beyond the Euphrates, they find the Hittites (*Khatti*) established in strength on the right bank of the Great River. After a while the first comers, who were still to a great extent nomads, received a Shemitic infusion, which most probably came to them from the south-east. The family of Abraham, whose original domicile was in Lower Babylonia, may, perhaps, be best regarded as furnishing us with a specimen of the migratory movements of the period. Another example is that of Chedorlaomer with his confederate kings, of whom one at least—Amraphel—must have been a Shemite. The movement may have begun before the time of Abraham, and hence, perhaps, the Shemitic names of many of the inhabitants when Abraham first comes into the country, as Abimelech, Melchizedek, Eliezer, &c.[b] The only Syrian town whose existence we find distinctly marked at this time is Damascus (Gen. xiv. 15; xv. 2), which appears to have been already a place of some importance. Indeed, in one tradition, Abraham is said to have been king of Damascus for a time (Nic. Dam. *Fr.* 30); but this is quite unworthy of credit. Next to Damascus must be placed Hamath, which is mentioned by Moses as a well-known place (Num. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 8), and appears in Egyptian papyri of the time of the eighteenth dynasty (*Cambridge Essays*, 1858, p. 268). Syria at this time, and for many centuries afterwards, seems to have been broken up among a number of petty kingdoms. Several of these are mentioned in Scripture, as Damascus, Rehob, Maachah, Zobah, Geshur, &c. We also hear occasionally of "*the kings* of Syria and of the Hittites" (1 K. x. 29; 2 K. vii. 6)—an expression indicative of that extensive subdivision of the tract among numerous petty chiefs which is exhibited to us very clearly in the early Assyrian inscriptions. At various times different states had the preeminence; but none was ever strong enough to establish an authority over the others.

The Jews first come into hostile contact with the Syrians, *under that name*, in the time of David. The wars of Joshua, however, must have often been with Syrian chiefs, with whom he disputed the possession of the tract about Lebanon and Hermon (Josh. xi. 2-18). After his time the Syrians were apparently undisturbed, until David began his aggressive wars upon them. Claiming the frontier of the Euphrates, which God had promised to Abraham (Gen. xv. 18), David made war on Hadadezer, king of Zobah, whom he defeated in a great battle, killing 18,000 of his men, and taking from him 1000 chariots, 700

b It is possible, however, that these names may be the Shemitic equivalents of the real names of these persons which names might in that case have been Hamitic.

horsemen, and 20,000 footmen (2 Sam. viii. 3, 4, 13). The Damascene Syrians, having endeavoured to succour their kinsmen, were likewise defeated with great loss (ib. ver. 5); and the blow so weakened them that they shortly afterwards submitted and became David's subjects (ver. 6). Zobah, however, was far from being subdued as yet. When, a few years later, the Ammonites determined on engaging in a war with David, and applied to the Syrians for aid, Zobah, together with Beth-Rehob, sent them 20,000 footmen, and two other Syrian kingdoms furnished 13,000 (2 Sam. x. 6). This army being completely defeated by Joab, Hadadezer obtained aid from Mesopotamia (ib. ver. 16), and tried the chance of a third battle, which likewise went against him, and produced the general submission of Syria to the Jewish monarch. The submission thus begun continued under the reign of Solomon, who "reigned over all the kingdoms from the river (Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines and unto the border of Egypt; they brought presents and served Solomon all the days of his life" (1 K. iv. 21). The only part of Syria which Solomon lost seems to have been Damascus, where an independent kingdom was set up by Rezon, a native of Zobah (1 K. xi. 23-25). On the separation of the two kingdoms, soon after the accession of Rehoboam, the remainder of Syria no doubt shook off the yoke. Damascus now became decidedly the leading state, Hamath being second to it, and the northern Hittites, whose capital was Carchemish near *Bambuk*, third. [CARCHEMISH.] The wars of this period fall most properly into the history of Damascus, and have already been described in the account given of that city. [DAMASCUS.] Their result was to attach Syria to the great Assyrian empire, from which it passed to the Babylonians, after a short attempt on the part of Egypt to hold possession of it, which was frustrated by Nebuchadnezzar. From the Babylonians Syria passed to the Persians, under whom it formed a satrapy in conjunction with Judaea, Phoenicia, and Cyprus (Herod. iii. 91). Its resources were still great, and probably it was his confidence in them which encouraged the Syrian satrap, Megabazus, to raise the standard of revolt against Artaxerxes Longimanus (B.C. 447). After this we hear little of Syria till the year of the battle of Issus (B.C. 333), when it submitted to Alexander without a struggle.

Upon the death of Alexander Syria became, for the first time, the head of a great kingdom. On the division of the provinces among his generals (B.C. 321), Seleucus Nicator received Mesopotamia and Syria; and though, in the twenty years of struggle which followed, this country was lost and won repeatedly, it remained finally, with the exception of Coele-syria, in the hands of the prince to whom it was originally assigned. That prince, whose dominions reached from the Mediterranean to the Indus, and from the Oxus to the Southern Ocean, having, as he believed, been exposed to great dangers on account of the distance from Greece of his original capital, Babylon, resolved immediately upon his victory of Ipsus (B.C. 301) to fix his metropolis in the West, and settled upon Syria as the fittest place for it. Antioch was begun in B.C. 300, and, being finished in a few years, was made the capital of Seleucus' kingdom. The whole realm was thenceforth ruled from this centre, and Syria, which had long been the prey of stronger countries, and had been exhausted by their factions, grew rich with the wealth which now flowed into it on all sides. The luxury and magnificence of Antioch were extraordinary. Broad straight streets, with colonnades from end to end, temples, statues, arches, bridges, a royal palace, and various other public buildings dispersed throughout it, made the Syrian capital by far the most splendid of all the cities of the East. At the same time, in the provinces, other towns of large size were growing up. Seleucia in Pieria, Apameia, and both Laodiceias were foundations of the Seleucidae, as their names sufficiently indicate. Weak and indolent as were many of these monarchs, it would seem that they had a hereditary taste for building; and so each aimed at outdoing his predecessors in the number, beauty, and magnificence of his constructions. As the history of Syria under the Seleucid princes has been already given in detail, in the articles treating of each monarch [ANTIOCHUS, DEMETRIUS, SELEUCUS, &c.], it will be unnecessary here to do more than sum it up generally. The most flourishing period was the reign of the founder, Nicator. The empire was then almost as large as that of the Achaemenian Persians, for it at one time included Asia Minor, and thus reached from the Egean to India. It was organised into satrapies, of which the number was 72. Trade flourished greatly, old lines of traffic being restored and new ones opened. The reign of Nicator's son, Antiochus I., called Soter, was the beginning of the decline, which was progressive from his date, with only one or two slight interruptions. Soter lost territory to the kingdom of Pergamus, and failed in an attempt to subject Bithynia. He was also unsuccessful against Egypt. Under his son, Antiochus II., called Θεός, or "the God," who ascended the throne in B.C. 261, the disintegration of the empire proceeded more rapidly. The revolt of Parthia in B.C. 256, followed by that of Bactria in B.C. 254, deprived the Syrian kingdom of some of its best provinces, and gave it a new enemy which shortly became a rival and finally a superior. At the same time the war with Egypt was prosecuted without either advantage or glory. Fresh losses were suffered in the reign of Seleucus II. (Callinicus), Antiochus the Second's successor. While Callinicus was engaged in Egypt against Ptolemy Euergetes, Eumenes of Pergamus obtained possession of a great part of Asia Minor (B.C. 242); and about the same time Arsaces II., king of Parthia, conquered Hyrcania and annexed it to his dominions. An attempt to recover this latter province cost Callinicus his crown, as he was defeated and made prisoner by the Parthians (B.C. 226). In the next reign, that of Seleucus III. (Ceraunus), a slight reaction set in. Most of Asia Minor was recovered for Ceraunus by his wife's nephew, Achaeus (B.C. 224), and he was preparing to invade Pergamus when he died poisoned. His successor and brother, Antiochus III., though he gained the surname of Great from the grandeur of his expeditions and the partial success of some of them, can scarcely be said to have really done anything towards raising the empire from its declining condition, since his conquests on the side of Egypt, consisting of Coele-syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, formed no sufficient compensation for the loss of Asia Minor, which he was forced to cede to Rome for the aggrandisement of the rival kingdom of Pergamus (B.C. 190). Even had the territorial balance been kept more even, the ill policy of

making Rome an enemy of the Syrian kingdom, with which Antiochus the Great is taxable, would have necessitated our placing him among the princes to whom its ultimate ruin was mainly owing. Towards the East, indeed, he did something, if not to thrust back the Parthians, at any rate to protect his empire from their aggressions. But the exhaustion consequent upon his constant wars and signal defeats—more especially those of Raphia and Magnesia—left Syria far more feeble at his death than she had been at any former period. The almost eventless reign of Seleucus IV. (Philopator), his son and successor (B.C. 187-175), is sufficient proof of this feebleness. It was not till twenty years of peace had recruited the resources of Syria in men and money, that Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), brother of Philopator, ventured on engaging in a great war (B.C. 171)—a war for the conquest of Egypt. At first it seemed as if the attempt would succeed. Egypt was on the point of yielding to her foe of so many years, when Rome, following out her traditions of hostility to Syrian power and influence, interposed her mediation, and deprived Epiphanes of all the fruits of his victories (B.C. 168). A greater injury was, about the same time (B.C. 167), inflicted on Syria by the folly of Epiphanes himself. Not content with replenishing his treasury by the plunder of the Jewish temple, he madly ordered the desecration of the Holy of Holies, and thus caused the revolt of the Jews, which proved a permanent loss to the empire and an aggravation of its weakness. After the death of Epiphanes the empire rapidly verged to its fall. The regal power fell into the hands of an infant, Antiochus V. (Eupator), son of Epiphanes (B.C. 164); the nobles contended for the regency; a pretender to the crown started up in the person of Demetrius, son of Seleucus IV.; Rome put in a claim to administer the government; and amid the troubles thus caused, the Parthians, under Mithridates I., overran the eastern provinces (B.C. 164), conquered Media, Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, &c., and advanced their frontier to the Euphrates. It was in vain that Demetrius II. (Nicator) made an attempt (B.C. 142) to recover the lost territory; his boldness cost him his liberty; while a similar attempt on the part of his successor, Antiochus VII. (Sidetes), cost that monarch his life (B.C. 128). Meanwhile, in the shorn Syrian kingdom, disorders of every kind were on the increase; Commagêné revolted and established her independence; civil wars, murders, mutinies of the troops, rapidly succeeded one another; the despised Jews were called in by both sides in the various struggles; and Syria, in the space of about ninety years, from B.C. 154 to B.C. 64, had no fewer than ten sovereigns. All the wealth of the country had been by this time dissipated; much had flowed Romewards in the shape of bribes; more, probably, had been spent on the wars; and still more had been wasted by the kings in luxury of every kind. Under these circumstances the Romans showed no eagerness to occupy the exhausted region, which passed under the power of Tigranes, king of Armenia, in B.C. 83, and was not made a province of the Roman Empire till after Pompey's complete defeat of Mithridates and his ally Tigranes, B.C. 64.

The chronology of this period has been well worked out by Clinton (*F. H.* vol. iii. pp. 308-346), from whom the following table of the kings, with the dates of their accession, is taken:—

Kings.	Length of Reign.	Date of Accession.
1. Seleucus Nicator	32 years.	Oct. 312
2. Antiochus Soter	19 ,,	Jan. 280
3. Antiochus Theus	15 ,,	Jan. 261
4. Seleucus Callinicus	20 ,,	Jan. 246
5. Seleucus Ceraunus	3 ,,	Aug. 226
6. Antiochus Magnus	36 ,,	Aug. 223
7. Seleucus Philopator	12 ,,	Oct. 187
8. Antiochus Epiphanes	11 ,,	Aug. 175
9. Antiochus Eupator	2 ,,	Dec. 164
10. Demetrius Soter	12 ,,	Nov. 162
11. Alexander Bala	5 ,,	Aug. 150
12. Demetrius Nicator (1st reign)	9 ,,	Nov. 146
13. Antiochus Sidetes	9 ,,	Feb. 137
14. Demetrius Nicator (2nd reign)	3 ,,	Feb. 128
15. Antiochus Grypus	13 ,,	Aug. 125
16. Antiochus Cyzenicus	18 ,,	113
17. Antiochus Eusebes and Philippus	12 ,,	95
18. Tigranes	14 ,,	83
19. Antiochus Asiaticus	4 ,,	69

As Syria holds an important place, not only in the Old Testament, but in the New, some account of its condition under the Romans must now be given. That condition was somewhat peculiar. While the country generally was formed into a Roman province, under governors who were at first propraetors or quaestors, then proconsuls, and finally legates, there were exempted from the direct rule of the governor, in the first place, a number of "free cities," which retained the administration of their own affairs, subject to a tribute levied according to the Roman principles of taxation; and 2ndly, a number of tracts, which were assigned to petty princes, commonly natives, to be ruled at their pleasure, subject to the same obligations with the free cities as to taxation (Appian, *Syr.* 50). The free cities were Antioch, Seleucia, Apameia, Epiphaneia, Tripolis, Sidon, and Tyre; the principalities, Commagêné, Chalcis ad Belum (near *Baalbek*), Arethusa, Abila or Abilêné, Palmyra, and Damascus. The principalities were sometimes called kingdoms, sometimes tetrarchies. They were established where it was thought that the natives were so inveterately wedded to their own customs, and so well disposed for revolt, that it was necessary to consult their feelings, to flatter the national vanity, and to give them the semblance without the substance of freedom. (*a*) Commagêné was a kingdom (*regnum*). It had broken off from Syria during the later troubles, and become a separate state under the government of a branch of the Seleucidae, who affected the names of Antiochus and Mithridates. The Romans allowed this condition of things to continue till A.D. 17, when, upon the death of Antiochus III., they made Commagêné into a province; in which condition it continued till A.D. 38, when Caligula gave the crown to Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), the son of Antiochus III. Antiochus IV. continued king till A.D. 72, when he was deposed by Vespasian, and Commagêné was finally absorbed into the Empire. He had a son, called also Antiochus and Epiphanes, who was betrothed to Drusilla, the sister of "King Agrippa," and afterwards the wife of Felix, the procurator of Judaea. (*b*) Chalcis "ad Belum" was not the city so called near Aleppo, which gave name to the district of Chalcidice, but a town of less importance near Heliopolis (*Baalbek*), whence probably the suffix "ad Belum." It is mentioned in this con-

nexion by Strabo (xvi. 2, §10), and Josephus says that it was under Lebanon (*Ant.* xiv. 7, §4), so that there cannot be much doubt as to its position. It must have been in the "Hollow Syria"—the modern *Bŭkaa*—to the south of *Baalbek* (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 9, §2), and therefore probably at *Anjar*, where there are large ruins (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* iii. 496, 497). This too was generally, or perhaps always, a "kingdom." Pompey found it under a certain Ptolemy, "the son of Mennaeus," and allowed him to retain possession of it, together with certain adjacent districts. From him it passed to his son, Lysanias, who was put to death by Antony at the instigation of Cleopatra (ab. B.C. 34), after which we find its revenues farmed by Lysanias' steward, Zenodorus, the royalty being in abeyance (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 10, §1). In B.C. 22 Chalcis was added by Augustus to the dominions of Herod the Great, at whose death it probably passed to his son Philip (ib. xvii. 11, §4). Philip died A.D. 34; and then we lose sight of Chalcis, until Claudius in his first year (A.D. 41) bestowed it on a Herod, the brother of Herod Agrippa I., still as a "kingdom." From this Herod it passed (A.D. 49) to his nephew, Herod Agrippa II., who held it only three or four years, being promoted from it to a better government (ib. xx. 7, §1). Chalcis then fell to Agrippa's cousin, Aristobulus, son of the first Herodian king, under whom it remained till A.D. 73 (Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 7, §1). About this time, or soon after, it ceased to be a distinct government, being finally absorbed into the Roman province of Syria. (*c*) Arethusa (now *Restun*) was for a time separated from Syria, and governed by phylarchs. The city lay on the right bank of the Orontes between Hamah and Hems, rather nearer to the former. In the government were included the Emiseni, or people of Hems (Emesa), so that we may regard it as comprising the Orontes valley from the *Jebel Erbayn*, at least as high as the *Bahr-el-Kades*, or *Baheiret-Hems*, the lake of Hems. Only two governors are known, Sampsiceramus, and Jamblichus, his son (Strab. xvi. 2, §10). Probably this principality was one of the first absorbed. (*d*) Abilêné, so called from its capital Abila, was a "tetrarchy." It was situated to the east of Anti-libanus, on the route between Baalbek and Damascus (*Itin. Ant.*). Ruins and inscriptions mark the site of the capital (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* iii. 479-482), which was at the village called *El Suk*, on the river Barada, just where it breaks forth from the mountains. The limits of the territory are uncertain. We first hear of this tetrarchy in St. Luke's Gospel (iii. 1), where it is said to have been in the possession of a certain Lysanias at the commencement of St. John's ministry, which was probably A.D. 27. Of this Lysanias nothing more is known; he certainly cannot be the Lysanias who once held Chalcis; since that Lysanias died above sixty years previously. Eleven years after the date mentioned by St. Luke, A.D. 38, the heir of Caligula bestowed "the tetrarchy of Lysanias," by which Abilêné is no doubt intended, on the elder Agrippa (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 6, §10), and four years later Claudius confirmed the same prince in the possession of the "Abila of Lysanias" (ib. xix. 5, §1). Finally, in A.D. 53, Claudius, among other grants, conferred on the younger Agrippa "Abila, which had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias" (ib. xx. 7, §1). Abila was taken by Placidus, one of the generals of Vespasian, in B.C. 69 (Joseph. *Bell Jud.* iv. 7, §6), and thenceforth was annexed to Syria. (*e*) Palmyra appears to have occupied a different position from the rest of the Syrian principalities. It was in no sense dependent upon Rome (Plin. *H. N.* v. 25), but, relying on its position, claimed and exercised the right of self-government from the breaking up of the Syrian kingdom to the reign of Trajan. Antony made an attempt against it, B.C. 41, but failed. It was not till Trajan's successes against the Parthians, between A.D. 114 and A.D. 116, that Palmyra was added to the Empire. (*f*) Damascus is the last of the principalities which it is necessary to notice here. It appears to have been left by Pompey in the hand of an Arabian prince, Aretas, who, however, was to pay a tribute for it, and to allow the Romans to occupy it at their pleasure with a garrison (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4, §5; 5, §1; 11, §7). This state of things continued most likely to the settlement of the Empire by Augustus, when Damascus was attached to the province of Syria. During the rest of Augustus' reign, and during the entire reign of Tiberius, this arrangement was in force; but it seems probable that Caligula on his accession separated Damascus from Syria, and gave it to another Aretas, who was king of Petra, and a relation (son?) of the former. [See ARETAS.] Hence the fact, noted by St. Paul (2 Cor. xi. 32), that at the time of his conversion Damascus was held by an "ethnarch of king Aretas." The semi-independence of Damascus is thought to have continued through the reigns of Caligula and Claudius (from A.D. 37 to A.D. 54), but to have come to an end under Nero, when the district was probably re-attached to Syria.

The list of the governors of Syria, from its conquest by the Romans to the destruction of Jerusalem, has been made out with a near approach to accuracy, and is as follows:—

Names.	Titles of office	Date of entering office.	Date of quitting office.
M. Aemilius Scaurus	Quaestor pro praetore	B.C. 62	B.C. 61
L. Marcius Philippus	Propraetor	61	59
Lentulus Marcellinus	Propraetor	59	57
Gabinius	Proconsul	56	55
Crassus		55	53
Cassius	Quaestor	53	51
M. Calpurnius Bibulus	Proconsul	51	47
Sext. Julius Caesar		47	46
Q. Caecilius Bassus	Praetor	46	44
(Q. Cornificius (L. Statius Murcus (Q. Marcius Crispus	received authority from the Senate to dispossess Bassus, but failed.)		
C. Cassius Longinus	Proconsul	B.C. 43	B.C. 42
L. Decidius Saxa	Legatus	41	40
P. Ventidius Bassus	Legatus	40	38
C. Sosius	Legatus	38	35
L. Munatius Plancus	Legatus	35	32
L. Calpurnius Bibulus	Legatus	31	31
Q. Didius	Legatus	30	
M. Valerius Messalla	Legatus	29	29
Varro	Legatus	24	
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Legatus	22	20
M. Tullius	Legatus	19 (?)	
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Legatus	15	
M. Titius	Legatus	11	7
C. Sentius Saturninus	Legatus	7	3
P. Quintilius Varus	Legatus	3	A.D. 5
P. Sulpicius Quirinus	Legatus	A.D. 5	
Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus	Legatus		17
M. Calpurnius Piso	Legatus	17	19
Cn. Sentius Saturninus	Prolegatus	19	
L. Pomponius Flaccus	Propraetor	22	33
L. Vitellius	Legatus	35	39
P. Petronius	Legatus	39	42
Vibius Marsus	Legatus	42	48
C. Cassius Longinus	Legatus	48	51
T. Numidius* Quadratus	Legatus	51	60
Domitius Corbulo	Legatus	60	63
Cinctius	Legatus	63	
C. Cestius Gallus	Legatus	65	67
P. Licinius Mucianus	Legatus	67	69

* Called "Vinidius" by Tacitus.

The history of Syria during this period may be summed up in a few words. Down to the battle of Pharsalia, Syria was fairly tranquil, the only troubles being with the Arabs, who occasionally attacked the eastern frontier. The Roman governors laboured hard to raise the condition of the province, taking great pains to restore the cities, which had gone to decay under the later Seleucidae. Gabinius, proconsul in the years 56 and 55 B.C., made himself particularly conspicuous in works of this kind. After Pharsalia (B.C. 46) the troubles of Syria were renewed. Julius Caesar gave the province to his relative Sextus in B.C. 47; but Pompey's party was still so strong in the East, that in the next year one of his adherents, Caecilius Bassus, put Sextus to death, and established himself in the government so firmly that he was able to resist for three years three proconsuls appointed by the Senate to dispossess him, and only finally yielded upon terms which he himself offered to his antagonists. Many of the petty princes of Syria sided with him, and some of the nomadic Arabs took his pay and fought under his banner (Strab. xvi. 2, §10). Bassus had but just made his submission, when, upon the assassination of Caesar, Syria was disputed between Cassius and Dolabella, the friend of Antony, a dispute terminated by the suicide of Dolabella, B.C. 43, at Laodiceia, where he was besieged by Cassius. The next year Cassius left his province and went to Philippi, where, after the first unsuccessful engagement, he too committed suicide. Syria then fell to Antony, who appointed as his legate, L. Decidius Saxa, in B.C. 41. The troubles of the empire now tempted the Parthians to seek a further extension of their dominions at the expense of Rome, and Pacorus, the crown-prince, son of Arsaces XIV., assisted by the Roman refugee, Labienus, overran Syria and Asia Minor, defeating Antony's generals, and threatening Rome with the loss of all her Asiatic possessions (B.C. 40-39). Ventidius, however, in B.C. 38, defeated the Parthians, slew Pacorus, and recovered for Rome her former boundary. A quiet time followed. From B.C. 38 to B.C. 31 Syria was governed peaceably by the legates of Antony, and, after his defeat at Actium and death at Alexandria in that year, by those of Augustus. In B.C. 27 took place that formal division of the provinces between Augustus and the Senate from which the imperial administrative system dates; and Syria, being from its exposed situation among the *provinciae principis*, continued to be ruled by legates, who were of consular rank (*consulares*) and bore severally the full title of "Legatus Augusti pro praetore." During the whole of this period the province enlarged or contracted its limits according as it pleased the reigning emperor to bestow tracts of land on the native princes, or to resume them and place them under his legate. Judaea, when attached in this way to Syria, occupied a peculiar position. Partly perhaps on account of its remoteness from the Syrian capital, Antioch, partly no doubt because of the peculiar character of its people, it was thought best to make it, in a certain sense, a separate government. A special procurator was therefore appointed to rule it, who was subordinate to the governor of Syria, but within his own province had the power of a legatus. [See JUDAEA.] Syria continued without serious disturbance from the expulsion of the Parthians (B.C. 38) to the breaking out of the Jewish war (A.D. 66). In B.C. 19 it was visited by Augustus, and in A.D. 18-19 by Germanicus who died at Antioch in the last-named year. In A.D. 44-47 it was the scene of a severe famine. [See AGABUS.] A little earlier Christianity had begun to spread into it, partly by means of those who "were scattered" at the time of Stephen's persecution (Acts xi. 19), partly by the exertions of St. Paul (Gal. i. 21). The Syrian Church soon grew to be one of the most flourishing (Acts xiii. 1, xv. 23, 35, 41, &c.). Here the name of "Christian" first arose—at the outset no doubt a gibe, but thenceforth a glory and a boast. Antioch, the capital, became as early probably as A.D. 44 the see of a bishop, and was soon recognised as a patriarchate. The Syrian Church is accused of laxity both in faith and morals (Newman, *Arians*, p. 10); but, if it must admit the disgrace of having given birth to Lucian and Paulus of Samosata, it can claim on the other hand the glory of such names as Ignatius, Theophilus, Ephraem, and Babylas. It suffered without shrinking many grievous persecutions; and it helped to make that emphatic protest against worldliness and luxuriousness of living at which monasticism, according to its original conception, must be considered to have aimed. The Syrian monks were among the most earnest and most self-denying; and the names of Hilarion and Simon Stylites are enough to prove that a most important part was played by Syria in the ascetic movement of the 4th and 5th centuries.

(For the geography of Syria, see Pococke's *Description of the East*, vol. ii. pp. 88-209; Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, pp. 1-309; Robinson's *Later Biblical Researches*, pp. 419-625; Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 403-414; Porter's *Five Years in Damascus*; Ainsworth's *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand*, pp. 57-70; *Researches*, &c., p. 290 et seqq. For the history under the Seleucidae, see (besides the original sources) Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii. Appendix iii. pp. 308-346; Vaillant's *Imperium Seleucidarum*, and Frölich's *Annales Rerum et Regum Syriae*. For the history under the Romans, see Norisius, *Cenotaphia Pisana*, Op. vol. iii. pp. 424-531.) [G. R.]

SYRIAC VERSIONS. [VERSIONS, SYRIAC.]

SYRO-PHOENICIAN (Συροφοινίκισσα, Συροφοίνισσα, or Σύρα Φοίνισσα: *Syro-Phoenissa*) occurs only in Mark vii. 26. The coinage of the words "Syro-Phoenicia," and "Syro-Phoenicians," seems to have been the work of the Romans, though it is difficult to say exactly what they intended by the expressions. It has generally been supposed that they wished to distinguish the Phoenicians of Syria from those of Africa (the Carthaginians); and the term "Syrophoenix" has been regarded as the exact converse to "Libyphoenix" (Alford, *in loc.*). But the Libyphoenices are not the Phoenicians of Africa generally—they are a peculiar race, half-African and half-Phoenician ("mixtum Punicum Afris genus," Liv. xxi. 22). The Syro-Phoenicians, therefore, should, on this analogy, be a mixed race, half-Phoenicians and half-Syrians. This is probably the sense of the word in the satirists Lucilius (ap. Non. Marc. *De proprietat. serm.* iv. 431) and Juvenal (*Sat.* viii. 159), who would regard a mongrel Oriental as peculiarly contemptible.

In later times a geographic sense of the terms superseded the ethnic one. The Emperor Hadrian divided Syria into three parts, Syria Proper, Syro-Phoenice, and Syria Palaestina; and henceforth a Syro-Phoenician meant a native of this sub-pre-

vince (Lucian, *De Conc. Deor.* §4), which included Phoenicia Proper, Damascus, and Palmyrené.

As the geographic sense had not come into use in St. Mark's time, and as the ethnic one would be a refinement unlikely in a sacred writer, it is perhaps most probable that he really wrote **Συρα Φοίνισσα**, "a Phoenician Syrian," which is found in some copies.

St. Matthew uses "Canaanitish" (**Χαναναία**) in the place of St. Mark's "Syro-Phoenician," or "Phoenician Syrian," on the same ground that the LXX. translate Canaan by Phoenicia (**Φοινίκη**). The terms Canaan and Phoenicia had succeeded one another as geographical names in the same country; and Phoenicians were called "Canaanites," just as Englishmen are called "Britons." No conclusion as to the identity of the Canaanites with the Phoenicians can properly be drawn from the indifferent use of the two terms. (See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 243-245.) [G. R.]

T

TA'ANACH (תַּעְנָךְ: **Ζακάχ, Βαλάχ, Θαναάχ, Βαλάδ**; Alex. **Θαναχ, Ταναχ, εκθανααδ, Θενναχ, Θαανάχ**: *Thanac, Thanach*). An ancient Canaanitish city, whose king is enumerated amongst the thirty-one conquered by Joshua (Josh. xii. 21). It came into the hands of the half tribe of Manasseh (Josh. xvii. 11, xxi. 25; 1 Chr. vii. 29), though it would appear to have lain outside their boundary and within the allotment of either Issachar or Asher (Josh. xvii. 11), probably the former. It was bestowed on the Kohathite Levites (Josh. xxi. 25). Taanach was one of the places in which, either from some strength of position, or from the ground near it being favourable for their mode of fighting, the Aborigines succeeded in making a stand (Josh. xvii. 12; Judg. i. 27); and in the great struggle of the Canaanites under Sisera against Deborah and Barak, it appears to have formed the head-quarters of their army (Judg. v. 19). After this defeat the Canaanites of Taanach were probably made, like the rest, to pay a tribute (Josh. xvii. 13; Judg. i. 28), but in the town they appear to have remained to the last. Taanach is almost always named in company with Megiddo, and they were evidently the chief towns of that fine rich district which forms the western portion of the great plain of Esdraelon (1 K. iv. 12).

There it is still to be found. The identification of *Ta'annuk* with Taanach, may be taken as one of the surest in the whole Sacred Topography. It was known to Eusebius, who mentions it twice in the *Onomasticon* (**Θαανάχ** and **Θαναή**) as a "very large village," standing between 3 and 4 Roman miles from Legio—the ancient Megiddo. It was known to hap-Parchi, the Jewish mediaeval traveller, and it still stands about 4 miles south-east of *Lejjûn*, retaining its old name with hardly the change of a letter. The ancient town was planted on a large mound at the termination of a long spur or promontory, which runs out northward from the hills of Manasseh into the plain, and leaves a recess or bay, subordinate to the main plain on its north side and between it and *Lejjûn*. The modern hamlet clings to the S.W. base of the mound (Rob. ii. 316, 329; Van de Velde, i. 358; Stanley, *Jewish Church*, 221, 222).

In one passage the name is slightly changed both in original and A. V. [TANACH.] [G.]

TA'ANATH-SHI'LOH (תַּאֲנַת שִׁלֹה: **Θήνασα καὶ Σέλησα**; Alex. **Τηναθ σηλω**: *Tanath-Selo*). A place named once only (Josh. xvi. 6) as one of the landmarks of the boundary of Ephraim, but of which boundary it seems impossible to ascertain. All we can tell is, that at this part the enumeration is from west to east, Janohah being east of Taanath Shiloh. With this agrees the statement of Eusebius (*Onomasticon*), who places Janohah 12, and Thenath, or as it was then called Thena,[a] 10 Roman miles east of Neapolis. Janohah has been identified with some probability at *Yanûn*, on the road from *Nâblus* to the Jordan Valley. The name *Tâna*, or *Ain Tâna*, seems to exist in that direction. A place of that name was seen by Robinson N.E. of *Mejdel* (*B. R.* iii. 295), and it is mentioned by Barth (Ritter, *Jordan*, 471), but without any indication of its position. Much stress cannot however be laid on Eusebius's identification.

In a list of places contained in the Talmud (*Jerusalem Megillah* i.), Taanath Shiloh is said to be identical with SHILOH. This has been recently revived by Kurtz (*Gesch. des Alt. Bundes*, ii. 70). His view is that Taanath was the ancient Canaanite name of the place, and Shiloh the Hebrew name, conferred on it in token of the "rest" which allowed the tabernacle to be established there after the conquest of the country had been completed. This is ingenious, but at present it is a mere conjecture, and it is at variance with the identification of Eusebius, with the position of Janohah, and, as far as it can be inferred, of Michmethah, which is mentioned with Taanath Shiloh in Josh. xvi. 6. [G.]

TAB'AOTH (**Ταβαώθ**; Alex. **Ταβώθ**: *Tobloch*). TABBAOTH (1 Esd. v. 29).

TAB'BAOTH (טַבָּעוֹת: **Ταβαώθ**; Alex. **Ταββαώθ**: *Tabbaoth, Tebbaoth*). The children of Tabbaoth were a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 43; Neh. vii. 46). The name occurs in the form TABAOTH in 1 Esd. v. 29.

TAB'BATH (טֵבַת: **Ταβάθ**; Alex. **Γαβαθ**. *Tebbath*). A place mentioned only in Judg. vii. 22, in describing the flight of the Midianite host after Gideon's night attack. The host fled to Beth-shittah, to Zererah, to the brink of Abel-meholah on (עַל), Tabbath. Beth-shittah may be *Shŭttah*, which lies on the open plain between *Jebel Fukûa* and *Jebel Duhy*, 4 miles east of *Ain Jalûd*, the probable scene of Gideon's onslaught. Abel-meholah was no doubt in the Jordan Valley, though it may not have been so much as 8 miles south of Beth-shean, where Eusebius and Jerome would place it. But no attempt seems to have been made to identify Tabbath, nor does any name resembling it appear in the books or maps, unless it be *Tubukhat-Fahil*, *i. e.* "Terrace of Fahil." This is a very striking natural bank, 600 feet in height (Rob. iii. 325), with a long, horizontal, and apparently flat top, which is embanked against the western face of the mountains east of the Jordan, and descends with a very steep front to the river. It is such a remarkable object in the whole view of this part of the Jordan Valley that it is difficult to imagine that it did not bear a distinctive name in ancient as well as modern times.

[a] Ptolemy names Thena and Neapolis as the two chief towns of the district of Samaria (cap. 16, quoted in Reland *Pal.* 461).

At any rate, there is no doubt that, whether this *Tubukah* represents Tabbath or not, the latter was somewhere about this part of the Ghor. [G.]

TAB'EAL (טַבְאֵל: Ταβεήλ: *Tabeel*). Properly "Tabeel," the *pathach* being due to the pause (Gesen. *Lehrg.* §52, 1 *b*; *Heb. Gr.* §29, 4 *c*). The son of Tabeal was apparently an Ephraimite in the army of Pekah the son of Remaliah, or a Syrian in the army of Rezin, when they went up to besiege Jerusalem in the reign of Ahaz (Is. vii. 6). The Aramaic form of the name favours the latter supposition [comp. TABRIMMON]. The Targum of Jonathan renders the name as an appellative, "and we will make king in the midst of her him who seems good to us" (יַת מַן דְּכְשַׁר לְנָא). Rashi by *Gematria* turns the name into רְמַלְיָא, *Rimla*, by which apparently he would understand *Remaliah*.

TAB'EEL (טַבְאֵל: Ταβεήλ: *Thabeel*). An officer of the Persian government in Samaria in the reign of Artaxerxes (Ezr. iv. 7). His name appears to indicate that he was a Syrian, for it is really the same as that of the Syrian vassal of Rezin who is called in our A. V. "Tabeal." Add to this that the letter which he and his companions wrote to the king was in the Syrian or Aramaean language. Gesenius, however (*Jes.* i. 280), thinks that he may have been a Samaritan. He is called TABELLIUS in 1 Esd. ii. 16. The name of Tobiel the father of Tobit is probably the same. [W. A. W.]

TABEL'LIUS (Ταβέλλιος: *Sabellius*). (1 Esdr. ii. 16.) [TABEEL.]

TABERAH (תַּבְעֵרָה: ἐμπυρισμός). The name of a place in the wilderness of Paran, given from the fact of a "burning" among the people by the "fire of the Lord" which there took place (Num. xi. 3, Deut. ix. 22). It has not been identified and is not mentioned among the list of encampments in Num. xxxiii. [H. H.]

TABERING (מְתֻפָּפוֹת: φθεγγόμεναι: *murmurantes*). The obsolete word thus used in the A. V. of Nah. ii. 7 requires some explanation. The Hebrew word connects itself with תֹּף, "a timbrel," and the image which it brings before us in this passage is that of the women of Nineveh, led away into captivity, mourning with the plaintive tones of doves, and beating on their breasts in anguish, as women beat upon their timbrels (comp. Ps. lxviii. 25 [26], where the same verb is used). The LXX. and Vulg., as above, make no attempt at giving the exact meaning. The Targum of Jonathan gives a word which, like the Hebrew, has the meaning of "tympanizantes." The A. V. in like manner reproduces the original idea of the words. The "tabour" or "tabor" was a musical instrument of the drum-type, which with the pipe formed the band of a country village. We retain a trace at once of the word and of the thing in the "tabourine" or "tambourine" of modern music, in the "tabret" of the A. V. and older English writers. To "tabour," accordingly, is to beat with loud strokes as men beat upon such an instrument. The verb is found in this sense in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Tamer Tamed* ("I would tabor her"), and answers with a singular felicity to the exact meaning of the Hebrew. [E. H. P.]

TABERNACLE (מִשְׁכָּן, אֹהֶל: σκηνή: *tabernaculum*). The description of the Tabernacle and its materials will be found under TEMPLE. The writer of that article holds that he cannot deal satisfactorily with the structural order and proportions of the one without discussing also those of the other. Here, therefore, it remains for us to treat—(1) of the word and its synonyms; (2) of the history of the Tabernacle itself; (3) of its relation to the religious life of Israel; (4) of the theories of later times respecting it.

I. *The Word and its Synonyms.*—(1.) The first word thus used (Ex. xxv. 9) is מִשְׁכָּן (*Mishcân*), formed from שָׁכַן = to settle down or dwell, and thus itself = dwelling. It connects itself with the Jewish, though not Scriptural, word Shechinah, as describing the dwelling-place of the Divine Glory. It is noticeable, however, that it is not applied in prose to the common dwellings of men, the tents of the Patriarchs in Genesis, or those of Israel in the wilderness. It seems to belong rather to the speech of poetry (Ps. lxxxvii. 2; Cant. i. 8). The loftier character of the word may obviously have helped to determine its religious use, and justifies translators who have the choice of synonyms like "tabernacle" and "tent" in a like preference.

(2.) Another word, however, is also used, more connected with the common life of men; אֹהֶל (*ôhel*), the "tent" of the Patriarchal age, of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob (Gen. ix. 21, &c.). For the most part, as needing something to raise it, it is used, when applied to the Sacred Tent, with some distinguishing epithet. In one passage only (1 K. i. 39) does it appear with this meaning by itself. The LXX. not distinguishing between the two words gives σκηνή for both. The original difference appears to have been that אֹהֶל represented the outermost covering, the black goat's hair curtains; מִשְׁכָּן, the inner covering, the curtains which rested on the boards (Gesenius, *s. v.*). The two words are accordingly sometimes joined, as in Ex. xxxix. 32, xl. 2, 6, 29 (A. V. "the tabernacle of the tent"). Even here, however, the LXX. gives σκηνὴ only, with the exception of the *var. lect.* of ἡ σκηνὴ τῆς σκεπῆς in Ex. xl. 29.

(3.) בַּיִת (*Baith*), οἶκος, *domus*, is applied to the Tabernacle in Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; Josh. vi. 24, ix. 23; Judg. xviii. 31, xx. 18, as it had been, apparently, to the tents of the Patriarchs (Gen. xxxiii. 17). So far as it differs from the two preceding words, it expresses more definitely the idea of a fixed settled habitation. It was therefore fitter for the sanctuary of Israel after the people were settled in Canaan, than during their wanderings. For us the chief interest of the word lies in its having descended from a yet older order, the first word ever applied in the O. T. to a local sanctuary, "BETH-EL," "*the house of God*" (Gen. xxviii. 17, 22), keeping its place, side by side, with other words, tent, tabernacle, palace, temple, synagogue, and at last outliving all of them, rising, in the Christian Ecclesia, to yet higher uses (1 Tim. iii. 15).

(4.) קֹדֶשׁ (*Kôdesh*), מִקְדָּשׁ (*Mikdâsh*), ἁγίασμα, ἁγιαστήριον, τὸ ἅγιον, τὰ ἅγια, *sanctuarium*, the holy, consecrated place, and therefore applied, according to the graduated scale of holiness of which the Tabernacle bore witness, sometimes to the whole structure (Ex. xxv. 8; Lev. xii. 4), sometimes to the court into which none but the priests might enter (Lev. iv. 6; Num. iii. 38, iv. 12), sometimes to the innermost sanctuary of all, the Holy of Holies

(Lev. iv. 6?). Here also the word had an earlier starting-point and a far-reaching history. EN-MISHPAT, the city of judgment, the seat of some old oracle, had been also KADESH, the sanctuary (Gen. xiv. 7: Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* ii. 307). The name *El Khuds* clings still to the walls of Jerusalem.

(5.) הֵיכָל (*Hêcâl*), *ναός*, *templum*, as meaning the stately building, or palace of Jehovah (1 Chr. xxix. 1, 19), is applied more commonly to the Temple (2 K. xxiv. 13, &c.), but was used also (probably at the period when the thought of the Temple had affected the religious nomenclature of the time) of the Tabernacle at Shiloh (1 Sam. i. 9, iii. 3) and Jerusalem (Ps. v. 7). In either case the thought which the word embodies is, that the "tent," the "house," is royal, the dwelling-place of the great king.

(6.) The two words (1) and (2) receive a new meaning in combination (*a.*) with מוֹעֵד (*mô'êd*), and (*b.*) with הָעֵדוּת (*ha'edûth*). To understand the full meaning of the distinctive titles thus formed is to possess the key to the significance of the whole Tabernacle. (*a.*) The primary force of יָעַד is "to meet by appointment," and the phrase אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד has therefore the meaning of "a place of or for a fixed meeting." Acting on the belief that the meeting in this case was that of the worshippers, the A. V. has uniformly rendered it by "tabernacle of the congregation" (so Seb. Schmidt, "tentorium conventûs;" and Luther, "Stiftshütte" in which Stift = Pfarrkirche), while the LXX. and Vulg., confounding it with the other epithet, have rendered both by *ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου*, and 'tabernaculum testimonii." None of these renderings, however, bring out the real meaning of the word. This is to be found in what may be called the *locus classicus*, as the interpretation of all words connected with the Tabernacle. "This shall be a continual burnt-offering . . . at the door of the tabernacle of *meeting* (מוֹעֵד) where I will *meet* you (אִוָּעֵד. *γνωσθήσομαι*) to speak there unto thee. And there will I *meet* (נְוַעַדְתִּי, *τάξομαι*) with the children of Israel. And I will *sanctify* (וְקִדַּשְׁתִּי) the tabernacle of meeting . . . . . and I will *dwell* (וְשָׁכַנְתִּי) among the children of Israel, and will be their God. And they shall know that I am the Lord their God" (Ex. xxix. 42-46). The same central thought occurs in Ex. xxv. 22, "There I will *meet* with thee" (comp. also Ex. xxx. 6, 36; Num. xvii. 4). It is clear, therefore, that "congregation" is inadequate. Not the gathering of the worshippers only, but the meeting of God with His people, to commune with them, to make himself known to them, was what the name embodied. Ewald has accordingly suggested *Offenbarungszelt* = Tent of Revelation, as the best equivalent (*Alterthümer*, p. 130). This made the place a *sanctuary*. Thus it was that the *tent* was the *dwelling*, the *house* of God (Bähr, *Symbolik*, i. 81).

(7.) The other compound phrase, (*b.*) אֹהֶל הָעֵדוּת, as connected with עוּד (= to bear witness), is rightly rendered by *ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου*, *tabernaculum testimonii*, *die Wohnung des Zeugnisses*, "the tent of the testimony" (Num. ix. 15) "the tabernacle of witness" (Num. xvii. 7, xviii. 2). In this case the tent derives its name from that which is the centre of its holiness. The two tables of stone within the ark are emphatically *the* testimony (Ex. xxv. 16, 21, xxxi. 18). They were to all Israel the abiding witness of the nature and will of God. The tent, by virtue of its relation to them, became the witness of its own significance as the meeting-place of God and man. The probable connexion of the two distinct names, in sense as well as in sound (Bähr, *Symb.* i. 83; Ewald, *Alt.* p. 230), gave, of course, a force to each which no translation can represent.

II. *History.*—(1.) The outward history of the Tabernacle begins with Ex. xxv. It comes after the first great group of Laws (xix.-xxiii.), after the covenant with the people, after the vision of the Divine Glory (xxiv.). For forty days and nights Moses is in the mount. Before him there lay a problem, as measured by human judgment, of gigantic difficulty. In what fit symbols was he to embody the great truths, without which the nation would sink into brutality? In what way could those symbols be guarded against the evil which he had seen in Egypt, of idolatry the most degrading? He was not left to solve the problem for himself. There rose before him, not without points of contact with previous associations, yet in no degree formed out of them, the "pattern" of the Tabernacle. The lower analogies of the painter and the architect seeing, with their inward eye, their completed work, before the work itself begins, may help us to understand how it was that the vision on the mount included all details of form, measurement, materials, the order of the ritual, the apparel of the priests.[a] He is directed in his choice of the two chief artists, Bezaleel of the tribe of Judah,[b] Aholiab of the tribe of Dan (xxxi.). The sin of the golden calf apparently postpones the execution. For a moment it seems as if the people were to be left without the Divine Presence itself, without any recognised symbol of it (Ex. xxxiii. 3). As in a transition period, the whole future depending on the penitence of the people, on the intercession of their leader, a tent is pitched, probably that of Moses himself, outside the camp, to be provisionally the Tabernacle of Meeting. There the mind of the Lawgiver enters into ever-closer fellowship with the mind of God (Ex. xxxiii. 11), learns to think of Him as "merciful and gracious" (Ex. xxxiv. 6), in the strength of that thought is led back to the fulfilment of the plan which had seemed likely to end, as it began, in vision. Of this provisional Tabernacle it has to be noticed, that there was as yet no ritual and no priesthood. The people went out to it as to an oracle (Ex. xxxiii. 7). Joshua though of the tribe of Ephraim, had free access to it (Ex. xxxiii. 11).

(2.) Another outline Law was however given; another period of solitude, like the first, followed. The work could now be resumed. The people offered the necessary materials in excess of what was wanted (Ex. xxxvi. 5, 6). Other workmen (Ex. xxxvi. 2) and work-women (Ex. xxxv. 25)

[a] An interesting parallel is found in the preparations for the Temple. There also the extremest minutiæ were among the things which the Lord made David "to understand in writing by His hand upon him," i. e. by an inward illumination which seemed to exclude the slow process of deliberation and decision (1 Chr. xxviii. 19).

[b] The prominence of artistic power in the genealogies of the tribe of Judah is worth noticing (1 Chr. iv. 4, 14, 21, 23). Dan, also, in the person of Hiram, is afterwards conspicuous (2 Chr. ii. 14; comp. 1 K. vii. 13, 14).

placed themselves under the direction of Bezaleel and Aholiab. The parts were completed separately, and then, on the first day of the second year from the Exodus, the Tabernacle itself was erected and the ritual appointed for it begun (Ex. xl. 2).

(3.) The position of the new Tent was itself significant. It stood, not, like the provisional Tabernacle, at a distance from the camp, but in its very centre. The multitude of Israel, hitherto scattered with no fixed order, were now, within a month of its erection (Num. ii. 2), grouped round it, as around the dwelling of the unseen Captain of the Host, in a fixed order, according to their tribal rank. The Priests on the east, the other three families of the Levites on the other sides, were closest in attendance, the "body-guard" of the Great King. [LEVITES.] In the wider square, Judah, Zebulun, Issachar, were on the east; Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin, on the west; the less conspicuous tribes, Dan, Asher, Naphtali, on the north; Reuben, Simeon, Gad, on the south side. When the army put itself in order of march, the position of the Tabernacle, carried by the Levites, was still central, the tribes of the east and south in front, those of the north and west in the rear (Num. ii.). Upon it there rested the symbolic cloud, dark by day, and fiery red by night (Ex. xl. 38). When the cloud removed, the host knew that it was the signal for them to go forward (Ex. xl. 36, 37; Num. ix. 17). As long as it remained, whether for a day, or month, or year, they continued where they were (Num. ix. 15-23). Each march, it must be remembered, involved the breaking-up of the whole structure, all the parts being carried on waggons by the three Levite families of Kohath, Gershon, and Merari, while the "sons of Aaron" prepared for the removal by covering everything in the Holy of Holies with a purple cloth (Num. iv. 6-15).

(4.) In all special facts connected with the Tabernacle, the original thought reappears. It is the place where man *meets* with God. There the Spirit "comes upon" the seventy Elders, and they prophesy (Num. xi. 24, 25). Thither Aaron and Miriam are called out, when they rebel against the servant of the Lord (Num. xii. 4). There the "glory of the Lord" appears after the unfaithfulness of the twelve spies (Num. xiv. 10), and the rebellion of Korah and his company (Num. xvi. 19, 42), and the sin of Meribah (Num. xx. 6). Thither, when there is no sin to punish, but a difficulty to be met, do the daughters of Zelophehad come to bring their cause "before the Lord" (Num. xxvii. 2). There, when the death of Moses draws near, is the solemn "charge" given to his successor (Deut. xxxi. 14).

(5.) As long as Canaan remained unconquered, and the people were still therefore an army, the Tabernacle was probably moved from place to place, wherever the host of Israel was, for the time, encamped, at Gilgal (Josh. iv. 19), in the valley between Ebal and Gerizim (Josh. viii. 30-35); again, at the head-quarters of Gilgal (Josh. ix. 6, x. 15, 43); and, finally, as at "the place which the Lord had chosen," at Shiloh (Josh. ix. 27, xviii. 1). The reasons of the choice are not given. Partly, perhaps, its central position, partly its belonging to the powerful tribe of Ephraim, the tribe of the great captain of the host, may have determined the preference. There it continued during the whole period of the Judges, the gathering-point for "the heads of the fathers" of the tribes (Josh. xix. 51), for councils of peace or war (Josh. xxii. 12; Judg. xxi. 12), for annual solemn dances, in which the women of Shiloh were conspicuous (Judg. xxi. 21). There, too, as the religion of Israel sank towards the level of an orgiastic Heathenism, troops of women assembled,[c] shameless as those of Midian, worshippers of Jehovah, and, like the ἱερόδουλοι of heathen temples, concubines of His priests (1 Sam. ii. 22). It was far, however, from being what it was intended to be, the one national sanctuary, the witness against a localized and divided worship. The old religion of the high places kept its ground. Altars were erected, at first under protest, and with reserves, as being not for sacrifice (Josh. xxii. 26), afterwards freely and without scruple (Judg. vi. 24, xiii. 19). Of the names by which the one special sanctuary was known at this period, those of the "House," or the "Temple," of Jehovah (1 Sam. i. 9, 24, iii. 3, 15) are most prominent.

(6.) A state of things which was rapidly assimilating the worship of Jehovah to that of Ashtaroth, or Mylitta, needed to be broken up. The Ark of God was taken and the sanctuary lost its glory; and the Tabernacle, though it did not perish, never again recovered it[d] (1 Sam. iv. 22). Samuel, at once the Luther and the Alfred of Israel, who had grown up within its precincts, treats it as an abandoned shrine (so Ps. lxxviii. 60), and sacrifices elsewhere, at Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii. 9), at Ramah (ix. 12, x. 3), at Gilgal (x. 8, xi. 15). It probably became once again a moveable sanctuary, less honoured as no longer possessing the symbol of the Divine Presence, yet cherished by the priesthood, and some portions, at least, of its ritual, kept up. For a time it seems, under Saul, to have been settled at NOB (1 Sam. xxi. 1-6), which thus became what it had not been before—a priestly city. The massacre of the priests and the flight of Abiathar must, however, have robbed it yet further of its glory. It had before lost the Ark. It now lost the presence of the High-Priest, and with it the oracular ephod, the URIM and the THUMMIM (1 Sam. xxii. 20, xxiii. 6). What change of fortune then followed we do not know. The fact that all Israel was encamped, in the last days of Saul at Gilboa, and that there Saul, though without success, inquired of the Lord by Urim (1 Sam. xxviii. 4-6), makes it probable that the Tabernacle, as of old, was in the encampment, and that Abiathar had returned to it. In some way or other, it found its way to Gibeon (1 Chr. xvi. 39). The anomalous separation of the two things which, in the original order, had been joined, brought about yet greater anomalies; and, while the ark remained at Kirjath-jearim, the Tabernacle at Gibeon connected itself with the worship of the high-places (1 K. iii. 4). The capture of Jerusalem and the erection there of a new Tabernacle, with the ark, of which the old had been deprived (2 Sam. vi. 17; 1 Chr. xv. 1), left it little more than a traditional, historical sanctity. It retained only the old altar of burnt-offerings (1 Chr. xxi. 29). Such as it was,

[c] The occurrence of the same distinctive word in Ex. xxxviii. 8, implies a recognised dedication of some kind, by which women bound themselves to the service of the Tabernacle, probably as singers and dancers. What we find under Eli was the corruption of the original practice (comp. Ewald, *Alterth.* 297). In the dances of Judg. xxi. 21, we have a stage of transition.

[d] Ewald (*Geschichte*, ii. 540) infers that Shiloh itself was conquered and laid waste.

however, neither king nor people could bring themselves to sweep it away. The double service went on; Zadok, as high-priest, officiated at Gibeon (1 Chr. xvi. 39); the more recent, more prophetic service of psalms and hymns and music, under Asaph, gathered round the Tabernacle at Jerusalem (1 Chr. xvi. 4, 37). The divided worship continued all the days of David. The sanctity of both places was recognised by SOLOMON on his accession (1 K. iii. 15; 2 Chron. i. 3). But it was time that the anomaly should cease. As long as it was simply Tent against Tent, it was difficult to decide between them. The purpose of David fulfilled by Solomon, was that the claims of both should merge in the higher glory of the Temple. Some, Abiathar probably among them, clung to the old order, in this as in other things [SOLOMON; URIM AND THUMMIM], but the final day at last came, and the Tabernacle of Meeting was either taken down,[e] or left to perish and be forgotten. So a page in the religious history of Israel was closed. So the disaster of Shiloh led to its natural consummation.

III. *Relation to the religious life of Israel.*—(1.) Whatever connexion may be traced between other parts of the ritual of Israel and that of the nations with which Israel had been brought into contact, the thought of the Tabernacle meets us as entirely new.[f] The "house of God" [BETHEL] of the Patriarchs had been the large "pillar of stone" (Gen. xxviii. 18, 19), bearing record of some high spiritual experience, and tending to lead men upward to it (Bähr, *Symbol.* i. 93), or the grove which, with its dim, doubtful light, attuned the souls of men to a divine awe (Gen. xxi. 33). The temples of Egypt were stately and colossal, hewn in the solid rock, or built of huge blocks of granite, as unlike as possible to the sacred Tent of Israel. The command was one in which we can trace a special fitness. The stately temples belonged to the house of bondage which they were leaving. The sacred places of their fathers were in the land towards which they were journeying. In the mean while, they were to be wanderers in the wilderness. To have set up a Bethel after the old pattern would have been to make that a resting-place, the object then or afterwards of devout pilgrimage; and the multiplication of such places at the different stages of their march would have led inevitably to polytheism. It would have failed utterly to lead them to the thought which they needed most—of a Divine Presence never absent from them, protecting, ruling, judging. A sacred tent, a moving Bethel, was the fit sanctuary for a people still nomadic.[g] It was capable of being united afterwards, as it actually came to be, with "the grove" of the older *cultus* (Josh. xxiv. 26).

(2.) The structure of the Tabernacle was obviously determined by a complex and profound symbolism; but its meaning remains one of the things at which we can but dimly guess. No interpretation is given in the Law itself. The explanations of Jewish writers long afterwards are manifestly wide of the mark. That which meets us in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the application of the *types* of the Tabernacle to the mysteries of Redemption, was latent till those mysteries were made known. And, yet, we cannot but believe that, as each portion of the wonderful order rose before the inward eye of the lawgiver, it must have embodied distinctly manifold truths which he apprehended himself, and sought to communicate to others. It entered, indeed, into the order of a Divine education for Moses and for Israel; and an education by means of symbols, no less than by means of words, presupposes an existing language. So far from shrinking, therefore, as men have timidly and unwisely shrunk (Witsius, *Aegyptiaca*, in Ugolini, *Thes.* i.) from asking what thoughts the Egyptian education of Moses would lead him to connect with the symbols he was now taught to use, we may see in it a legitimate method of inquiry—almost the only method possible. Where that fails, the gap may be filled up (as in Bähr, *Symbol. passim*) from the analogies of other nations, indicating, where they agree, a wide-spread primeval symbolism. So far from labouring to prove, at the price of ignoring or distorting facts, that everything was till then unknown, we shall as little expect to find it so, as to see in Hebrew a new and heaven-born language, spoken for the first time on Sinai, written for the first time on the Two Tables of the Covenant.

(3.) The thought of a graduated sanctity, like that of the outer court, the Holy Place, the Holy of Holies, had its counterpart, often the same number of stages, in the structure of Egyptian temples (Bähr, i. 216). The interior Adytum (to proceed from the innermost recess outward) was small in proportion to the rest of the building, and commonly, as in the Tabernacle (Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 6, §3), was at the western end (Spencer, iii. 2), and was unlighted from without.

In the Adytum, often at least, was the sacred ARK, the culminating point of holiness, containing the highest and most mysterious symbols, winged figures, generally like those of the cherubim (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* v. 275; Kenrick, *Egypt*, i. 460), the emblems of stability and life. Here were outward points of resemblance. Of all elements of Egyptian worship this was one which could be transferred with least hazard, with most gain. No one could think that the Ark itself was the likeness of the God he worshipped. When we ask what gave the Ark its holiness, we are led on at once to the infinite difference, the great gulf between the two systems. That of Egypt was predominantly *cosmical*, starting from the productive powers of nature. The symbols of those powers, though not originally involving what we know as impurity, tended to it fatally and rapidly (Spencer, iii. 1; Warburton, *Divine Legation*, II. 4 note). That of Israel was predominantly ethical. The nation was taught to think of God, not chiefly as revealed in nature, but as manifesting Himself in and to the spirits of men. In the Ark of the Covenant, as the highest revelation then

[e] The language of 2 Chr. v. 5, leaves it doubtful whether the Tabernacle there referred to was that at Jerusalem or Gibeon. (But see Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 4, §1.)

[f] Spencer (*De leg. Hebraeor.* iii. 3) labours hard, but not successfully, to prove that the tabernacles of Moloch of Amos v. 26, were the prototypes of the Tent of Meeting. It has to be remembered, however, (1) that the word used in Amos (*sikkûth*) is never used of *the* Tabernacle, and means something very different; and (2) that the Moloch-worship represented a defection of the people *subsequent* to the erection of the Tabernacle. On these grounds then, and not from any abstract repugnance to the idea of such a transfer, I abide by the statement in the text.

[g] Analogies of like wants met in a like way, with no ascertainable historical connexion, are to be found among the Gaetulians and other tribes of northern Africa (Sil. Ital. iii. 289), and in the Sacred Tent of the Carthaginian encampments (Diod. Sic. xx. 65).

possible of the Divine Nature, were the two tables of stone, on which were graven, by the teaching of the Divine Spirit, and therefore by "the finger of God,"[h] the great unchanging laws of human duty which had been proclaimed on Sinai. Here the lesson taught was plain enough. The highest knowledge was as the simplest, the esoteric as the exoteric. In the depths of the Holy of Holies, and for the high-priest as for all Israel, there was the revelation of a righteous Will requiring righteousness in man (Saalschütz, *Archäol.* c. 77). And over the Ark was the Côphereth (MERCY-SEAT), so called with a twofold reference to the root-meaning of the word. It *covered* the Ark. It was the witness of a mercy *covering* sins. As the "footstool" of God, the "throne" of the Divine Glory, it declared that over the Law which seemed so rigid and unbending there rested the compassion of ONE forgiving "iniquity and transgression."[i] And over the Mercy-seat were the CHERUBIM, reproducing in part at least, the symbolism of the great Hamitic races, forms familiar to Moses and to Israel, needing no description for them, interpreted for us by the fuller vision of the later prophets (Ezek. i. 5-13, x. 8-15, xli. 19), or by the winged forms of the imagery of Egypt. Representing as they did the manifold powers of nature, created life in its highest form (Bähr, i. 341) their "over-shadowing wings," "meeting" as in token of perfect harmony, declared that nature as well as man found its highest glory in subjection to a Divine Law, that men might take refuge in that Order, as under "the shadow of the wings" of God (Stanley, *Jewish Church*, p. 98). Placed where those and other like figures were, in the temples of Egypt, they might be hindrances and not helps, might sensualize instead of purifying the worship of the people. But it was part of the wisdom which we may reverently trace in the order of the Tabernacle, that while Egyptian symbols are retained, as in the Ark, the Cherubim, the URIM and the THUMMIM, their place is changed. They remind the high-priest, the representative of the whole nation, of the truths on which the order rests. The people cannot bow down and worship that which they never see.

The material not less than the forms, in the Holy of Holies was significant. The acacia or shittim-wood, least liable, of woods then accessible, to decay, might well represent the imperishableness of Divine Truth, of the Laws of Duty (Bähr, i. 286). Ark, mercy-seat, cherubim, the very walls, were all overlaid with gold, the noblest of all metals, the symbol of light and purity, sun-light itself as it were, fixed and embodied, the token of the incorruptible, of the glory of a great king (Bähr, i. 282). It was not without meaning that all this lavish expenditure of what was most costly was placed where none might gaze on it. The gold thus offered taught man, that the noblest acts of beneficence and sacrifice are not those which are done that they may be seen of men, but those which are known only to Him who "seeth in secret" (Matt. vi. 4). Dimensions also had their meaning. Difficult as it may be to feel sure that we have the key to the enigma, there can be but little doubt that the older religious systems of the world did attach a mysterious significance to each separate number; that the training of Moses, as afterwards the far less complete initiation of Pythagoras in the symbolism of Egypt, must have made that transparently clear to him, which to us is almost impenetrably dark.[k] To those who think over the words of two great teachers, one heathen (Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* p. 411), and one Christian (Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. p. 84-87), who had at least studied as far as they could the mysteries of the religion of Egypt, and had inherited part of the old system, the precision of the numbers in the plan of the Tabernacle will no longer seem unaccountable. If in a cosmical system, a right-angled triangle with the sides three, four, five, represented the triad of Osiris, Isis, Orus, creative force, receptive matter, the universe of creation (Plutarch, *l. c.*), the perfect cube of the Holy of Holies, the constant recurrence of the numbers 4 and 10, may well be accepted as symbolizing order, stability, perfection (Bähr, i. 225).[m]

(4.) Into the inner sanctuary neither people nor the priests as a body ever entered. Strange as it may seem, that in which everything represented light and life was left in utter darkness, in profound solitude. Once only in the year, on the DAY OF ATONEMENT, might the high-priest enter. The strange contrast has, however, its parallel in the spiritual life. Death and life, light and darkness, are wonderfully united. Only through death can we truly live. Only by passing into the "thick darkness" where God is (Ex. xx. 21; 1 K. viii. 12), can we enter at all into the "light inaccessible," in which He dwells everlastingly. The solemn annual entrance, like the withdrawal of symbolic forms from

[h] The equivalence of the two phrases, "by the Spirit of God," and "by the finger of God," is seen by comparing Matt. xii. 28, and Luke xi. 20. Comp. also the language of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. §133) and the use of "the hand of the Lord" in 1 K. xviii. 46; 2 K. iii. 15; Ezek. i. 3, iii. 14; 1 Chr. xxviii. 19.

[i] Ewald, giving to כַּפֹּרֶת, the root of *Côphereth*, the meaning of "to scrape," "erase," derives from that meaning the idea implied in the LXX. ἱλαστήριον, and denies that the word ever signified ἐπίθεμα (*Alterth.* p. 128, 129).

[k] A full discussion of the subject is obviously impossible here, but it may be useful to exhibit briefly the chief thoughts which have been connected with the numbers that are most prominent in the language of symbolism. Arbitrary as some of them may seem, a sufficient induction to establish each will be found in Bähr's elaborate dissertation, i. 128-255, and other works. Comp. Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* iv. 190-199; Leyrer in *Herzog's Encyclop.* "Stiftshütte."

ONE—The Godhead, Eternity, Life, Creative Force, the Sun, Man

TWO—Matter, Time, Death, Receptive Capacity, the Moon, Woman.

THREE (as a number, or in the triangle)—The Universe in connexion with God, the Absolute in itself, the Unconditioned, God.

FOUR (the number, or in the square or cube)—Conditioned Existence, the World as created, Divine Order, Revelation.

SEVEN (as = 3 + 4)—The Union of the World and God, Rest (as in the Sabbath), Peace, Blessing, Purification.

TEN (as = 1 + 2 + 3 + 4)—Completeness, moral and physical, Perfection.

FIVE—Perfection half attained, Incompleteness.

TWELVE—The Signs of the Zodiac, the Cycle of the Seasons; in Israel the ideal number of the people, of the Covenant of God with them.

[m] The symbol reappears in the most startling form in the closing visions of the Apocalypse. There the heavenly Jerusalem is described, in words which absolutely exclude the literalism which has sometimes been blindly applied to it, as a city four-square, 12,000 furlongs in length and breadth and height (Rev. xxi. 16).

the gaze of the people, was itself part of a wise and Divine order. Intercourse with Egypt had shown how easily the symbols of Truth might become common and familiar things, yet without symbols, the truths themselves might be forgotten. Both dangers were met. To enter once, and once only in the year, into the awful darkness, to stand before the Law of Duty, before the presence of the God who gave it, not in the stately robes that became the representative of God to man, but as representing man in his humiliation, in the garb of the lower priests, bare-footed and in the linen ephod, to confess his own sins and the sins of the people, this was what connected the Atonement-day (*Cippûr*) with the Mercy-seat (*Cóphereth*). And to come there with blood, the symbol of life, touching with that blood the mercy-seat, with incense, the symbol of adoration (Lev. xvi. 12-14), what did that express but the truth, (1.) that man must draw near to the righteous God with no lower offering than the pure worship of the heart, with the living sacrifice of body, soul, and spirit; (2.) that could such a perfect sacrifice be found, it would have a mysterious power working beyond itself, in proportion to its perfection, to cover the multitude of sins?

(5.) From all others, from the high-priest at all other times, the Holy of Holies was shrouded by the double VEIL, bright with many colours and strange forms, even as curtains of golden tissue were to be seen hanging before the Adytum of an Egyptian temple, a strange contrast often to the bestial form behind them (Clem. Al. *Paed.* iii. 4). In one memorable instance, indeed, the veil was the witness of higher and deeper thoughts. On the shrine of Isis at Sais, there were to be read words which, though pointing to a pantheistic rather than an ethical religion, were yet wonderful in their loftiness, "I am all that has been (*πᾶν τὸ γεγονός*), and is, and shall be, and my veil no mortal hath withdrawn" (*ἀπεκάλυψεν*) (*de Is. et Osir.* p. 394). Like, and yet more, unlike the truth, we feel that no such words could have appeared on the veil of the Tabernacle. In that identification of the world and God, all idolatry was latent, as in the faith of Israel in the I AM, all idolatry was excluded.[a] In that despair of any withdrawal of the veil, of any revelation of the Divine Will, there were latent all the arts of an unbelieving priestcraft, substituting symbols, pomp, ritual for such a revelation. But what then was the meaning of the veil which met the gaze of the priests as they did service in the sanctuary? Colours in the art of Egypt were not less significant than number, and the four bright colours, probably, after the fashion of that art, in parallel bands, blue symbol of heaven, and purple of kingly glory, and crimson of life and joy, and white of light and purity (Bähr, i. 305-330), formed in their combination no remote similitude of the rainbow, which of old had been a symbol of the Divine covenant with man, the pledge of peace and hope, the sign of the Divine Presence (Ez. i. 28; Ewald, *Alterth.* p. 333). Within the veil, light and truth were seen in their unity. The veil itself represented the infinite variety, the *πολυποίκιλος σοφία* of the Divine order in Creation (Eph. iii. 10). And there again were seen copied upon the veil, the mysterious forms of the cherubim; how many, or in what attitude, or of what size, or in what material, we are not told. The words "cunning work" in Ex. xxxvi. 35, applied elsewhere to combinations of embroidery and metal (Ex. xxviii. 15, xxxi. 4), justify perhaps the conjecture that here also they were of gold. In the absence of any other evidence it would have been, perhaps, natural to think that they reproduced on a larger scale, the number and the position of those that were over the mercy-seat. The visions of Ezekiel, however, reproducing, as they obviously do, the forms with which his priestly life had made him familiar, indicate not less than four (c. i. and x.), and those not all alike, having severally the faces of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle, strange symbolic words, which elsewhere we should have identified with idolatry, but which here were bearing witness against it, emblems of the manifold variety of creation as at once manifesting and concealing God.

(6.) The outer sanctuary was one degree less awful in its holiness than the inner. Silver, the type of Human Purity, took the place of gold, the type of the Divine Glory (Bähr, i. 284). It was to be trodden daily by the priests, as by men who lived in the perpetual consciousness of the nearness of God, of the mystery behind the veil. Barefooted and in garments of white linen, like the priests of Isis [PRIESTS], they accomplished their ministrations. And here, too, there were other emblems of Divine realities. With no opening to admit light from without, it was illumined only by the golden LAMP with its seven lights, one taller than the others, as the Sabbath is more sacred than the other days of the week, never all extinguished together, the perpetual symbol of all derived gifts of wisdom and holiness in man, reaching their mystical perfection when they shine in God's sanctuary to His glory (Ex. xxv. 31, xxvii. 20; Zech. iv. 1-14). The SHEW-BREAD, the "bread of faces," of the Divine Presence, not unlike in outward form to the sacred cakes which the Egyptians placed before the shrines of their gods, served as a token that, though there was no form or likeness of the Godhead, He was yet there, accepting all offerings, recognising in particular that special offering which represented the life of the nation at once in the distinctness of its tribes and in its unity as a people (Ewald, *Alterth.* p. 120). The meaning of the ALTAR OF INCENSE was not less obvious. The cloud of fragrant smoke was the natural, almost the universal, emblem of the heart's adoration (Ps. cxli. 2). The incense sprinkled on the shew-bread and the lamp taught men that all other offerings needed the intermingling of that adoration. Upon that altar no "strange fire" was to be kindled. When fresh fire was needed it was to be taken from the ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING in the outer court (Lev. ix. 24, x. 1). Very striking, as compared with what is to follow, is the sublimity and the purity of these symbols. It is as though the priestly order, already leading a consecrated life, were capable of understanding a higher language which had to be translated into a lower for those that were still without (Saalschütz, *Archäol.* §77).

(7.) Outside the tent, but still within the consecrated precincts, was the COURT, fenced in by an enclosure, yet open to all the congregation as well as to the Levites, those only excepted who were ceremonially unclean. No Gentile might pass beyond the curtains of the entrance, but every member of the priestly nation might thus far "draw near" to the presence of Jehovah. Here therefore stood the

[a] The name Jehovah, it has been well said, was "the rending asunder of the veil of Sais." (Stanley, *Jewish Church*, p. 110.)

ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERINGS, at which SACRIFICES in all their varieties were offered by penitents or thankful worshippers (Ex. xxvii. 1-8; xxxviii. 1), the brazen LAVER at which those worshippers purified themselves before they sacrificed, the priests before they entered into the sanctuary (Ex. xxx. 17-21). Here the graduated scale of holiness ended. What Israel was to the world, fenced in and set apart, that the Court of the Tabernacle was to the surrounding wilderness, just as the distinction between it and the sanctuary answered to that between the sons of Aaron and other Israelites, just as the idea of holiness culminated personally in the high-priest, locally in the Holy of Holies.

IV. *Theories of later times.*—(1.) It is not probable that the elaborate symbolism of such a structure was understood by the rude and sensual multitude that came out of Egypt. In its fulness perhaps no mind but that of the lawgiver himself ever entered into it, and even for him, one-half, and that the highest, of its meaning must have been altogether latent. Yet it was not the less, was perhaps the more fitted, on that account to be an instrument for the education of the people. To the most ignorant and debased it was at least a witness of the nearness of the Divine King. It met the craving of the human heart which prompts to worship, with an order which was neither idolatrous nor impure. It taught men that their fleshly nature was the hindrance to worship; that it rendered them unclean; that only by subduing it, killing it, as they killed the bullock and the goat, could they offer up an acceptable sacrifice; that such a sacrifice was the condition of forgiveness, a higher sacrifice than any they could offer the ground of that forgiveness. The sins of the past were considered as belonging to the fleshly nature which was slain and offered, not to the true inner self of the worshipper. More thoughtful minds were led inevitably to higher truths. They were not slow to see in the Tabernacle the parable of God's presence manifested in Creation. Darkness was as His pavilion (2 Sam. xxii. 12). He has made a Tabernacle for the Sun (Ps. xix. 4). The heavens were spread out like its curtains. The beams of His chambers were in the mighty waters (Ps. civ. 2, 3; Is. xl. 22; Lowth, *De Sac. Poes.* viii.). The majesty of God seen in the storm and tempest was as of one who rides upon a cherub (2 Sam. xxii. 11). If the words, "He that dwelleth between the cherubim," spoke on the one side of a special, localised manifestation of the Divine Presence, they spoke also on the other of that Presence as in the heaven of heavens, in the light of setting suns, in the blackness and the flashes of the thunder-clouds.

(2.) The thought thus uttered, essentially poetical in its nature, had its fit place in the psalms and hymns of Israel. It lost its beauty, it led men on a false track, when it was formalised into a system. At a time when Judaism and Greek philosophy were alike effete, when a feeble physical science which could read nothing but its own thoughts in the symbols of an older and deeper system, was after its own fashion rationalising the mythology of heathenism, there were found Jewish writers willing to apply the same principle of interpretation to the Tabernacle and its order. In that way, it seemed to them, they would secure the respect even of the men of letters who could not bring themselves to be Proselytes. The result appears in Josephus and in Philo, in part also in Clement of Alexandria and Origen. Thus interpreted, the entire significance of the Two Tables of the Covenant and their place within the Ark disappeared, and the truths which the whole order represented became *cosmical* instead of ethical. If the special idiosyncrasy of one writer (Philo, *De Profug.*) led him to see in the Holy of Holies and the Sanctuary that which answered to the Platonic distinction between the visible (αἰσθητά) and the spiritual (νοητά), the coarser, less intelligent Josephus goes still more completely into the new system. The Holy of Holies is the visible firmament in which God dwells, the Sanctuary as the earth and sea which men inhabit (*Ant.* iii. 6, §4, 7; 7, §7). The twelve loaves of the shew-bread represented the twelve months of the year, the twelve signs of the Zodiac. The seven lamps were the seven planets. The four colours of the veil were the four elements (στοιχεῖα), air, fire, water, earth. Even the wings of the cherubim were, in the eyes of some, the two hemispheres of the universe, or the constellations of the Greater and the Lesser Bears! (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. §35). The table of shew-bread and the altar of incense stood on the north, because north winds were most fruitful, the lamp on the south because the motions of the planets were southward (ib. §34, 35). We need not follow such a system of interpretation further. It was not unnatural that the authority with which it started should secure for it considerable respect. We find it re-appearing in some Christian writers, Chrysostom (*Hom. in Joann. Bapt.*) and Theodoret (*Quaest. in Exod.*)—in some Jewish, Ben Uzziel, Kimchi, Abarbanel (Bähr, i. 103 *et seq.*). It was well for Christian thought that the Church had in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse of St. John that which helped to save it from the pedantic puerilities of this physico-theology.*

(3.) It will have been clear from all that has been said that the Epistle to the Hebrews has not been looked on as designed to limit our inquiry into the meaning of the symbolism of the Tabernacle, and that there is consequently no ground for adopting the system of interpreters who can see in it nothing but an aggregate of types of Christian mysteries. Such a system has, in fact, to choose between two alternatives. Either the meaning was made clear, at least to the devout worshippers of old, and then it is no longer true that the mystery was hid "from ages and generations," or else the mystery was concealed, and then the whole order was voiceless and unmeaning as long as it lasted, then only beginning to be instructive when it was "ready to vanish away." Rightly viewed there is, it is believed, no antagonism between the interpretation which starts from the idea of *symbols* of Great, Eternal Truths, and that which rests on the idea of *types* foreshadowing Christ and His Work, and His Church. If the latter were the highest manifestation of the former (and this is the key note of the Epistle to the Hebrews), then the two systems run parallel with each other. The type

* It is curious to note how in Clement of Alexandria the two systems of interpretation cross each other, leading sometimes to extravagances like those in the text, sometimes to thoughts at once lofty and true. Some of these have been already noticed. Others, not to be passed over, are, that the seven lamps set forth the varied degrees and forms (πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως) of God's Revelation, the form and the attitude of the Cherubim, the union of active ministry and grateful, ceaseless contemplation (*Strom.* v §36, 37).

may help us to understand the symbol. The symbol may guard us against misinterpreting the type. That the same things were at once symbols and types may take its place among the proofs of an insight and a foresight more than human. Not the veil of nature only but the veil of the flesh, the humanity of Christ, at once conceals and manifests the Eternal's Glory. The rending of that veil enabled all who had eyes to see and hearts to believe, to enter into the Holy of Holies, into the Divine Presence, and to see, not less clearly than the High Priest, as he looked on the ark and the Mercy Seat, that Righteousness and Love, Truth and Mercy were as one. Blood had been shed, a life had been offered which, through the infinite power of its Love, was able to atone, to satisfy, to purify.[p]

(4.) We cannot here follow out that strain of a higher mood, and it would not be profitable to enter into the speculations which later writers have engrafted on the first great thought. Those who wish to enter upon that line of inquiry may find materials enough in any of the greater commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews (Owen's, Stuart's, Bleek's, Tholuck's, Delitzsch's, Alford's), or in special treatises, such as those of Van Till (*De Tabernac.* in Ugolini, *Thes.* viii.); Bede (*Expositio Mystica et Moralis Mosaici Tabernaculi*); Witsius (*De Tabern. Levit. Mysteriis*, in Miscell. Sacr.). Strange, outlying hallucinations, like those of ancient Rabbis, inferring from "the pattern showed to Moses in the Mount," the permanent existence of a heavenly Tabernacle, like in form, structure, proportions to that which stood in the wilderness (Leyrer, *l. c.*), or of later writers who have seen in it (not in the spiritual but the anatomical sense of the word) a *type* of humanity, representing the outer bodily framework, the inner vital organs (Friederich, *Symb. der Mos. Stifteshütte* in Leyrer, *l. c.*; and Ewald, *Alt.* p. 338), may be dismissed with a single glance:

"Non ragionamm' di lor, ma guarda e passa."

(5.) It is not quite as open to us to ignore a speculative hypothesis which, though in itself unsubstantial enough, has been lately revived under circumstances which have given it prominence. It has been maintained by Von Bohlen and Vatke (Bähr, i. 117, 273) that the commands and the descriptions relating to the Tabernacle in the Books of Moses are altogether unhistorical, the result of the effort of some late compiler to ennoble the cradle of his people's history by transferring to a remote antiquity what he found actually existing in the Temple, modified only so far as was necessary to fit it in to the theory of a migration and a wandering. The structure did not belong to the time of the Exodus, if indeed there ever was an Exodus. The Tabernacle thus becomes the mythical aftergrowth of the Temple, not the Temple the historical sequel to the Tabernacle. It has lately been urged as tending to the same conclusion that the circumstances connected with the Tabernacle in the Pentateuch are manifestly unhistorical. The whole congregation of Israel are said to meet in a court which could not have contained more than a few hundred men (Colenso, *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua*, P. I. c. iv. v.). The number of priests was utterly inadequate for the services of the Tabernacle (*Ibid.* c. xx.). The narrative of the head money collection, of the gifts of the people, is full of anachronisms (*Ibid.* c. xiv.).

(6.) Some of these objections—those, *e. g.* as to the number of the first-born, and the disproportionate smallness of the priesthood, have been met by anticipation in remarks under PRIESTS and LEVITES, written some months before the objections, in their present form, appeared. Others bearing upon the general veracity of the Pentateuch history it is impossible to discuss here. It will be sufficient to notice such as bear immediately upon the subject of this article. (1.) It may be said that this theory, like other similar theories as to the history of Christianity, adds to instead of diminishing difficulties and anomalies. It may be possible to make out plausibly that what purports to be the first period of an institution, is, with all its documents, the creation of the second; but the question then comes how we are to explain the existence of the second. The world rests upon an elephant, and the elephant on a tortoise, but the footing of the tortoise is at least somewhat insecure. (2.) Whatever may be the weight of the argument drawn from the alleged presence of the whole congregation at the door of the Tabernacle tells with equal force against the historical existence of the Temple and the narrative of its dedication. There also when the population numbered some seven or eight millions (2 Sam. xxiv. 9), "all the men of Israel" (1 K. viii. 2), all "the congregation" (ver. 5), all the children of Israel (ver. 63) were assembled, and the king "blessed" all the congregation (ver. 14, 55). (3.) There are, it is believed, undesigned touches indicating the nomade life of the wilderness. The wood employed for the Tabernacle is not the sycamore of the valleys nor the cedar of Lebanon, as afterwards in the Temple, but the shittim of the Sinaitic peninsula. [SHITTAH-TREE, SHITTIM.] The abundance of fine linen points to Egypt, the seal or dolphin skins ("badgers" in A. V., but see Gesenius s. v. תַּחַשׁ) to the shores of the Red Sea. [BADGER-SKINS, Appendix A.] The Levites are not to enter on their office till the age of thirty, as needing for their work as bearers a man's full strength (Num. iv. 23, 30). Afterwards when their duties are chiefly those of singers and gatekeepers, they were to begin at twenty (1 Chr. xxiii. 24). Would a later history again have excluded the priestly tribe from all share in the structure of the Tabernacle, and left it in the hands of mythical persons belonging to Judah, and to a tribe then so little prominent as that of Dan? (4.) There remains the strong Egyptian stamp impressed upon well-nigh every part of the Tabernacle and its ritual, and implied in other incidents. [Comp. PRIESTS, LEVITES, URIM AND THUMMIM, BRAZEN SERPENT.] Whatever bearing this may have on our views of the things themselves, it points, beyond all doubt, to a time when the two nations had been brought into close contact, when not jewels of silver and gold only, but treasures of wisdom, art, knowledge were "borrowed" by one people from the other. To what other period in the history before Samuel than that of the Exodus of the Pen-

[p] The allusions to the Tabernacle in the Apocalypse are, as might be expected, full of interest. As in a vision, which loses sight of all time limits, the Temple of the Tabernacle is seen in heaven (Rev. xv. 5), and yet in the heavenly Jerusalem there is no Temple seen (xxi. 22). And in the heavenly Temple there is no longer any veil; it is open, and the ark of the covenant is clearly seen (xi. 19)

Pentateuch can we refer that intercourse? When was it likely that a wild tribe, with difficulty keeping its ground against neighbouring nations, would have adopted such a complicated ritual from a system so alien to its own? So it is that the wheel comes full circle. The facts which when urged by Spencer, with or without a hostile purpose, were denounced as daring and dangerous and unsettling, are now seen to be witnesses to the antiquity of the religion of Israel, and so to the substantial truth of the Mosaic history. They are used as such by theologians who in various degrees enter their protest against the more destructive criticism of our own time (Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*; Stanley, *Jewish Church*, lect. iv.). (5.) We may, for a moment, put an imaginary case. Let us suppose that the records of the O. T. had given us in 1 and 2 Sam. a history like that which men now seek to substitute for what is actually given, had represented Samuel as the first great preacher of the worship of Elohim, Gad, or some later prophet as introducing for the first time the name and worship of Jehovah, and that the O. T. began with this (Colenso, P. II. c. xxi.). Let us then suppose that some old papyrus, freshly discovered, slowly deciphered, gave us the whole or the greater part of what we now find in Exodus and Numbers, that there was thus given an explanation both of the actual condition of the people and of the Egyptian element so largely intermingled with their ritual. Can we not imagine with what jubilant zeal the Books of Samuel would then have been "critically examined," what inconsistencies would have been detected in them, how eager men would have been to prove that Samuel had had credit given him for a work which was not his, that not he, but Moses, was the founder of the polity and creed of Israel, that the Tabernacle on Zion, instead of coming fresh from David's creative mind, had been preceded by the humbler Tabernacle in the Wilderness? [E. H. P.]

TABERNACLES, THE FEAST OF (חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת: ἑορτὴ σκηνῶν: *feriae tabernaculorum*: חַג הָאָסִף, Ex. xxiii. 16, "the feast of ingathering:" σκηνοπηγία, John vii. 2; Jos. *Ant.* viii. 4, §5: σκηναί, Philo, *De Sept.* §24: ἡ σκηνή, Plut. *Sympos.* iv. 6, 2), the third of the three great festivals of the Hebrews, which lasted from the 15th till the 22nd of Tisri.

I. The following are the principal passages in the Pentateuch which refer to it: Exod. xxiii. 16, where it is spoken of as the Feast of Ingathering, and is brought into connexion with the other festivals under their agricultural designations, the Feast of Unleavened Bread and the Feast of Harvest; Lev. xxiii. 34-36, 39-43, where it is mentioned as commemorating the passage of the Israelites through the desert; Deut. xvi. 13-15, in which there is no notice of the eighth day, and it is treated as a thanksgiving for the harvest; Num. xxix. 12-38, where there is an enumeration of the sacrifices which belong to the festival; Deut. xxxi. 10-13, where the injunction is given for the public reading of the Law in the Sabbatical year, at the Feast of Tabernacles. In Neh. viii. there is an account of the observance of the feast by Ezra, from which several additional particulars respecting it may be gathered.

II. The time of the festival fell in the autumn, when the whole of the chief fruits of the ground, the corn, the wine, and the oil, were gathered in (Ex. xxiii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 39; Deut. xvi. 13-15). Hence it is spoken of as occurring "in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field." Its duration was strictly only seven days (Deut. xvi. 13; Ez. xlv. 25). But it was followed by a day of holy convocation, distinguished by sacrifices of its own, which was sometimes spoken of as an eighth day (Lev. xxiii. 36; Neh. viii. 18).

During the seven days the Israelites were commanded to dwell in booths or huts[a] formed of the boughs of trees. These huts, when the festival was celebrated in Jerusalem, were constructed in the courts of houses, on the roofs, in the court of the Temple, in the street of the water gate, and in the street of the gate of Ephraim. The boughs were of the olive, palm, pine, myrtle, and other trees with thick foliage (Neh. viii. 15, 16). The command in Lev. xxiii. 40 is said to have been so understood,[b] that the Israelites, from the first day of the feast to the seventh, carried in their hands "the fruit (as in the margin of the A. V., not *branches*, as in the text) of goodly trees, with branches of palm trees, boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook."

According to Rabbinical tradition, each Israelite used to tie the branches into a bunch, to be carried in his hand, to which the name *lulab*[c] was given. The "fruit of goodly trees" is generally taken by the Jews to mean the citron.[d] But Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 10, §4) says that it was the fruit of the *persea*, a tree said by Pliny to have been conveyed from Persia to Egypt (*Hist. Nat.* xv. 13), and which some have identified with the peach (*Malus persica*). The boughs of thick trees were understood by Onkelos and others to be myrtles (הֲדַסִּים), but that no such limitation to a single species could have been intended seems to be proved by the boughs of thick trees and myrtle branches being mentioned together (Neh. viii. 15).

The burnt-offerings of the Feast of Tabernacles were by far more numerous than those of any other festival. It is said that the services of the priests were so ordered that each one of the courses was employed during the seven days (*Succah*, v. 6). There were offered on each day two rams, fourteen lambs, and a kid for a sin-offering. But what was most peculiar was the arrangement of the sacrifices of bullocks, in all amounting to seventy. Thirteen were offered on the first day, twelve on the second, eleven on the third, and so on, reducing the number by one each day till the seventh, when seven bullocks only were offered (Num. xxix. 12-38).

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[a] The word סֻכָּה means "a hut," and is to be distinguished from אֹהֶל, "a tent of skins or cloth," which is the term applied to the Tabernacle of the Congregation. See Gesen. *s. v.*

[b] This is the view of the Rabbinists, which appears to be countenanced by a comparison of v. 40 with v. 42. But the Karaites held that the boughs here mentioned were for no other purpose than to cover the huts, and that the willow branches were merely for tying the parts of the huts together.

[c] The word לוּלָב strictly means simply a palm branch. Buxt. *Lex. Talm.* c. 1143; Carpzov. *App. Crit.* p. 416; Drusius, *Not. Maj.* in Lev. xxiii.

[d] אֶתְרוֹג So Onkelos, Jonathan, and *Succah* Buxt. *Lex. rem.* sub תרג.

The eighth day was a day of holy convocation of peculiar solemnity, and, with the seventh day of the Passover, and the day of Pentecost, was designated עֲצֶרֶת [PASSOVER, §2, note [1]]. We are told that on the morning of this day the Hebrews left their huts and dismantled them, and took up their abode again in their houses. The special offerings of the day were a bullock, a ram, seven lambs, and a goat for a sin-offering (Num. xxix. 36-38).[e]

When the Feast of Tabernacles fell on a Sabbatical year, portions of the Law were read each day in public, to men, women, children, and strangers (Deut. xxxi. 10-13). It is said that, in the time of the Kings, the king himself used to read from a wooden pulpit erected in the court of the women, and that the people were summoned to assemble by sound of trumpet.[f] Whether the selections were made from the Book of Deuteronomy only, or from the other books of the Law also, is a question. But according to the Mishna (*Sota*, vi. 8, quoted by Reland) the portions read were Deut. i. 1-vi. 4, xi. 13-xiv. 22, xiv. 23-xvi. 22, xviii. 1-14, xxvii. 1-xxviii. 68 (see Fagius and Rosenmüller on Deut. xxxi. 11; Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, c. xvii.). We find Ezra reading the Law during the festival "day by day, from the first day to the last day" (Neh. viii. 18).[g]

III. There are two particulars in the observance of the Feast of Tabernacles which appear to be referred to in the New Testament, but are not noticed in the Old. These were, the ceremony of pouring out some water of the pool of Siloam, and the display of some great lights in the court of the women.

We are told that each Israelite, in holiday attire, having made up his *lulab*, before he broke his fast (Fagius in Lev. xxiii.), repaired to the Temple with the *lulab* in one hand and the citron in the other, at the time of the ordinary morning sacrifice. The parts of the victim were laid upon the altar. One of the priests fetched some water in a golden ewer from the pool of Siloam, which he brought into the court through the water gate. As he entered the trumpets sounded, and he ascended the slope of the altar. At the top of this were fixed two silver basins with small openings at the bottom. Wine was poured into that on the eastern side, and the water into that on the western side, whence it was conducted by pipes into the Cedron (Maimon. ap. Carpzov. p. 419). The hallel was then sung, and when the singers reached the first verse of Ps. cxviii. all the company shook their lulabs. This gesture was repeated at the 25th verse, and again when they sang the 29th verse. The sacrifices which belonged to the day of the festival were then offered, and special passages from the Psalms were chanted.

In the evening (it would seem after the day of holy convocation with which the festival had commenced had ended), both men and women assembled in the court of the women, expressly to hold a rejoicing for the drawing of the water of Siloam. On this occasion, a degree of unrestrained hilarity was permitted, such as would have been unbecoming while the ceremony itself was going on, in the presence of the altar and in connexion with the offering of the morning sacrifice (*Succah*, iv. 9, v. 1, and the passages from the Gem. given by Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, §4).

At the same time there were set up in the court two lofty stands, each supporting four great lamps. These were lighted on each night of the festival. It is said that they cast their light over nearly the whole compass of the city. The wicks were furnished from the cast-off garments of the priests, and the supply of oil was kept up by the sons of the priests. Many in the assembly carried flambeaux. A body of Levites, stationed on the fifteen steps leading up to the women's court, played instruments of music, and chanted the fifteen psalms which are called in the A. V. Songs of Degrees (Ps. cxx.-cxxxiv.). Singing and dancing were afterwards continued for some time. The same ceremonies in the day, and the same joyous meeting in the evening, were renewed on each of the seven days.

It appears to be generally admitted that the words of our Saviour (John vii. 37, 38)—"If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water"—were suggested by the pouring out of the water of Siloam. The Jews seem to have regarded the rite as symbolical of the water miraculously supplied to their fathers from the rock at Meribah. But they also gave to it a more strictly spiritual signification, in accordance with the use to which our Lord appears to turn it. Maimonides (note in *Succah*) applies to it the very passage which appears to be referred to by our Lord (Is. xii. 3)—"Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation." The two meanings are of course perfectly harmonious, as is shown by the use which St. Paul makes of the historical fact (1 Cor. x. 4)—"they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them: and that rock was Christ."

But it is very doubtful what is meant by "the last day, that great day of the feast." It would seem that either the last day of the feast itself, that is the seventh, or the last day of the religious observances of the series of annual festivals, the eighth, must be intended. But there seems to have been nothing, according to ancient testimony, to distinguish the seventh, as a great day, compared with the other days; it was decidedly inferior, in not being a day of holy convocation, and in its number of sacrifices, to the first day.[h]

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[e] The notion of Münster, Godwin, and others, that the eighth day was called "the day of palms," is utterly without foundation. No trace of such a designation is found in any Jewish writer. It probably resulted from a theory that the Feast of Tabernacles must, like the Passover and Pentecost, have a festival to answer to it in the calendar of the Christian Church, and that "the day of palms" passed into Palm Sunday.

[f] A story is told of Agrippa that when he was once performing this ceremony, as he came to the words "thou may'st not set a stranger over thee which is not thy brother," the thought of his foreign blood occurred to him, and he was affected to tears. But the bystanders encouraged him, crying out 'Fear not, Agrippa! Thou art our brother." Lightfoot, *T. S.* c. xvii.

[g] Dean Alford considers that there may be a reference to the public reading of the Law at the Feast of Tabernacles, John vii. 19—"Did not Moses give you the law? and yet none of you keepeth the law"—even if that year was not the Sabbatical year, and the observance did not actually take place at the time.

[h] But Buxtorf, who contends that St. John speaks of the seventh day, says that the modern Jews of his time called that day "the Great Hosanna," and distinguished it by a greater attention than usual to their personal appearance, and by performing certain peculiar rites in the synagogue (*Syn. Jud.* xxi.).

On the other hand, it is nearly certain that the ceremony of pouring out the water did not take place on the eighth day,[l] though the day might have been, by an easy licence, called the great day of the feast (2 Macc. x. 6; Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 10, §4; Philo, *De Sept.* §24). Dean Alford reasonably supposes that the eighth day may be meant, and that the reference of our Lord was to an ordinary and well-known observance of the feast, though it was not, at the very time, going on.

We must resort to some such explanation, if we adopt the notion that our Lord's words (John viii. 12)—"I am the light of the world"—refer to the great lamps of the festival. The suggestion must have arisen in the same way, or else from the apparatus for lighting not being removed, although the festival had come to an end. It should, however, be remarked that Bengel, Stier, and some others, think that the words refer to the light of morning which was then dawning. The view that may be taken of the genuineness of John viii. 1-11 will modify the probability of the latter interpretation.

IV. There are many directions given in the Mishna for the dimensions and construction of the huts. They were not to be lower than ten palms, nor higher than twenty cubits. They were to stand by themselves, and not to rest on any external support, nor to be under the shelter of a larger building, or of a tree. They were not to be covered with skins or cloth of any kind, but only with boughs, or, in part, with reed mats or laths. They were to be constructed expressly for the festival, out of new materials. Their forms might vary in accordance with the taste of the owners.[k] According to some authorities, the Israelites dwelt in them during the whole period of the festival (*Sifri*, in Reland), but others said it was sufficient if they ate fourteen meals in them, that is, two on each day (*Succah*, ii. 6). Persons engaged in religious service, the sick, nurses, women, slaves, and minors, were excepted altogether from the obligation of dwelling in them, and some indulgence appears to have been given to all in very tempestuous weather (*Succah*, i. ii.; Münster on Lev. xxiii. 40; Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* c. xxi.).

The furniture of the huts was to be, according to most authorities, of the plainest description. There was to be nothing which was not fairly necessary. It would seem, however, that there was no strict rule on this point, and that there was a considerable difference according to the habits or circumstances of the occupant[m] (Carpzov, p. 415; Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* p. 451).

It is said that the altar was adorned throughout the seven days with sprigs of willows, one of which each Israelite who came into the court brought with him. The great number of the sacrifices has been already noticed. The number of public victims offered on the first day exceeded those of any day in the year (*Menach.* xiii. 5). But besides these, the Chagigahs or private peace-offerings [PASSOVER, ii. 3, f.] were more abundant than at any other time; and there is reason to believe that the whole of the sacrifices nearly outnumbered all those offered at the other festivals put together. It belongs to the character of the feast that on each day the trumpets of the Temple are said to have sounded twenty-one times.

V. Though all the Hebrew annual festivals were seasons of rejoicing, the Feast of Tabernacles was, in this respect, distinguished above them all. The huts and the lulabs must have made a gay and striking spectacle over the city by day, and the lamps, the flambeaux, the music, and the joyous gatherings in the court of the Temple must have given a still more festive character to the night. Hence, it was called by the Rabbis חג, *the festival*, κατ' ἐξοχήν. There is a proverb in *Succah* (v. 1), "He who has never seen the rejoicing at the pouring out of the water of Siloam has never seen rejoicing in his life." Maimonides says that he who failed at the Feast of Tabernacles in contributing to the public joy according to his means, incurred especial guilt (Carpzov, p. 419). The feast is designated by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 4, §1) ἑορτὴ ἁγιωτάτη καὶ μεγίστη, and by Philo, ἑορτῶν μεγίστη. Its thoroughly festive nature is shown in the accounts of its observance in Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 4, §1, xv. 33), as well as in the accounts of its celebration by Solomon, Ezra, and Judas Maccabaeus. From this fact, and its connexion with the ingathering of the fruits of the year, especially the vintage, it is not wonderful that Plutarch should have likened it to the Dionysiac festivals, calling it θυρσοφορία and κρατηροφορία (*Sympos.* iv.). The account which he gives of it is curious, but it is not much to our purpose here. It contains about as much truth as the more famous passage on the Hebrew nation in the fifth book of the History of Tacitus.

VI. The main purposes of the Feast of Tabernacles are plainly set forth (Ex. xxiii. 16, and Lev xxiii. 43). It was to be at once a thanksgiving for the harvest, and a commemoration of the time when the Israelites dwelt in tents during their passage through the wilderness. In one of its meanings, it stands in connexion with the Passover, as the Feast of Abib, the month of green ears, when the first sheaf of barley was offered before the Lord; and with Pentecost, as the feast of harvest, when the first loaves of the year were waved before the altar: in its other meaning, it is related to the Passover as the great yearly memorial of the deliverance from the destroyer, and from the tyranny of Egypt. The tents of the wilderness furnished a home of freedom compared with the house of bondage out of which they had been brought. Hence the Divine Word assigns as a reason for the command that they should dwell in huts during the festival, "that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt" (Lev. xxiii. 43).

But naturally connected with this exultation in their regained freedom, was the rejoicing in the more perfect fulfilment of God's promise, in the settlement of His people in the Holy Land. Hence the festival became an expression of thanksgiving for the rest and blessing of a settled abode, and, as connected with it, for the regular annual cultivation of the ground, with the storing up of the corn and the wine and the oil, by which the prosperity of the nation was promoted and the fear

[l] R. Jehuda, however, said that the water was poured out on eight days. *Succah*, iv. 9, with Bartenora's note.

[k] There are some curious figures of different forms of huts, and of the great lights of the Feast of Tabernacles, in Surenhusius' *Mishna*, vol. ii.

[m] There is a lively description of some of the huts used by the Jews in modern times in *La Vie Juive en Alsace*, p. 170, &c.

of famine put into a remoter distance. Thus the agricultural and the historical ideas of the feast became essentially connected with each other.

But besides this, Philo saw in this feast a witness for the original equality of all the members of the chosen race. All, during the week, poor and rich, the inhabitant alike of the palace or the hovel, lived in huts which, in strictness, were to be of the plainest and most ordinary materials and construction.[a] From this point of view the Israelite would be reminded with still greater edification of the perilous and toilsome march of his forefathers through the desert, when the nation seemed to be more immediately dependent on God for food, shelter and protection, while the completed harvest stored up for the coming winter set before him the benefits he had derived from the possession of the land flowing with milk and honey which had been of old promised to his race.

But the culminating point of this blessing was the establishment of the central spot of the national worship in the Temple at Jerusalem. Hence it was evidently fitting that the Feast of Tabernacles should be kept with an unwonted degree of observance at the dedication of Solomon's Temple (1 K. viii. 2, 65; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 4, §5), again, after the rebuilding of the Temple by Ezra (Neh. viii. 13-18), and a third time by Judas Maccabaeus when he had driven out the Syrians and restored the Temple to the worship of Jehovah (2 Macc. x. 5-8).

The origin of the Feast of Tabernacles is by some connected with Succoth, the first halting-place of the Israelites on their march out of Egypt; and the huts are taken not to commemorate the tents in the wilderness, but the leafy booths (*succoth*) in which they lodged for the last time before they entered the desert. The feast would thus call to mind the transition from settled to nomadic life (Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, Appendix, §89).

Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 414; Bähr, *Symbolik*, ii. 624; Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* c. xxi.; Reland, *Ant.* iv. 5; Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, xvi. and *Exercit. in Joan.* vii. 2, 37; Otho, *Lex. Rab.* 230; the treatise *Succah*, in the Mishna, with Surenhusius' Notes; Hupfeld, *De Fest. Hebr.* pt. ii. Of the monographs on the subject the most important appear to be, Ikenius, *De Libatione Aquae in Fest. Tab.*; Groddek, *De Ceremonia Palmarum in Fest. Tab.* (in Ugolini, vol. xviii.), with the Notes of Dachs on *Succah*, in the Jerusalem Gemara. [S. C.]

TAB'ITHA (Ταβιθά: *Tabitha*), also called Dorcas (Δορκάς) by St. Luke: a female disciple of Joppa, "full of good works," among which that of making clothes for the poor is specifically mentioned. While St. Peter was at the neighbouring town of Lydda, Tabitha died, upon which the disciples at Joppa sent an urgent message to the Apostle, begging him to come to them without delay. It is not quite evident from the narrative whether they looked for any exercise of miraculous power on his part, or whether they simply wished for Christian consolation under what they regarded as the common calamity of their Church; but the miracle recently performed on Eneas (Acts ix. 34), and the expression in ver. 38 (διελθεῖν ἕως ἡμῶν), lead to the former supposition. Upon his arrival Peter found the deceased already prepared for burial, and laid out in an upper chamber, where she was surrounded by the recipients and the tokens of her charity. After the example of our Saviour in the house of Jairus (Matt. ix. 25; Mark v. 40), "Peter put them all forth," prayed for the Divine assistance, and then commanded Tabitha to arise (comp. Mark v. 41; Luke viii. 54). She opened her eyes and sat up, and then, assisted by the Apostle, rose from her couch. This great miracle, as we are further told, produced an extraordinary effect in Joppa, and was the occasion of many conversions there (Acts ix. 36-42).

The name of "Tabitha" (טָבִיתָא) is the Aramaic form answering to the Hebrew צְבִיָּה, a "female gazelle," the gazelle being regarded in the East, among both Jews and Arabs, as a standard of beauty,—indeed, the word צְבִי properly means "beauty." St. Luke gives "Dorcas" as the Greek equivalent of the name. Similarly we find δορκάς as the LXX. rendering of צְבִי in Deut. xii. 15, 22; 2 Sam. ii. 18; Prov. vi. 5. It has been inferred from the occurrence of the two names, that Tabitha was a Hellenist (see Whitby *in loc.*). This, however, does not follow, even if we suppose that the two names were actually borne by her, as it would seem to have been the practice even of the Hebrew Jews at this period to have a Gentile name in addition to their Jewish name. But it is by no means clear from the language of St. Luke that Tabitha actually bore the name of Dorcas. All he tells us is that the name of Tabitha means "gazelle" (δορκάς), and, for the benefit of his Gentile readers, he afterwards speak of her by the Greek equivalent. At the same time it is very possible that she may have been known by both names; and we learn from Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 3, §5) that the name of Dorcas was not unknown in Palestine. Among the Greeks, also, as we gather from Lucret. iv. 1154, it was a term of endearment. Other examples of the use of the name will be found in Wetstein, *in loc.* [W. B. J.]

TA'BOR and MOUNT TABOR (הַר תָּבוֹר, probably = height, as in Simonis' *Onomasticon*, p. 300: Γαιθβώρ, ὄρος Θαβώρ, Θαβώρ, but τὸ Ἰταβύριον in Jer. and Hosea, and in Josephus, who has also Ἀταρβύριον: *Thabor*), one of the most interesting and remarkable of the single mountain than a passing notice is the connecting the fall of Jericho with the Festival (Godwyn, p. 72; Reland, iv. 5), and of the seventy bullocks offered during the seven days being a symbol of the seventy Gentile nations (Reland, iv. 5; Bochart, *Phaleg*, i. 15). But of somewhat more interest is the older notion found in Onkelos, that the shade of the branches represented the cloud by day which sheltered the Israelites. He renders the words in Lev. xxiii. 43—"that I made the children of Israel to dwell under the shadow of a cloud."

[a] Some Jewish authorities and others connect with this the fact that in the month Tisri the weather becomes rather cold, and hence there was a degree of self-denial, at least for the rich, in dwelling in huts (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10, § 4; Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* p. 447; Rel. *Ant.* iv. 5). They see in this a reason why the commemoration of the journey through the desert should have been fixed at this season of the year. The notion seems, however, not to be in keeping with the general character of the feast, the time of which appears to have been determined entirely on agricultural ground. Hence the appropriateness of the language of the prophet, Zech. xiv. 16, 17; comp. Exod. xxiii. 16; Deut. xvi. 13-17. As little worthy of more

[a] The full form occurs in Judg. iv. 6, 12, 14; that of Tabor only in Josh. xix. 22; Judg. viii. 18; Ps. lxxxix. 12; Jer xlvi 18; Hos. v. 1.

View of Mount Tabor from the S.W., from a sketch taken in 1842 by W. Tipping, Esq., and engraved by his permission.

tains in Palestine. It was a Rabbinic saying (and shows the Jewish estimate of the attractions of the locality) that the Temple ought of right to have been built here, but was required by an express revelation to be erected on Mount Moriah. It rises abruptly from the north-eastern arm of the Plain of Esdraelon, and stands entirely insulated, except on the west, where a narrow ridge connects it with the hills of Nazareth. It presents to the eye, as seen from a distance, a beautiful appearance, being so symmetrical in its proportions, and rounded off like a hemisphere or the segment of a circle, yet varying somewhat as viewed from different directions. The body of the mountain consists of the peculiar limestone of the country. It is studded with a comparatively dense forest of oaks, pistacias, and other trees and bushes, with the exception of an occasional opening on the sides and a small uneven tract on the summit. The coverts afford at present a shelter for wolves, wild boars, lynxes, and various reptiles. Its height is estimated at 1000 feet, but may be somewhat less rather than more. Its ancient name, as already suggested, indicates its elevation, though it does not rise much, if at all, above some of the other summits in the vicinity. It is now called *Jebel et-Tûr*. It lies about six or eight miles almost due east from Nazareth. The writer, in returning to that village towards the close of the day (May 3rd, 1852), found the sun as it went down in the west shining directly in his face, with hardly any deviation to the right hand or the left by a single turn of the path. The ascent is usually made on the west side, near the little village of Debûrieh, probably the ancient Daberath (Josh. xix. 12), though it can be made with entire ease in other places. It requires three-quarters of an hour or an hour to reach the top. The path is circuitous and at times steep, but not so much so as to render it difficult to ride the entire way. The trees and bushes are generally so thick as to intercept the prospect; but now and then the traveller as he ascends comes to an open spot which reveals to him a magnificent view of the plain. One of the most pleasing aspects of the landscape, as seen from such points, in the season of the early harvest, is that presented in the diversified appearance of the fields. The different plots of ground exhibit various colours, according to the state of cultivation at the time. Some of them are red, where the land has been newly ploughed up, owing to the natural properties of the soil; others yellow or white, where the harvest is beginning to ripen or is already ripe; and others green, being covered with grass or springing grain. As they are contiguous to each other, or intermixed, these parti-coloured plots present, as looked down upon from above, an appearance of gay checkered work which is singularly beautiful. The top of Tabor consists of an irregular platform, embracing a circuit of half-an-hour's walk and commanding wide views of the subjacent plain from end to end. A copious dew falls here during the warm months. Travellers who have spent the night there have found their tents as wet in the morning as if they had been drenched with rain.

It is the universal judgment of those who have stood on the spot that the panorama spread before them as they look from Tabor includes as great a variety of objects of natural beauty and of sacred and historic interest as any one to be seen from any position in the Holy Land. On the east the waters of the Sea of Tiberias, not less than fifteen miles distant, are seen glittering through the clear atmosphere in the deep bed where they repose so quietly. Though but a small portion of the surface of the lake can be distinguished, the entire outline of its basin can be traced on every side. In the same direction the eye follows the

course of the Jordan for many miles; while still further east it rests upon a boundless perspective of hills and valleys, embracing the modern Haurân, and further south the mountains of the ancient Gilead and Bashan. The dark line which skirts the horizon on the west is the Mediterranean; the rich plains of Galilee fill up the intermediate space as far as the foot of Tabor. The ridge of Carmel lifts its head in the north-west, though the portion which lies directly on the sea is not distinctly visible. On the north and north-east we behold the last ranges of Lebanon as they rise into the hills about Safed, overtopped in the rear by the snow-capped Hermon, and still nearer to us the Horns of Hattîn, the reputed Mount of the Beatitudes. On the south are seen, first the summits of Gilboa, which David's touching elegy on Saul and Jonathan has fixed for ever in the memory of mankind, and further onward a confused view of the mountains and valleys which occupy the central part of Palestine. Over the heads of Dûhy and Gilboa the spectator looks into the valley of the Jordan in the neighbourhood of Beisân (itself not within sight), the ancient Beth-shean, on whose walls the Philistines hung up the headless trunk of Saul, after their victory over Israel. Looking across a branch of the plain of Esdraelon, we behold Endor, the abode of the sorceress whom the king consulted on the night before his fatal battle. Another little village clings to the hill-side of another ridge, on which we gaze with still deeper interest. It is Nain, the village of that name in the New Testament, where the Saviour touched the bier, and restored to life the widow's son. The Saviour must have passed often at the foot of this mount in the course of his journeys in different parts of Galilee. It is not surprising that the Hebrews looked up with so much admiration to this glorious work of the Creator's hand. The same beauty rests upon its brow to-day, the same richness of verdure refreshes the eye, in contrast with the bleaker aspect of so many of the adjacent mountains. The Christian traveller yields spontaneously to the impression of wonder and devotion, and appropriates as his own the language of the psalmist (lxxxix. 11, 12):—

> "The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine;
> The world and the fulness thereof, thou hast founded them.
> The north and the south thou hast created them;
> Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name."

Tabor does not occur in the New Testament, but makes a prominent figure in the Old. The Book of Joshua (xix. 22) mentions it as the boundary between Issachar and Zebulon (see ver. 12). Barak, at the command of Deborah, assembled his forces on Tabor, and, on the arrival of the opportune moment, descended thence with "ten thousand men after him" into the plain, and conquered Sisera on the banks of the Kishon (Judg. iv. 6-15). The brothers of Gideon, each of whom "resembled the children of a king," were murdered here by Zebah and Zalmunna (Judg. viii. 18, 19). Some writers, after Heider and others, think that Tabor is intended when it is said of Issachar and Zebulon in Deut. xxxiii. 19, that "they shall call the people unto *the mountain*; there they shall offer sacrifices of righteousness." Stanley, who holds this view (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 351), remarks that he was struck with the aspect of the open glades on the summit as specially fitted for the convocation of festive assemblies, and could well believe that in some remote age it may have been a sanctuary of the northern tribes, if not of the whole nation. The prophet in Hos. v. 1, reproaches the priests and royal family with having "been a snare on Mizpah and a net spread upon Tabor." The charge against them probably is that they had set up idols and practised heathenish rites on the high places which were usually selected for such worship. The comparison in Jer. xlvi. 18, "As Tabor is among the mountains and Carmel by the sea," imports apparently that those heights were proverbial for their conspicuousness, beauty, and strength.

Dr. Robinson (*Researches*, ii. 353) has thus described the ruins which are to be seen at present on the summit of Tabor. "All around the top are the foundations of a thick wall built of large stones, some of which are bevelled, showing that the entire wall was perhaps originally of that character. In several parts are the remains of towers and bastions. The chief remains are upon the ledge of rocks on the south of the little basin, and especially towards its eastern end; here are—in indiscriminate confusion — walls, and arches, and foundations, apparently of dwelling-houses, as well as other buildings, some of hewn, and some of large bevelled stones. The walls and traces of a fortress are seen here, and further west along the southern brow, of which one tall pointed arch of a Saracenic gateway is still standing, and bears the name of *Bâb el-Hawa*, 'Gate of the Wind.' Connected with it are loopholes, and others are seen near by. These latter fortifications belong to the era of the Crusades; but the large bevelled stones we refer to a style of architecture not later than the times of the Romans, before which period, indeed, a town and fortress already existed on Mount Tabor. In the days of the crusaders, too, and earlier, there were here churches and monasteries. The summit has many cisterns, now mostly dry." The same writer found the thermometer here, 10 A.M. (June 18th), at 98° F., at sunrise at 64°, and at sunset at 74°. The Latin Christians have now an altar here, at which their priests from Nazareth perform an annual mass. The Greeks also have a chapel, where, on certain festivals, they assemble for the celebration of religious rites.[b]

Most travellers who have visited Tabor in recent times have found it utterly solitary so far as regards the presence of human occupants. It happened to the writer on his visit here to meet, unexpectedly, with four men who had taken up their abode in this retreat, so well suited to encourage the devotion of religious devotees. One of them was an aged priest of the Greek Church, a native of Wallachia, named Erinna, according to his own account more than a hundred years old, who had come here to await the final advent of

[b] Professor Stanley, in his *Notices of Localities visited with the Prince of Wales*, has mentioned some particulars attached to the modern history of Tabor which appear to have escaped former travellers. "The fortress, of which the ruins crown the summit, had evidently four gateways, like those by which the great Roman camps of our own country were entered. By one of these gateways my attention was called to an Arabic inscription, said to be the only one on the mountain." It records the building or rebuilding of "this blessed fortress" by the order of the Sultan Abu Bekr on his return from the East in 607.

Christ. His story was an interesting one. In his early years "he received an intimation in his sleep that he was to build a church on a mountain shown to him in his dream. He wandered through many countries, and found his mountain at last in Tabor. There he lived, and collected money from pilgrims, which at his death, a few years ago, amounted to a sufficient sum to raise the church, which is approaching completion. He was remarkable for his long beard and for a tame panther, which, like the ancient hermits, he made his constant companion" (Stanley, *Localities*, 191-2). He was a man of huge physical proportions, and stood forth as a good witness for the efficacy of the diet of milk and herbs, on which, according to his own account, he subsisted. The other three men were natives of the same province. Two of them, having been to Jerusalem and the Jordan on a pilgrimage, had taken Tabor in their way on their return homeward, where, finding unexpectedly the priest, whom they happened to know, they resolved to remain with him for a time. One of them was deliberating whether he should not take up his permanent abode there. The fourth person was a young man, a relative of the priest, who seemed to have taken on himself the filial office of caring for his aged friend in the last extremity. In the monastic ages Tabor, in consequence, partly, of a belief that it was the scene of the Saviour's transfiguration, was crowded with hermits. It was one of the shrines from the earliest period which pilgrims to the Holy Land regarded it as a sacred duty to honour with their presence and their prayers. Jerome, in his Itinerary of Paula, writes, "Scandebat montem Thabor, in quo transfiguratus est Dominus; aspiciebat procul Hermon et Hermonim et campos latissimos Galilaeae (Jesreel), in quibus Sisara prostratus est. Torrens Cison qui mediam planitiem dividebat, et oppidum juxta, Naim, monstrabantur."

This idea that our Saviour was transfigured on Tabor prevailed extensively among the early Christians, who adopted legends of this nature, and reappears often still in popular religious works. If one might choose a place which he would deem peculiarly fitting for so sublime a transaction, there is none certainly which would so entirely satisfy our feelings in this respect as the lofty, majestic, beautiful Tabor. It is impossible, however, to acquiesce in the correctness of this opinion. It is susceptible of proof from the Old Testament, and from later history, that a fortress or town existed on Tabor from very early times down to B.C. 50 or 53; and, as Josephus says (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 1, §8) that he strengthened the fortifications of a city there, about A.D. 60, it is morally certain that Tabor must have been inhabited during the intervening period, that is, in the days of Christ. Tabor, therefore, could not have been the Mount of Transfiguration: for when it is said that Jesus took his disciples "up into a high mountain apart and was transfigured before them" (Matt. xvii. 1, 2), we must understand that He brought them to the summit of the mountain, where they were alone by themselves (*κατ' ἰδίαν*). It is impossible to ascertain with certainty what place is entitled to the glory of this marvellous scene. The evangelists record the event in connexion with a journey of the Saviour to Caesarea Philippi, near the sources of the Jordan. It is conjectured that the Transfiguration may have taken place on one of the summits of Mount Hermon in that vicinity. See Ritter's *Erdkunde*, xv. 394 sq.; and Richardstein's *Leben Jesu*, p. 309. For the history of the tradition which connects Tabor with the Transfiguration, consult Robinson's *Researches*, ii. 358, 9. [H. B. H.]

TA'BOR (תָּבוֹר: Θαχχεία; Alex. Θαβωρ: *Thabor*) is mentioned in the lists of 1 Chr. vi. as a city of the Merarite Levites, in the tribe of Zebulun (ver. 77). The catalogue of Levitical cities in Josh. xxi. does not contain any name answering to this (comp. vers. 34, 35). But the list of the towns of Zebulun (Ib. xix.) contains the name of CHISLOTH-TABOR (ver. 12). It is therefore, possible, either that Chisloth-Tabor is abbreviated into Tabor by the chronicler, or that by the time these later lists were compiled, the Merarites had established themselves on the sacred mountain, and that Tabor is Mount Tabor. [G.]

TA'BOR, THE PLAIN OF (אֵלוֹן תָּבוֹר: ἡ δρῦς Θαβώρ: *quercus Thabor*). It has been already pointed out [see PLAIN, p. 890 *b*], that this is an incorrect translation, and should be THE OAK OF TABOR. It is mentioned in 1 Sam. x. 3, only as one of the points in the homeward journey of Saul after his anointing by Samuel. It was the next stage in the journey after "Rachel's sepulchre at Zelzach." But unfortunately, like so many of the other spots named in this interesting passage, the position of the Oak of Tabor has not yet been fixed.

Ewald seems to consider it certain (*gewiss*) that Tabor and Deborah are merely different modes of pronouncing the same name, and he accordingly identifies the oak of Tabor with the tree under which Deborah, Rachel's nurse, was buried (Gen. xxxv. 8), and that again with the palm, under which Deborah the prophetess delivered her oracles (*Gesch.* iii. 29, i. 390, ii. 489), and this again with the Oak of the old Prophet near Bethel (ib. iii. 444). But this, though most ingenious, can only be received as a conjecture, and the position on which it would land us—"between Ramah and Bethel" (Judg. iv. 5), is too far from Rachel's sepulchre to fall in with the conditions of the narrative of Saul's journey, as long as we hold that to be the traditional sepulchre near Bethlehem. A further opportunity for examining this most puzzling route will occur under ZELZAH; but the writer is not sanguine enough to hope that any light can be thrown on it in the present state of our knowledge. [G.]

TABRET. [TIMBREL.]

TAB'RIMON (טַבְרִמּוֹן: Ταβερεμά; Alex. Ταβενραμά: *Tabremon*). Properly, Tabrimmon, *i. e.* "good is Rimmon," the Syrian god; compare the analogous forms Tobiel, Tobiah, and the Phoenician Tab-aram (Gesen. *Mon. Phoen.* 456). The father of Benhadad I., king of Syria in the reign of Asa (1 K. xv. 18).

TACHE (קֶרֶס: κρίκος: *circulus, fibula*). The word thus rendered occurs only in the description of the structure of the tabernacle and its fittings (Ex. xxvi. 6, 11, 33, xxxv. 11, xxxvi. 13, xxxix. 33), and appears to indicate the small hooks by which a curtain is suspended to the rings from which it hangs, or connected vertically, as in the case of the veil of the Holy of Holies, with the loops of another curtain. The history of the English

word is philologically interesting, as presenting points of contact with many different languages. The Gaelic and Breton branches of the Keltic family give *tac*, or *tach*, in the sense of a nail or hook. The latter meaning appears in the *attaccare*, *staccare*, of Italian, in the *attacher*, *détacher*, of French. On the other hand, in the *tak* of Dutch, and the *Zacke* of German, we have a word of like sound and kindred meaning. Our Anglo-Saxon *taccan* and English *take* (to seize us with a hook?) are probably connected with it. In later use the word has slightly altered both its form and meaning, and the *tack* is no longer a hook, but a small flat-headed nail (comp. Diez, *Roman. Wörterb.* s. v. *Tacco*). [E. H. P.]

TACH'MONITE, THE (הַתַּחְכְּמֹנִי: ὁ Χαναναῖος: *sapientissimus*). "The Tachmonite (properly, Tachcemonite) that sat in the seat," chief among David's captains (2 Sam. xxiii. 8), is in 1 Chr. xi. 11 called "Jashobeam an Hachmonite," or, as the margin gives it, "son of Hachmoni." The Geneva version has in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, "He that sate in the seate of wisedome, being chiefe of the princes, was Adino of Ezni," regarding "Tachmonite" as an adjective derived from חָכָם, *châcâm*, "wise," and in this derivation following Kimchi. Kennicott has shown, with much appearance of probability, that the words יֹשֵׁב בַּשֶּׁבֶת, *yôshêb bashshebeth*, "he that sat in the seat," are a corruption of Jashobeam, the true name of the hero, and that the mistake arose from an error of the transcriber, who carelessly inserted בַּשֶּׁבֶת from the previous verse where it occurs. He further considers "the Tachmonite" a corruption of the appellation in Chronicles, "son of Hachmoni," which was the family or local name of Jashobeam. "The name here in Samuel was at first החכמני, the article ה at the beginning having been corrupted into a ת; for the word בן in Chronicles is regularly supplied in Samuel by that article" (*Dissert.* p. 82). Therefore he concludes "Jashobeam the Hachmonite" to have been the true reading. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, §4) calls him Ἰέσσαμος υἱὸς Ἀχεμαίου, which favours Kennicott's emendation. [W. A. W.]

TADMOR (תַּדְמֹר: Θοεδμορ: *Palmira*), called "Tadmor in the wilderness" (2 Chr. viii. 4). There is no reasonable doubt that this city, said to have been built by Solomon, is the same as the one known to the Greeks and Romans and to modern Europe by the name, in some form or other, of Palmyra (Παλμυρά, Παλμιρά, Palmira). The identity of the two cities results from the following circumstances: 1st, The same city is specially mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 6, §1) as bearing in his time the name of Tadmor among the Syrians, and Palmyra among the Greeks; and in his Latin translation of the Old Testament, Jerome translates Tadmor by Palmira (2 Chr. viii. 4). 2ndly, The modern Arabic name of Palmyra is substantially the same as the Hebrew word, being Tadmur or Tathmur. 3rdly, The word Tadmor has nearly the same meaning as Palmyra, signifying probably the "City of Palms," from Tamar, a Palm; and this is confirmed by the Arabic word for Palma, a Spanish town on the Guadalquivir, which is said to be called Tadmir (see Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, p. 345). 4thly, The name Tadmor or Tadmôr actually occurs as the name of the city in Aramaic and Greek inscriptions which have been found there. 5thly, In the Chronicles, the city is mentioned as having been built by Solomon after his conquest of Hamath Zobah, and it is named in conjunction with "all the store-cities which he built in Hamath." This accords fully with the situation of Palmyra [HAMATH]; and there is no other known city, either in the desert or not in the desert, which can lay claim to the name of Tadmor.

In addition to the passage in the Chronicles, there is a passage in the Book of Kings (1 K. ix. 18) in which, according to the marginal reading (*Keri*), the statement that Solomon built Tadmor, likewise occurs. But on referring to the original text (*Cethib*), the word is found to be not Tadmor, but Tamar. Now, as all the other towns mentioned in this passage with Tamar are in Palestine (Gezer, Beth-horon, Baalath), as it is said of Tamar that it was "in the wilderness *in the land*," and as, in Ezekiel's prophetical description of the Holy Land, there is a Tamar mentioned as one of the borders of the land on the south (Ez. xlvii. 19), where, as is notorious, there is a desert, it is probable that the author of the Book of Kings did not really mean to refer to Palmyra, and that the marginal reading of "Tadmor" was founded on the passage in the Chronicles (see Thenius, *Exegetisches Handbuch*, 1 K. ix. 18).

If this is admitted, the suspicion naturally suggests itself, that the compiler of the Chronicles may have misapprehended the original passage in the Book of Kings, and may have incorrectly written "Tadmor" instead of "Tamar." On this hypothesis there would have been a curious circle of mistakes; and the final result would be, that any supposed connexion between Solomon and the foundation of Palmyra must be regarded as purely imaginary. This conclusion is not necessarily incorrect or unreasonable, but there are not sufficient reasons for adopting it. In the first place, the Tadmor of the Chronicles is not mentioned in connexion with the same cities as the Tamar of the Kings, so there is nothing cogent to suggest the inference that the statement of the Chronicles was copied from the Kings. Secondly, admitting the historical correctness of the statement that the kingdom of Solomon extended from Gaza, near the Mediterranean Sea, to Tiphsah or Thapsacus, on the Euphrates (1 K. iv. 24; comp. Ps. lxxii. 8, 9), it would be in the highest degree probable that Solomon occupied and garrisoned such a very important station for connecting different parts of his dominions as Palmyra. And, even without reference to military and political considerations, it would have been a masterly policy in Solomon to have secured Palmyra as a point of commercial communication with the Euphrates, Babylon, and the Persian Gulf. It is evident that Solomon had large views of commerce; and as we know that he availed himself of the nautical skill of the Tyrians by causing some of his own subjects to accompany them in distant voyages from a port on the Red Sea (1 K. ix. 26, 27, 28, x. 22), it is unlikely that he should have neglected trade by land with such a centre of wealth and civilization as Babylon. But that great city, though so nearly in the same latitude with Jerusalem that there is not the difference of even one degree between them, was separated from Jerusalem by a great desert, so that regular direct communication between the two cities was impracticable. In a celebrated passage, indeed, of Isaiah (xl. 3), connected with "the voice of him that crieth in the wilderness," images are introduced of a direct return of the Jewish exiles from Babylon through

the desert. Such a route was known to the Bedawîn of the desert; and may have been exceptionally passed over by others; but evidently these images are only poetical, and it may be deemed indisputable that the successive caravans of Jews who returned to their own land from Babylon arrived from the same quarter as Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldaeans (Jer. i. 14, 15, x. 22, xxv. 9), viz., from the North. In fact, Babylon thus became so associated with the North in the minds of the Jews, that in one passage of Jeremiah[a] (xxiii. 8) it is called "the North country," and it is by no means impossible that many of the Jews may have been ignorant that Babylon was nearly due east from Jerusalem, although somewhat more than 600 miles distant. Now, the way in which Palmyra would have been useful to Solomon in trade between Babylon and the west is evident from a glance at a good map. By merely following the road up the stream on the right bank of the Euphrates, the traveller goes in a north-westerly direction, and the width of the desert becomes proportionally less, till at length, from a point on the Euphrates, there are only about 120 miles across the desert to Palmyra,[b] and thence about the same distance across the desert to Damascus. From Damascus there were ultimately two roads into Palestine, one on each side of the Jordan; and there was an easy communication with Tyre by Paneias, or Caesarea Philippi, now *Bâniâs*. It is true that the Assyrian and Chaldee armies did not cross the desert by Palmyra, but took the more circuitous road by Hamath on the Orontes: but this was doubtless owing to the greater facilities which that route afforded for the subsistence of the cavalry of which those armies were mainly composed. For mere purposes of trade, the shorter road by Palmyra had some decided advantages, as long as it was thoroughly secure. See Movers, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, 3ter Theil, p. 243, &c.

Hence there are not sufficiently valid reasons for denying the statement in the Chronicles that Solomon built Tadmor in the wilderness, or Palmyra. As, however, the city is nowhere else mentioned in the whole Bible, it would be out of place to enter into a long, detailed history of it on the present occasion. The following leading facts, however, may be mentioned. The first author of antiquity who mentions Palmyra is Pliny the Elder (*Hist. Nat.* v. 26), who says, "Palmira nobilis urbs situ, divitiis soli et aquis amoenis vasto undique ambitu arenis includit agros;" and then proceeds to speak of it as placed apart, as it were between the two empires of the Romans and the Parthians, and as the first object of solicitude to each at the commencement of war. Afterwards it was mentioned by Appian (*De Bell. Civil.* v. 9), in reference to a still earlier period of time, in connection with a design of Mark Antony to let his cavalry plunder it. The inhabitants are said to have withdrawn themselves and their effects to a strong position on the Euphrates—and the cavalry entered an empty city. In the second century A.D. it seems to have been beautified by the Emperor Hadrian, as may be inferred from a statement of Stephanus of Byzantium as to the name of the city having been changed to Hadrianopolis (*s. v.* Παλμυρά). In the beginning of the third century A.D. it became a Roman colony under Caracalla (211–217 A.D.), and received the jus Italicum. Subsequently, in the reign of Gallienus, the Roman Senate invested Odenathus, a senator of Palmyra, with the regal dignity, on account of his services in defeating Sapor king of Persia. On the assassination of Odenathus, his celebrated wife Zenobia seems to have conceived the design of erecting Palmyra into an independent monarchy; and, in prosecution of this object, she, for a while, successfully resisted the Roman arms. She was at length defeated and taken captive by the Emperor Aurelian (A.D. 273), who left a Roman garrison in Palmyra. This garrison was massacred in a revolt; and Aurelian punished the city by the execution not only of those who were taken in arms, but likewise of common peasants, of old men, women, and children. From this blow Palmyra never recovered, though there are proofs of its having continued to be inhabited until the downfall of the Roman Empire. There is a fragment of a building, with a Latin inscription, bearing the name of Diocletian; and there are existing walls of the city of the age of the Emperor Justinian. In 1172, Benjamin of Tudela found 4000 Jews there; and at a later period Abulfeda mentioned it as full of splendid ruins. Subsequently its very existence had become unknown to modern Europe, when, in 1691 A.D., it was visited by some merchants from the English factory in Aleppo; and an account of their discoveries was published in 1695, in the *Philosophical Transactions* (vol. xix. No. 217, p. 83, No. 218, p. 129). In 1751, Robert Wood took drawings of the ruins on a very large scale, which he published in 1753, in a splendid folio work, under the title of *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise, Tadmor in the Desert*. This work still continues to be the best on Palmyra; and its valuable engravings fully justify the powerful impression which the ruins make on every intelligent traveller who crosses the desert to visit them. The colonnade and individual temples are inferior in beauty and majesty to those which may be seen elsewhere—such, for example, as the Parthenon, and the remains of the Temple of Jupiter, at Athens: and there is evidently no one temple equal to the Temple of the Sun at Baalbek, which, as built both at about the same period of time and in the same order of architecture, suggests itself most naturally as an object of comparison. But the long lines of Corinthian columns at Palmyra, as seen at a distance, are peculiarly imposing; and in their general effect and apparent vastness, they seem to surpass all other ruins of the same kind. All the buildings to which these columns belonged were probably erected in the second and third centuries of our aera. Many inscriptions are of later date; but no inscription earlier than the second century seems yet to have been discovered.

For further information consult the original authorities for the history of Palmyra in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Triginta Tyranni*, xiv., *Divus*

[a] A misunderstanding of this passage has countenanced the ideas of those who believe in a future second return of the Jews to Palestine. This belief may, under peculiarly favourable circumstances, lead hereafter to its own realization. It has not, however, been hitherto really proved that a second dispersion or a second return of the Jews was ever contemplated by any Hebrew prophet.

[b] The exact latitude and longitude of Palmyra do not seem to have been scientifically taken. Mr. Wood mentions that his party had no quadrant with them, and there is a disagreement between various maps and geographical works. According to Mr. Johnston, the position is, lat. 34° 13′ N., and long. 38° 13′ E.

Aurelianus, xxvi.; *Eutropius*, ix. cap. 10, 11, 12. In 1696 A.D., Abraham Seller published a most instructive work entitled, *The Antiquities of Palmyra, containing th. History of the City and its Emperors*, which contains several Greek inscriptions, with translations and explanations. The Preface to Wood's work likewise contains a detailed history of the city; and Gibbon, in the 11th chapter of the *Decline and Fall*, has given an account of Palmyra with his usual vigour and accuracy. For an interesting account of the present state of the ruins see Porter's *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, pp. 543-549, and Beaufort's *Egyptian Sepulchres*, &c. i. [E. T.]

Ruins of Tadmor or Palmyra.

TA'HAN (תַּחַן Ταναχ, Θαεν. *Thehen*, *Thaan*). A descendant of Ephraim, but of what degree is uncertain (Num. xxvi. 35). In 1 Chr. vii. 25 he appears as the son of Telah.

TA'HANITES, THE (הַתַּחֲנִי: ὁ Ταναχί: *Thehenitae*). The descendants of the preceding, a branch of the tribe of Ephraim (Num. xxvi. 35).

TA'HATH (תַּחַת: Θαάθ: *Thahath*). 1. A Kohathite Levite, ancestor of Samuel and Heman (1 Chr. vi. 24, 37 [9, 22]).

2. (Θαάδ; Alex. Θαάθ.) According to the present text, son of Bered, and great-grandson of Ephraim (1 Chr. vii. 20). Burrington, however (*Geneal.* i. 273), identifies Tahath with Tahan, the son of Ephraim.

3. (Σαάθ; Alex. Νομεέ.) Grandson of the preceding, as the text now stands (1 Chr. vii. 20). But Burrington considers him as a son of Ephraim (ii. tab. xix.). In this case Tahath was one of the sons of Ephraim who were slain by the men of Gath in a raid made upon their cattle.

TA'HATH (תַּחַת: Καταάθ). The name of a desert-station of the Israelites between Makheloth and Tarah (Num. xxxiii. 26). The name, signifying "under" or "below," may relate to the level of the ground. The site has not been identified.

Tachta, from the same root, is the common word employed to designate the lower one of the double villages so common in Syria, the upper one being *foka*. Thus *Beitûr el-foka* is the upper Beth-horon, *Beitûr el-tachta* the lower one. [H. H.]

TAH'PANHES, TEHAPH'NEHES, TAHAP'ANES (תַּחְפַּנְחֵס, תַּחְפְּנֵס, תַּחְפַּנְחֵס, the last form in text, but *Keri* has first: Τάφνας, Τάφναι: *Taphnis*, *Taphne*). A city of Egypt, of importance in the time of the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The name is evidently Egyptian, and closely resembles that of the Egyptian queen TAHPENES. The Coptic name of this place, ⲦⲀⲪⲚⲀⲤ, (Quatremère, *Mém. Géog. et Hist.* i. 297, 298), is evidently derived from the LXX. form: the Gr. and Lat. forms, Δάφναι, Hdt., Δάφνη, Steph. Byz., *Dafno*, Itin. Ant., are perhaps nearer to the Egyptian original (see Parthey, *Zur Erdkunde des Alten Aegyptens*, p. 528).

Tahpanhes was evidently a town of Lower Egypt near or on the eastern border. When Johanan and the other captains went into Egypt "they came to Tahpanhes" (Jer. xliii. 7). Here Jeremiah prophesied the conquest of the country by Nebuchadnezzar (8-13). Ezekiel foretells a battle to be there fought apparently by the king of Babylon just mentioned (xxx. 18). The Jews in Jeremiah's time remained here (Jer. xliv. 1). It was an important town, being twice mentioned by the latter prophet with Noph or Memphis (ii. 16, xlvi. 14), as well as in the passage last previously cited. Here stood a house of Pharaoh Hophra before which Jeremiah hid great stones, where the throne of Nebuchadnezzar would afterwards be set, and his pavilion spread (xliii. 8-10). It is mentioned with "Ramesse and all the land of Gesen" in Jud. i. 9. Herodotus calls this place Daphnae of Pelusium (Δάφναι αἱ Πηλουσίαι), and relates that Psammetichus I. here had a garrison against the Arabians and Syrians, as at Elephantine against the Ethiopians, and at Marea against Libya, adding that in his own time the Persians had garrisons at Daphnae and Elephantine (ii. 30). Daphnae was therefore a very important post under the XXVIth dynasty. According to Stephanus it was near Pelusium (*s. v.*).

In the *Itinerary of Antoninus* this town, called Dafno, is placed 16 Roman miles to the south-west of Pelusium (ap. Parthey, Map vi., where observe that the name of Pelusium is omitted). This position seems to agree with that of Tel-Defenneh, which Sir Gardner Wilkinson supposes to mark the site of Daphnae (*Modern Egypt and Thebes*, i. 447, 448). This identification favours the inland position of the site of Pelusium, if we may trust to the distance stated in the *Itinerary*. [SIN.] Sir G. Wilkinson (*l. c.*) thinks it was an outpost of Pelusium. It may be observed that the Camps, **τὰ Στρατόπεδα**, the fixed garrison of Ionians and Carians established by Psammetichus I., may possibly have been at Daphnae. Can the name be of Greek origin? If the HANES mentioned by Isaiah (xxx. 4) be the same as Tahpanhes, as we have suggested (*s. v.*), this conjecture must be dismissed. No satisfactory Egyptian etymology of this name has been suggested, Jablonski's ΤΑΦΕΝΕΣ, "the head" or "beginning of the age" (*Opusc.* i. 343), being quite untenable, nor has any Egyptian name resembling it been discovered.[a] The name of Queen TAHPENES throws no light upon this matter. [R. S. P.]

TAH'PENES (תַּחְפְּנֵיס: **Θεκεμίνα**: *Taphnes*), a proper name of an Egyptian queen. She was wife of the Pharaoh who received Hadad the Edomite, and who gave him her sister in marriage (1 K. xi. 18-20). In the LXX. the latter is called the elder sister of Thekemina, and in the addition to ch. xii. Shishak (Susakim) is said to have given Ano, the elder sister of Thekemina his wife, to Jeroboam. It is obvious that this and the earlier statement are irreconcileable, even if the evidence from the probable repetition of an elder sister be set aside, and it is scarcely necessary to add that the name of Shishak's chief or only wife, KARAÂMAT, does not support the LXX. addition. [SHISHAK.] There is therefore but one Tahpenes or Thekemina. At the time to which the narrative refers there were probably two, if not three, lines ruling in Egypt, the Tanites of the xxist dynasty in the lower country, the high-priest kings at Thebes, but possibly they were of the same line, and perhaps one of the last *fainéants* of the Rameses family. To the Tanite line, as apparently then the most powerful, and as holding the territory nearest Palestine, the Pharaoh in question, as well as the father-in-law of Solomon, probably belonged. If Manetho's list be correct he may be conjectured to have been Psusennes. [PHARAOH.] No name that has any near resemblance to either Tahpenes or Thekemina has yet been found among those of the period (see Lepsius, *Königsbuch*). [R. S. P.]

TAHRE'A (תַּחְרֵעַ: **Θαράχ**; Alex. **Θαρά**: *Tharaa*). Son of Micah, and grandson of Mephibosheth (1 Chr. ix. 41). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. viii. 35 his name appears as TAREA.

TAH'TIM HOD'SHI, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ תַּחְתִּים חָדְשִׁי: **εἰς τὴν Θαβασῶν ἡ ἐστιν Ναβασαί**; Alex. **γην εθαων αδασαι**: *terra inferiora Hodsi*). One of the places visited by Joab during his census of the land of Israel. It occurs between Gilead and Dan-jaan (2 Sam. xxiv. 6). The name has puzzled all the interpreters. The old versions throw no light upon it. Fürst (*Handwb.* i. 380) proposes to separate the "Land of the Tachtim" from "Hodshi," and to read the latter as Harshi—the people of Harosheth (comp. Judg. iv. 2). Thenius restores the text of the LXX. to read "the Land of Bashan, which is Edrei." This in itself is feasible, although it is certainly very difficult to connect it with the Hebrew. Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 207) proposes to read Hermon for Hodshi; and Gesenius (*Thes.* 450 *a*) dismisses the passage with a *vix pro sano habendum*.

There is a district called the *Ard et-tahta*, to the E.N.E. of Damascus, which recalls the old name—but there is nothing to show that any Israelite was living so far from the Holy Land in the time of David. [G.]

TALENT (כִּכָּר: **τάλαντον**: *talentum*), the greatest weight of the Hebrews. Its Hebrew name properly signifies "a circle" or "globe," and was perhaps given to it on account of a form in which it was anciently made. The Assyrian name of the talent is *tikun* according to Dr. Hincks.

The subject of the Hebrew talent will be fully discussed in a later article [WEIGHTS]. [R. S. P.]

TALI'THA CU'MI (**ταλιθὰ κοῦμι**: ܛܠܝܬܐ ܩܘܡܝ). Two Syriac words (Mark v. 41), signifying "Damsel, arise."

The word טליתא occurs in the Chaldee paraphrase of Prov. ix. 3, where it signifies a girl; and Lightfoot (*Horae Heb.* Mark v. 41) gives an instance of its use in the same sense by a Rabbinical writer. Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, 550) derives it from the Hebrew טלה, a lamb. The word קומי is both Hebrew and Syriac (2 p. fem. Imperative, Kal, and Peal), signifying stand, arise.

As might be expected, the last clause of this verse, after Cumi, is not found in the Syriac version.

Jerome (Ep. lvii. *ad Pammachium*, *Opp.* tom. i. p. 308, ed. Vallars.) records that St. Mark was blamed for a false translation on account of the insertion of the words, "I say unto thee;" but Jerome points to this as an instance of the superiority of a free over a literal translation, inasmuch as the words inserted serve to show the emphasis of our Lord's manner in giving this command on His own personal authority. [W. T. B.]

TALMA'I (תַּלְמַי: **Θελαμί, Θολαμί, Θολμί**; Alex. **Θελαμείν, Θολμαί, Θαμεί**: *Tholmaï*). 1. One of the three sons of "the Anak," who were driven out from their settlement in Kirjath-Arba, and slain by the men of Judah, under the command of Caleb (Num. xiii. 22; Josh. xv. 14; Judg. i. 10).

2. (**Θολμί** in 2 Sam., **Θολμαΐ** in 1 Chr.; Alex. **Θυλμεί, Θολομαΐ, Θολμαΐ**: *Tholmaï, Tholomaï*.) Son of Ammihud, king of Geshur (2 Sam. iii. 3, xiii. 37; 1 Chr. iii. 2). His daughter Maachah was one of the wives of David and mother of Absalom. He was probably a petty chieftain dependent on David, and his wild retreat in Bashan afforded a shelter to his grandson after the assassination of Amnon.

[a] Dr. Brugsch, following Mr. Heath (*Exodus Papyri*, p. 174), identifies the fort TeBNeT with Tahpanhes; but this name does not seem to us sufficiently near either to the Hebrew or to the Greek (*Geogr. Inschr.* i. 300, 301 Taf. lvi. no. 1128).

TAL'MON (טַלְמוֹן: Τελμών, but Τελαμίν in Neh. xi. 19; Alex. Τελμάν, Τολμών, Τελαμείν: *Telmon*). The head of a family of doorkeepers in the Temple, "the porters for the camps of the sons of Levi" (1 Chr. ix. 17; Neh. xi. 19). Some of his descendants returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 42; Neh. vii. 45), and were employed in their hereditary office in the days of Nehemiah and Ezra (Neh. xii. 25), for the proper names in this passage must be considered as the names of families.

TAL'SAS (Ταλσάς: *Thalsas*). ELASAH (1 Esd. ix. 22).

TA'MAH (תֶּמַח: Θημά; FA Ημαθ: *Thema*). The children of Tamah, or Thamah (Ezr. ii. 53), were among the Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 55).

TA'MAR (תָּמָר = "palm-tree"). The name of three women remarkable in the history of Israel.

1. (Θάμαρ: *Thamar*). The wife successively of the two sons of Judah, ER and ONAN (Gen. xxxviii. 6-30). Her importance in the sacred narrative depends on the great anxiety to keep up the lineage of Judah. It seemed as if the family were on the point of extinction. ER and ONAN had successively perished suddenly. Judah's wife Bathshuah died; and there only remained a child Shelah, whom Judah was unwilling to trust to the dangerous union, as it appeared, with Tamar, lest he should meet with the same fate as his brothers. That he should, however, marry her seems to have been regarded as part of the fixed law of the tribe, whence its incorporation into the Mosaic Law in after times (Deut. xxv. 5; Matt. xxii. 24); and, as such, Tamar was determined not to let the opportunity escape through Judah's parental anxiety. Accordingly she resorted to the desperate expedient of entrapping the father himself into the union which he feared for his son. He, on the first emergence from his mourning for his wife, went to one of the festivals often mentioned in Jewish history as attendant on sheep-shearing. He wore on his finger the ring of his chieftainship; he carried his staff in his hand; he wore a collar or necklace round his neck. He was encountered by a veiled woman on the road leading to Timnath, the future birthplace of Samson, amongst the hills of Dan. He took her for one of the unfortunate women who were consecrated to the impure rites of the Canaanite worship. [SODOMITES.] He promised her, as the price of his intercourse, a kid from the flocks to which he was going, and left as his pledge his ornaments and his staff. The kid he sent back by his shepherd (LXX.), Hirah of Adullam. The woman could nowhere be found. Months afterwards it was discovered to be his own daughter-in-law Tamar who had thus concealed herself under the veil or mantle, which she cast off on her return home, where she resumed the seclusion and dress of a widow. She was sentenced to be burnt alive, and was only saved by the discovery, through the pledges which Judah had left, that her seducer was no less than the chieftain of the tribe. He had the magnanimity to recognise that she had been driven into this crime by his own neglect of his promise to give her in marriage to his youngest son. "She hath been more righteous than I . . . . and he knew her again no more" (Gen. xxxviii. 26). The fruit of this intercourse were twins, PHAREZ and ZARAH, and through Pharez the sacred line was continued. Hence the prominence given to Tamar in the nuptial benediction of the tribe of Judah (Ruth iv. 12), and in the genealogy of our Lord (Matt. i. 3).

The story is important (1.) as showing the significance, from early times, attached to the continuance of the line of Judah; (2.) as a glimpse into the rough manners of the patriarchal time; (3.) as the germ of a famous Mosaic law.

2. (Θημάρ; Alex. Θαμάρ; Joseph. Θαμάρα: *Thamar*.) Daughter of David and Maachah the Geshurite princess, and thus sister of Absalom (2 Sam. xiii. 1-32; 1 Chr. iii. 9; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 8, §1). She and her brother were alike remarkable for their extraordinary beauty. Her name ("Palm-tree") may have been given her on this account. This fatal beauty inspired a frantic passion in her half-brother Amnon, the eldest son of David by Ahinoam. He wasted away from the feeling that it was impossible to gratify his desire, "for she was a virgin"—the narrative leaves it uncertain whether from a scruple on his part, or from the seclusion in which in her unmarried state she was kept. Morning by morning, as he received the visits of his friend JONADAB, he is paler and thinner (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 8, §1). Jonadab discovers the cause, and suggests to him the means of accomplishing his wicked purpose. He was to feign sickness. The king, who appears to have entertained a considerable affection, almost awe, for him, as the eldest son (2 Sam. xiii. 5, 21: LXX.), came to visit him; and Amnon entreated the presence of Tamar, on the pretext that she alone could give him food that he would eat. What follows is curious, as showing the simplicity of the royal life. It would almost seem that Tamar was supposed to have a peculiar art of baking palatable cakes. She came to his house (for each prince appears to have had a separate establishment), took the dough and kneaded it, and then in his presence (for this was to be a part of his fancy, as though there were something exquisite in the manner of her performing the work) kneaded it a second time into the form of cakes. The name given to these cakes (*lebibah*), "heart-cakes," has been variously explained: "hollow cakes"—"cakes with some stimulating spices" (like our word *cordial*)—cakes in the shape of a heart (like the Moravian *gerührte herzen*, Thenius, *ad loc.*)—cakes "the delight of the heart." Whatever it be, it implies something special and peculiar. She then took the pan, in which they had been baked, and poured them all out in a heap before the prince. This operation seems to have gone on in an outer room, on which Amnon's bedchamber opened. He caused his attendants to retire—called her to the inner room and there accomplished his design. In her touching remonstrance two points are remarkable. First, the expression of the infamy of such a crime "in *Israel*," implying the loftier standard of morals that prevailed, as compared with other countries at that time; and, secondly, the belief that even this standard might be overborne lawfully by royal authority—"Speak to the king, for he will not withhold me from thee." This expression has led to much needless explanation, from its contradiction to Lev. xviii. 9, xx. 17; Deut. xxvii. 22: as, *e. gr.*, that, her mother Maachah not being a Jewess, there was no proper legal relationship between her and Amnon; or that she was ignorant of the law; or that the Mosaic laws were not then in existence (Thenius, *ad loc.*). It is enough to suppose, what evidently her whole speech

implies, that the king had a dispensing power, which was conceived to cover even extreme cases.

The brutal hatred of Amnon succeeding to his brutal passion, and the indignation of Tamar at his barbarous insult, even surpassing her indignation at his shameful outrage, are pathetically and graphically told, and in the narrative another glimpse is given us of the manners of the royal household. The unmarried princesses, it seems, were distinguished by robes or gowns with sleeves (so the LXX., Josephus, &c., take the word translated in the A. V. "divers colours"). Such was the dress worn by Tamar on the present occasion, and when the guard at Amnon's door had thrust her out and closed the door after her to prevent her return, she, in her agony, snatched handfuls of ashes from the ground and threw them on her hair, then tore off her royal sleeves, and clasped her bare hands upon her head, and rushed to and fro through the streets screaming aloud. In this state she encountered her brother Absalom, who took her to his house, where she remained as if in a state of widowhood. The king was afraid or unwilling to interfere with the heir to the throne, but she was avenged by Absalom, as Dinah had been by Simeon and Levi, and out of that vengeance grew the series of calamities which darkened the close of David's reign.

The story of Tamar, revolting as it is, has the interest of revealing to us the interior of the royal household beyond that of any other incident of those times. (1.) The establishments of the princes. (2.) The simplicity of the royal employments. (3.) The dress of the princesses. (4.) The relation of the king to the princes and to the law.

3. (Θημάρ; Alex. Θαμάρ: *Thamar.*) Daughter of Absalom, called probably after her beautiful aunt, and inheriting the beauty of both aunt and father (2 Sam. xiv. 7). She was the sole survivor of the house of Absalom; and ultimately, by her marriage with Uriah of Gibeah, became the mother of Maachah, the future queen of Judah, or wife of Abijah (1 K. xv. 2), Maachah being called after her great-grandmother, as Tamar after her aunt. [A. P. S.]

TA'MAR (תָּמָר: Θαιμᾶν[a] in both MSS.: *Thamar*). A spot on the south-eastern frontier of Judah, named in Ezek. xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28 only, evidently called from a palm-tree. If not *Hazazon Tamar*, the old name of Engedi, it may be a place called *Thamar* in the *Onomasticon* ("Hazazon Tamar"), a day's journey south of Hebron. The Peutinger Tables give Thamar in the same direction, and Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 198, 201) identifies the place with the ruins of an old fortress at *Kurnub*. De Saulcy (*Narr.* i. ch. 7) endeavours to establish a connexion between Tamar and the Kalaat embarrheg, at the mouth of the ravine of that name on the S.W. side of the Dead Sea, on the ground (amongst others) that the names are similar. But this, to say the least, is more than doubtful. [A. P. S.]

TAM'MUZ (הַתַּמּוּז: ὁ Θαμμούζ: *Adonis*). Properly "the Tammuz," the article indicating that at some time or other the word had been regarded as an appellative, though at the time of its occurrence and subsequently it may have been applied as a proper name. As it is found once only in the O. T., and then in a passage of extreme obscurity, it is not surprising that many conjectures have been formed concerning it; and as none of the opinions which have been expressed rise above the importance of conjecture, it will be the object of this article to set them forth as clearly as possible, and to give at least a history of what has been said upon the subject.

In the sixth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, in the sixth month and on the fifth day of the month, the prophet Ezekiel as he sat in his house surrounded by the elders of Judah, was transported in spirit to the far distant Temple at Jerusalem. The hand of the Lord God was upon him, and led him "to the door of the gate of the house of Jehovah, which was towards the north; and behold there the women sitting, weeping for the Tammuz." Some translate the last clause "causing the Tammuz to weep," and the influence which this rendering has upon the interpretation will be seen hereafter. If תַּמּוּז be a regularly formed Hebrew word, it must be derived either from a root נָמַז or תָּמַז (comp. the forms חַנּוּן, אֱלוּהַּ), which is not known to exist. To remedy this defect Fürst (*Handwb.* s. v.) invents a root, to which he gives the signification "to be strong, mighty, victorious," and transitively, "to overpower, annihilate." It is to be regretted that this lexicographer cannot be contented to confess his ignorance of what is unknown. Roediger (in Gesen. *Thes.* s. v.) suggests the derivation from a root, מָזַז = מָסַס; according to which תַּמּוּז is a contraction of תַּמְזּוּז, and signifies a melting away dissolution, departure, and so the ἀφανισμὸς Ἀδώνιδος, or disappearance of Adonis, which was mourned by the Phoenician women, and after them by the Greeks. But the etymology is unsound, and is evidently contrived so as to connect the name Tammuz with the general tradition regarding it.

The ancient versions supply us with no help. The LXX., the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the Peshito Syriac, and the Arabic in Walton's Polyglot, merely reproduce the Hebrew word. The Vulgate alone gives *Adonis* as a modern equivalent, and this rendering has been eagerly adopted by subsequent commentators, with but few exceptions. It is at least as old, therefore, as Jerome, and the fact of his having adopted it shows that it must have embodied the most credible tradition. In his note upon the passage he adds that since, according to the Gentile fable, Adonis had been slain in the month of June, the Syrians give the name of Tammuz to this month, when they celebrate to him an anniversary solemnity, in which he is lamented by the women as dead, and afterwards coming to life again is celebrated with songs and praises. In another passage (*ad Paulinum*, Op. i. p. 102, ed. Basil. 1565) he laments that Bethlehem was overshadowed by a grove of Tammuz, that is, of Adonis, and that "in the cave where the infant Christ once cried, the lover of Venus was bewailed." Cyril of Alexandria (*in Oseam*, Op. iii. 79, ed. Paris, 1638), and Theodoret (*in Ezech.*), give the same explanation, and are followed by the author of the Chronicon Paschale. The only exception to this uniformity is in the Syriac translation of Melito's Apology, edited by Dr. Cureton in his *Spicilegium Syriacum*. The date of the translation is unknown; the original if genuine must belong to the second

[a] Ez. xlvii. 19 contains an instance of the double translation not infrequent in the present text of the LXX., ἀπὸ Θαιμᾶν καὶ Φοινικῶνος.

century The following is a literal rendering of the Syr.ac: "The sons of Phoenicia worshipped Balthi, the queen of Cyprus. For she loved Tamuzo the son of Cuthar, the king of the Phoenicians, and forsook her kingdom and came and dwelt in Gebal, a fortress of the Phoenicians. And at that time she made all the villages[a] subject to Cuthar the king. For before Tamuzo she had loved Ares, and committed adultery with him, and Hephaestus her husband caught her, and was jealous of her. And he (*i. e.* Ares) came and slew Tamuzo on Lebanon while he made a hunting among the wild boars.[b] And from that time Balthi remained in Gebal, and died in the city of Aphaca, where Tamuzo was buried" (p. 25 of the Syriac text). We have here very clearly the Greek legend of Adonis reproduced with a simple change of name. Whether this change is due to the translator, as is not improbable, or whether he found "Tammuz" in the original of Melito, it is impossible to say. Be this as it may, the tradition embodied in the passage quoted, is probably as valuable as that in the same author which regards Serapis as the deification of Joseph. The Syriac lexicographer Bar Bahlul (10th cent.), gives the legend as it had come down to his time. "Tomuzo was, as they say, a hunter shepherd and chaser of wild beasts; who when Belathi loved him took her away from her husband. And when her husband went forth to seek her Tomuzo slew him. And with regard to Tomuzo also, there met him in the desert a wild boar and slew him. And his father made for him a great lamentation and weeping in the month Tomuz: and Belathi his wife, she too made a lamentation and mourning over him. And this tradition was handed down among the heathen people during her lifetime and after her death, which same tradition the Jews received with the rest of the evil festivals of the people, and in that month Tomuz used to make for him a great feast. Tomuz also is the name of one of the months of the Syrians."[c] In the next century the legend assumes for the first time a different form in the hands of a Rabbinical commentator. Rabbi Solomon Isaaki (Rashi) has the following note on the passage in Ezekiel. "An image which the women made hot in the inside, and its eyes were of lead, and they melted by reason of the heat of the burning and it seemed as if it wept; and they (the women) said, He asketh for offerings. Tammuz is a word signifying burning, as עַל דִּי חֲזָה לְמַזְיֵהּ (Dan. iii. 19), and אַתּוּנָא אֲזָה יַתִּירָה (ibid. ver. 22)." And instead of rendering "weeping for the Tammuz," he gives, what appears to be the equivalent in French, "faisantes pleurer l'échauffé." It is clear, therefore, that Rashi regards Tammuz as an appellative, derived from the Chaldee root אֲזָא, *ăzâ*, "to make hot." It is equally clear that his etymology cannot be defended for an instant. In the 12th century (A.D. 1161), Solomon ben Abraham Parchon in his lexicon, compiled at Salerno from the works of Jehuda Chayug, and Abulwalid Merwan ben Gannach, has the following observations upon Tammuz. "It is the likeness of a reptile which they make upon the water, and the water is collected in it and flows through its holes, and it seems as if it wept. But the month called Tammuz is Persian, and so are all our months; none of them is from the sacred tongue, though they are written in the Scripture they are Persian; but in the sacred tongue the first month, the second month," &c. At the close of this century we meet for the first time with an entirely new tradition repeated by R. David Kimchi, both in his Lexicon and in his Commentary, from the Moreh Nebuchim of Maimonides. "In the month Tammuz they made a feast of an idol, and the women came to gladden him; and some say that by crafty means they caused the water to come into the eyes of the idol which is called Tammuz, and it wept, as if it asked them to worship it. And some interpret Tammuz 'the burnt one,' as if from Dan. iii. 19 (see above), *i. e.* they wept over him because he was burnt; for they used to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, and the women used to weep over them. . . . But the Rab, the wise, the great, our Rabbi Moshe bar Maimon, of blessed memory, has written, that it is found written in one of the ancient idolatrous books, that there was a man of the idolatrous prophets, and his name was Tammuz. And he called to a certain king and commanded him to serve the seven planets and the twelve signs. And that king put him to a violent death, and on the night of his death there were gathered together all the images from the ends of the earth to the temple of Babel, to the golden image which was the image of the sun. Now this image was suspended between heaven and earth, and it fell down in the midst of the temple, and the images likewise (fell down) round about it, and it told them what had befallen Tammuz the prophet. And the images all of them wept and lamented all the night; and, as it came to pass, in the morning all the images flew away to their own temples in the ends of the earth. And this was to them for an everlasting statute; at the beginning of the first day of the month Tammuz each year they lamented and wept over Tammuz. And some interpret Tammuz as the name of an animal, for they used to worship an image which they had, and the Targum of (the passage) וּפַגְּשׁוּ צִיִּים אֶת אִיִּים (Is. xxxiv. 14) is וְיִעֲרְעוּן תְּמוּזִין בְּחִתּוֹלִין. But in most copies תְּמוּזִין is written with two vaws." The book of the ancient idolaters from which Maimonides quotes, is the now celebrated work on the Agriculture of the Nabatheans, to which reference will be made hereafter. Ben Melech gives no help, and Abendana merely quotes the explanations given by Rashi and Kimchi.

The tradition recorded by Jerome, which identifies Tammuz with Adonis, has been followed by most subsequent commentators: among others by Vatablus, Castellio, Cornelius a Lapide, Osiander, Caspar Sanctius, Lavater, Villalpandus, Selden, Simonis, Calmet, and in later times by J. D. Michaelis, Gesenius, Ben Zeb, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Ewald, Hävernick, Hitzig, and Movers. Luther and others regarded Tammuz as a name of Bacchus. That Tammuz was the Egyptian Osiris, and that his worship was introduced to Jerusalem from Egypt, was held by Calvin, Piscator, Junius, Leusden, and Pfeiffer. This view depends chiefly

[a] Not "Cyprians," as Dr. Cureton translates.

[b] Dr. Cureton's emendation of this corrupt passage seems the only one which can be adopted.

[c] In this translation I have followed the MS. of Bahlul in the Cambridge University Library, the readings of which seem preferable in many respects to those in the extract furnished by Bernstein to Chwolson (*Die Ssabier &c.* ii. 206).

upon a false etymology proposed by Kircher, which connects the word Tammuz with the Coptic *tamut*, to hide, and so makes it signify the hidden or concealed one; and therefore Osiris, the Egyptian king slain by Typho, whose loss was commanded by Isis to be yearly lamented in Egypt. The women weeping for Tammuz are in this case, according to Junius, the priestesses of Isis. The Egyptian origin of the name Tammuz has also been defended by a reference to the god Amuz, mentioned by Plutarch and Herodotus, who is identical with Osiris. There is good reason, however, to believe that Amuz is a mistake for Amun. That something corresponding to Tammuz is found in Egyptian proper names, as they appear in Greek, cannot be denied. **Ταμώς**, an Egyptian, appears in Thucydides (viii. 31) as a Persian officer, in Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 4, §2) as an admiral. The Egyptian pilot who heard the mysterious voice bidding him proclaim, "Great Pan is dead," was called **Θαμούς** (Plutarch, *De Defect. Orac.* 17). The names of the Egyptian kings, **Θούμμωσις**, **Τέθμωσις**, and **Θμῶσις**, mentioned by Manetho (Jos. *c. Ap.* i. 14, 15), have in turn been compared with Tammuz; but unless some more certain evidence be brought forward than is found in these apparent resemblances, there is little reason to conclude that the worship of Tammuz was of Egyptian origin.

It seems perfectly clear, from what has been said, that the name Tammuz affords no clue to the identification of the deity whom it designated. The slight hint given by the prophet of the nature of the worship and worshippers of Tammuz has been sufficient to connect them with the yearly mourning for Adonis by the Syrian damsels. Beyond this we can attach no especial weight to the explanation of Jerome. It is a conjecture and nothing more, and does not appear to represent any tradition. All that can be said therefore is, that it is not impossible that Tammuz may be a name of Adonis the sun-god, but that there is nothing to prove it. The town of Byblos in Phoenicia was the headquarters of the Adonis-worship.[d] The feast in his honour was celebrated each year in the temple of Aphrodite on the Lebanon[e] (Lucian, *De Deâ Syrâ*, §6), with rites partly sorrowful, partly joyful. The Emperor Julian was present at Antioch when the same festival was held (Amm. Marc. xxii. 9, §13). It lasted seven days (Amm. Marc. xx. 1), the period of mourning among the Jews (Ecclus. xxii. 12; Gen. l. 10; 1 Sam. xxxi. 13; Jud. xvi. 24), the Egyptians (Heliodor. *Aeth.* vii. 11), and the Syrians (Lucian, *De Deâ Syrâ*, §52), and began with the disappearance (**ἀφανισμός**) of Adonis. Then followed the search (**ζήτησις**) made by the women after him. His body was represented by a wooden image placed in the so-called "gardens of Adonis" ('**Αδώνιδος κῆποι**), which were earthenware vessels filled with mould, and planted with wheat, barley, lettuce, and fennel. They were exposed by the women to the heat of the sun, at the house-doors or in the "Porches of Adonis;" and the withering of the plants was regarded as symbolical of the slaughter of the youth by the fire-god Mars. In one of these gardens Adonis was found again, whence the fable says he was slain by the boar in the lettuce (**ἀφάκη** = Aphaca?), and was there found by Aphrodite. The finding again (**εὕρεσις**) was the commencement of a wake, accompanied by all the usages which in the East attend such a ceremony—prostitution, cutting off the hair (comp. Lev. xix. 28, 29, xxi. 5; Deut. xiv. 1), cutting the breast with knives (Jer. xvi. 6), and playing on pipes (comp. Matt. ix. 23). The image of Adonis was then washed and anointed with spices, placed in a coffin on a bier, and the wound made by the boar was shown on the figure. The people sat on the ground round the bier, with their clothes rent (comp. *Ep. of Jer.* 31, 32), and the women howled and cried aloud. The whole terminated with a sacrifice for the dead, and the burial of the figure of Adonis (see Movers, *Phoenizier*, i. c. 7). According to Lucian, some of the inhabitants of Byblos maintained that the Egyptian Osiris was buried among them, and that the mourning and orgies were in honour of him, and not of Adonis (*De Deâ Syrâ*, §7). This is in accordance with the legend of Osiris as told by Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.*). Lucian further relates that, on the same day on which the women of Byblos every year mourned for Adonis, the inhabitants of Alexandria sent them a letter, enclosed in a vessel which was wrapped in rushes or papyrus, announcing that Adonis was found. The vessel was cast into the sea, and carried by the current to Byblos (Procopius on Is. xviii.). It is called by Lucian **βυβλίνην κεφαλήν**, and is said to have traversed the distance between Alexandria and Byblos in seven days. Another marvel related by the same narrator is that of the river Adonis (*Nahr Ibrahim*), which flows down from the Lebanon, and once a year was tinged with blood, which, according to the legend, came from the wounds of Adonis (comp. Milton, *P. L.* i. 460); but a rationalist of Byblos gave him a different explanation, how that the soil of the Lebanon was naturally very red-coloured, and was carried down into the river by violent winds, and so gave a bloody tinge to the water; and to this day, says Mr. Porter (*Handb.* p. 187), "after every storm that breaks upon the brow of Lebanon, the Adonis still 'runs purple to the sea.' The rushing waters tear from the banks red soil enough to give them a ruddy tinge, which poetical fancy, aided by popular credulity, converted into the blood of Thammuz."

The time at which these rites of Adonis were celebrated is a subject of much dispute. It is not so important with regard to the passage in Ezekiel, for there does not appear to be any reason for supposing that the time of the prophet's vision was coincident with the time at which Tammuz was worshipped. Movers, who maintained the contrary, endeavoured to prove that the celebration was in the late autumn, the end of the Syrian year, and corresponded with the time of the autumnal equinox. He relies chiefly for his conclusion on the account given by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 9, §13) of the feast of Adonis, which was being held at Antioch when the Emperor Julian entered the city. It is clear, from a letter of the Emperor's (*Ep. Jul.* 52), that he was in Antioch before the first of August, and his entry may therefore have taken place in July, the Tammuz of the Syrian year. This time agrees moreover with the explanation of the symbolical meaning of the rites given by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 9, §15),

[d] There was a temple at Amathus, in Cyprus, shared by Adonis and Aphrodite (Paus. ix. 41, §2); and the worship of Adonis is said to have come from Cyprus to Athens in the time of the Persian War.

[e] Said to have been founded by Kinyras, the reputed father of Adonis.

that they were a token of the fruits cut down in their prime. Now at Aleppo (Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 72) the harvest is all over before the end of June, and we may fairly conclude that the same was the case at Antioch. Add to this that in Hebrew astronomical works תקופת תמוז, *tĕkûphath Tammûz* is the "summer solstice;" and it seems more reasonable to conclude that the Adonis feast of the Phoenicians and Syrians was celebrated rather as the summer solstice than as the autumnal equinox. At this time the sun begins to descend among the wintry signs (Kenrick, *Phoenicia*, 310).

The identification of Tammuz with an idolatrous prophet, which has already been given in a quotation from Maimonides, who himself quotes from the *Agriculture of the Nabatheans*, has been recently revived by Prof. Chwolson of St. Petersburg (*Ueber Tammuz*, &c. 1860). An Arab writer of the 10th century, En-Nedîm, in his book called *Fihrist el-'Ulûm*, says (quoting from Abû Sa'îd Wahb ben Ibrahîm) that in the middle of the month Tammuz a feast is held in honour of the god Tâ'ûz. The women bewailed him because his lord slew him and ground his bones in a mill, and scattered them to the winds. In consequence of this the women ate nothing during the feast that had been ground in a mill (Chwolson, *Die Ssabier*, &c. ii. 27). Prof. Chwolson regards Tâ-'ûz as a corruption of Tammuz; but the most important passage in his eyes is from the old Babylonian book called the *Agriculture of the Nabatheans*, to which he attributes a fabulous antiquity. It was written, he maintains, by one Qût'âmî, towards the end of the 14th century B.C., and was translated into Arabic by a descendant of the ancient Chaldeans, whose name was Ibn Washiyyah. As Professor Chwolson's theory has been strongly attacked, and as the chief materials upon which it is founded are not yet before the public, it would be equally premature to take him as an authority, or to pronounce positively against his hypothesis, though, judging from present evidence, the writer of this article is more than sceptical as to its truth. Qût'âmî then, in that dim antiquity from which he speaks to us, tells the same story of the prophet Tammuz as has already been given in the quotation from Kimchi. It was read in the temples after prayers, to an audience who wept and wailed; and so great was the magic influence of the tale that Qût'âmî himself, though incredulous of its truth, was unable to restrain his tears. A part, he thought, might be true, but it referred to an event so far removed by time from the age in which he lived that he was compelled to be sceptical on many points. His translator, Ibn Washiyyah, adds that Tammuz belonged neither to the Chaldeans nor to the Canaanites, nor to the Hebrews, nor to the Assyrians, but to the ancient people of Janbân. This last, Chwolson conjectures, may be the Shemitic name given to the gigantic Cushite aborigines of Chaldea, whom the Shemitic Nabatheans found when they first came into the country, and from whom they adopted certain elements of their worship. Thus Tammûz, or Tammûzi, belongs to a religious epoch in Babylonia which preceded the Shemitic (Chwolson, *Ueberreste d. Altbabyl. Lit.* p. 19). Ibn Washiyyah says moreover that all the Sabians of his time, both those of Babylonia and of Harran, wept and wailed for Tammuz in the month which was named after him, but that none of them preserved any tradition of the origin of the worship. This fact alone appears to militate strongly against the truth of Ibn Washiyyah's story as to the manner in which he discovered the works he professed to translate. It has been due to Professor Chwolson's reputation to give in brief the substance of his explanation of Tammuz; but it must be confessed that he throws little light upon the obscurity of the subject.

In the Targum of Jonathan on Gen. viii. 5, "the tenth month" is translated "the month Tammuz." According to Castell (*Lex. Hept.*), *tamûz* is used in Arabic to denote "the heat of summer;" and *Tamûzi* is the name given to the Pharaoh who cruelly treated the Israelites. [W. A. W.]

TA'NACH (תַּעְנָךְ: ἡ Ταανάχ; Alex. ἡ Θαανάχ: *Thanach*). A slight variation, in the vowel-points alone, of the name TAANACH. It occurs in Josh. xxi. 25 only. [G.]

TANHU'METH (תַּנְחֻמֶת: Θαναμάθ, Θαναεμέθ; Alex. Θανεμάν in 2 K.: *Thanehumeth*). The father of Seraiah in the time of Gedaliah (2 K. xxv. 23; Jer. xl. 8). In the former passage he is called "the Netophathite," but a reference to the parallel narrative of Jeremiah will show that some words have dropped out of the text.

TANIS (Τάνις), Jud. i. 10. [ZOAN.]

TA'PHATH (טָפַת; Τεφάθ; Alex. Ταφατά: *Tapheth*). The daughter of Solomon, who was married to Ben-Abinadab, one of the king's twelve commissariat officers (1 K. iv. 11).

TA'PHON (ἡ Τεφώ; Joseph. Τοχόα or [a]Τοχόαν: *Thopo*: Syr. *Tefos*). One of the cities in Judaea fortified by Bacchides (1 Macc. ix. 50). It is probably the BETH-TAPPUAH of the Old Test. which lay near Hebron. The form given by Josephus suggests Tekoa, but Grimm (*Exeg. Handbuch*) has pointed out that his equivalent for that name is Θεκωε; and there is besides too much unanimity among the Versions to allow of its being accepted. [G.]

TAPPU'AH (תַּפּוּחַ: LXX. omits in both MSS.: *Taphphua*). 1. A city of Judah, in the district of the Shefelah, or lowland (Josh. xv. 34). It is a member of the group which contains Zoreah, Zanoah, and Jarmuth; and was therefore no doubt situated on the lower slopes of the mountains of the N.W. portion of Judah, about 12 miles W. of Jerusalem, where these places have all been identified with tolerable probability. It is remarkable that the name should be omitted in both MSS. of the LXX. The Syriac Peshito has Pathuch, which, when connected with the Enam that follows it in the list, recals the *Pathuch-enayim* of Gen. xxxviii. 14, long a vexed place with the commentators. [See ENAM, 549 *b*.] Neither Tappuah nor Pathuch have however been encountered. This Tappuah must not be confounded either with the Beth-Tappuah near Hebron, or with the Land of Tappuah in the territory of Ephraim. It is uncertain which of the three is named in the list of the thirty-one kings in Josh. xii.

2. (Τάφου, Θαφέθ; Alex. Εφφουε, Θαφθωθ: *Taphphua*). A place on the boundary of the "children of Joseph" (Josh. xvi. 8, xvii. 8). Its full name was probably En-tappuah (xvii. 7), and it had attached to it a district called the Land of

[a] It is probable that the ν is the sign of the accusative case. Jericho, Emmaus, and Bethel, in the same paragraph, are certainly in the accusative

Tappuah (xvii. 8). This document is evidently in so imperfect or confused a state that it is impossible to ascertain from it the situation of the places it names, especially as comparatively few of them have been yet met with on the ground. But from the apparent connexion between Tappuah and the Nachal Kanah, it seems natural to look for the former somewhere to the S.W. of *Nâblus*, in the neighbourhood of the *Wady Falaik*, the most likely claimant for the Kanah. We must await further investigation in this hitherto unexplored region before attempting to form any conclusion. [G.]

TAPPU'AH (תַּפּוּחַ: Θαπούς; Alex. Θαφφου: *Thaphphu*). One of the sons of Hebron, of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 43). It is doubtless the same as BETH-TAPPUAH, now *Teffuh*, near [a] Hebron; and the meaning of the record is that Tappuah was colonized by the men of Hebron. [G.]

TAPPU'AH, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ תַּפּוּחַ: Vat. omits; Alex. ἡ γη Θαθφωθ: *terra Taphphuae*). A district named in the specification of the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh. xvii. 8). It apparently lay near the torrent Kanah (probably the *Wady Falaik*), but the name has not yet been met with at all in the central district of Palestine. [G.]

TA'RAH (תָּרַח: Ταράθ: Num. xxxiii. 27). A desert-station of the Israelites between Tahath and Mithcah, not yet identified with any known site. [H. H.]

TAR'ALAH (תַּרְאָלָה: Θαρεήλα; Alex. Θαραλα: *Tharala*). One of the towns in the allotment of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 27 only). It is named between Irpeel and Zelah; but nothing certain is known of the position of either of those places, and no name at all resembling Taralah has yet been discovered. Schwarz's identification (with "Thaniel" *Danîyal*), near Lydd, is far-fetched in etymology, and unsuitable as to position; for there is nothing to lead to the conclusion that the Benjamites had extended themselves so far to the west when the lists of Joshua were drawn up. [G.]

TARE'A (תַּאְרֵעַ: Θαράχ; Alex. Θαρεέ: *Tharaa*). The same as Tahrea, the son of Micah (1 Chr. viii. 35), the Hebrew letters א and ח being interchanged, a phenomenon of rare occurrence (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 2).

TARES (ζιζάνια: *zizania*). There can be little doubt that the ζιζάνια of the parable (Matt. xiii. 25) denote the weed called "darnel" (*Lolium temulentum*), a widely distributed grass, and the only species of the order that has deleterious properties. The word used by the Evangelist is an Oriental, and not a Greek term. It is the Arabic *zawân* (زوان), and the *zônîn* (זוֹנִין) of the Talmud (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* s. v.). The derivation of the Arabic word, from *zân* (زان), "nausea," is well suited to the character of the plant, the grains of which produce vomiting and purging, convulsions, and even death. Volney (*Trav.* ii. 306) experienced the ill effects of eating its seeds; and "the whole of the inmates of the Sheffield workhouse were attacked some years ago with symptoms supposed to be produced by their oatmeal having been accidentally adulterated with *lolium*" (*Engl. Cyc.* s. v. *Lolium*). The darnel before it comes into ear is very similar in appearance to wheat; hence the command that the *zizania* should be left to the harvest, lest while men plucked up the tares "they should root up also the wheat with them." Prof. Stanley, however (*S. and P.* p. 426), speaks of women and children picking out from the wheat in the cornfields of Samaria the tall green stalks, still called by the Arabs *zuwân*. "These stalks," he continues, "if sown designedly throughout the fields, would be inseparable from the wheat, from which, even when growing naturally and by chance, they are at first sight hardly distinguishable." See also Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 420):—"The grain is just in the proper stage to illustrate the parable. In those parts where the grain has *headed out*, the tares have done the same, and then a child cannot mistake them for wheat or barley; but where both are less developed, the closest scrutiny will often fail to detect them. Even the farmers, who in this country generally *weed* their fields, do not attempt to separate the one from the other." The grain-growers in Palestine believe that the *zuwân* is merely a degenerate wheat; that in wet seasons the wheat turns to tares. Dr. Thomson asserts that this is their fixed opinion. It is curious to observe the retention of the fallacy through many ages. "Wheat and *zunin*," says Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* on Matt. xiii. 25), quoting from the Talmud, "are not seeds of different kinds." See also Buxtorf (*Lex. Talm.* s. v. זוֹנִין):—"Zizania, species tritici degeneris, sic dicti, quod scortando cum bono tritico, in pejorem naturam degenerat." The Roman writers appear to have entertained a similar opinion with respect to some of the cereals: thus Pliny (*N. H.* xviii. 17), borrowing probably from Theophrastus, asserts that "barley will degenerate into the oat." The notion that the *zizania* of the parable are merely diseased or degenerate wheat has been defended by P. Brederod (see his letter to Schultetus in *Exercit. Evang.* ii. cap. 65), and strangely adopted by Trench, who (*Notes on the Parables*, p. 91, 4th ed.) regards the distinction of these two plants to be "a falsely assumed fact." If the *zizania* of the parable denote the *Lolium temulentum*, and there cannot be any reasonable doubt about it, the plants are certainly distinct, and the *L. temulentum* has as much right to specific distinction as any other kind of grass. [W. H.]

TARGUMS. [VERSIONS, CHALDEE.]

TARPE'LITES, THE (הַטַּרְפְּלָיֵא: Ταρφαλαῖοι; Alex. Ταρφαλλαῖοι: *Tharphalaei*). A race of colonists who were planted in the cities of Samaria after the captivity of the northern kingdom of Israel (Ezr. iv. 9). They have not been identified with any certainty. Junius and others have found a kind of resemblance in name to the Tarpelites in the Tapyri (Ταπουροί) of Ptolemy (vi. 2, §6), a tribe of Media who dwelt eastward of Elymais, but the resemblance is scarcely more than apparent. They are called by Strabo Τάπυροι (xi. 514, 515, 520, 523). Others, with as little probability, have sought to recognise the Tarpelites in the Tarpetes (Ταρπῆτες, Strab. xi. 495), a Maeotic race. In the Peshito-Syriac the resemblance is greater, for they are there called *Tarpôyé*. Fürst (*Handwb.*)

[a] The principal valley of the town of Hebron is called *Wady Tuffûh* (Map to Rosen's paper in *Zeitsch. D. M. G.* xii. and p. 481)

says in no case can *Turpel*, the country of the Tarpelites, be the Phoenician *Tripolis*. [W. A. W.]

TAR'SHISH (תַּרְשִׁישׁ: Θάρσεις: *Tharsis*; Gen. x. 4). 1. Probably Tartessus; Gr. Ταρτησσός. A city and emporium of the Phoenicians in the south of Spain. In Psalm lxxii. 10, it seems applied to a large district of country; perhaps, to that portion of Spain which was known to the Hebrews when that Psalm was written. And the word may have been likewise used in this sense in Gen. x. 4, where Knobel (*Völkertafel der Genesis*, Giessen, 1850, *ad loc.*) applies it to the Tuscans, though he agrees with nearly all biblical critics in regarding it elsewhere as synonymous with Tartessus. The etymology is uncertain.

With three exceptions in the Book of Chronicles, which will be noticed separately (see below, No. 2), the following are references to all the passages in the Old Testament, in which the word "Tarshish" occurs; commencing with the passage in the Book of Jonah, which shows that it was accessible from Yaphô, Yafa, or Joppa, a city of Palestine with a well-known harbour on the Mediterranean Sea (Jon. i. 3, iv. 2; Gen. x. 4; 1 Chr. i. 7; Is. ii. 16, xxiii. 1, 6, 10, 14, lx. 9, lxvi. 19; Jer. x. 9; Ez. xxvii. 12, 25, xxxviii. 13; 1 K. x. 22, xxii. 48 [49]; Ps. xlviii. 8, lxvii. 10). On a review of these passages, it will be seen that not one of them furnishes direct proof that Tarshish and Tartessus were the same cities. But their identity is rendered highly probable by the following circumstances. 1st. There is a very close similarity of name between them, Tartessus being merely Tarshish in the Aramaic form, as was first pointed out by Bochart (*Phaleg*, lib. iii. cap. 7). Thus the Hebrew word *Ashshûr* = Assyria, is in the Aramaic form *Athûr*, *Attûr* and in Greek Ἀτουρία (Strabo, xvi. 1, 2), and Ἀτυρία (Dion Cass., lxviii. 26)—though, as is well known, the ordinary Greek form was Ἀσσυρία. Again, the Hebrew word *Bashan*, translated in the same form in the A. V. of the Old Testament, is *Bathan* or *Bûthnan* in Aramaic, and Βαταναία in Greek; whence also Batanaea in Latin (see Buxtorfii *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, s. vv.). Moreover, there are numerous changes of the same kind in common words; such as the Aramaic numeral 8, *tamnei*, which corresponds with the Hebrew word *shemoneh*; and *telag*, the Aramaic word for "snow," which is the same word as the Hebrew *sheleg* (see Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1344). And it is likely that in some way which cannot now be explained, the Greeks received the word "Tarshish" from the Phoenicians in a partly Aramaic form, just as they received in that form many Hebrew letters of the alphabet. The last *sh* of Tarshish[a] would naturally be represented by the double *s* in the Greek ending, as the sound and letter *sh* was unknown to the Greek language. [SHIBBOLETH.] 2ndly. There seems to have been a special relation between Tarshish and Tyre, as there was at one time between Tartessus and the Phoenicians. In the 23rd chapter of Isaiah, there is something like an appeal to Tarshish to assert its independence (see the notes of Rosenmüller, Gesenius, and Ewald, *on verse* 18). And Arrian (*De Exped. Alexandri*, ii. 16, §3) expressly states that Tartessus was founded or colonized by the Phoenicians, saying—Φοινίκων κτίσμα ἡ Ταρτησσός. It has been suggested that this is a mistake on the part of Arrian, because Diodorus (xxv. 14) represents Hamilcar as defeating the Iberians and *Tartessians*, which has been thought to imply that the latter were not Phoenicians. But it is to be remembered that there was a river in Hispania Baetica called Tartessus, as well as a city of that name (Strabo, iii. p. 148), and it may easily have been the case that tribes which dwelt on its banks may have been called Tartessians, and may have been mentioned under this name, as defeated by Hamilcar. Still, this would be perfectly compatible with the fact, that the Phoenicians established there a factory or settlement called Tartessus, which had dominion for a while over the adjacent territory. It is to be borne in mind likewise, that Arrian, who must be pronounced on the whole to be a judicious writer, had access to the writings of Menander of Ephesus, who translated some of the Tyrian archives into Greek (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14, §2), and it may be presumed Arrian consulted those writings, when he undertook to give some account of Tyre, in reference to its celebrated siege by Alexander, in connexion with which he makes his statement respecting Tartessus.

3rdly. The articles which Tarshish is stated by the prophet Ezekiel to have supplied to Tyre, are precisely such as we know through classical writers to have been productions of the Spanish Peninsula. Ezekiel specifies silver, iron, lead, and tin (Ez. xxvii. 12), and in regard to each of these metals as connected with Spain, there are the following authorities. As to silver, Diodorus says (v. 35), speaking of Spain possessing this metal in the greatest abundance and of the greatest beauty (σχεδόν τι πλεῖστον καὶ κάλλιστον), and he particularly mentions that the Phoenicians made a great profit by this metal, and established colonies in Spain on its account, at a time when the mode of working it was unknown to the natives (comp. Aristot. *de Mirabil.* c. 135, 87). This is confirmed by Pliny, who says (*Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 31), "Argentum reperitur—in Hispaniâ pulcherrimum; id quoque in sterili solo, atque etiam montibus;" and he proceeds to say that wherever one vein has been found, another vein is found not far off. With regard to iron and lead, Pliny says, "metallis *plumbi*, *ferri*, aeris, argenti, auri tota ferme Hispania scatet" (*Nat. Hist.* iii. 4). And as to lead, more especially, this is so true even at present, that a writer on Mines and Mining in the last edition of the *Encyc. Britannica*, p. 242, states as follows:—"Spain possesses numerous and valuable lead-mines. The most important are those of Linares, which are situated to the east of Bailen near the Sierra Morena. They have been long celebrated, and perhaps no known mineral field is naturally so rich in lead as this." And, lastly, in regard to tin, the trade of Tarshish in this metal is peculiarly significant, and taken in conjunction with similarity of name and other circumstances already mentioned, is reasonably conclusive as to its identity with Tartessus. For even now the countries in Europe, or on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea where tin is found are very few; and in reference to ancient times, it would be difficult to name any such countries except Iberia or Spain, Lusitania, which was some-

[a] It is unsafe to lay any stress on Tarseium (Ταρσήιον), which Stephanus of Byzantium says (*s. v.*) was a city near the Columns of Hercules. Stephanus was probably misled by a passage to which he refers in Polybius, iii. 24. The Ταρσήιον of Polybius could scarcely have been very far from the Pulcherrimum Promontorium of Carthage.

what less in extent than Portugal, and Cornwall in Great Britain. Now if the Phoenicians, for purposes of trade, really made coasting voyages on the Atlantic Ocean as far as to Great Britain, no emporium was more favourably situated for such voyages than Tartessus. If, however, in accordance with the views of Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, it is deemed unlikely that Phoenician ships made such distant voyages (*Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 455), it may be added, that it is improbable, and not to be admitted as a fact without distinct proof, that nearly 600 years before Christ, when Ezekiel wrote his prophecy against Tyre, they should have supplied the nations on the shores of the Mediterranean with British Tin obtained by the mouths of the Rhone. Diodorus indeed mentions, (v. 38), that in his time tin was imported into Gaul from Britain, and was then conveyed on horseback by traders across Gaul to Massilia, and the Roman colony of Narbo. But it would be a very different thing to assume that this was the case so many centuries earlier, when Rome, at that time a small and insignificant town, did not possess a foot of land in Gaul; and when, according to the received systems of chronology, the settlement of Massilia had only just been founded by the Phocaeans. As countries then from which Tarshish was likely to obtain its tin, there remain only Lusitania and Spain. And in regard to both of these, the evidence of Pliny the Elder at a time when they were flourishing provinces of the Roman empire, remains on record to show that tin was found in each of them (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 47). After mentioning that there were two kinds of lead, viz. black lead, and white lead, the latter of which was called "Cassiteros" by the Greeks, and was fabulously reported to be obtained in islands of the Atlantic Sea, Pliny proceeds to say, "*Nunc certum est in Lusitaniâ gigni, et in Gallaeciâ*;" and he goes on to describe where it is found, and the mode of extracting it (compare Pliny himself, iv. 34, and Diodorus, *l. c.*, as to tin in Spain). It may be added that Strabo, on the authority of Poseidonius, had made previously a similar statement (iii. 147), though fully aware that in his time tin was likewise brought to the Mediterranean, through Gaul by Massilia, from the supposed Cassiterides or Tin Islands. Moreover, as confirming the statement of Strabo and Pliny, tin-mines now actually exist in Portugal; both in parts, which belonged to ancient Lusitania, and in a district which formed part of ancient Gallicia.[b] And it is to be borne in mind that Seville on the Guadalquivir, which has free communication with the sea, is only about 80 miles distant from the Portuguese frontier.

Subsequently when Tyre lost its independence, the relation between it and Tarshish was probably altered, and for a while, the exhortation of Isaiah (xxiii. 10, may have been realised by the inhabitants passing through their land, free as a river. This independence of Tarshish, combined with the overshadowing growth of the Carthaginian power, would explain why in after times the learned Jews do not seem to have known where Tarshish was. Thus, although in the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch, the Hebrew word was as closely followed as it could be in Greek (Θάρσεις, in which the ϑ is merely Π without a point, and ει is equivalent to ῑ, according to the pronunciation in modern Greek), the Septuagint translators of Isaiah and Ezekiel translate the word by "Carthage" and "the Carthaginians" (Is. xxiii. 1, 10, 14; Ez. xxvii. 12, xxxviii. 13); and in the Targum of the Book of Kings and of Jeremiah, it is translated "Africa," as is pointed out by Gesenius (1 K. xxii. 48; Jer. x. 9). In one passage of the Septuagint (Is. ii. 16), and in others of the Targum, the word is translated *sea*; which receives apparently some countenance from Jerome, in a note on Is. ii. 16, wherein he states that the Hebrews believe that Tharsis is the name of the sea in their own language. And Josephus, misled, apparently, by the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch, which he misinterpreted, regarded Tharsis as Tarsus in Cilicia (*Ant.* i. 6, §1), in which he was followed by other Jews, and (using Tarsus in the sense of all Cilicia) by one learned writer in modern times. See Hartmann's *Aufklärungen über Asien*, vol. i. p. 69, as quoted by Winer, *s. v.*

It tallies with the ignorance of the Jews respecting Tarshish, and helps to account for it, that in Strabo's time the emporium of Tartessus had long ceased to exist, and its precise site had become a subject of dispute. In the absence of positive proof, we may acquiesce in the statement of Strabo (iii. p. 148), that the river Baetis (now the Guadalquivir) was formerly called Tartessus, that the city Tartessus was situated between the two arms by which the river flowed into the sea, and that the adjoining country was called Tartessis. But there were two other cities which some deemed to have been Tartessus; one, Gadir, or Gadira (Cadiz) (Sallust, *Fragm.* lib. ii.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 36, and Avienus, *Descript. Orb. Terr.* 614); and the other, Carteia, in the Bay of Gibraltar (Strabo, iii. p. 151; Ptolem., ii. 4; Pliny, iii. 3; Mela, ii. 6). Of the three, Carteia, which has found a learned supporter at the present day (Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, s. v.), seems to have the weakest claims, for in the earliest Greek prose work extant, Tartessus is placed beyond the columns of Hercules (Herodotus, iv. 152); and in a still earlier fragment of Stesichorus (Strabo, iii. p. 148), mention is made of the *river* Tartessus, whereas there is no stream near Carteia (= El Roccadillo) which deserves to be called more than a rivulet. Strictly speaking, the same objection would apply to Gadir; but, for poetical uses, the Guadalquivir, which is only 20 miles distant, would be sufficiently near. It was, perhaps, in reference to the claim of Gadir that Cicero, in a letter to Atticus (vii. 3), jocosely calls Balbus, a native of that town, "Tartessium istum tuum." But Tartessius was, likewise, used by poets to express the extreme west where the sun set (Ovid, *Metam.* xiv. 416; Silius Italicus, x. 358; compare Sil. Ital., iii. 399).

Literature.—For Tarshish, see Bochart, *Phaleg*, lib. iii. cap. 7; Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, s. v.; and Gesenius, *Thesaurus Ling. Hebr. et Chald.* s. v. For Tartessus, see a learned Paper of Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. vii. p. 189-191.

2. If the Book of Chronicles is to be followed, there would seem to have been a Tarshish, accessible from the Red Sea, in addition to the Tarshish of the south of Spain. Thus, with regard to the ships of Tarshish, which Jehoshaphat caused to be constructed at Ezion Geber on the Aelanitic Gulf of the Red Sea (1 K. xxii. 48), it is said in the

[b] Viz. in the provinces of Porto, Beira, and Braganza. Specimens were in the International Exhibition of 1862.

Chronicles (2 Chr. xx. 36) that they were made to go to Tarshish; and in like manner the navy of ships which Solomon had previously made in Ezion Geber (1 K. ix. 26), is said in the Chronicles (2 Chr. ix. 21) to have gone to Tarshish with the servants of Hiram. It is not to be supposed that the author of these passages in the Chronicles contemplated a voyage to Tarshish in the south of Spain by going round what has since been called the Cape of Good Hope. Sir G. Cornewall Lewis (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. vi. 61-64, 81-83) has shown reasons to doubt whether the circumnavigation of Africa was ever effected by the Phoenicians, even in the celebrated voyage which Herodotus says (iv. 42) they made by Neco's orders; but at any rate it cannot be seriously supposed that, according to the Chronicles, this great voyage was regularly accomplished once in three years in the reign of Solomon. Keil supposes that the vessels built at Ezion Geber, as mentioned in 1 K. xxii. 49, 50, were really destined for the trade to Tarshish in Spain, but that they were intended to be transported across the isthmus of Suez, and to be launched in one of the havens of Palestine on the Mediterranean Sea. (See his Notes *ad locum*. Engl. Transl.) But this seems improbable; and the two alternatives from which selection should be made seem to be, 1st. That there were *two* emporia or districts called Tarshish, viz. one in the south of Spain, and one in the Indian Ocean; or, 2ndly, That the compiler of the Chronicles, misapprehending the expression "ships of Tarshish," supposed that they meant ships destined to go to Tarshish; whereas, although this was the original meaning, the words had come to signify large[c] Phoenician ships, of a particular size and description, destined for long voyages, just as in English "East Indiaman" was a general name given to vessels, some of which were not intended to go to India at all. The first alternative was adopted by Bochart, *Phaleg*, lib. iii. c. 7, and has probably been the ordinary view of those who have perceived a difficulty in the passages of the Chronicles; but the second, which was first suggested by Vitringa, has been adopted by the acutest Biblical critics of our own time, such as De Wette, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, Parker's translation, Boston, 1843, p. 267, vol. ii.; Winer, *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, s.v.; Gesenius, *Thesaurus Linguae Heb. et Chald.* s. v., and Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. iii. 1st edit. p. 76; and is acknowledged by Movers, *Ueber die Chronikeln*, 1834, 254, and Hävernick, *Spezielle Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1839, vol. ii. p. 237. This alternative is in itself by far the most probable, and ought not to occasion any surprise. The compiler of the Chronicles, who probably lived in the time of Alexander's successors, had the Book of Kings before him, and in copying its accounts, occasionally used later and more common words for words older and more unusual (De Wette, *l. c.* p. 266). It is probable that during the Persian domination Tartessus was independent (Herodotus i. 163); at any rate, when first visited by the Greeks, it appears to have had its own kings. It is not, therefore, by any means unnatural that the old trade of the Phoenicians with Tarshish had ceased to be understood; and the compiler of the Chronicles, when he read of "ships of Tarshish," presuming, as a matter of course, that they were destined for Tarshish, consulted, as he thought, the convenience of his readers by inserting the explanation as part of the text.

Although, however, the point to which the fleet of Solomon and Hiram went once in three years did not bear the name of Tarshish, the question here arises of what that point was, however it was called? And the reasonable answer seems to be *India*, or the Indian Islands. This is shown by the nature of the imports with which the fleet returned, which are specified as "gold, silver, ivory, apes, and *peacocks*" (1 K. x. 22). The gold might possibly have been obtained from Africa, or from Ophir in Arabia [OPHIR], and the ivory and the apes might likewise have been imported from Africa; but the peacocks point conclusively, not to Africa, but to India. One of the English translators of *Cuvier's Animal Kingdom*, London, 1829, vol. viii. p. 136, says, in reference to this bird: "It has long since been decided that India was the cradle of the peacock. It is in the countries of Southern Asia, and the vast Archipelago of the Eastern Ocean, that this bird appears to have fixed its dwelling, and to live in a state of freedom. All travellers who have visited these countries make mention of these birds. Thevenot encountered great numbers of them in the province of Guzzerat; Tavernier throughout all India, and Payrard in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. Labillardière tells us that peacocks are common in the island of Java." To this may be added the statement of Sir William Jardine, *Naturalist's Library*, vol. xx. p. 147. There are only two species "known; both inhabit the continent and islands of India"—so that the mention of the peacock seems to exclude the possibility of the voyage having been to Africa. Mr. Crawfurd, indeed, in his excellent *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, p. 310, expresses an opinion that the birds are more likely to have been parrots than peacocks; and he objects to the peacock, that, independent of its great size, it is of delicate constitution, which would make it nearly impossible to convey it in small vessels and by a long sea voyage. It is proper, however, to mention, on the authority of Mr. Gould, whose splendid works on birds are so well known, that the peacock is by no means a bird of delicate constitution, and that it would bear a sea voyage very well. Mr. Gould observes that it might be easily fed during a long voyage, as it lives on grain; and that it would merely have been necessary, in order to keep it in a cage, to have cut off its train; which, it is to be observed, falls off of itself and is naturally renewed once a year.

The inference to be drawn from the importation of peacocks is confirmed by the Hebrew name for the ape and the peacock.[d] Neither of these names is of Hebrew, or even Shemitic, origin; and each points to India.[d] Thus the Hebrew word for ape is

[c] Sir Emerson Tennent has pointed out and translated a very instructive passage in Xenophon, *Econom.* cap. viii., in which there is a detailed description of a large Phoenician vessel, τὸ μέγα πλοῖον τὸ Φοινικόν. This seems to have struck Xenophon with the same kind of admiration which every one feels who becomes acquainted for the first time with the arrangements of an English man of war. See *Encycl. Britannica*, 8th ed. s. v. "Tarshish."

[d] The word "shenhabbim" = ivory, is likewise usually regarded as of Indian origin, "ibha" being in Sanscrit, "elephant." But "shenhabbim," or "shenhavim," as the word would be without points, is nowhere used for ivory except in connection with this voyage, the usual word for ivory being *shen* by itself. The conjecture of Rödiger in Gesenius's *Thesaurus*, s. v. is very probable that the correct reading is שֵׁן הַבְּנִים, ivory (and) sheep

Kôph, while the Sanscrit word is *kapi* (see Gesenius and Fürst, *s. v.*, and Max Müller, *On the Science of Language*, p. 190). Again, the Hebrew word for peacock is *tukki*, which cannot be explained in Hebrew, but is akin to *tôka* in the Tamil language, in which it is likewise capable of explanation. Thus, the Rev. Dr. R. Caldwell, than whom there is no greater authority on the Tamil language, writes as follows from Pálamcottah, Madras, June 12, 1862.—"*Tôka*[a] is a well recognized Tamil word for peacock, though now used only in poetry. The Sanscrit *sikki* refers to the peculiar crest of the peacock, and means (*avis*) *cristata*; the Tamil *tôka* refers to the other and still more marked peculiarity of the peacock, its tail (*i. e.* its train), and means (*avis*) *caudata*. The Tamil *tôka* signifies, according to the dictionaries, 'plumage, the peacock's tail, the peacock, the end of a skirt, a flag, and, lastly, a woman' (a comparison of gaily-dressed women with peacocks being implied). The explanation of all these meanings is, that *tôka* literally means that which hangs—a hanging. Hence *tôkhai*, another form of the same word in provincial use in Tamil (see also the *tôgai* of Rödiger in Gesenius's *Thesaurus*, p. 1502), means 'skirt,' and in Telugu, *tôka* means a tail." It is to be observed, however, that, if there was any positive evidence of the voyage having been to Africa, the Indian origin of the Hebrew name for ape and peacock would not be of much weight, as it cannot be proved that the Hebrews first became acquainted with the name of these animals through Solomon's naval expeditions from Ezion Geber. Still, this Indian origin of those names must be regarded as important in the absence of any evidence in favour of Africa, and in conjunction with the fact that the peacock is an Indian and not an African bird.

It is only to be added, that there are not sufficient data for determining what were the ports in India or the Indian Islands which were reached by the fleet of Hiram and Solomon. Sir Emerson Tennent has made a suggestion of *Point de Galle*, in Ceylon, on the ground that from three centuries before the Christian era there is one unbroken chain of evidence down to the present time, to prove that it was the grand emporium for the commerce of all nations east of the Red Sea. [See article TARSHISH, above.] But however reasonable this suggestion may be, it can only be received as a pure conjecture, inasmuch as there is no evidence that any emporium at all was in existence at the Point de Galle 700 years earlier. It can scarcely be doubted that there will always henceforth be an emporium at Singapore; and it might seem a spot marked out by nature for the commerce of nations; yet we know how fallacious it would be, under any circumstances, to argue 2000 years hence that it must have been a great emporium in the twelfth century, or even previous to the nineteenth century, of the Christian era. [E. T.]

TAR'SUS (Ταρσός). The chief town of CILICIA, "no mean city" in other respects, but illustrious to all time as the birthplace and early residence of the Apostle Paul (Acts ix. 11, xxi. 39, xxii. 3). It is simply in this point of view that the place is mentioned in the three passages just referred to. And the only other passages in which the name occurs are Acts ix. 30 and xi. 25, which give the limits of that residence in his native town which succeeded the first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, and preceded his active ministerial work at Antioch and elsewhere (compare Acts xxii. 21 and Gal. i. 21). Though Tarsus, however, is not actually mentioned elsewhere, there is little doubt that St. Paul was there at the beginning of his second and third missionary journeys (Acts xv. 41, xviii. 23).

Even in the flourishing period of Greek history it was a city of some considerable consequence (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, §23). After Alexander's conquests had swept this way (Q. Curt. iii. 5), and the Seleucid kingdom was established at Antioch, Tarsus usually belonged to that kingdom, though for a time it was under the Ptolemies. In the Civil Wars of Rome it took Caesar's side, and on the occasion of a visit from him had its name changed to Juliopolis (Caes. *Bell. Alex.* 66; Dion Cass. xlvii. 26). Augustus made it a "free city." We are not to suppose that St. Paul had, or could have, his Roman citizenship from this circumstance, nor would it be necessary to mention this, but that many respectable commentators have fallen into this error. We ought to note, on the other hand, the circumstances in the social state of Tarsus, which had, or may be conceived to have had, an influence on the Apostle's training and character. It was renowned as a place of education under the early Roman emperors. Strabo compares it in this respect to Athens and Alexandria, giving, as regards the zeal for learning showed by the residents, the preference to Tarsus (xiv. 673). Some eminent Stoics resided here, among others Athenodorus, the tutor of Augustus, and Nestor, the tutor of Tiberius. Tarsus also was a place of much commerce, and St. Basil describes it as a point of union for Syrians, Cilicians, Isaurians, and Cappadocians (Basil, *Ep. Euseb. Samos. Episc.*).

Tarsus was situated in a wide and fertile plain on the banks of the Cydnus, the waters of which are famous for the dangerous fever caught by Alexander when bathing, and for the meeting of Antony and Cleopatra. This part of Cilicia was intersected in Roman times by good roads, especially one crossing the Taurus northwards by the "Cilician Gates" to the neighbourhood of Lystra and Iconium, the other joining Tarsus with Antioch, and passing eastwards by the "Amanian" and "Syrian Gates." No ruins of any importance remain. The following

Coin of Tarsus.

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shen habuîm, which is remarkably confirmed by a passage in Ezekiel (xxvii. 15), where he speaks of the men of Dedan having brought to Tyre horns of ivory and ebony, ישן והבנים.

[a] The Greeks received the peacock through the Persians, as is known by the Greek name taôs, ταώς, which is nearly identical with the Persian name tafs, طاوس. The fact that the peacock is mentioned for the first time in Aristophanes, *Aves*, 102, 269 (being unknown to the Homeric Poems) agrees with this Persian origin.

authorities may be consulted:—Belley in vol. xxvii. of the *Académie des Inscript.*; Beaufort's *Karamania*, p. 275; Leake's *Asia Minor*, p. 214; Barker's *Lares and Penates*, pp. 31, 173, 187. [J. S. H.]

TAR'TAK (תַּרְתָּק: Θαρθάκ: *Tharthac*). One of the gods of the Avite, or Avvite, colonists who were planted in the cities of Samaria after the removal of the tribes by Shalmaneser (2 K. xvii. 31). According to Rabbinical tradition, Tartak is said to have been worshipped under the form of an ass (Talm. Babl. *Sanhedrin*, fol. 63*b*). From this it has been conjectured that this idol was the Egyptian Typho, but though in the hieroglyphics the ass is the symbol of Typho, it was so far from being regarded as an object of worship, that it was considered absolutely unclean (Plut. *Is. et Os.* c. 14). A Persian or Pehlvi origin has been suggested for Tartak, according to which it signifies either "intense darkness," or "hero of darkness," or the underworld, and so perhaps some planet of ill-luck as Saturn or Mars (Gesen. *Thes.*; Fürst, *Handwb.*). The Carmanians, a warlike race on the Persian Gulf, worshipped Mars alone of all the gods, and sacrificed an ass in his honour (Strabo, xv. p. 727). Perhaps some trace of this worship may have given rise to the Jewish tradition. [W. A. W.]

TAR'TAN (תַּרְתָּן: Θαρθάν, Ταν́θαν, or Ταραθάν: *Tharthan*), which occurs only in 2 K. xviii. 17, and Is. xx. 1, has been generally regarded as a proper name. (Gesen. *Lex. Heb.* s. v.; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*; Kitto, *Bibl. Cyclopaed.*, &c.) Winer assumes, on account of the identity of name, that the same person is intended in the two places. Kitto, with more caution, notes that this is uncertain. Recent discoveries make it probable that in Tartan, as in Rabsaris and Rabshakeh, we have not a proper name at all, but a title or official designation, like Pharaoh or Surena.[a] The Assyrian *Tartan* is a general, or commander-in-chief. It seems as if the Greek translator of 2 Kings had an inkling of the truth, and therefore prefixed the article to all three names (ἀπέστειλε βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων τὸν Θαρθὰν καὶ τὸν Ῥαφὶς (?) καὶ τὸν Ῥαψάκην πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἐζεκίαν), which he very rarely prefixes to the names of persons where they are first mentioned.

If this be the true account of the term *Tartan*, we must understand in 2 K. xviii. 17, that Sennacherib sent "a general," together with his "chief eunuch" and "chief cup-bearer," on an embassy to Hezekiah, and in Is. xx. 1 that "a general"—probably a different person—was employed by Sargon against Ashdod, and succeeded in taking the city. [G. R.]

TATNAI (תַּתְּנַי: Θαυθαναΐ; Alex. Θαθθαναΐ: *Thathanai*: Simonis, Gesenius, Fürst), Satrap (פַּחַת) of the province west of the Euphrates in the time of Darius Hystaspis and Zerubbabel (Ezr. v. 3, 6, vi. 6, 13). [SHETHAR-BOZNAI.] The name is thought to be Persian. [A. C. H.]

TAVERNS, THE THREE. [THREE TAVERNS.]

TAXES. In the history of Israel, as of other nations, the student who desires to form a just estimate of the social condition of the people must take into account the taxes which they had to pay. According as these are light or heavy may vary the happiness and prosperity of a nation. To them, though lying in the background of history, may often be traced, as to the true motive-power, many political revolutions. Within the limits of the present article, it will not be possible to do more than indicate the extent and form of taxation in the several periods of Jewish history and its influence on the life of the people.

I. Under the Judges, according to the theocratic government contemplated by the law, the only payments obligatory upon the people as of permanent obligation were the TITHES, the FIRST FRUITS, the REDEMPTION-MONEY of the first-born, and other offerings as belonging to special occasions [PRIESTS]. The payment by each Israelite of the half-shekel as "atonement-money," for the service of the tabernacle, on taking the census of the people (Ex. xxx. 13), does not appear to have had the character of a recurring tax, but to have been supplementary to the free-will offerings of Ex. xxv. 1-7, levied for the one purpose of the construction of the sacred tent. In later times, indeed, after the return from Babylon, there was an annual payment for maintaining the fabric and services of the Temple; but the fact that this begins by the voluntary compact to pay one-third of a shekel (Neh. x. 32) shows that till then there was no such payment recognised as necessary. A little later the third became a half, and under the name of the *didrachma* (Matt. xvii. 24) was paid by every Jew, in whatever part of the world he might be living (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9, §1). Large sums were thus collected in Babylon and other eastern cities, and were sent to Jerusalem under a special escort (Jos. *Ant.* l. c.; Cic. *pro Flacc.* c. 28). We have no trace of any further taxation than this during the period of the Judges. It was not in itself heavy: it was lightened by the feeling that it was paid as a religious act. In return for it the people secured the celebration of their worship, and the presence among them of a body of men acting more or less efficiently as priests, judges, teachers, perhaps also as physicians. [PRIESTS.] We cannot wonder that the people should afterwards look back to the good old days when they had been so lightly burdened.

II. The kingdom, with its centralised government and greater magnificence, involved, of course, a larger expenditure, and therefore a heavier taxation. This may have come, during the long history of the monarchy, in many different forms, according to the financial necessities of the times. The chief burdens appear to have been: (1) A tithe of the produce both of the soil and of live stock, making, together with the ecclesiastical tithe, 20 per cent. on incomes of this nature (1 Sam. viii. 15, 17). (2) Forced military service for a month every year (1 Sam. viii. 12; 1 K. ix. 22; 1 Chr. xxvii. 1). (3) Gifts to the king, theoretically free, like the old Benevolences of English taxation, but expected as a thing of course, at the commencement of a reign (1 Sam. x. 27) or in time of war (comp. the gifts of Jesse, 1 Sam. xvi. 20, xvii. 18). In the case of subject princes the gifts, still made in kind, armour, horses, gold, silver, &c., appear to have been regularly assessed

[a] Surena, the Parthian term for "a general," was often mistaken for a proper name by the classical writers. (Strab. xvi. 1 §23; Appian, *Bell. Parth.* p. 140; Dion Cass. xl. 16; Plut. *Crass.* p. 561, E, &c.) Tacitus is the first author who seems to be aware that it is a title (*Ann.* vi. 42).

(1 K. x. 25; 2 Chr. ix. 24) Whether this was ever the case with the presents from Israelite subjects must remain uncertain. (4) Import duties, chiefly on the produce of the spice districts of Arabia (1 K. x. 15). (5) The monopoly of certain branches of commerce, as, for example, that of gold (1 K. ix. 28, xxii. 48), fine linen or byssus from Egypt (1 K. x. 28), and horses (ib. ver. 29). (6) The appropriation to the king's use of the early crop of hay (Am. vii. 1). This may, however, have been peculiar to the northern kingdom or occasioned by a special emergency (Ewald, *Proph.* in loc.).[a]

It is obvious that burdens such as these, coming upon a people previously unaccustomed to them, must have been almost intolerable. Even under Saul exemption from taxes is looked on as a sufficient reward for great military services (1 Sam. xvii. 25). Under the outward splendour and prosperity of the reign of Solomon there lay the deep discontent of an over-taxed people, and it contributed largely to the revolution that followed. The people complain not of Solomon's idolatry but of their taxes (1 K. xii. 4). Of all the king's officers he whom they hate most is ADORAM or ADONIRAM, who was "over the tribute" (1 K. xii. 18). At times, too, in the history of both the kingdoms there were special burdens. A tribute of 50 shekels a head had to be paid by Menahem to the Assyrian king (2 K. xv. 20), and under his successor Hoshea, this assumed the form of an annual tribute (2 K. xvii. 4; amount not stated). After the defeat of Josiah by Pharaoh-Necho, in like manner a heavy income-tax had to be imposed on the kingdom of Judah to pay the tribute demanded by Egypt (2 K. xxiii. 35), and the change of masters consequent on the battle of Carchemish brought in this respect no improvement (Jos. *Ant.* x. 9, §1-3).

III. Under the Persian empire, the taxes paid by the Jews were, in their broad outlines, the same in kind as those of other subject races. The financial system which gained for Darius Hystaspis the name of the "shopkeeper king" (κάπηλος, Herod. iii. 89), involved the payment by each satrap of a fixed sum as the tribute due from his province (ibid.), and placed him accordingly in the position of a *publicanus*, or farmer of the revenue, exposed to all the temptation to extortion and tyranny inseparable from such a system. Here, accordingly, we get glimpses of taxes of many kinds. In Judaea, as in other provinces, the inhabitants had to provide in kind for the maintenance of the governor's household (comp. the case of Themistocles, Thuc. i. 138, and Herod. i. 192, ii. 98), besides a money-payment of 40 shekels a day (Neh. v. 14, 15). In Ezr. iv. 13, 20, vii. 24, we get a formal enumeration of the three great branches of the revenue. (1) The מִדָּה, fixed, *measured* payment, probably direct taxation (Grotius). (2) בְּלוֹ, the excise or *octroi* on articles of *consumption* (Gesen. *s. v.*). (3) הֲלָךְ, probably the toll payable at bridges, fords, or certain stations on the high road. The influence of Ezra secured for the whole ecclesiastical order, from the priests down to the Nethinim, an immunity from all three (Ezr. vii. 24); but the burden pressed heavily on the great body of the people, and they complained bitterly both of this and of the ἀγγαρήιον, or forced service, to which they and their cattle were liable (Neh. ix. 37). They were compelled to mortgage their vineyards and fields, borrowing money at 12 per cent., the interest being payable apparently either in money or in kind (Neh. v. 1-11). Failing payment, the creditors exercised the power (with or without the mitigation of the year of JUBILEE) of seizing the persons of the debtors and treating them as slaves (Neh. v. 5; comp. 2 K. iv. 1). Taxation was leading at Jerusalem to precisely the same evils as those which appeared from like causes in the early history of Rome. To this cause may probably be ascribed the incomplete payment of tithes or offerings at this period (Neh. xiii. 10, 12; Mal. iii. 8), and the consequent necessity of a special poll-tax of the third part of a shekel for the services of the Temple (Neh. x. 32). What could be done to mitigate the evil was done by Nehemiah, but the taxes continued, and oppression and injustice marked the government of the province accordingly (Eccl. v. 8).[b]

IV. Under the Egyptian and Syrian kings th taxes paid by the Jews became yet heavier. The "farming" system of finance was adopted in its worst form. The Persian governors had had to pay a fixed sum into the treasury. Now the taxes were put up to auction. The contract sum for those of Phoenicia, Judaea, Samaria, had been estimated at about 8000 talents. An unscrupulous adventurer (*e. g.* Joseph, under Ptolemy Euergetes) would bid double that sum, and would then go down to the province, and by violence and cruelty, like that of Turkish or Hindoo collectors, squeeze out a large margin of profit for himself (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4, §1-5).

Under the Syrian kings we meet with an ingenious variety of taxation. Direct tribute (φόροι), an excise duty on salt, crown-taxes (στέφανοι, golden crowns, or their value, sent yearly to the king), one-half the produce of fruit trees, one-third that of corn land, a tax of some kind on cattle: these, as the heaviest burdens, are ostentatiously enumerated in the decrees of the two Demetriuses remitting them (1 Macc. x. 29, 30; xi. 35). Even after this, however, the golden crown and scarlet robe continue to be sent (1 Macc. xiii. 39). The proposal of the apostate Jason to farm the revenues at a rate above the average (460 talents, while Jonathan—1 Macc. xi. 28—pays 300 only), and to pay 150 talents more for a licence to open a circus (2 Macc. iv. 9), gives us a glimpse of another source of revenue. The exemption given by Antiochus to the priests and other ministers, with the deduction of one-third for all the residents in Jerusalem, was apparently only temporary (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, §3).

V. The pressure of Roman taxation, if not absolutely heavier, was probably more galling, as being more thorough and systematic, more distinctively a mark of bondage. The capture of Jerusalem by Pompey was followed immediately by the imposition of a tribute, and within a short time the sum thus taken from the resources of the country amounted to 10,000 talents (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4, §4, 5). The decrees of Julius Caesar showed

[a] The history of the drought in the reign of Ahab (1 K. xviii. 5) shows that in such cases a power like this must have been essential to the support of the cavalry of the royal army.

[b] The later date of the book is assumed in this reference. Comp. ECCLESIASTES.

a characteristic desire to lighten the burdens that pressed upon the subjects of the republic. The tribute was not to be farmed. It was not to be levied at all in the Sabbatic year. One-fourth only was demanded in the year that followed (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, §5, 6). The people, still under the government of Hyrcanus, were thus protected against their own rulers. The struggle of the republican party after the death of the Dictator brought fresh burdens upon the whole of Syria, and Cassius levied not less than 700 talents from Judaea alone. Under Herod, as might be expected from his lavish expenditure in public buildings, the taxation became heavier. Even in years of famine a portion of the produce of the soil was seized for the royal revenue (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 9, §1), and it was not till the discontent of the people became formidable that he ostentatiously diminished this by one-third (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10, §4). It was no wonder that when Herod wished to found a new city in Trachonitis, and to attract a population of residents, he found that the most effective bait was to promise immunity from taxes (Jos. *Ant.* vii. 2, §1), or that on his death the people should be loud in their demands that Archelaus should release them from their burdens, complaining specially of the duty levied on all sales (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 8, §4).

When Judaea became formally a Roman province, the whole financial system of the Empire came as a natural consequence. The taxes were systematically farmed, and the publicans appeared as a new curse to the country. [PUBLICANS.] The Portoria were levied at harbours, piers, and the gates of cities. These were the *τέλη* of Matt. xvii. 24; Rom. xiii. 7. In addition to this there was the *κῆνσος* or poll-tax (Cod. D. gives *ἐπικεφάλαιον* in Mark xii. 15) paid by every Jew, and looked upon, for that reason, as the special badge of servitude. It was about the lawfulness of this payment that the rabbis disputed, while they were content to acquiesce in the payment of the customs (Matt. xxii. 17; Mark xii. 13; Luke xx. 20). It was against this apparently that the struggles of Judas of Galilee and his followers were chiefly directed (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1, §6; *B. J.* ii. 8, §1). United with this, as part of the same system, there was also, in all probability, a property-tax of some kind. Quirinus, after the deposition of Archelaus, was sent to Syria to complete the work—begun, probably, at the time of our Lord's birth—of valuing and registering property [CYRENIUS, TAXING], and this would hardly have been necessary for a mere poll-tax. The influence of Joazar the high-priest led the people generally (the followers of Judas and the Pharisee Sadduc were the only marked exceptions) to acquiesce in this measure and to make the required returns (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1, §1); but their discontent still continued, and, under Tiberius, they applied for some alleviation (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 42). In addition to these general taxes, the inhabitants of Jerusalem were subject to a special house-duty about this period; Agrippa, in his desire to reward the good-will of the people, remitted it (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 6, §3).

It can hardly be doubted that in this, as in most other cases, an oppressive taxation tended greatly to demoralise the people. Many of the most glaring faults of the Jewish character are distinctly traceable to it. The fierce, vindictive cruelty of the Galilaeans, the Zealots, the Sicarii, was its natural fruit. It was not the least striking proof that the teaching of our Lord and His disciples was more than the natural outrush of popular feeling, that it sought to raise men to the higher region in which all such matters were regarded as things indifferent; and, instead of expressing the popular impatience of taxation, gave, as the true counsel, the precept "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," "tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom." [E. H. P.]

TAXING. I. (*ἡ ἀπογραφή*: *descriptio*, Luke ii. 2; *professio*, Acts v. 37). The cognate verb *ἀπογράφεσθαι* in like manner is rendered by "to be taxed" in the A. V.,[a] while the Vulgate employs "ut describeretur universus orbis" in Luke ii. 1, and "ut profiterentur singuli" in ver. 3. Both the Latin words thus used are found in classical writers with the meaning of a registration or formal return of population or property (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 3, §47; *de Off.* i. 7; Sueton *Tiber.* 30). The English word conveys to us more distinctly the notion of a tax or tribute actually levied, but it appears to have been used in the 16th century for the simple assessment of a subsidy upon the property of a given county (Bacon, *Hen. VII.* p. 67), or the registration of the people for the purpose of a poll-tax (Camden, *Hist. of Eliz.*). This may account for the choice of the word by Tindal in lieu of "description" and "profession," which Wyclif, following the Vulgate, had given. Since then "taxing" has kept its ground in most English versions with the exception of "tribute" in the Geneva, and "enrolment" in the Rhemish of Acts v. 37. The word *ἀπογραφή* by itself leaves the question whether the returns made were of population or property undetermined. Josephus, using the words *ἡ ἀποτίμησις τῶν οὐσιῶν* (*Ant.* xviii. 1, §1) as an equivalent, shows that "*the* taxing" of which Gamaliel speaks included both. That connected with the Nativity, the first step towards the complete statistical returns, was probably limited to the former (Greswell, *Harmony*, i. 542). In either case "Census" would have seemed the most natural Latin equivalent, but in the Greek of the N. T., and therefore probably in the familiar Latin of the period, as afterwards in the Vulg., that word slides off into the sense of the tribute actually paid (Matt. xxii. 17, xvii. 24).

II. Two distinct registrations, or taxings, are mentioned in the N. T., both of them by St. Luke. The first is said to have been the result of an edict of the emperor Augustus, that "all the world (*i. e.* the Roman empire) should be taxed" (*ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην*) (Luke ii. 1), and is connected by the Evangelist with the name of Cyrenius, or Quirinus. The second, and more important (*ἡ ἀπογραφή*, Acts v. 37), is referred to in the report of Gamaliel's speech, and is there distinctly associated, in point of time, with the revolt of Judas of Galilee. The account of Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1, §1; *B. J.* ii. 8, §1) brings together the two names which St. Luke keeps distinct, with an interval of several years between them. Cyrenius comes as governor of Syria after the deposition of Archelaus, accompanied by Coponius as procurator of Judaea. He is sent to make an assessment of the

[a] In Heb. xii. 23 (*πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς*), where the idea is that of the registration of the first-born as citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, the A. V. has simply "written," the Vulg. "qui conscripti sunt."

value of property in Syria (no intimation being given of its extension to the οἰκουμένη), and it is this which rouses Judas and his followers to their rebellion. The chronological questions presented by these apparent discrepancies have been discussed, so far as they are connected with the name of the governor of Syria, under CYRENIUS. An account of the tumults caused by the taxing will be found under JUDAS OF GALILEE.

III. There are, however, some other questions connected with the statement of Luke ii. 1-3, which call for some notice.

(1.) The truth of the statement has been questioned by Strauss (*Leben Jesu*, i. 28) and De Wette (*Comm. in loc.*), and others, on the ground that neither Josephus nor any other contemporary writer mentions a census extending over the whole empire at this period (A.U.C. 750). An edict like this, causing a general movement from the cities where men resided to those in which, for some reason or other, they were to be registered, must, it is said, have been a conspicuous fact, such as no historian would pass over. (2.) Palestine, it is urged further, was, at this time, an independent kingdom under Herod, and therefore would not have come under the operation of an imperial edict. (3.) If such a measure, involving the recognition of Roman sovereignty, had been attempted under Herod, it would have roused the same resistance as the undisputed census under Quirinus did at a later period. (4.) The statement of St. Luke that "all went to be taxed, every one into his own city," is said to be inconsistent with the rules of the Roman census, which took cognizance of the place of residence only, not of the place of birth. (5.) Neither in the Jewish nor the Roman census would it have been necessary for the wife to travel with her husband in order to appear personally before the registrar (*censitor*). The conclusions from all these objections are, that this statement belongs to legend, not to history; that it was a contrivance, more or less ingenious, to account for the birth at Bethlehem (that being assumed in popular tradition as a preconceived necessity for the Messiah) of one whose kindred lived, and who himself had grown up at Nazareth; that the whole narrative of the Infancy of our Lord, in St. Luke's Gospel, is to be looked on as mythical. A sufficient defence of that narrative may, it is believed, be presented within comparatively narrow limits.

(1.) It must be remembered that our history of this portion of the reign of Augustus is defective. Tacitus begins his Annals with the emperor's death. Suetonius is gossiping, inaccurate, and ill-arranged. Dion Cassius leaves a gap from A.U.C. 748 to 756, with hardly any incidents. Josephus does not profess to give a history of the empire. It might easily be that a general census, circ. A.U.C. 749-750, should remain unrecorded by them. If the measure was one of frequent occurrence, it would be all the more likely to be passed over. The testimony of a writer, like St. Luke, obviously educated and well informed, giving many casual indications of a study of chronological data (Luke i. 5, iii.; Acts xxiv. 27), and of acquaintance with the Herodian family (Luke viii. 3, xxiii. 8; Acts xii. 20, xiii. 1) and other official people (Acts xxiii.–xxvi.), recognising distinctly the later and more conspicuous ἀπογραφή, must be admitted as fair presumptive evidence, hardly to be set aside in the absence of any evidence to the contrary. How hazardous such an inference from the silence of historians would be, we may judge from the fact that there was undoubtedly a geometrical survey of the empire at some period in the reign of Augustus, of which none of the above writers take any notice (comp. the extracts from the Rei Agrariae Scriptores in Greswell, *Harmony*, i. p. 537). It has been argued further that the whole policy of Augustus rested on a perpetual communication to the central government of the statistics of all parts of the empire. The inscription on the monument of Ancyra (Gruter, *Corpus Inscript.* i. 230) names three general censuses in the years A.U.C. 726, 746, 767 (comp. Sueton. *Octav.* c. 28; Greswell, *Harm.* i. p. 535). Dion Cass. (lv. 13) mentions another in Italy in A.U.C. 757. Others in Gaul are assigned to A.U.C. 727, 741, 767. Strabo (vi. 4, §2) writing early in the reign of Tiberius speaks of μία τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τιμήσεων, as if they were common things. In A.U.C. 726, when Augustus offered to resign his power, he laid before the senate a "rationarium imperii" (Sueton. *Octav.* c. 28). After his death, in like manner, a "breviarium totius imperii" was produced, containing full returns of the population, wealth, resources of all parts of the empire, a careful digest apparently of facts collected during the labours of many years (Sueton. *Octav.* c. 101; Dion Cass. lv.; Tacit. *Ann.* i. 11). It will hardly seem strange that one of the routine official steps in this process should only be mentioned by a writer who like St. Luke, had a special reason for noticing it. A census, involving property-returns, and the direct taxation consequent on them, might excite attention. A mere ἀπογραφή would have little in it to disturb men's minds, or force itself upon a writer of history.

There is, however, some evidence, more or less circumstantial, in confirmation of St. Luke's statement. (1.) The inference drawn from the silence of historians may be legitimately met by an inference drawn from the silence of objectors. It never occurred to Celsus, or Lucian, or Porphyry, questioning all that they could in the Gospel history, to question this. (2.) A remarkable passage in Suidas (*s. v.* ἀπογραφή) mentions a census, obviously differing from the three of the Ancyran monument, and agreeing, in some respects, with that of St. Luke. It was made by Augustus not as censor, but by his own imperial authority (δόξαν αὐτῷ; comp. ἐξῆλθε δόγμα, Luke ii. 1). The returns were collected by twenty commissioners of high rank. They included property as well as population, and extended over the whole empire. (3.) Tertullian, incidentally, writing controversially, not against a heathen, but against Marcion, appeals to the returns of the census for Syria under Sentius Saturninus as accessible to all who cared to search them, and proving the birth of Jesus in the city of David (Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 19). Whatever difficulty the difference of names may present [comp. CYRENIUS], here is, at any rate, a strong indication of the fact of a census of population, circ. A.U.C. 749, and therefore in harmony with St. Luke's narrative. (4.) Greswell (*Harm.* i. 476, iv. 6) has pointed to some circumstances mentioned by Josephus in the last year of Herod's life, and therefore coinciding with the time of the Nativity, which imply some special action of the Roman government in Syria, the nature of which the historian carelessly or deliberately suppresses.[b] When Herod attends the council at Be-

[b] The silence with which Josephus dwells on the history of David's census and the tone in which he speaks of it

rytus there are mentioned as present, besides Saturninus and the Procurator, *οἱ περὶ Πεδάνιον πρέσβεις*, as though the officer thus named had come, accompanied by other commissioners, for some purpose which gave him for the time almost co-ordinate influence with the governor of Syria himself (*B. J.* i. 27, §2). Just after this again, Herod, for some unexplained reason, found it necessary to administer to the whole people an oath, not of allegiance to himself, but of goodwill to the emperor; and this oath 6000 of the Pharisees refused to take (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 2, §4; *B. J.* i. 29, §2). This statement implies, it is urged, some disturbing cause affecting the public tranquillity, a formal appearance of all citizens before the king's officers, and lastly, some measure specially distasteful to the Pharisees. The narrative of St Luke offers an undesigned explanation of these phenomena.

(2.) The second objection admits of as satisfactory an answer. The statistical document already referred to included subject-kingdoms and allies, no less than the provinces (Sueton. *l. c.*). If Augustus had any desire to know the resources of Judaea, the position of Herod made him neither willing nor able to resist. From first to last we meet with repeated instances of subservience. He does not dare to try or punish his sons, but refers their cause to the emperor's cognizance (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 4, §1, xvii. 5, §8). He holds his kingdom on condition of paying a fixed tribute. Permission is ostentatiously given him to dispose of the succession to his throne as he likes best (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 4, §5). He binds his people, as we have seen, by an oath of allegiance to the emperor (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 2, §4). The threat of Augustus that he would treat Herod no longer as an ally but as a subject (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 9, §3), would be followed naturally enough by some such step as this, and the desire of Herod to regain his favour would lead him to acquiesce in it.

(3.) We need not wonder that the measure should have been carried into effect without any popular outbreak. It was a return of the population only, not a valuation of property; there was no immediate taxation as the consequence. It might offend a party like the Pharisees. It was not likely to excite the multitude. Even if it seemed to some the prognostication of a coming change, and of direct government by the Roman emperor, we know that there was a large and influential party ready to welcome that change as the best thing that could happen for their country (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 11, §2).

(4.) The alleged inconsistency of what St. Luke narrates is precisely what might be expected under the known circumstances of the case. The census, though Roman in origin, was effected by Jewish instrumentality, and in harmony therefore with Jewish customs. The alleged practice is, however, doubtful, and it has been maintained (Huschke, *über den Census*, &c. in Winer "Schatzung") that the inhabitants of the provinces were, as far as possible, registered in their *forum originis*—not in the place in which they were only residents. It may be noticed incidentally that the journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem belongs to a time when Galilee and Judaea were under the same ruler, and would therefore have been out of the question (as the subject of one prince would certainly not be registered as belonging to another) after the death of Herod the Great. The circumstances of the Nativity indicate, if they do not prove, that Joseph went there only for personal enrolment, not because he was the possessor of house or land.

(5.) The last objection as to the presence of the Virgin, where neither Jewish nor Roman practice would have required it, is perhaps the most frivolous and vexatious of all. If Mary were herself of the house and lineage of David, there may have been special reasons for her appearance at Bethlehem. In any case the Scripture narrative is consistent with itself. Nothing could be more natural, looking to the unsettled state of Palestine at this period, than that Joseph should keep his wife under his own protection, instead of leaving her by herself in an obscure village, exposed to danger and reproach. In proportion to the hopes he had been taught to cherish of the birth of a Son of David, in proportion also to his acceptance of the popular belief that the Christ was to be born in the city of David (Matt. ii. 5; John vii. 42), would be his desire to guard against the accident of birth in the despised Nazareth out of which "no good thing" could come (John i. 46).

The literature connected with this subject is, as might be expected, very extensive. Every commentary contains something on it. Meyer, Wordsworth, and Alford may be consulted as giving the latest summaries. Good articles will be found under "Schatzung" in Winer, *Realwb.*; and Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.* A very full and exhaustive discussion of all points connected with the subject is given by Spanheim, *Dubia Evang.* ii. 3-9; and Richardus, *Diss. de Censu Augusti*, in Menthen's *Thesaurus*, ii. 428; comp. also Ellicott, *Hulsean Lectures*, p. 57. [E. H. P.]

TE'BAH (טֶבַח: *Ταβέκ*: *Tabee*). Eldest of the sons of Nahor, by his concubine Reumah (Gen. xxii. 24). Josephus calls him *Ταβαῖος* (*Ant.* i. 6, §5).

TEBALI'AH (טֵבַלְיָהוּ: *Ταβλαί*; Alex. *Ταβελίας*: *Tabelias*). Third son of Hosah of the children of Merari (1 Chr. xxvi. 11).

TEB'ETH. [MONTH.]

TEHIN'NAH (תְּחִנָּה: *Θαιμάν*; Alex. *Θανά*: *Tehinna*). The father or founder of Ir-Nahash, the city of Nahash, and son of Eshton (1 Chr. iv. 12). His name only occurs in an obscure genealogy of the tribe of Judah, among those who are called "the men of Rechah."

TEIL-TREE. [OAK.]

TEKO'A and TEKO'AH (תְּקוֹעַ, but in 2 Sam. xiv. 2 only, תְּקוֹעָה: *Θεκουέ* and *Θεχωέ*; Joseph. *Θεκωέ*, *Θεκώα*: *Thecue*), a town in the tribe of Judah (2 Chr. xi. 6, as the associated places show), on the range of hills which rise near Hebron, and stretch eastward towards the Dead Sea. These hills bound the view of the spectator as he looks to the south from the summit of the Mount of Olives. Jerome (*in Amos, Prooem.*) says that Tekoa was six Roman miles from Bethlehem, and that as he wrote (*in Jerem.* vi. 1) he had that village daily before his eyes (*Thekoam quotidie oculis cernimus*). In his *Onomasticon* (art. *Eethei*, Ἐκθεικέ) he represents Tekoa as nine miles only from Jerusalem;

(*Ant.* vii. 12) make it probable that there may have been a superstitious unwillingness to speak of this popu-

lation census, which would not apply to the property assessment of Quirinius.

but elsewhere he agrees with Eusebius a making the distance twelve miles. In the latter case he reckons by the way of Bethlehem, the usual course in going from the one place to the other; but there may have been also another and shorter way, to which he has reference in the other computation. Some suggest (Bachiene, *Palästina*, ii. p. 60) that an error may have crept into Jerome's text, and that we should read *twelve* there instead of *nine*. In 2 Chr. xx. 20 (see also 1 Macc. ix. 33), mention is made of "the wilderness of Tekoa," which must be understood of the adjacent region on the east of the town (see *infra*), which in its physical character answers so entirely to that designation. It is evident from the name (derived from תָּקַע, "to strike," said of driving the stakes or pins into the ground for securing the tent), as well as from the manifest adaptation of the region to pastoral pursuits, that the people who lived here must have been occupied mainly as shepherds, and that Tekoa in its best days could have been little more than a cluster of tents, to which the men returned at intervals from the neighbouring pastures, and in which their families dwelt during their absence.

The biblical interest of Tekoa arises, not so much from any events which are related as having occurred there, as from its connexion with various persons who are mentioned in Scripture. It is not enumerated in the Hebrew catalogue of towns in Judah (Josh. xv. 49), but is inserted in that passage of the Septuagint. The "wise woman" whom Joab employed to effect a reconciliation between David and Absalom was obtained from this place (2 Sam. xiv. 2). Here also, Ira, the son of Ikkesh, one of David's thirty "mighty men" (גִּבֹּרִים) was born, and was called on that account "the Tekoite" (2 Sam. xxiii. 26). It was one of the places which Rehoboam fortified, at the beginning of his reign, as a defence against invasion from the south (2 Chr. xi. 6). Some of the people from Tekoa took part in building the walls of Jerusalem, after the return from the Captivity (Neh. iii. 5, 27). In Jer. vi. 1, the prophet exclaims, "Blow the trumpet in Tekoa and set up a sign of fire in Beth-Haccerem"—the latter probably the "Frank Mountain," the cone-shaped hill so conspicuous from Bethlehem. It is the sound of the trumpet as a warning of the approach of enemies, and a signal-fire kindled at night for the same purpose, which are described here as so appropriately heard and seen, in the hour of danger, among the mountains of Judah. But Tekoa is chiefly memorable as the birthplace of the prophet Amos, who was here called by a special voice from heaven to leave his occupation as "a herdman" and "a gatherer of wild figs," and was sent forth thence to testify against the sins of the kingdom of Israel (Amos vii. 14). Accustomed to such pursuits, he must have been familiar with the solitude of the desert, and with the dangers there incident to a shepherd's life. Some effect of his peculiar training amid such scenes may be traced, as critics think (De Wette, *Einl. ins Alte Test.* p. 356), in the contents and style of his prophecy. Jerome (*ad Am.* i. 2) says, ". . . . etiam Amos prophetam qui pastor de pastoribus fuit et pastor non in locis cultis et arboribus ac vineis consitis, aut certe inter sylvas et prata virentia, sed in lata eremi vastitate, in qua versatur leonum feritas et interfectio pecorum, *urtis suae usum esse sermonibus.*" Compare Am. ii. 13, iii. 4, 12, iv. 1, vi. 12, vii. 1; and see the striking remarks of Dr. Pusey *Introd. to Amos*.

In the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 24, and iv. 5) Ashur, a posthumous son of Hezron and a brother of Caleb, is there mentioned as the father of Tekoa, which appears to mean that he was the founder of Tekoa, or at least the owner of that village. See Roediger in Gesen. *Thesaur.* iii. p. 1518

Tekoa is known still as *Teku'a*, and, though it lies somewhat aside from the ordinary route, has been visited and described by several recent travellers. The writer was there on the 21st of April, 1852, during an excursion from Jerusalem by the way of Bethlehem and *Urtâs*. Its distance from *Beit Lahm* agrees precisely with that assigned by the early writers as the distance between Tekoa and Bethlehem. It is within sight also of the "Frank Mountain," beyond question the famous Herodium, or site of Herod's Castle, which Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 9, §5) represents as near the ancient Tekoa. It lies on an elevated hill, which spreads itself out into an irregular plain of moderate extent. Its "high position" (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 486) "gives it a wide prospect. Toward the north-east the land slopes down towards *Wady Khureitûn*; on the other sides the hill is surrounded by a belt of level table land; beyond which are valleys, and then other higher hills. On the south, at some distance, another deep valley runs off south-east towards the Dead Sea. The view in this direction is bounded only by the level mountains of Moab, with frequent bursts of the Dead Sea, seen through openings among the rugged and desolate intervening mountains." The scene, on the occasion of the writer's journey above referred to, was eminently a pastoral one, and gave back no doubt a faithful image of the olden times. There were two encampments of shepherds there, consisting of tents covered with the black goat-skins so commonly used for that purpose; they were supported on poles and turned up in part on one side, so as to enable a person without to look into the interior. Flocks were at pasture near the tents and on the remoter hill-sides in every direction. There were horses and cattle and camels also, though these were not so numerous as the sheep and goats. A well of living water, on the outskirts of the village, was a centre of great interest and activity; women were coming and going with their pitchers, and men were filling the troughs to water the animals which they had driven thither for that purpose. The general aspect of the region was sterile and unattractive; though here and there were patches of verdure, and some of the fields, which had yielded an early crop, had been recently ploughed up, as if for some new species of cultivation. Fleecy clouds, white as the driven snow, were floating towards the Dead Sea, and their shadows, as they chased each other over the landscape, seemed to be fit emblems of the changes in the destiny of men and nations, of which there was so much to remind one at such a time and in such a place. Various ruins exist at Tekoa, such as the walls of houses, cisterns, broken columns, and heaps of building stones. Some of these stones have the so-called "bevelled" edges which are supposed to show a Hebrew origin. There was a convent here at the beginning of the 6th century, and a Christian settlement in the time of the Crusaders; and undoubtedly most of these remains belong to modern times rather than ancient. Among these should be mentioned a baptismal font, sculptured out of a limestone block, three feet and nine inches deep, with an internal diameter at the top of four feet, and designed evidently for baptism as administered

in the Greek Church. It stands in the open air, like a similar one which the writer saw at *Jufna*, near *Beitin*, the ancient Bethel. See more fully in the *Christian Review* (New York, 1853, p. 519).

Near *Tekû'a*, among the same mountains, on the brink of a frightful precipice, are the ruins of *Khŭreitûn*, possibly a corruption of Kerioth (Josh. xv. 25), and in that case perhaps the birthplace of Judas the traitor, who was thence called Iscariot, *i. e.* "man of Kerioth." It is impossible to survey the scenery of the place, and not feel that a dark spirit would find itself in its own element amid the seclusion and wildness of such a spot. High up from the bottom of the ravine is an opening in the face of the rocks which leads into an immense subterranean labyrinth, which many suppose may have been the Cave of Adullam, in which David and his followers sought refuge from the pursuit of Saul. It is large enough to contain hundreds of men, and is capable of defence against almost any attack that could be made upon it from without. When a party of the Turks fell upon *Tekû'a* and sacked it, A.D. 1138, most of the inhabitants, anticipating the danger, fled to this cavern, and thus saved their lives. It may be questioned (Robinson, i. 481) whether this was the actual place of David's retreat, but it illustrates, at all events, that peculiar geological formation of the country, which accounts for such frequent allusions to "dens and caves" in the narrations of the Bible. The writer was told, as a common opinion of the natives, that some of the passages of this particular excavation extended as far as to Hebron, several miles distant, and that all the cord at Jerusalem would not be sufficient to serve as clue for traversing its windings. [ODOLLAM.]

One of the gates of Jerusalem in Christian times seems to have borne the name of Tekoa. Arculf, at any rate, mentions the "gate called Tecuitis" in his enumeration of the gates of the city (A.D. 700). It appears to have led down into the valley of the Kedron, probably near the southern end of the East wall. But his description is not very clear. Can it be to this that St. Jerome alludes in the singular expression in the *Epit. Paulae* (§12), ... *revertar Jerosolymam et per Thecuam atque Amos, rutilantem montis Oliveti Crucem aspiciam.* The Church of the Ascension on the summit of Olivet would be just opposite a gate in the East wall, and the "glittering cross" would be particularly conspicuous if seen from beneath its shadow. There is no more *primâ facie* improbability in a Tekoa gate than in a Bethlehem, Jaffa, or Damascus gate, all which still exist at Jerusalem. But it is strange that the allusions to it should be so rare, and that the circumstances which made Tekoa prominent enough at that period to cause a gate to be named after it should have escaped preservation. [H. B. H.]

TEKO'A (תְּקוֹעַ: Θεκωέ: *Thecue*). A name occurring in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 24, iv. 5), as the son of Ashur. There is little doubt that the town of Tekoa is meant, and that the notice implies that the town was colonized or founded by a man or a town of the name of ASHUR. [G.]

TEKO'ITE, THE (הַתְּקוֹעִי; in Chron. הַתְּקֹעִי: ὁ Θεκωείτης, ὁ Θεκώ, ὁ Θεκωνείτης: *de Thecua, Thecuites*). IRA ben-Ikkesh, one of David's warriors, is thus designated (2 Sam. xxiii. 26; 1 Chr. xi. 28, xxvii. 9). The common people among THE TEKOITES displayed great activity in the repairs of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah. They undertook two lengths of the rebuilding (Neh. iii. 5, 27). It is however specially mentioned that their "lords" (אֲדֹנֵיהֶם) took no part in the work. [G.]

TEL-A'BIB (תֵּל־אָבִיב: μετέωρος: *ad acervum novarum frugum*) was probably a city of Chaldaea or Babylonia, not of Upper Mesopotamia, as generally imagined. (See Calmet on Ez. iii. 15, and Winer, *ad voc.*) The whole scene of Ezekiel's preaching and visions seems to have been Chaldaea Proper; and the river Chebar, as already observed [see CHEBAR], was not the *Khabour*, but a branch of the Euphrates. Ptolemy has in this region a Thel-bencane and a Thal-atha (*Geograph.* v. 20); but neither name can be identified with Tel-abib, unless we suppose a serious corruption. The element "Tel" in Tel-abib, is undoubtedly "hill." It is applied in modern times by the Arabs especially to the mounds or heaps which mark the site of ruined cities all over the Mesopotamian plain, an application not very remote from the Hebrew use, according to which "Tel" is "especially a heap of stones" (Gesen. *ad voc.*). It thus forms the first syllable in many modern, as in many ancient names, throughout Babylonia, Assyria, and Syria. (See Assemann, *Bibl. Orient.* iii. pt. ii. p. 784.)

The LXX. have given a translation of the term, by which we can see that they did not regard it as a proper name, but which is quite inexplicable. The Vulgate likewise translates, and correctly enough, so far as Hebrew scholarship is concerned; but there seems to be no reason to doubt that the word is really a proper name, and therefore ought not to be translated at all. [G. R.]

TE'LAH (תֶּלַח: Θαλεές; Alex. Θαλέ: *Thale*). A descendant of Ephraim, and ancestor of Joshua (1 Chr. vii. 25).

TEL'AIM (הַטְּלָאִים, with the article: ἐν Γαλγάλοις in both MSS., and so also Josephus: *quasi agnos*). The place at which Saul collected and numbered his forces before his attack on Amalek (1 Sam. xv. 4, only). It may be identical with TELEM, the southern position of which would be suitable for an expedition against Amalek; and a certain support is given to this by the mention of the name (Thailam or Thelam) in the LXX. of 2 Sam. iii. 12. On the other hand the reading of the LXX. in 1 Sam. xv 4 (not only in the Vatican MS., but also in the Alex., usually so close an adherent of the Hebrew text), and of Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 7, §2), who is not given to follow* the LXX. slavishly—viz. Gilgal is remarkable; and when the frequent connexion of that sanctuary with Saul's history is recollected, it is almost sufficient to induce the belief that in this case the LXX. and Josephus have preserved the right name, and that instead of Telaim we should, with them, read Gilgal. It should be observed, however, that the Hebrew MSS. exhibit no variation in the name, and that, excepting the LXX. and the Targum, the Versions all agree with the Hebrew. The Targum renders it "lambs of the Passover," according to a curious fancy, mentioned elsewhere in the Jewish books (*Yalkut* on 1 Sam.

* In this instance his rendering is more worthy of notice, because it would have been easy for him to have interpreted the name as the Rabbis do, with whose traditions he was well acquainted.

xv. 4, &c.), that the army met at the Passover, and that the census was taken by counting the lambs. This is partly endorsed by Jerome in the *Vulgate*. [G.]

TELAS'SAR (תִּלְשַׁר: Θαεσθέν, Θεεμάθ: *Thelassar, Thalassar*) is mentioned in 2 K. xix. 12, and in Is. xxxvii. 12 as a city inhabited by "the children of Eden," which had been conquered, and was held in the time of Sennacherib by the Assyrians. In the former passage the name is rather differently given both in Hebrew and English. [THELASAR.] In both it is connected with Gozan (Gauzanitis), Haran (Carrhae, now *Harran*), and Rezeph (the *Razappa* of the Assyrian Inscriptions), all of which belong to the hill country above the Upper Mesopotamian plain, the district from which rise the *Khabûr* and *Belik* rivers. [See MESOPOTAMIA, GOZAN, and HARAN.] It is quite in accordance with the indications of locality which arise from this connection, to find Eden joined in another passage (Ez. xxvii. 23) with Haran and Asshur. Telassar, the chief city of a tribe known as the *Beni Eden*, must have been in Western Mesopotamia, in the neighbourhood of Harran and Orfa. It would be uncritical to attempt to fix the locality more exactly. The name is one which might have been given by the Assyrians to any place where they had built a temple to Asshur,[c] and hence perhaps its application by the Targums to the Resen of Gen. x. 12, which must have been on the Tigris, near Nineveh and Calah. [RESEN.] [G. R.]

TEL'EM (טֶלֶם: Μαινάμ[d]; Alex. Τελεμ: *Telem*). One of the cities in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 24). It occurs between ZIPH (not the Ziph of David's escape) and BEALOTH: but has not been identified. The name *Dhullâm* is found in Van de Velde's map, attached to a district immediately to the north of the *Kubbet el-Baul*, south of *el Milh* and *Ar'arah*—a position very suitable; but whether the coincidence of the name is merely accidental or not, is not at present ascertainable. Telem is identified by some with Telaim, which is found in the Hebrew text of 1 Sam. xv. 4; but there is nothing to say either for or against this.

The LXX. of 2 Sam. iii. 12, in both MSS., exhibits a singular variation from the Hebrew text. Instead of "on the spot" (תַּחְתָּיו, A. V. incorrectly, "on his behalf") they read "to Thailam (or Thelam) where he was." If this variation should be substantiated, there is some probability that Telem or Telaim is intended. David was at the time king, and quartered in Hebron, but there is no reason to suppose that he had relinquished his marauding habits; and the south country, where Telem lay, had formerly been a favourite field for his expeditions (1 Sam. xxvii. 8-11).

The Vat. LXX. in Josh. xix. 7, adds the name Θαλχά, between Remmon and Ether, to the towns of Simeon. This is said by Eusebius (*Onomast.*) and Jerome to have been then existing as a very large village called Thella, 16 miles south of Eleutheropolis. It is however claimed as equivalent to TOCHEN. [G.]

TEL'EM (טֶלֶם: Τελμήν; Alex. Τελλήμ: *Telem*). A porter or doorkeeper of the Temple in the time of Ezra, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 24). He is probably the same as TALMON in Neh. xii. 25, the name being that of a family rather than of an individual. In 1 Esd. ix. 25 he is called TOLBANES.

TEL-HAR'SA, or TEL-HAR'ESHA (תֵּל חַרְשָׁא: Θελαρησά: *Thelharsa*) was one of the Babylonian towns, or villages, from which some Jews, who "could not show their father's house, nor their seed, whether they were of Israel," returned to Judaea with Zerubbabel (Ez. ii. 59; Neh. vii. 61). Gesenius renders the term "Hill of the Wood" (*Lex.* ad voc.). It was probably in the low country near the sea, in the neighbourhood of Tel-Melah and Cherub; but we cannot identify it with any known site. [G. R.]

TEL-ME'LAH (תֵּל-מֶלַח: Θελμελέχ, Θελμελέθ: *Thelmala*) is joined with Tel-Harsa and Cherub in the two passages already cited under TEL-HARSA. It is perhaps the Thelme of Ptolemy (v. 20), which some wrongly read as Theame (ΘΕΑΜΗ for ΘΕΛΜΗ), a city of the low salt tract near the Persian Gulf, whence probably the name, which means "Hill of Salt" (Gesen. *Lex. Heb. sub voc.*). Cherub, which may be pretty surely identified with Ptolemy's Chiripha (Χιριφά), was in the same region. [G. R.]

TE'MA (תֵּימָא: Θαιμάν: *Thema*). The ninth son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chr. i. 30); whence the tribe called after him, mentioned in Job vi. 19, "The troops of Tema looked, the companies of Sheba waited for them," and by Jeremiah (xxv. 23), "Dedan, Tema, and Buz;" and also the land occupied by this tribe: "The burden upon Arabia. In the forest in Arabia shall ye lodge, O ye travelling companies of Dedanim. The inhabitants of the land of Tema brought water to him that was thirsty, they prevented with their bread him that fled" (Is. xxi. 13, 14).

The name is identified satisfactorily with Teymá, تيماء, a small town on the confines of Syria, between it and Wadi-l-Kurà, on the road of the Damascus pilgrim-caravan (*Marásid*, s. v.). It is in the neighbourhood of Doomat-el-Jendel, which agrees etymologically and by tradition with the Ishmaelite DUMAH, and the country of Keydár, or KEDAR. Teymá is a well-known town and district, and is appropriate in every point of view as the chief settlement of Ishmael's son Tema. It is commanded by the castle called El-Ablak (or El-Ablak el-Fard), of Es-Semäw-al (Samuel) Ibn-'Adiyà the Jew, a contemporary of Imrà-el-Keys (A.D. 550 cir.); but according to a tradition it was built by Solomon, which points at any rate to its antiquity (comp. El-Bekree, in *Marásid*, iv. 23); now in ruins, described as being built of rubble and crude bricks, and said to be named El-Ablak from having whiteness and redness in its structure (*Marásid*, s. v.

[b] A similar fancy in reference to the name BEZEK (1 Sam. xi. 8) is found in the Midrash. It is taken literally as meaning "broken pieces of pottery," by which, as by counters, the numbering was effected. Bezek and Telaim are considered by the Talmudists as two of the ten numberings of Israel, past and future

[c] It would signify simply "the Hill of Asshur." Compare Tel-ane, "the Hill of Ana," a name which seems to have been applied in later times to the city called by the Assyrians "Asshur," and marked by the ruins at *Kileh Sherghat*. (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Τελάνη.)

[d] The passage is in such confusion in the Vatican MS. that it is difficult rightly to assign the words, and impossible to infer anything from the equivalents.

Ablak). This fortress seems, like that of Doomat-el-Jendel, to be one of the strongholds that must have protected the caravan route along the northern frontier of Arabia; and they recall the passage following the enumeration of the sons of Ishmael: "These [are] the sons of Ishmael, and these [are] their names, by their *towns*, and by their *castles*; twelve princes according to their nations" (Gen. xxv. 16).

Teymá signifies "a desert," "an untilled district," &c. Freytag (*s. v.*) writes the *name* without a long final alif, but not so the *Marásid*.

Ptolemy (xix. 6) mentions *Θέμη* in Arabia Deserta, which may be the same place as the existing Teymá. The LXX. reading seems to have a reference to TEMAN, which see. [E. S. P.]

TE'MAN (תֵּימָן: *Θαιμάν*: *Theman*). 1. A son of Eliphaz, son of Esau by Adah (Gen. xxxvi. 11; 1 Chr. i. 36, 53), afterwards named as a duke (phylarch) of Edom (ver. 15), and mentioned again in the separate list (vv. 40-43) of "the names of the rulers [that came] of Esau, according to their families, after their places, by their names;" ending, "these be the dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession: he [is] Esau the father of the Edomites."

2. A country, and probably a city, named after the Edomite phylarch, or from which the phylarch took his name, as may be perhaps inferred from the verses of Gen. xxxvi. just quoted. The Hebrew signifies "south," &c. (see Job ix. 9; Is. xliii. 6; besides the use of it to mean the south side of the Tabernacle in Ex. xxvi. and xxvii., &c.); and it is probable that the land of Teman was a southern portion of the land of Edom, or, in a wider sense, that of the sons of the East, the Beni-kedem. Teman is mentioned in five places by the Prophets, in four of which it is connected with Edom, showing it to be the same place as that indicated in the list of the dukes; twice it is named with Dedan —"Concerning Edom, thus saith the Lord of hosts: [Is] wisdom no more in Teman? is counsel perished from the prudent? is their wisdom vanished? Flee ye, turn back, dwell deep, O inhabitants of Dedan" (Jer. xlix. 7, 8); and "I will make it [Edom] desolate from Teman; and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword" (Ez. xxv. 13). This connection with the great Keturahite tribe of Dedan gives additional importance to Teman, and helps to fix its geographical position. This is further defined by a passage in the chapter of Jer. already cited, verses 20, 21, where it is said of Edom and Teman, "The earth is moved at the noise of their fall; at the cry the noise thereof was heard in the Red Sea (*yam Suf*)." In the sublime prayer of Habakkuk, it is written, "God came from Teman, and the Holy One from mount Paran" (iii. 3). Jeremiah, it has been seen, speaks of the wisdom of Teman; and the prophecy of Obadiah implies the same (8, 9), "Shall I not in that day, saith the Lord, even destroy the wise (men) out of Edom, and understanding out of the mount of Esau? And thy [mighty] men, O Teman, shall be dismayed." In wisdom, the descendants of Esau, and especially the inhabitants of Teman, seem to have been pre-eminent among the sons of the East.

In common with most Edomite names, Teman appears to have been lost. The occupation of the country by the Nabathaeans seems to have obliterated almost all of the traces (always obscure) of the migratory tribes of the desert. It is not likely that much can ever be done by modern research to clear up the early history of this part of the "east country." True, Eusebius and Jerome mention Teman as a town in their day distant 15 miles (according to Eusebius) from Petra, and a Roman post. The identification of the existing Maan (see Burckhardt, with this Teman may be geographically correct, but it cannot rest on etymological grounds.

The gentilic noun of Teman is תֵּימָנִי (Job ii. 11; xxii. 1), and Eliphaz the Temanite was one of the wise men of Edom. The gen. n. occurs also in Gen. xxxvi. 34, where the land of Temani (so in the A. V.) is mentioned. [E. S. P.]

TE'MANI. [TEMAN.]

TE'MANITE. [TEMAN.]

TE'MENI (תֵּימָנִי: *Θαιμάν*: *Themani*). Son of Ashur, the father of Tekoa, by his wife Naarah (1 Chr. iv. 6).

TEMPLE. There is perhaps no building of the ancient world which has excited so much attention since the time of its destruction as the Temple which Solomon built at Jerusalem, and its successor as rebuilt by Herod. Its spoils were considered worthy of forming the principal illustration of one of the most beautiful of Roman triumphal arches, and Justinian's highest architectural ambition was that he might surpass it. Throughout the middle ages it influenced to a considerable degree the forms of Christian churches, and its peculiarities were the watchwords and rallying points of all associations of builders. Since the revival of learning in the 16th century its arrangements have employed the pens of numberless learned antiquarians, and architects of every country have wasted their science in trying to reproduce its forms.

But it is not only to Christians that the Temple of Solomon is so interesting; the whole Mahomedan world look to it as the foundation of all architectural knowledge, and the Jews still recall its glories and sigh over their loss with a constant tenacity, unmatched by that of any other people to any other building of the ancient world.

With all this interest and attention it might fairly be assumed that there was nothing more to be said on such a subject—that every source of information had been ransacked, and every form of restoration long ago exhausted, and some settlement of the disputed points arrived at which had been generally accepted. This is, however, far from being the case, and few things would be more curious than a collection of the various restorations that have been proposed, as showing what different meanings may be applied to the same set of simple architectural terms.

The most important work on this subject, and that which was principally followed by restorers in the 17th and 18th centuries, was that of the brothers Pradi, Spanish Jesuits, better known as Villalpandi. Their work was published in folio at Rome, 1596-1604, superbly illustrated. Their idea of Solomon's Temple was, that both in dimensions and arrangement it was very like the Escurial in Spain. But it is by no means clear whether the Escurial was being built while their book was in the press, in order to look like the Temple, or whether its authors took their idea of the Temple from the palace. At all events their design is so much the more beautiful and commodious of the two, that we cannot but regret that Herrera was not employed on the book, and the Jesuits set to build the palace.

When the French expedition to Egypt, in the first years of this century, had made the world familiar with the wonderful architectural remains of that country, every one jumped to the conclusion that Solomon's Temple must have been designed after an Egyptian model, forgetting entirely how hateful that land of bondage was to the Israelites, and how completely all the ordinances of their religion were opposed to the idolatries they had escaped from—forgetting, too, the centuries which had elapsed since the Exode before the Temple was erected, and how little communication of any sort there had been between the two countries in the interval.

The Assyrian discoveries of Botta and Layard have within the last twenty years given an entirely new direction to the researches of the restorers, and this time with a very considerable prospect of success, for the analogies are now true, and whatever can be brought to bear on the subject is in the right direction. The original seats of the progenitors of the Jewish races were in Mesopotamia. Their language was practically the same as that spoken on the banks of the Tigris. Their historical traditions were consentaneous, and, so far as we can judge, almost all the outward symbolism of their religions was the same, or nearly so. Unfortunately, however, no Assyrian temple has yet been exhumed of a nature to throw much light on this subject, and we are still forced to have recourse to the later buildings at Persepolis, or to general deductions from the style of the nearly contemporary secular buildings at Nineveh and elsewhere, for such illustrations as are available. These, however, nearly suffice for all that is required for Solomon's Temple. For the details of that erected by Herod we must look to Rome.

Of the intermediate Temple erected by Zerubbabel we know very little, but, from the circumstance of its having been erected under Persian influences contemporaneously with the buildings at Persepolis, it is perhaps the one of which it would be most easy to restore the details with anything like certainty.

Before proceeding, however, to investigate the arrangements of the Temple, it is indispensable first carefully to determine those of the Tabernacle which Moses caused to be erected in the Desert of Sinai immediately after the promulgation of the Law from that mountain. For, as we shall presently see, the Temple of Solomon was nothing more nor less than an exact repetition of that earlier Temple, differing only in being erected of more durable materials, and with exactly double the dimensions of its prototype, but still in every essential respect so identical that a knowledge of the one is indispensable in order to understand the other.

Tabernacle.

The written authorities for the restoration of the Tabernacle are, first, the detailed account to be found in the 26th chapter of Exodus, and repeated in the 36th, verses 8 to 38, without any variation beyond the slightest possible abridgement. Secondly, the account given of the building by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 6), which is so nearly a repetition of the account found in the Bible that we may feel assured that he had no really important authority before him except the one which is equally accessible to us. Indeed we might almost put his account on one side, if it were not that, being a Jew, and so much nearer the time, he may have had access to some traditional accounts which may have enabled him to realize its appearance more readily than we can do, and his knowledge of Hebrew technical terms may have enabled him to understand what we might otherwise be unable to explain.

The additional indications contained in the Talmud and in Philo are so few and indistinct, and are besides of such doubtful authenticity, that they practically add nothing to our knowledge, and may safely be disregarded.

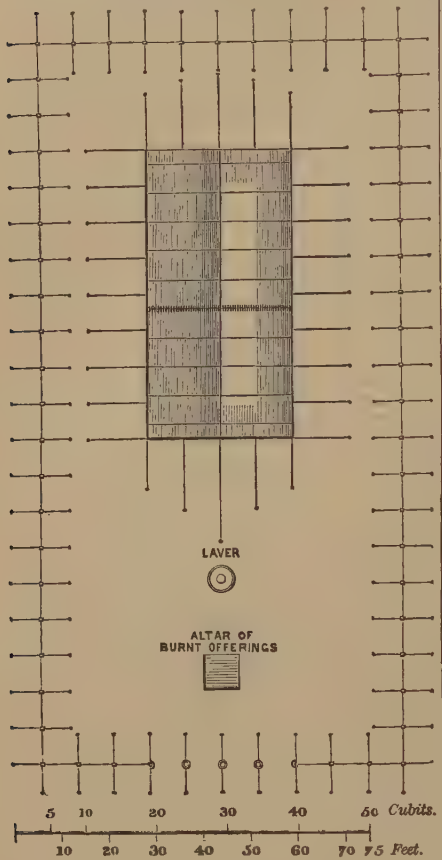
For a complicated architectural building these written authorities probably would not suffice without some remains or other indications to supplement them; but the arrangements of the Tabernacle were so simple that they are really all that are required. Every important dimension was either 5 cubits or a multiple of 5 cubits, and all the arrangements in plan were either squares or double squares, so that there really is no difficulty in putting the whole together, and none would ever have occurred were it not that the dimensions of the sanctuary, as obtained from the "boards" that formed its walls, appear at first sight to be one thing, while those obtained from the dimensions of the curtains which covered it appear to give another, and no one has yet succeeded in reconciling these with one another or with the text of Scripture. The apparent discrepancy is, however, easily explained, as we shall presently see, and never would have occurred to any one who had lived long under canvas or was familiar with the exigencies of tent architecture.

Outer Enclosure.—The court of the Tabernacle was surrounded by canvas screens—in the East called Kannauts—and still universally used to enclose the private apartments of important personages. Those of the Tabernacle were 5 cubits in height, and supported by pillars of brass 5 cubits apart, to which the curtains were attached by hooks and fillets of silver (Ex. xxvii. 9, &c.). This enclosure was only broken on the eastern side by the entrance, which was 20 cubits wide, and closed by curtains of fine twined linen wrought with needlework, and of the most gorgeous colours.

The space enclosed within these screens was a double square, 50 cubits, or 75 feet north* and south, and 100 cubits or 150 ft. east and west. In the outer or eastern half was placed the altar of burnt-offerings, described in Ex. xxvii. 1-8, and be-

* The cubit used throughout this article is assumed to be the ordinary cubit, of the length of a man's fore-arm from the elbow-joint to the tip of the middle finger, or 18 Greek inches, equal to 18¼ English inches. There seems to be little doubt but that the Jews also used occasionally a shorter cubit of 5 handbreaths, or 15 inches, but only (in so far as can be ascertained) in speaking of vessels or of metal work, and never applied it to buildings. After the Babylonish Captivity they seem also occasionally to have employed the Babylonian cubit of 7 handbreadths, or 21 inches. This, however, can evidently have no application to the Tabernacle or Solomon's Temple, which was erected before the Captivity; nor can it be available to explain the peculiarities of Herod's Temple, as Josephus, who is our principal authority regarding it, most certainly did always employ the Greek cubit of 18 inches, or 400 to 1 stadium of 600 Greek feet; and the Talmud, which is the only other authority, always gives the same number of cubits where we can be certain they are speaking of the same thing; so that we may feel perfectly sure they both were using the same measure. Thus, whatever other cubits the Jews may have used for other purposes, we may rest assured that for the buildings referred to in this article the cubit of 18 inches, and that only, was the one employed.

tween it and the Tabernacle the laver (*Ant.* m. 6, §2), at which the priests washed their hands and feet on entering the Temple.

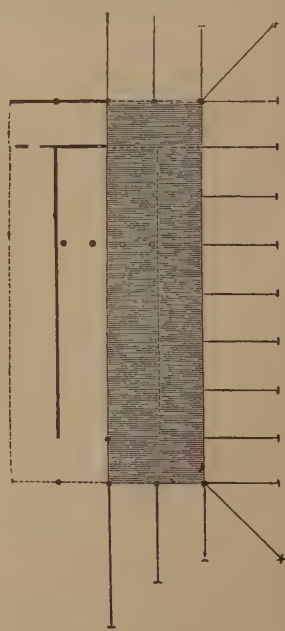


No. 1.—Plan of the Outer Court of the Tabernacle.

In the square towards the west was situated the Temple or Tabernacle itself. The dimensions in plan of this structure are easily ascertained. Josephus states them (*Ant.* iii. 6, §3) as 30 cubits long by 10 broad, or 45 feet by 15, and the Bible is scarcely less distinct, as it says that the north and south walls were each composed of twenty upright boards (Ex. xxvi. 15, &c.), each board one cubit and a half in width, and at the west end there were six boards equal to 9 cubits, which, with the angle boards or posts, made up the 10 cubits of Josephus.

Each of these boards was furnished with two tenons at its lower extremity, which fitted into silver sockets placed on the ground. At the top at least they were jointed and fastened together by bars of shittim or acacia wood run through rings of gold (Ex. xxvi. 26). Both authorities agree that there were five bars for each side, but a little difficulty arises from the Bible describing (ver. 28) a middle bar which reached from end to end. As we shall presently see this bar was probably applied to a totally different purpose, and we may therefore assume for the present that Josephus' description of the mode in which they were applied is the correct one:—"Every one," he says (*Ant.* iii 6, §3), "of the pillars or boards had a ring of gold affixed to its front outwards, into which were inserted bars gilt with gold, each of them 5 cubits long, and these bound together the boards; the head of one bar running into another after the manner of one tenon inserted into another. But for the wall behind there was only one bar that went through all the boards, into which one of the ends of the bars on both sides was inserted."

So far, therefore, everything seems certain and easily understood. The Tabernacle was an oblong rectangular structure, 30 cubits long by 10 broad, open at the eastern end, and divided internally into two apartments. The Holy of Holies, into which no one entered—not even the priest, except on very extraordinary occasions—was a cube, 10 cubits square in plan, and 10 cubits high to the top of the wall. In this was placed the Mercy-seat, surmounted by the cherubim, and on it was placed the Ark, containing the tables of the Law. In front of these was an outer chamber, called the Holy Place—20 cubits long by 10 broad, and 10 high, appropriated to the use of the priests. In it were placed the golden candlestick on one side, the table of shew-bread opposite, and between them in the centre the altar of incense.



No. 2.—The Tabernacle, showing one half ground plan and one half as covered by the curtains.

The roof of the Tabernacle was formed by 3, or rather 4, sets of curtains, the dimensions of two of which are given with great minuteness both in the Bible and by Josephus. The innermost (Ex. xxvi. 1, &c.), of fine twined linen according to our translation (Josephus calls them wool: ἐρίων, *Ant.* iii. 6, § 4), were ten in number, each 4 cubits wide and 28 cubits long. These were of various colours, and ornamented with cherubim of "cunning work." Five of these were sewn together so as to form larger

curtains, each 20 cubits by 28, and these two again were joined together, when used, by fifty gold buckles or clasps.

Above these were placed curtains of goats' hair, each 4 cubits wide by 30 cubits long, but eleven in number; these were also sewn together, six into one curtain, and five into the other, and, when used, were likewise joined together by fifty gold buckles.

Over these again was thrown a curtain of rams' skins with the wool on, dyed red, and a fourth covering is also specified as being of badgers' skins, so named in the A. V., but which probably really consisted of seal-skins. [BADGER-SKINS in Appendix A.] This did not of course cover the rams' skins, but most probably was only used as a coping or ridge piece to protect the junction of the two curtains of rams' skins which were laid on each slope of the roof, and probably only laced together at the top.

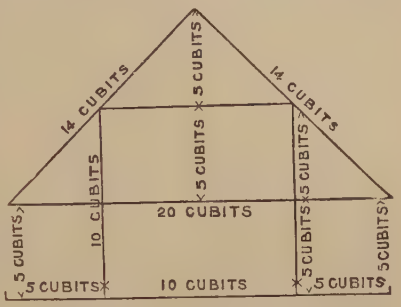
The question which has hitherto proved a stumbling block to restorers is, to know how these curtains were applied as a covering to the Tabernacle. Strange to say, this has appeared so difficult that, with hardly an exception, they have been content to assume that they were thrown over its walls as a pall is thrown over a coffin, and they have thus cut the Gordian knot in defiance of all probabilities, as well as of the distinct specification of the Pentateuch. To this view of the matter there are several important objections.

First. If the inner or ornamental curtain was so used, only about one-third of it would be seen; 9 cubits on each side would be entirely hidden between the walls of the Tabernacle and the goats'-hair curtain. It is true that Bähr (*Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*), Neumann (*Der Stiftshütte*, 1861), and others, try to avoid this difficulty by hanging this curtain so as to drape the walls inside; but for this there is not a shadow of authority, and the form of the curtain would be singularly awkward and unsuitable for this purpose. If such a thing were intended, it is evident that one curtain would have been used as wall-hangings and another as a ceiling, not one great range of curtains all joined the same way to hang the walls all round and form the ceiling at the same time.

A second and more cogent objection will strike anyone who has ever lived in a tent. It is, that every drop of rain that fell on the Tabernacle would fall through; for, however tightly the curtains might be stretched, the water could never run over the edge, and the sheep skins would only make the matter worse, as when wetted their weight would depress the centre, and probably tear any curtain that could be made, while snow lying on such a roof would certainly tear the curtains to pieces.

But a third and fatal objection is, that this arrangement is in direct contradiction to Scripture. We are there told (Ex. xxvi. 9) that half of one of the goats'-hair curtains shall be doubled back in front of the Tabernacle, and only the half of another (ver. 12) hang down behind; and (ver. 13), that one cubit shall hang down on each side—whereas this arrangement makes 10 cubits hang down all round, except in front.

The solution of the difficulty appears singularly obvious. It is simply, that the tent had a ridge, as all tents have had from the days of Moses down to the present day; and we have also very little difficulty in predicating that the angle formed by the two sides of the roof at the ridge was a right angle—not only because it is a reasonable and usual angle for such a roof, and one that would most likely be adopted in so regular a building, but because its adoption reduces to harmony the only abnormal measurement in the whole building. As mentioned above, the principal curtains were only 28 cubits in length, and consequently not a multiple of 5; but if we assume a right angle at the ridge, each side of the slope was 14 cubits, and $14^2 + 14^2 = 392$, and $20^2 = 400$, two numbers which are practically identical in tent-building.



No. 3.—Diagram of the Dimensions of the Tabernacle in Section.

The base of the triangle, therefore, formed by the roof was 20 cubits, or in other words, the roof of the Tabernacle extended 5 cubits beyond the walls, not only in front and rear, but on both sides; and it may be added, that the width of the Tabernacle thus became identical with the width of the entrance to the enclosure; which but for this circumstance would appear to have been disproportionately large.

With these data it is easy to explain all the other difficulties which have met previous restorers.

First. The Holy of Holies was divided from the Holy Place by a screen of *four* pillars supporting curtains which no one was allowed to pass. But, strange to say, in the entrance there were *five* pillars in a similar space. Now, no one would put a pillar in the centre of an entrance without a motive; but the moment a ridge is assumed it becomes indispensable.

It may be assumed that all the five pillars were spaced within the limits of the 10 cubits of the breadth of the Tabernacle, viz. one in the centre, two opposite the two ends of the walls, and the other two between them; but the probabilities are so infinitely greater that those two last were beyond those at the angles of the tent, that it is hardly worth while considering the first hypothesis. By the one here adopted the pillars in front would, like every thing else, be spaced exactly 5 cubits apart.

Secondly. Josephus twice asserts (*Ant.* iii. 6, §4) that the Tabernacle was divided into three parts, though he specifies only two—the Adytum and the Pronaos. The third was of course the porch, 5 cubits deep, which stretched across the width of the house.

Thirdly. In speaking of the western end, the Bible always uses the plural, as if there were two sides there. There was, of course, at least one pillar in the centre beyond the wall,—there may have been five,—so that there practically were two sides there. It may also be remarked that the Pentateuch, in speaking (Ex. xxvi. 12) of this after part, calls it *Mishcan*, or the dwelling, as contradistinguished from *Ohel*, or the tent, which applies to the whole structure covered by the curtains.

Fourthly. We now understand why there are 10

breadths in the under curtains, and 11 in the upper. It was that they might break joint—in other words, that the seam of the one, and especially the great joining of the two divisions, might be over the centre of the lower curtain, so as to prevent the rain penetrating through the joints. It may also be remarked that, as the two cubits which were in excess at the west hung at an angle, the depth of fringe would be practically about the same as on the sides.

With these suggestions, the whole description in the Book of Exodus is so easily understood that it is not necessary to dilate further upon it; there are, however, two points which remain to be noticed, but more with reference to the Temple which succeeded it than with regard to the Tabernacle itself.

The first is the disposition of the side bars of shittim-wood that joined the boards together. At first sight it would appear that there were 4 short and one long bar on each side, but it seems impossible to see how these could be arranged to accord with the usual interpretation of the text, and very improbable that the Israelites would have carried about a bar 45 feet long, when 5 or 6 bars would have answered the purpose equally well, and 5 rows of bars are quite unnecessary, besides being in opposition to the words of the text.

The explanation hinted at above seems the most reasonable one—that the five bars named (vers. 26 and 27) were joined end to end, as Josephus asserts, and the bar mentioned (ver. 28) was the ridge-pole of the roof. The words of the Hebrew text will equally well bear the translation—"and the middle bar which is *between*," instead of "*in the midst of* the boards, shall reach from end to end." This would appear a perfectly reasonable solution but for the mechanical difficulty that no pole could be made stiff enough to bear its own weight and that of the curtains over an extent of 45 feet, without intermediate supports. A ridge-rope could easily be stretched to twice that distance, if required for the purpose, though it too would droop in the centre. A pole would be a much more appropriate and likely architectural arrangement—so much so, that it seems more than probable that one was employed with supports. One pillar in the centre where the curtains were joined would be amply sufficient for all practical purposes; and if the centre board at the back of the Holy of Holies was 15 cubits high (which there is nothing to contradict), the whole would be easily constructed. Still, as no internal supports are mentioned either by the Bible or Josephus, the question of how the ridge was formed and supported must remain an open one, incapable of proof with our present knowledge, but it is one to which we shall have to revert presently.

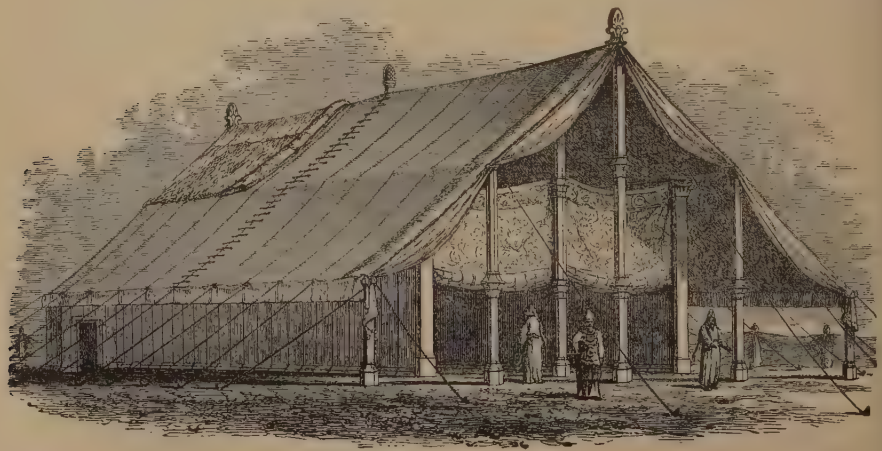
The other question is—were the sides of the Verandah which surrounded the Sanctuary closed or left open? The only hint we have that this was done, is the mention of the western *sides* always in the plural, and the employment of *Mishcan* and *Ohel* throughout this chapter, apparently in opposition to one another, *Mishcan* always seeming to apply to an enclosed space, which was or might be dwelt in, *Ohel* to the tent as a whole or to the covering only; though here again the point is by no means so clear as to be decisive.

The only really tangible reason for supposing the sides were enclosed is, that the Temple of Solomon was surrounded on all sides but the front, by a range of small cells 5 cubits wide, in which the priests resided who were specially attached to the service of the Temple.

It would have been so easy to have done this in the Tabernacle, and its convenience—at night at least—so great, that I cannot help suspecting it was the case.

It is not easy to ascertain, with anything like certainty, at what distance from the tent the tent-pegs were fixed. It could not be less on the sides than 7 cubits, it may as probably have been 10. In front and rear the central peg could hardly have been at a less distance than 20 cubits; so that it is by no means improbable that from the front to rear the whole distance may have been 80 cubits, and from side to side 40 cubits, measured from peg to peg; and it is this dimension that seems to have governed the pegs of the enclosures, as it would just allow room for the fastenings of the enclosure on either side, and for the altar and laver in front. It is scarcely worth while, however, insisting strongly on these and some other minor points.

Enough has been said to explain with the woodcuts all the main points of the proposed restoration, and to show that it is possible to reconstruct the Tabernacle in strict conformity with every word



No. 6.—South-East View of the Tabernacle, as restored.

and every indication of the sacred text, and at the same time to show that the Tabernacle was a reasonable tent-like structure, admirably adapted to the purposes to which it was applied.

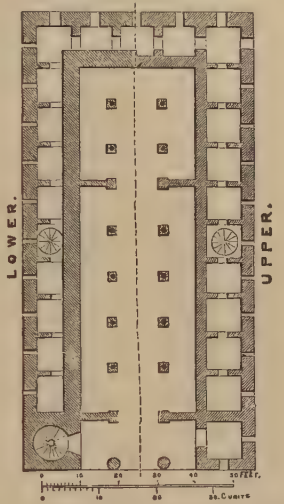
Solomon's Temple.

The Tabernacle accompanied the Israelites in all their wanderings, and remained their only Holy Place or Temple till David obtained possession of Jerusalem, and erected an altar in the threshing-floor of Araunah, on the spot where the altar of the Temple always afterwards stood. He also brought the Ark out of Kirjath-jearim (2 Sam. vi. 2; 1 Chr. xiii. 6) and prepared *a* tabernacle for it in the new city which he called after his own name. Both these were brought up thence by Solomon (2 Chr. v. 5); the Ark placed in the Holy of Holies, but the Tabernacle seems to have been put on one side as a relic (1 Chr. xxiii, 32). We have no account, however, of the removal of the original Tabernacle of Moses from Gibeon, nor anything that would enable us to connect it with that one which Solomon removed out of the City of David (2 Chr. v. 5). In fact, from the time of the building of the Temple, we lose sight of the Tabernacle altogether. It was David who first proposed to replace the Tabernacle by a more permanent building, but was forbidden for the reasons assigned by the prophet Nathan (2 Sam. vii. 5, &c.), and though he collected materials and made arrangements, the execution of the task was left for his son Solomon.

He, with the assistance of Hiram king of Tyre, commenced this great undertaking in the fourth year of his reign, and completed it in seven years, about 1005 B.C. according to the received chronology.

On comparing the Temple, as described in 1 Kings vi. and 2 Chronicles ii. and by Josephus vii. 3, with the Tabernacle, as just explained, the first thing that strikes us is that all the arrangements were identical, and the dimensions of every part were exactly double those of the preceding structure. Thus the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle was a cube, 10 cubits each way; in the Temple it was 20 cubits. The Holy Place or outer hall was 10 cubits wide by 20 long and 10 high in the Tabernacle. In the Temple all these dimensions were exactly double. The porch in the Tabernacle was 5 cubits deep, in the Temple 10: its width in both instances being the width of the house. The chambers round the House and the Tabernacle were each 5 cubits wide on the ground-floor, the difference being that in the Temple the two walls taken together made up a thickness of 5 cubits, thus making 10 cubits for the chambers.

Taking all these parts together, the ground-plan of the Temple measured 80 cubits by 40; that of the Tabernacle, as we have just seen, was 40 by 20; and what is more striking than even this, is that though the walls were 10 cubits high in the one and 20 cubits in the other, the whole height of the Tabernacle was 15, that of the Temple 30 cubits; the one roof rising 5, the other 10 cubits above the height of the internal walls.[b] So exact indeed is this coincidence, that it not only confirms to the fullest extent the restoration of the Tabernacle which has just been explained, but it is a singular confirmation of the minute accuracy which characterised the writers of the Pentateuch and the Books of Kings and Chronicles in this matter; for not only are we able to check the one by the other at this distance of time with perfect certainty, but, now that we know the system on which they were constructed we might almost restore both edifices from Josephus' account of the Temple as re-erected by Herod, of which more hereafter.



No. 5.—Plan of Solomon's Temple, showing the disposition of the chambers in two stories.

The proof that the Temple, as built by Solomon, was only an enlarged copy of the Tabernacle, goes far also to change the form of another important question which has been long agitated by the students of Jewish antiquities, inasmuch as the inquiry as to whence the Jews derived the plan and design of the Temple must now be transferred to the earlier type, and the question thus stands, Whence did they derive the scheme of the Tabernacle?

From Egypt?

There is not a shadow of proof that the Egyptians ever used a moveable or tent-like temple, neither the pictures in their temples nor any historical records point to such a form, nor has any one hitherto ventured to suggest such an origin for that structure.

From Assyria?

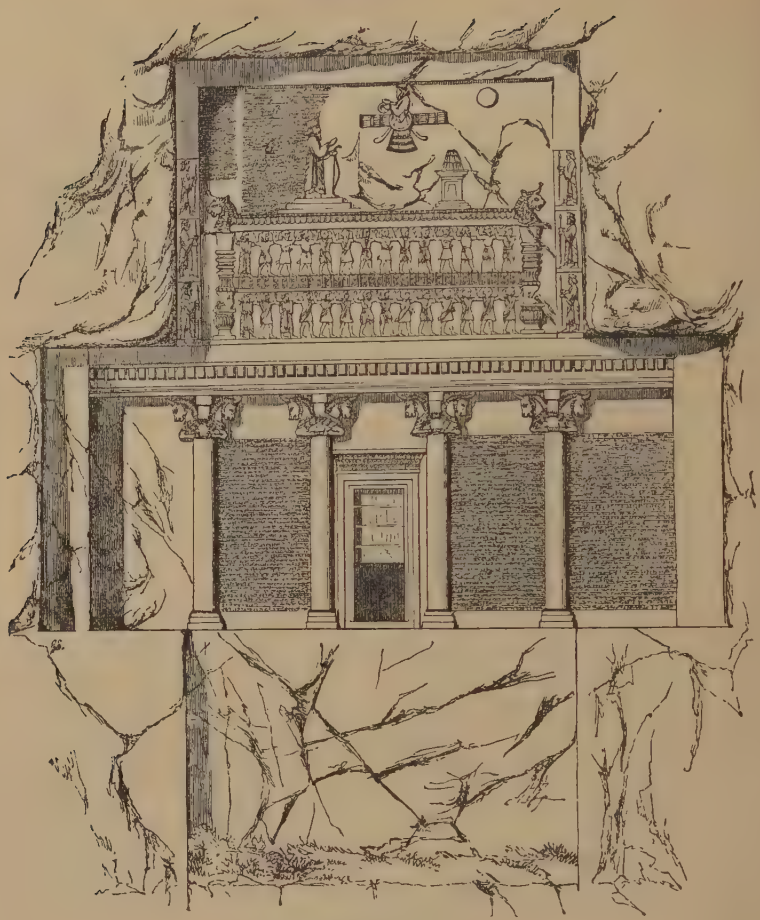
Here too we are equally devoid of any authority or tangible data, for though the probabilities certainly are that the Jews would rather adopt a form from the kindred Assyrians than from the hated strangers whose land they had just left, we have nothing further to justify us in such an assumption.

From Arabia?

It is possible that the Arabs may have used moveable tent-like temples. They were a people nearly allied in race with the Jews. Moses' father-in-law was an Arab, and something he may have seen there may have suggested the form he adopted. But beyond this we cannot at present go.[c]

[b] In the Apocrypha there is a passage which bears curiously and distinctly on this subject. In Wisd. ix. 8 it is said, "Thou hast commanded me (*i. e.* Solomon) to build a Temple in Thy Holy mount, and an altar in the city wherein Thou dwellest, a resemblance of the Holy Tabernacle which Thou hast prepared from the beginning."

[c] The only thing resembling it we know of is the Holy Tent of the Carthaginians, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, xx. 65, which, in consequence of a sudden change of wind at night blowing the flames from the altar on which victims were being sacrificed, towards *τὴν ἱερὰν σκηνήν*, it took fire, a circumstance which spread such



No. 6.—Tomb of Darius near Persepolis.

For the present, at least, it must suffice to know that the form of the Temple was copied from the Tabernacle, and that any architectural ornaments that may have been added were such as were usually employed at that time in Palestine, and more especially at Tyre, whence most of the artificers were obtained who assisted in its erection.

So far as the dimensions above quoted are concerned, everything is as clear and as certain as anything that can be predicated of any building of which no remains exist, but beyond this there are certain minor problems by no means so easy to resolve, but fortunately they are of much less importance. The first is the

Height.—That given in 1 K. vi. 2—of 30 cubits—is so reasonable in proportion to the other dimensions, that the matter might be allowed to rest there were it not for the assertion (2 Chr. iii. 4) that the height, though apparently only of the porch, was 120 cubits = 180 feet (as nearly as may be the height of the steeple of St. Martin's in the Fields). This is so unlike anything we know of in ancient architecture, that having no counterpart in the Tabernacle, we might at first sight feel almost justified in rejecting it as a mistake or interpolation, but for the assertion (2 Chr. iii. 9) that Solomon overlaid the *upper chambers* with gold, and 2 K. xxiii. 12, where the altars on the top of the *upper chambers*, apparently of the Temple, are mentioned. In addition to this, both Josephus and the Talmud persistently assert that there was a superstructure on the Temple equal in height to the lower part, and the total height they, in accordance with the Book of Chronicles, call 120 cubits or 180 feet (*Ant.* viii. 3, §2). It is evident, however, that he obtains these dimensions first by doubling the height of the lower Temple, making it 60 instead of 30 cubits, and in like manner exaggerating every other dimension to make up this quantity. Were it not for these authorities, it would satisfy

consternation throughout the army as to lead to its destruction.

The Carthaginians were a Shemitic people, and seem to have carried their Holy Tent about with their armies, and to have performed sacrifices in front of it, precisely as was done by the Jews, excepting, of course, the nature of the victims.

all the real exigencies of the case if we assumed that the upper chamber occupied the space between the roof of the Holy Place and the roof of the Temple. Ten cubits or 15 feet, even after deducting the thickness of the two roofs, is sufficient to constitute such an apartment as history would lead us to suppose existed there. But the evidence that there was something beyond this is so strong that it cannot be rejected.

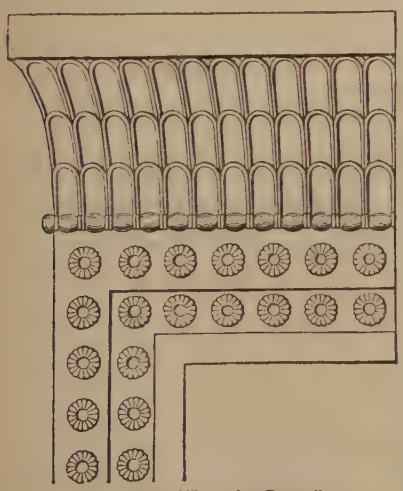
In looking through the monuments of antiquity for something to suggest what this might be, the only thing that occurs is the platform or Talar that existed on the roofs of the Palace Temples at Persepolis—as shown in Woodcut No. 6, which represents the Tomb of Darius, and is an exact reproduction of the façade of the Palace shown in plan, Woodcut No. 9. It is true these were erected five centuries after the building of Solomon's Temple; but they are avowedly copies in stone of older Assyrian forms, and as such may represent, with more or less exactness, contemporary buildings. Nothing in fact could represent more correctly "the altars on the top of the upper chambers" which Josiah beat down (2 K. xxiii. 12) than this, nor could anything more fully meet all the architectural or devotional exigencies of the case; but its height never could have been 60 cubits, or even 30, but it might very probably be the 20 cubits which incidentally Josephus (xv. 11, §3) mentions as "sinking down in the failure of the foundations, but was so left till the days of Nero." There can be little doubt but that the part referred to in this paragraph was some such superstructure as that shown in the last woodcut; and the incidental mention of 20 cubits is much more to be trusted than Josephus' heights generally are, which he seems systematically to have exaggerated when he was thinking about them.

Jachin and Boaz.—There are no features connected with the Temple of Solomon which have given rise to so much controversy, or been so difficult to explain, as the form of the two pillars of brass which were set up in the porch of the house. It has even been supposed that they were not pillars in the ordinary sense of the term, but obelisks; for this, however, there does not appear to be any authority. The porch was 30 feet in width, and a roof of that extent, even if composed of a wooden beam, would not only look painfully weak without some support, but, in fact, almost impossible to construct with the imperfect science of these days. Another difficulty arises from the fact that the Book of Chronicles nearly doubles the dimensions given in Kings; but this arises from the systematic reduplication of the height which misled Josephus; and if we assume the Temple to have been 60 cubits high, the height of the pillars, as given in the Book of Chronicles, would be appropriate to support the roof of its porch, as those in Kings are the proper height for a temple 30 cubits high, which there is every reason to believe was the true dimension. According to 1 K. vii. 15 *et seq.*, the pillars were 18 cubits high and 12 in circumference, with capitals five cubits in height. Above this was (ver. 19) another member, called also chapiter of lily-work, four cubits in height, but which from the second mention of it in ver. 22 seems more probably to have been an entablature, which is necessary to complete the order. As these members make out 27 cubits, leaving 3 cubits or 4½ feet for the slope of the roof, the whole design seems reasonable and proper.

No. 8.—Pillar of Northern Portico at Persepolis.

If this conjecture is correct, we have no great difficulty in suggesting that the lily-work must have been something like the Persepolitan cornice (Woodcut No. 7), which is probably nearer in style to that of the buildings at Jerusalem than anything else we know of.

It seems almost in vain to try and speculate on what was the exact form of the decoration of these celebrated pillars. The nets of checker-work and wreaths of chain-work, and the pomegranates, &c., are all features applicable to metal architecture; and though we know that the old Tartar races did use metal architecture everywhere, and especially in bronze, from the very nature of the material every specimen has perished, and we have now no representations from which we can restore them. The styles we are familiar with were all derived more or less from wood, or from stone with wooden ornaments repeated in the harder material. Even at Persepolis, though we may feel certain that everything we see there had a wooden prototype, and may suspect that much of their wooden ornamentation was derived from the earlier metal forms, still it is so far removed from the original source that in the present state of our


No. 7.—Cornice of lily-work at Persepolis.

knowledge, it is dangerous to insist too closely on any point. Notwithstanding this, the pillars at Persepolis, of which Woodcut No. 8 is a type, are probably more like Jachin and Boaz than any other pillars which have reached us from antiquity, and give a better idea of the immense capitals of these columns than we obtain from any other examples; but being in stone, they are far more simple and less ornamental than they would have been in wood, and infinitely less so than their metal prototypes.

Internal Supports.—The existence of these two pillars in the porch suggests an inquiry which has hitherto been entirely overlocked: Were there any pillars in the interior of the Temple? Considering that the clear space of the roof was 20 cubits, or 30 feet, it may safely be asserted that no cedar beam could be laid across this without sinking in the centre by its own weight, unless trussed or supported from below. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the Tyrians in those days were acquainted with the scientific forms of carpentry implied in the first suggestion, and there is no reason why they should have resorted to them even if they knew how; as it cannot be doubted but that architecturally the introduction of pillars in the interior would have increased the apparent size and improved the artistic effect of the building to a very considerable degree.

If they were introduced at all, there must have been four in the sanctuary and ten in the hall, not necessarily equally spaced, in a transverse direction, but probably standing 6 cubits from the walls, leaving a centre aisle of 8 cubits.

The only building at Jerusalem whose construction throws any light on this subject is the House of the Forest of Lebanon. [PALACE.] There the pillars were an inconvenience, as the purposes of the hall were state and festivity; but though the pillars in the palace had nothing to support above the roof, they were speced probably 10, certainly not more than 12½, cubits apart. If Solomon had been able to roof a claar space of 20 cubits, he certainly would not have neglected to do it there.

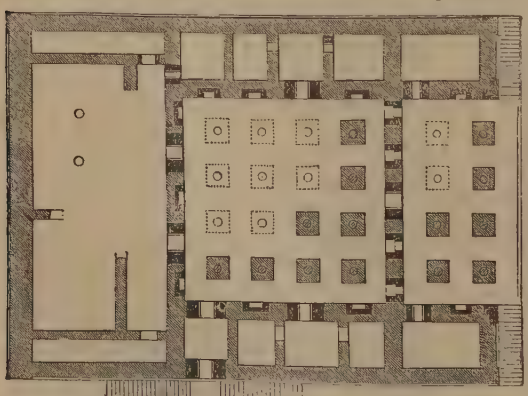
At Persepolis there is a small building, called the Palace or Temple of Darius (Woodcut No. 9), which more closely resembles the Jewish Temple than any other building we are acquainted with. It has a porch, a central hall, an adytum—the plan of which cannot now be made out—and a range of small chambers on either side. The principal difference is that it has four pillars in its porch instead of two, and consequently four rows in its interior hall instead of half that number, as suggested above. All the buildings at Persepolis have their floors equally crowded with pillars, and, as there is no doubt but that they borrowed this peculiarity from Nineveh, there seems no *à priori* reason why Solomon should not have adopted this expedient to get over what otherwise would seem an insuperable constructive difficulty.

The question, in fact, is very much the same that met us in discussing the construction of the Tabernacle. No internal supports to the roofs of either of these buildings are mentioned anywhere. But the difficulties of construction without them would have been so enormous, and their introduction so usual and so entirely unobjectionable, that we can hardly understand their not being employed. Either building was possible without them, but certainly neither in the least degree probable.

It may perhaps add something to the probability of their arrangement to mention that the ten bases for the lavers which Solomon made would stand one within each inter-column on either hand, where they would be beautiful and appropriate ornaments. Without some such accentuation of the space, it seems difficult to understand what they were, and why ten.

Chambers.—The only other feature which remains to be noticed is the application of three tiers of small chambers to the walls of the Temple externally on all sides, except that of the entrance. Though not expressly so stated, these were a sort of monastery, appropriated to the residence of the priests who were either permanently or in turn devoted to the service of the Temple. The lowest storey was only 5 cubits in width, the next 6, and the upper 7, allowing an offset of 1 cubit on the side of the Temple, or of 9 inches on each side, on which the flooring joists rested, so as not to cut into the walls of the Temple. Assuming the wall of the Temple at the level of the upper chambers to have been 2 cubits thick, and the outer wall one—it could not well have been less—this would exactly make up the duplication of the dimension found as before mentioned for the verandah of the Tabernacle.

It is, again, only at Persepolis that we find anything at all analogous to this; but in the plan last quoted as that of the Palace of Darius, we find a similar range on either hand. The palace of Xerxes possesses this feature also; but in the great hall there, and its counterpart at Susa, the place of these chambers is supplanted by lateral porticoes outside the walls that surrounded the central phalanx of pillars. Unfortunately our knowledge of Assyrian Temple architecture is too limited to enable us to say whether this feature was common elsewhere, and though something very like it occurs in Buddhist Viharas in India, these latter are comparatively so modern that their disposition hardly bears on the inquiry.



No. 9.—Palace of Darius at Persepolis Scale of 50 feet to 1 inch.

Outer Court.—The enclosure of the Temple consisted, according to the Bible (1 K. vi. 36), of a low wall of three courses of stones and a row of cedar beams, both probably highly ornamented. As it is more than probable that the same duplication of dimensions

took place in this as in all the other features of the Tabernacle, we may safely assume that it was 10 cubits, or 15 feet, in height, and almost certainly 100 cubits north and south, and 200 east and west.

There is no mention in the Bible of any porticoes or gateways or any architectural ornaments of this enclosure, for though names which were afterwards transferred to the gates of the Temple do occur in 1 Chr. ix., xxiv., and xxvi., this was before the Temple itself was built; and although Josephus does mention such, it must be recollected that he was writing five centuries after its total destruction, and he was too apt to confound the past and the present in his descriptions of buildings which did not then exist. There was an eastern porch to Herod's Temple, which was called Solomon's Porch, and Josephus tells us that it was built by that monarch; but of this there is absolutely no proof, and as neither in the account of Solomon's building nor in any subsequent repairs or incidents is any mention made of such buildings, we may safely conclude that they did not exist before the time of the great rebuilding immediately preceding the Christian era.

Temple of Zerubbabel.

We have very few particulars regarding the Temple which the Jews erected after their return from the Captivity (cir. 520 B.C.), and no description that would enable us to realize its appearance. But there are some dimensions given in the Bible and elsewhere which are extremely interesting as affording points of comparison between it and the Temples which preceded it, or were erected after it.

The first and most authentic are those given in the Book of Ezra (vi. 3), when quoting the decree of Cyrus, wherein it is said, "Let the house be builded, the place where they offered sacrifices, and let the foundations thereof be strongly laid; the height thereof threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof threescore cubits, with three rows of great stones and a row of new timber." Josephus quotes this passage almost literally (xi. 4, §6), but in doing so enables us with certainty to translate the word here called *Row* as "Storey" (δόμος)—as indeed the sense would lead us to infer—for it could only apply to the three storeys of chambers that surrounded Solomon's, and afterward's Herod's Temple, and with this again we come to the wooden Talar which surmounted the Temple and formed a fourth storey. It may be remarked in passing, that this dimension of 60 cubits in height accords perfectly with the words which Josephus puts into the mouth of Herod (xv. 11, §1) when he makes him say that the Temple built after the Captivity wanted 60 cubits of the height of that of Solomon. For as he had adopted, as we have seen above, the height of 120 cubits, as written in the Chronicles, for that Temple, this one remained only 60.

The other dimension of 60 cubits in breadth, is 20 cubits in excess of that of Solomon's Temple, but there is no reason to doubt its correctness, for we find both from Josephus and the Talmud that it was the dimension adopted for the Temple when rebuilt, or rather repaired by Herod. At the same time we have no authority for assuming that any increase was made in the dimensions of either the Holy Place or the Holy of Holies, since we find that these were retained in Ezekiel's description of an ideal Temple—and were afterwards those of Herod's. And as this Temple of Zerubbabel was still standing in Herod's time, and was more strictly speaking repaired than rebuilt by him, we cannot conceive that any of its dimensions were then diminished. We are left therefore with the alternative of assuming that the porch and the chambers all round were 20 cubits in width, including the thickness of the walls, instead of 10 cubits, as in the earlier building. This may perhaps to some extent be accounted for by the introduction of a passage between the Temple and the rooms of the priest's lodgings instead of each being a thoroughfare, as must certainly have been the case in Solomon's Temple.

This alteration in the width of the Pteromata made the Temple 100 cubits in length by 60 in breadth, with a height, it is said, of 60 cubits, including the upper room or Talar, though we cannot help suspecting that this last dimension is somewhat in excess of the truth.[d]

The only other description of this Temple is found in Hecataeus the Abderite, who wrote shortly after the death of Alexander the Great. As quoted by Josephus (*cont. Ap.* i. 22), he says, that "In Jerusalem towards the middle of the city is a stone walled enclosure about 500 feet in length (ὡς πεντάπλεθρος), and 100 cubits in width, with double gates," in which he describes the Temple as being situated.

The last dimension is exactly what we obtained above by doubling the width of the Tabernacle enclosure as applied to Solomon's Temple, and may therefore be accepted as tolerably certain, but the 500 feet in length exceeds anything we have yet reached by 200 feet. It may be that at this age it was found necessary to add a court for the women or the Gentiles, a sort of Narthex or Galilee for those who could not enter the Temple. If this or these together were 100 cubits square, it would make up the "nearly 5 plethra" of our author. Hecataeus also mentions that the altar was 20 cubits square and 10 high. And although he mentions the Temple itself, he unfortunately does not supply us with any dimensions.

From these dimensions we gather, that if "the Priests and Levites and Elders of families were disconsolate at seeing how much more sumptuous the old Temple was than the one which on account of their poverty they had just been able to erect" (Ezr. iii. 12; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 4, §2), it certainly was not because it was smaller, as almost every dimension had been increased one-third; but it may have been that the carving and the gold, and other ornaments of Solomon's Temple far surpassed this, and the pillars of the portico and the veils may all have been far more splendid, so also probably were the vessels; and all this is what a Jew would mourn over far more than mere architectural splendour. In speaking of these Temples we must always bear in mind that their dimensions were practically very far inferior to those of the Heathen. Even that of Ezra is not larger than an average parish church of the last century—Solomon's was smaller. It was the lavish display of the precious metals, the elaboration of carved ornament, and the beauty of the textile

[d] In recounting the events narrated by Ezra (x. 9), Josephus says (*Ant.* xi. 5, §4) that the assembly there referred to took place in the upper room, ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, which would be a very curious illustration of the use of that apartment if it could be depended upon, but both the Hebrew and LXX. are so clear that it was in the "street," or "place" of the Temple, that we cannot base any argument upon it, though it is curious as indicating what was passing in the mind of Josephus.

fabrics, which made up their splendour and rendered them so precious in the eyes of the people, and there can consequently be no greater mistake than to judge of them by the number of cubits they measured. They were Temples of a Shemitic, not of a Celtic people.

Temple of Ezekiel.

The vision of a Temple which the prophet Ezekiel saw while residing on the banks of the Chebar in Babylonia in the 25th year of the Captivity, does not add much to our knowledge of the subject. It is not a description of a Temple that ever was built or ever could be erected at Jerusalem, and can consequently only be considered as the *beau ideal* of what a Shemitic Temple ought to be. As such it would certainly be interesting if it could be correctly restored, but unfortunately the difficulties of making out a complicated plan from a mere verbal description are very great indeed, and are enhanced in this instance by our imperfect knowledge of the exact meaning of the Hebrew architectural terms, and it may also be from the prophet describing not what he actually knew, but only what he saw in a vision.

Be this as it may, we find that the Temple itself was of the exact dimensions of that built by Solomon, viz. an adytum (Ez. xl. 1-4), 20 cubits square, a naos, 20×40, and surrounded by cells of 10 cubits' width including the thickness of the walls, the whole, with the porch, making up 40 cubits by 80, or very little more than one four-thousandth part of the whole area of the Temple: the height unfortunately is not given. Beyond this were various courts and residences for the priests, and places for sacrifice and other ceremonies of the Temple, till he comes to the outer court, which measured 500 reeds on each of its sides; each reed (Ez. xl. 5) was 6 Babylonian cubits long, viz. of cubits each of one ordinary cubit and a handbreadth, or 21 inches. The reed was therefore 10 feet 6 inches, and the side consequently 5250 Greek feet, or within a few feet of an English mile, considerably more than the whole area of the city of Jerusalem, Temple included!

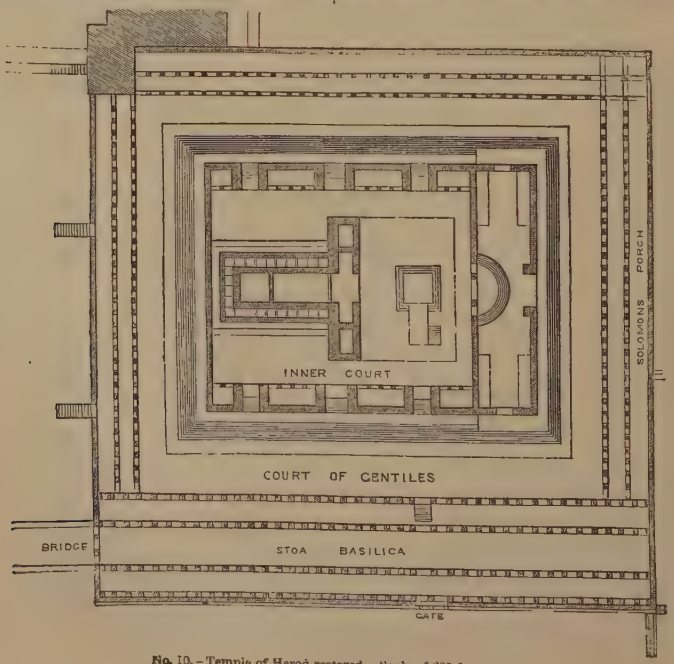
It has been attempted to get over this difficulty by saying that the prophet meant cubits, not reeds; but this is quite untenable. Nothing can be more clear than the specification of the length of the reed, and nothing more careful than the mode in which reeds are distinguished from cubits throughout; as for instance in the two next verses (6 and 7) where a chamber and a gateway are mentioned, each of one reed. If cubit were substituted, it would be nonsense.

Notwithstanding its ideal character, the whole is extremely curious, as showing what were the aspirations of the Jews in this direction, and how different they were from those of other nations; and it is interesting here, inasmuch as there can be little doubt but that the arrangements of Herod's Temple were in a great measure influenced by the description here given. The outer court, for instance, with its porticoes measuring 400 cubits each way, is an exact counterpart on a smaller scale of the outer court of Ezekiel's Temple, and is not found in either Solomon's or Zerubbabel's; and so too, evidently, are several of the internal arrangements.

Temple of Herod.

For our knowledge of the last and greatest of the Jewish Temples we are indebted almost wholly to the works of Josephus, with an occasional hint from the Talmud.

The Bible unfortunately contains nothing to assist the researches of the antiquary in this respect. With true Shemitic indifference to such objects, the writers of the New Testament do not furnish a single hint which would enable us to ascertain either what the situation or the dimensions of the



No. 10. – Temple of Herod restored. Scale of 200 feet to 1 inch.

Temple were, nor any characteristic feature of its architecture. But Josephus knew the spot personally, and his horizontal dimensions are so minutely accurate that we almost suspect he had before his eyes, when writing, some ground-plan of the building prepared in the quartermaster-general's department of Titus's army. They form a strange contrast with his dimensions in height, which, with scarcely an exception, can be shown to be exaggerated, generally doubled. As the buildings were all thrown down during the siege, it was impossible to convict him of error in respect to elevations, but as regards plan he seems always to have had a wholesome dread of the knowledge of those among whom he was living and writing.

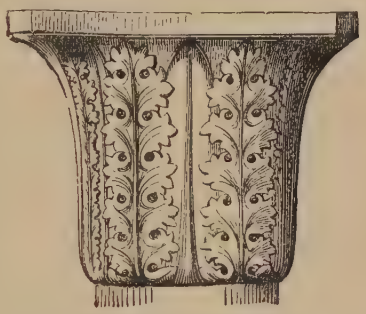
The Temple or naos itself was in dimensions and arrangement very similar to that of Solomon, or rather that of Zerubbabel—more like the latter; but this was surrounded by an inner enclosure of great strength and magnificence, measuring as nearly as can be made out 180 cubits by 240, and adorned by porches and ten gateways of great magnificence; and beyond this again was an outer enclosure measuring externally 400 cubits each way, which was adorned with porticoes of greater splendour than any we know of attached to any temple of the ancient world: all showing how strongly Roman influence was at work in enveloping with Heathen magnificence the simple templar arrangements of a Shemitic people, which, however, remained nearly unchanged amidst all this external incrustation.

It has already been pointed out [JERUSALEM, vol. i. pp. 1019-20] that the Temple was certainly situated in the S.W. angle of the area now known as the Haram area at Jerusalem, and it is hardly necessary to repeat here the arguments there adduced to prove that its dimensions were what Josephus states them to be, 400 cubits, or one stadium, each way.

At the time when Herod rebuilt it he enclosed a space "twice as large" as that before occupied by the Temple and its courts (*B. J.* i. 21, §1), an expression that probably must not be taken too literally, at least if we are to depend on the measurements of Hecataeus. According to them the whole area of Herod's Temple was between four and five times greater than that which preceded it. What Herod did apparently was to take in the whole space between the Temple and the city wall on its eastern side, and to add a considerable space on the north and south to support the porticoes which he added there.

As the Temple terrace thus became the principal defence of the city on the east side, there were no gates or openings in that direction,[e] and being situated on a sort of rocky brow—as evidenced from its appearance in the vaults that bound it on this side—it was at all future times considered unattackable from the eastward. The north side, too, where not covered by the fortress Antonia, became part of the defences of the city, and was likewise without external gates. But it may also have been that, as the tombs of the kings, and indeed the general cemetery of Jerusalem, were situated immediately to the northward of the Temple, there was some religious feeling in preventing too ready access from the Temple to the burying-places (Ez. xliii. 7-9).

On the south side, which was enclosed by the wall of Ophel, there were double gates nearly in the centre (*Ant.* xv. 11, §5). These gates still exist at a distance of about 365 feet from the south-western angle, and are perhaps the only architectural features of the Temple of Herod which remain *in situ*. This entrance consists of a double archway of Cyclopean architecture on the level of the ground, opening into a square vestibule measuring 40 feet each way. In the centre of this is a pillar crowned by a capital of the Greek—rather than Roman—Corinthian order (Woodcut No. 11); the acanthus alternating with the water-leaf, as in the Tower of the Winds at Athens, and other Greek examples, but which was an arrangement abandoned by the Romans as early as the time of Augustus, and never afterwards employed.[f] From this pillar spring four flat segmental arches, and the space between these



No. 11.—Capital of Pillar in Vestibule of southern entrance.

is roofed by flat domes, constructed apparently on the horizontal principle. The walls of this vestibule are of the same bevelled masonry as the exterior; but either at the time of erection or subsequently the projections seem to have been chiselled off in some parts so as to form pilasters. From this a double tunnel, nearly 200 feet in length, leads to a flight of steps which rise to the surface in the court of the Temple, exactly at that gateway of the inner Temple which led to the altar, and is the one of the four gateways on this side by which anyone arriving from Ophel would naturally wish to enter the inner enclosure. It seems to have been this necessity that led to the external gateway being placed a little more to the eastward than the exact centre of the enclosure, where naturally we should otherwise have looked for it.

We learn from the Talmud (*Mid.* ii. 6), that the gate of the inner Temple to which this passage led was called the "Water Gate;" and it is interesting to be able to identify a spot so prominent in the description of Nehemiah (xii. 37). The Water Gate is more often mentioned in the mediaeval references to the Temple than any other, especially by Mahomedan authors, though by them frequently confounded with the outer gate at the other end of this passage.

[e] The Talmud, it is true, does mention a gate as existing in the eastern wall, but its testimony on this point is so unsatisfactory and in such direct opposition to Josephus and the probabilities of the case, that it may safely be disregarded.

[f] Owing to the darkness of the place, blocked up as it now is, and the ruined state of the capital, it is not easy to get a correct delineation of it. This is to be regretted, as a considerable controversy has arisen as to its exact character. It may therefore be interesting to mention that the drawing made by the architectural draughtsman who accompanied M. Renan in his late scientific expedition to Syria confirms to the fullest extent the character of the architecture, as shown in the view given above from Mr. Arundale's drawing.

Towards the westward there were four gateways to the external enclosure of the Temple (*Ant.* xv. 11, §5), and the positions of three of these can still be traced with certainty. The first or most southern led over the bridge the remains of which were identified by Dr. Robinson (of which a view is given in art. JERUSALEM, vol. i. p. 1019), and joined the Stoa Basilica of the Temple with the royal palace (*Ant.* ib.). The second was that discovered by Dr. Barclay, 270 feet from the S.W. angle, at a level of 17 feet below that of the southern gates just described. The site of the third is so completely covered by the buildings of the Meckmé that it has not yet been seen, but it will be found between 200 and 250 feet from the N.W. angle of the Temple area; for, owing to the greater width of the southern portico beyond that on the northern, the Temple itself was not in the centre of its enclosure, but situated more towards the north. The fourth was that which led over the causeway which still exists at a distance of 600 feet from the south-western angle.

In the time of Solomon, and until the area was enlarged by Herod, the ascent from the western valley to the Temple seems to have been by an external flight of stairs (Neh. xii. 37; 1 K. x. 5, &c.), similar to those at Persepolis, and like them probably placed laterally so as to form a part of the architectural design. When, however, the Temple came to be fortified "modo arcis" (Tacit. *H.* v. 12), the causeway and the bridge were established to afford communication with the upper city, and the two intermediate lower entrances to lead to the lower city, or, as it was originally called, "the city of David."

Cloisters.—The most magnificent part of the Temple, in an architectural point of view, seems certainly to have been the cloisters which were added to the outer court when it was enlarged by Herod. It is not quite clear if there was not an eastern porch before this time, and if so, it may have been nearly on the site of that subsequently erected; but on the three other sides the Temple area was so extended at the last rebuilding that there can be no doubt but that from the very foundations the terrace walls and cloisters belonged wholly to the last period.

The cloisters in the west, north, and east side were composed of double rows of Corinthian columns, 25 cubits or 37 feet 6 inches in height (*B. J.* v. 5, §2) with flat roofs, and resting against the outer wall of the Temple. These, however, were immeasurably surpassed in magnificence by the royal porch or Stoa Basilica which overhung the southern wall. This is so minutely described by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 11, §5) that there is no difficulty in understanding its arrangement or ascertaining its dimensions. It consisted (in the language of Gothic architecture) of a nave and two aisles, that towards the Temple being open, that towards the country closed by a wall. The breadth of the centre aisle was 45 feet; of the side aisles 30 from centre to centre of the pillars; their height 50 feet, and that of the centre aisle 100 feet. Its section was thus something in excess of that of York Cathedral, while its total length was one stadium or 600 Greek feet, or 100 feet in excess of York, or our largest Gothic cathedrals. This magnificent structure was supported by 162 Corinthian columns, arranged in four rows, forty in each row—the two odd pillars forming apparently a screen at the end of the bridge leading to the palace, whose axis was coincident with that of the Stoa, which thus formed the principal entrance from the city and palace to the Temple.

At a short distance from the front of these cloisters was a marble screen or enclosure, 3 cubits in height, beautifully ornamented with carving, but bearing inscriptions in Greek and Roman characters forbidding any Gentile to pass within its boundaries. Again, at a short distance within this was a flight of steps supporting the terrace or platform on which the Temple itself stood. According to Josephus (*B. J.* v. 5, §2) this terrace was 15 cubits or 22½ feet high, and was approached first by fourteen steps, each we may assume about one foot in height, at the top of which was a berm or platform, 10 cubits wide, called the Chel; and there were again in the depth of the gateways five or six steps more leading to the inner court of the Temple, thus making 20 or 21 steps in the whole height of 22½ feet. To the eastward, where the court of the women was situated, this arrangement was reversed; five steps led to the Chel, and fifteen from that to the court of the Temple.

The court of the Temple, as mentioned above, was very nearly a square. It may have been exactly so, for we have not all the details to enable us to feel quite certain about it. The *Middoth* says it was 187 cubits E. and W., and 137 N. and S. (ii. 6). But on the two last sides there were the gateways with their exhedrae and chambers, which may have made up 25 cubits each way, though, with such measurements as we have, it appears they were something less.

To the eastward of this was the court of the women, the dimensions of which are not given by Josephus, but are in the *Middoth*, as 137 cubits square—a dimension we may safely reject, first, from the extreme improbability of the Jews allotting to the women a space more than ten times greater than that allotted to the men of Israel or to the Levites, whose courts, according to the same authority, were respectively 137 by 11 cubits; but, more than this, from the impossibility of finding room for such a court while adhering to the other dimensions given.[g] If we assume that the enclosure of the court of the Gentiles, or the Chel, was nearly equidistant on all four sides from the cloisters, its dimension must have been about 37 or 40 cubits east and west, most probably the former.

The great ornament of these inner courts seems to have been their gateways, the three especially on the north and south leading to the Temple court These, according to Josephus, were of great height, strongly fortified and ornamented with great elaboration. But the wonder of all was the great eastern gate leading from the court of the women to the upper court. This seems to have been the pride of the Temple area—covered with carving richly gilt, having apartments over it (*Ant.* xv. 11, §7), more like the Gopura[h] of an Indian temple than anything else we are acquainted with in archi-

[g] It does not appear difficult to account for this extraordinary excess The Rabbis adopted the sacred number of Ezekiel of 500 for their external dimensions of the Temple, without caring much whether it meant reeds or cubits, and though the commentators say that they only meant the smaller cubit of 15 inches, or 625 feet in all, this explanation will not hold good, as all their other measurements agree so closely with those of Josephus that they evidently were using the same cubit of 18 inches. The fact seems to be, that having erroneously adopted 500 cubits instead of 400 for the external dimensions, they had 100 cubits to spare, and introduced them where no authority existed to show they were wrong

[h] *Handbook of Architecture*, p. 93 et seq.

tecture. It was also in all probability the one called the "Beautiful Gate" in the New Testament.

Immediately within this gateway stood the altar of burnt-offerings, according to Josephus (*B. J.* v. 5, §6), 50 cubits square and 15 cubits high, with an ascent to it by an inclined plane. The Talmud reduces this dimension to 32 cubits (*Middoth*, iii. 1), and adds a number of particulars, which make it appear that it must have been like a model of the Babylonian or other Assyrian temples. On the north side were the rings and stakes to which the victims were attached which were brought in to be sacrificed; and to the south an inclined plane led down, as before mentioned, to the Water Gate—so called because immediately in front of it was the great cistern excavated in the rock, first explored and described by Dr. Barclay (*City of the Great King*, p. 526), from which water was supplied to the Altar and the Temple. And a little beyond this, at the S.W. angle of the Altar was an opening (*Middoth*, iii. 3), through which the blood of the victims flowed[i] westward and southward to the king's garden at Siloam.

Both the Altar and the Temple were enclosed by a low parapet one cubit in height, placed so as to keep the people separate from the priests while the latter were performing their functions.

Within this last enclosure towards the westward stood the Temple itself. As before mentioned, its internal dimensions were the same as those of the Temple of Solomon, or of that seen by the Prophet in a vision, viz. 20 cubits or 30 feet, by 60 cubits or 90 feet, divided into a cubical Holy of Holies, and a holy place of 2 cubes; and there is no reason whatever for doubting but that the Sanctuary always stood on the identically same spot in which it had been placed by Solomon a thousand years before it was rebuilt by Herod.

Although the internal dimensions remained the same, there seems no reason to doubt but that the whole plan was augmented by the Pteromata or surrounding parts being increased from 10 to 20 cubits, so that the third Temple like the second, measured 60 cubits across, and 100 cubits east and west. The width of the façade was also augmented by wings or shoulders (*B. J.* v. 5, §4) projecting 20 cubits each way, making the whole breadth 100 cubits, or equal to the length. So far all seems certain, but when we come to the height, every measurement seems doubtful. Both Josephus and the Talmud seem delighted with the truly Jewish idea of a building which, without being a cube, was 100 cubits long, 100 broad, and 100 high—and everything seems to be made to bend to this simple ratio of proportion. It may also be partly owing to the difficulty of ascertaining heights as compared with horizontal dimensions, and the tendency that always exists to exaggerate these latter, that may have led to some confusion, but from whatever cause it arose, it is almost impossible to believe that the dimensions of the Temple as regards height, were what they were asserted to be by Josephus, and specified with such minute detail in the *Middoth* (iv. 6). This authority makes the height of the floor 6, of the hall 40 cubits; the roofing 5 cubits in thickness; then the coenaculum or upper room 40, and the roof, parapet, &c., 9!—all the parts being named with the most detailed particularity.

As the Adytum was certainly not more than 20 cubits high, the first 40 looks very like a duplication, and so does the second; for a room 20 cubits wide and 40 high is so absurd a proportion that it is impossible to accept it. In fact, we cannot help suspecting that in this instance Josephus was guilty of systematically doubling the altitude of the building he was describing, as it can be proved he did in some other instances.[k]

From the above it would appear, that in so far as the horizontal dimensions of the various parts of this celebrated building, or their arrangement in plan is concerned, we can restore every part with very tolerable certainty; and there does not appear either to be very much doubt as to their real height. But when we turn from actual measurement and try to realize its appearance or the details of its architecture, we launch into a sea of conjecture with very little indeed to guide us, at least in regard to the appearance of the Temple itself.

We know, however, that the cloisters of the outer court were of the Corinthian order, and from the appearance of nearly contemporary cloisters at Palmyra and Baalbec we can judge of their effect. There are also in the Haram area at Jerusalem a number of pillars which once belonged to these colonnades, and so soon as any one will take the trouble to measure and draw them, we may restore the cloisters at all events with almost absolute certainty.

We may also realize very nearly the general appearance of the inner fortified enclosure with its gates and their accompaniments, and we can also restore the Altar, but when we turn to the Temple itself, all is guess work. Still the speculation is so interesting, that it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding it.

In the first place we are told (*Ant.* xv. 11, §5) that the priests built the Temple itself in eighteen months, while it took Herod eight years to complete his part, and as only priests apparently were employed, we may fairly assume that it was not a rebuilding, but only a repair—it may be with additions—which they undertook. We know also from Maccabees, and from the unwillingness of the priests to allow Herod to undertake the rebuilding at all that the Temple, though at one time desecrated was never destroyed; so we may fairly assume that a great part of the Temple of Zerubbabel was still standing, and was incorporated in the new.

Whatever may have been the case with the Temple of Solomon, it is nearly certain that the style of the second Temple must have been identical with that of the buildings we are so familiar with at Persepolis

[i] A channel exactly corresponding to that described in the Talmud has been discovered by Signor Pierotti, running towards the *south-west*. In his published accounts he mistakes it for one flowing *north-east*, in direct contradiction to the Talmud, which is our only authority on the subject.

[k] As it is not easy always to realize figured dimensions, it may assist those who are not in the habit of doing so to state that the western façade and nave of Lincoln Cathedral are nearly the same as those of Herod's Temple. Thus the façade with its shoulders is about 100 cubits wide. The nave is 60 cubits wide and 60 high, and if you divide the aisle into three storeys you can have a correct idea of the chambers; and if the nave with its clerestory were divided by a floor, they would correctly represent the dimensions of the Temple and its upper rooms. The nave, however, to the transept, is considerably more than 100 cubits long, while the façade is only between 50 and 60 cubits high. Those, therefore, who adhere to the written text, must double its height in imagination to realize its appearance, but my own conviction is that the Temple was not higher in reality than the façade of the cathedral.

and Susa. In fact the Woodcut No. 6 correctly represents the second Temple in so far as its details are concerned; for we must not be led away with the modern idea that different people built in different styles, which they kept distinct and practised only within their own narrow limits. The Jews were too closely connected with the Persians and Babylonians at this period to know of any other style, and in fact their Temple was built under the superintendence of the very parties who were erecting the contemporary edifices at Persepolis and Susa.

The question still remains how much of this building or of its details were retained, or how much of Roman feeling added. We may at once dismiss the idea that anything was borrowed from Egypt. That country had no influence at this period beyond the limits of her own narrow valley, and we cannot trace one vestige of her taste or feeling in anything found in Syria at or about this epoch.

Turning to the building itself, we find that the only things that were added at this period were the wings to the façade, and it may consequently be surmised that the façade was entirely remodelled at this time, especially as we find in the centre a great arch, which was a very Roman feature, and very unlike anything we know of as existing before. This, Josephus says, was 25 cubits wide and 70 high, which is so monstrous in proportion, and, being wider than the Temple itself, so unlikely, that it may safely be rejected, and we may adopt in its stead the more moderate dimensions of the *Middoth* (iii. 7), which makes it 20 cubits wide by 40 high, which is not only more in accordance with the dimensions of the building, but also with the proportions of Roman architecture. This arch occupied the centre, and may easily be restored; but what is to be done with the 37 cubits on either hand? Were they plain like an unfinished Egyptian propylon, or covered with ornament like an Indian Gopura? My own impression is that the façade on either hand was covered with a series of small arches and panels four storeys in height, and more like the Tâk Kesra at Ctesiphon[m] than any other building now existing. It is true that nearly five centuries elapsed between the destruction of the one building and the erection of the other. But Herod's Temple was not the last of its race, nor was Nushirvan's the first of its class, and its pointed arches and clumsy details show just such a degradation of style as we should expect from the interval which had elapsed between them. We know so little of the architecture of this part of Asia that it is impossible to speak with certainty on such a subject, but we may yet recover many of the lost links which connect the one with the other, and so restore the earlier examples with at least proximate certainty.

Whatever the exact appearance of its details may have been, it may safely be asserted that the triple Temple of Jerusalem—the lower court, standing on its magnificent terraces—the inner court, raised on its platform in the centre of this—and the Temple itself, rising out of this group and crowning the whole—must have formed, when combined with the beauty of its situation, one of the most splendid architectural combinations of the ancient world. [J. F.]

TEN COMMANDMENTS. (1.) The popular name in this, as in so many instances, is not that of Scripture. There we have the "ten words" (עֲשֶׂרֶת הַדְּבָרִים; τὰ δέκα ῥήματα; *verba decem*), not the Ten Commandments (Ex. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13, x. 4, Heb.). The difference is not altogether an unmeaning one. The *word* of God, the "word of the Lord," the constantly recurring term for the fullest revelation, was higher than any phrase expressing merely a command, and carried with it more the idea of a self-fulfilling power. If on the one side there was the special contrast to which our Lord refers between the commandments of God and the traditions of men (Matt. xv. 3), the arrogance of the Rabbis showed itself, on the other, in placing the *words* of the Scribes on the same level as the *words* of God. [Comp. SCRIBES.] Nowhere in the later books of the O. T. is any direct reference made to their number. The treatise of Philo, however, περὶ τῶν δέκα λογίων, shows that it had fixed itself on the Jewish mind, and later still, it gave occasion to the formation of a new word ("The Decalogue" ἡ δεκάλογος, first in Clem. Al. *Paed.* iii. 12), which has perpetuated itself in modern languages. Other names are even more significant. These, and these alone, are "the words of the covenant," the unchanging ground of the union between Jehovah and His people, all else being as a superstructure, accessory and subordinate (Ex. xxxiv. 28). They are also the Tables of Testimony, sometimes simply "*the* testimony," the witness to men of the Divine will, righteous itself, demanding righteousness in man (Ex. xxv. 16, xxxi. 18, &c.). It is by virtue of their presence in it that the Ark becomes, in its turn, the Ark of the Covenant (Num. x. 33, &c.), that the sacred tent became the Tabernacle of Witness, of Testimony (Ex. xxxviii. 21, &c.). [TABERNACLE.] They remain there, throughout the glory of the kingdom, the primeval relics of a hoar antiquity (1 K. viii. 9), their material, the writing on them, the sharp incisive character of the laws themselves presenting a striking contrast to the more expanded teaching of a later time. Not less did the commandments themselves speak of the earlier age when not the silver and the gold, but the ox and the ass were the great representatives of wealth[a] (comp. 1 Sam. xii. 3).

(2.) The circumstances in which the Ten great *Words* were first given to the people, surrounded them with an awe which attached to no other precept. In the midst of the cloud, and the darkness, and the flashing lightning, and the fiery smoke, and the thunder, like the voice of a trumpet, Moses was called to receive the Law without which the people would cease to be a holy nation. Here, as elsewhere, Scripture unites two facts which men separate. God, and not man, was speaking to the Israelites in those terrors, and yet in the language of later inspired teachers, other instrumentality was not excluded.[b] The law was "ordained by angels" (Gal.

[m] *Handbook of Architecture*, p. 375.

[a] Ewald is disposed to think that even in the form in which we have the Commandments there are some additions made at a later period, and that the second and the fourth commandments were originally as briefly imperative as the sixth or seventh (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. 206). The difference between the reason given in Ex. xx. 11 for the fourth commandment, and that stated to have been given in Deut. v. 15, makes, perhaps, such a conjecture possible.

Scholia which modern annotators put into the margin are in the existing state of the O. T. incorporated into the text. Obviously both forms could not have appeared written on the Two Tables of Stone, yet Deut. v. 15, 22 not only states a different reason, but affirms that "all these words" were thus written. Keil (*Comm. on Ex.* xx.) seems on this point disposed to agree with Ewald.

[b] Buxtorf, it is true, asserts that Jewish interpreters with hardly an exception, maintain that "Deum verba

iii. 19), "spoken by angels" (Heb. ii. 2), received as the ordinance of angels (Acts vii. 53). The agency of those whom the thoughts of the Psalmist connected with the winds and the flaming fire (Ps. civ. 4; Heb. i. 7) was present also on Sinai. And the part of Moses himself was, as the language of St. Paul (Gal. iii. 19) affirms, that of "a mediator." He stood "between" the people and the Lord, "to show them the word of the Lord" (Deut. v. 5), while they stood afar off, to give form and distinctness to what would else have been terrible and overwhelming. The "*voice* of the Lord" which they heard in the thunderings and the sound of the trumpet, "full of majesty," "dividing the flames of fire" (Ps. xxix. 3-9), was for him a Divine *word*, the testimony of an Eternal will, just as in the parallel instance of John xii. 29, a like testimony led some to say, "it thundered," while others received the witness. No other words were proclaimed in like manner. The people shrank even from this nearness to the awful presence, even from the very echoes of the Divine voice. And the record was as exceptional as the original revelation. Of no other words could it be said that they were written as these were written, engraved on the Tables of Stone, not as originating in man's contrivance or sagacity, but by the power of the Eternal Spirit, by the "finger of God" (Ex. xxxi. 18, xxxii. 16; comp. note on TABERNACLE).

(3.) The number Ten was, we can hardly doubt, itself significant to Moses and the Israelites. The received symbol, then and at all times, of completeness (Bähr, *Symbolik*, i. 175-183), it taught the people that the Law of Jehovah was perfect (Ps. xix. 7). The fact that they were written not on one, but on two tables, probably in two groups of five each (*infra*), taught men (though with some variations from the classification of later ethics) the great division of duties towards God, and duties towards our neighbour, which we recognise as the groundwork of every true Moral system. It taught them also, five being the symbol of imperfection (Bähr, i. 183-187), how incomplete each set of duties would be when divorced from its companion. The recurrence of these numbers in the Pentateuch is at once frequent and striking. Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. 212-217) has shown by a large induction how continually laws and precepts meet us in groups of five or ten. The numbers, it will be remembered, meet us again as the basis of all the proportions of the Tabernacle. [TEMPLE.] It would show an ignorance of all modes of Hebrew thought to exclude this symbolic aspect. We need not, however, shut out altogether that which some writers (*e. g.* Grotius, *De Decal.* p. 36) have substituted for it, the connexion of the Ten Words with a decimal system of numeration, with the ten fingers on which a man counts. Words which were to be the rule of life for the poor as well as the learned, the groundwork of education for all children, might well be connected with the simplest facts and processes in man's mental growth, and thus stamped more indelibly on the memory.[c]

(4.) In what way the Ten Commandments were to be divided has, however, been a matter of much controversy. At least four distinct arrangements present themselves.

(*a.*) In the received teaching of the Latin Church resting on that of St. Augustine (*Qu.* in *Ex.* 71, *Ep. ad Januar.* c. xi., *De Decal.* &c., &c.) the first Table contained three commandments, the second the other seven. Partly on mystical grounds, because the Tables thus symbolized the Trinity of Divine Persons, and the Eternal Sabbath, partly as seeing in it a true ethical division, he adopted this classification. It involved, however, and in part proceeded from an alteration in the received arrangement. What we know as the first and second were united, and consequently the Sabbath law appeared at the close of the First Table as the third, not as the fourth commandment. The completeness of the number was restored in the Second Table by making a separate (the ninth) command of the precept, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," which with us forms part of the tenth. It is an almost fatal objection to this order that in the First Table it confounds, where it ought to distinguish, the two sins of polytheism and idolatry; and that in the Second it introduces an arbitrary and meaningless distinction. The later theology of the Church of Rome apparently adopted it as seeming to prohibit image-worship only so far as it accompanied the acknowledgment of another God (*Catech. Trident.* iii. 2, 20).

(*b.*) The familiar division, referring the first four to our duty towards God, and the six remaining to our duty towards man, is, on ethical grounds, simple and natural enough. If it is not altogether satisfying, it is because it fails to recognise the symmetry which gives to the number five so great a prominence, and, perhaps also, because it looks on the duty of the fifth commandment from the point of view of modern ethics rather than from that of the ancient Israelites, and the first disciples of Christ (*infra*).

(*c.*) A modification of (*a.*) has been adopted by later Jewish writers (Jonathan ben Uzziel, Aben Ezra, Moses ben Nachman, in Suicer, *Thes.* s. v. δεκάλογος). Retaining the combination of the first and second commandments of the common order, they have made a new "word" of the opening declaration, "I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage," and so have avoided the necessity of the subdivision of the tenth. The objection to this division is, (1) that it rests on no adequate authority, and (2) that it turns into a single precept what is evidently given as the groundwork of the whole body of laws.

(*d.*) Rejecting these three, there remains that recognised by the older Jewish writers, Josephus (iii. 6, §6) and Philo (*De Decal.* i.), and supported ably and thoughtfully by Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. 208), which places five commandments in each Table; and thus preserves the *pentad* and *decad* grouping which pervades the whole code. A modern jurist would perhaps object that this places the fifth commandment in a wrong position, that a duty to parents is a duty towards our neighbour. From the Jewish point of view, it is believed, the place thus given to that commandment

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Decalogi per se immediate locutum esse" (*Diss. de Decal.*). The language of Josephus, however (*Ant.* xv. 5, §3), not less than that of the N. T., shows that at one time the traditions of the Jewish schools pointed to the opposite conclusion.

[c] Bähr absorbed in symbolism, has nothing for this natural suggestion but two notes of admiration (!!). The analogy of Ten Great Commandments in the moral law of Buddhism might have shown him how naturally men crave for a number that thus helps them. A true system was as little likely to ignore the natural craving as a false. (Comp note in Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* ii. 207.)

was essentially the right one. Instead of duties towards God, and duties towards our neighbours, we must think of the First Table as containing all that belonged to the Εὐσέβεια of the Greeks, to the *Pietas* of the Romans, duties *i. e.* with no corresponding rights, while the Second deals with duties which involve rights, and come therefore under the head of *Justitia*. The duty of honouring, *i. e.* supporting, parents came under the former head. As soon as the son was capable of it, and the parents required it, it was an absolute, unconditional duty. His right to any maintenance from them had ceased. He owed them reverence, as he owed it to his Father in heaven (Heb. xii. 9). He was to show piety (εὐσεβεῖν) to them (1 Tim. v. 4). What made the "Corban" casuistry of the Scribes so specially evil was, that it was, in this way, a sin against the piety of the First Table, not merely against the lower obligations of the second (Mark vii. 11; comp. PIETY). It at least harmonises with this division that the second, third, fourth, and fifth commandments, all stand on the same footing as having special sanctions attaching to them, while the others that follow are left in their simplicity by themselves, as though the reciprocity of rights were in itself a sufficient ground for obedience.[d]

(5.) To these Ten Commandments we find in the Samaritan Pentateuch an eleventh added:—"But when the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into the land of Canaan, whither thou goest to possess it, thou shalt set thee up two great stones, and shalt plaister them with plaister, and shalt write upon these stones all the words of this Law. Moreover, after thou shalt have passed over Jordan, thou shalt set up those stones which I command thee this day, on Mount Gerizim, and thou shalt build there an altar to the Lord thy God, an altar of stones: thou shalt not lift up any iron thereon. Of unhewn stones shalt thou build that altar to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt offer on it burnt-offerings to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt sacrifice peace-offerings, and shalt eat them there, and thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God in that mountain beyond Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanite that dwelleth in the plain country over against Gilgal, by the oak of Moreh, towards Sichem" (Walton, (*Bibl. Polyglott.*). In the absence of any direct evidence we can only guess as to the history of this remarkable addition. (1.) It will be seen that the whole passage is made up of two which are found in the Hebrew text of Deut. xxvii. 2-7, and xi. 30, with the *substitution*, in the former, of Gerizim for Ebal. (2.) In the absence of confirmation from any other version, Ebal must, as far as textual criticism is concerned, be looked upon as the true reading, Gerizim as a falsification, casual or deliberate, of the text. (3.) Probably the choice of Gerizim as the site of the Samaritan temple was determined by the fact that it had been the Mount of Blessings, Ebal that of Curses. Possibly, as Walton suggests (*Prolegom.* c. xi.), the difficulty of understanding how the latter should have been chosen instead of the former, as a place for sacrifice and offering, may have led them to look on the reading Ebal as erroneous. They were unwilling to expose themselves to the taunts of their Judæan enemies by building a temple on the Hill of Curses. They would claim the inheritance of the blessings. They would set the authority of their text against that of the scribes of the Great Synagogue. One was as likely to be accepted as the other. The "Hebrew verity" was not then acknowledged as it has been since. (4.) In other repetitions or transfers in the Samaritan Pentateuch we may perhaps admit the plea which Walton makes in its behalf (*l. c.*), that in the first formation of the Pentateuch as a Codex, the transcribers had a large number of separate documents to copy, and that consequently much was left to the discretion of the individual scribe. Here, however, that excuse is hardly admissible. The interpolation has every mark of being a bold attempt to claim for the schismatic worship on Gerizim the solemn sanction of the voice on Sinai, to place it on the same footing as the Ten great Words of God. The guilt of the interpolation belonged of course only to the first contrivers of it. The later Samaritans might easily come to look on their text as the true one, on that of the Jews as corrupted by a fraudulent omission. It is to the credit of the Jewish scribes that they were not tempted to retaliate, and that their reverence for the sacred records prevented them from suppressing the history which connected the rival sanctuary with the blessings of Gerizim.

(6.) The treatment of the Ten Commandments in the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel is not without interest. There, as noticed above, the first and second commandments are united, to make up the second, and the words "I am the Lord thy God," &c., are given as the first. More remarkable is the addition of a distinct reason for the last five commandments no less than for the first five. "Thou shalt commit no murder, for because of the sins of murderers the sword goeth forth upon the world." So in like manner, and with the same formula, "death goeth forth upon the world" as the punishment of adultery, famine as that of theft, drought as that of false witness, invasion, plunder, captivity as that of covetousness (Walton, *Bibl. Polyglott.*).

(7.) The absence of any distinct reference to the Ten Commandments as such in the *Pirke Aboth* (=Maxims of the Fathers) is both strange and significant. One chapter (ch. v.) is expressly given to an enumeration of all the Scriptural facts which may be grouped in decades, the ten words of Creation, the ten generations from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham, the ten trials of Abraham, the ten plagues of Egypt, and the like, but the ten divine words find no place in the list. With all their ostentation of profound reverence for the Law, the teaching of the Rabbis turned on other points than the great laws of duty. In this way, as in others, they made void the commandments of God that they might keep their own traditions.—Compare Stanley, *Jewish Church*, Lect. vii., in illustration of many of the points here noticed. [E. H. P.]

TENT.[a] Among the leading characteristics of

[d] A further confirmation of the truth of this division is found in Rom. xiii. 9. St. Paul, summing up the duties "briefly comprehended" in the one great Law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," enumerates the last five commandments, but makes no mention of the fifth.

[a] 1. אֹהֶל; οἶκος, σκηνή; *tabernaculum*, *tentorium*; often in A. V. "tabernacle."

2. מִשְׁכָּן; σκηνή; *tentorium*; opposed to בַּיִת, "house."

3. סֻכָּה (*succah*), only once "tent" (2 Sam. xi. 11).

4. קֻבָּה; κάμινος; *vupanar*; Arab. قُبَّة whence with art. prefixed, comes *alcoba* (Span.) and "alcove" (Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 30): only once used (Num. xxv. 8).

Arab Tent (Layard)

the nomade races, those two have always been numbered, whose origin has been ascribed to Jabal the son of Lamech (Gen. iv. 20), viz., to be tent-dwellers and keepers of cattle. The same may be said of the forefathers of the Hebrew race; nor was it until the return into Canaan from Egypt that the Hebrews became inhabitants of cities, and it may be remarked that the tradition of tent-usage survived for many years later in the Tabernacle of Shiloh, which consisted, as many Arab tents still consist, of a walled enclosure covered with curtains (Mishna, *Zebachim*, xiv. 6; Stanley, *S. and P.* p. 233). Among tent-dwellers of the present day must be reckoned, (1.) the great Mongol and Tartar hordes of central Asia, whose tent-dwellings are sometimes of gigantic dimensions, and who exhibit more contrivance both in the dwellings themselves and in their method of transporting them from place to place than is the case with the Arab races (Marco Polo, *Trav.* p. 128, 135, 211, ed. Bohn; Hor. 3 *Od.* xxiv. 10; Gibbon, c. xxvi., vol. iii. p. 298, ed. Smith). (2.) The Bedouin Arab tribes, who inhabit tents which are probably constructed on the same plan as those which were the dwelling-places of Abraham and of Jacob (Heb. xi. 9). A tent or pavilion on a magnificent scale, constructed for Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria, is described by Athenaeus, v. 196 foll.

An Arab tent is minutely described by Burckhardt. It is called *beit*, "house;" its covering consists of stuff, about three-quarters of a yard broad, made of black goats'-hair (Cant. i. 5; Shaw, *Trav.* p. 220), laid parallel with the tent's length. This is sufficient to resist the heaviest rain. The tent-poles, called *amúd*, or columns, are usually nine in number, placed in three groups, but many tents have only one pole, others two or three. The ropes which hold the tent in its place are fastened, not to the tent-cover itself, but to loops consisting of a leathern thong tied to the ends of a stick, round which is twisted a piece of old cloth, which is itself sewed to the tent-cover. The ends of the tent-ropes are fastened to short sticks or pins, called *wed* or *aoutad*, which are driven into the ground with a mallet (Judg. iv. 21). [PIN.] Round the back and sides of the tents runs a piece of stuff removable at pleasure to admit air. The tent is divided into two apartments, separated by a carpet partition drawn across the middle of the tent and fastened to the three middle posts. The men's apartment is usually on the right side on entering, and the women's on the left; but this usage varies in different tribes, and in the Mesopotamian tribes the contrary is the rule. Of the three side posts on the men's side, the first and third are called *yed* (hand); and the one in the middle is rather higher than the other two. Hooks are attached to these posts for hanging various articles (Gen. xviii. 10; Jud. xiii. 6; Niebuhr, *Voy.* i. 187; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 261). [PILLAR.] Few Arabs have more than one tent, unless the family be augmented by the families of a son or a deceased brother, or in case the wives disagree, when the master pitches a tent for one of them adjoining his own. The separate tents of Sarah, Leah, Rachel, Zilpah, and Bilhah, may thus have been either separate tents or apartments in the principal tent in each case (Gen. xxiv. 67, xxxi. 33). When the pasture near an encampment is exhausted, the tents are taken down, packed on camels and removed (Is. xxxviii. 12; Gen. xxvi. 17, 22, 25). The beauty of an Arab encampment is noticed by Shaw (*Trav.* p. 221; see Num. xxiv. 5). Those who cannot afford more complete tents, are content to hang a cloth from a tree by way of shelter. In choosing places for encampment, Arabs prefer the neighbourhood of trees, for the sake of the shade and coolness which they afford (Gen. xviii. 4, 8; Niebuhr, *l. c.*). In observing the directions of the Law respecting the feast of Tabernacles, the Rabbinical writers laid down as a distinction between the ordinary tent and the booth, *succah*, that the latter must in no case be covered by a cloth, but be restricted to boughs of trees as its shelter (*Succah*, i. 3). In hot weather the Arabs of Mesopotamia often strike their tents and betake themselves to sheds of reeds and grass on the bank of the river (Layard, *Nineveh*, i. 123; Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 37, 46; Volney, *Trav.* i. 398

Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 171, 175; Niebuhr, *Voy.* i. *l. c.*). [H. W. P.]

TE'RAH (תֶּרַח: Θάῤῥα, Θάρα in Josh.; Alex. Θάρα, exc. Gen. xi. 28: *Thare*). The father of Abram, Nahor, and Haran, and through them the ancestor of the great families of the Israelites, Ishmaelites, Midianites, Moabites, and Ammonites (Gen. xi. 24-32). The account given of him in the O. T. narrative is very brief. We learn from it simply that he was an idolater (Josh. xxiv. 2), that he dwelt beyond the Euphrates in Ur of the Chaldees (Gen. xi. 28), and that in the south-westerly migration, which from some unexplained cause he undertook in his old age, he went with his son Abram, his daughter-in-law Sarai, and his grandson Lot, "to go into the land of Canaan, and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there" (Gen. xi. 31). And finally, "the days of Terah were two hundred and five years: and Terah died in Haran" (Gen. xi. 32). In connexion with this last-mentioned event a chronological difficulty has arisen which may be noticed here. In the speech of Stephen (Acts vii. 4) it is said that the further migration of Abram from Haran to the land of Canaan did not take place till after his father's death. Now as Terah was 205 years old when he died, and Abram was 75 when he left Haran (Gen. xii. 4), it follows that, if the speech of Stephen be correct, at Abram's birth Terah must have been 130 years old; and therefore that the order of his sons—Abram, Nahor, Haran—given in Gen. xi. 26, 27, is not their order in point of age. [See LOT, 1438.] Lord Arthur Hervey says (*Geneal.* pp. 82, 83), "The difficulty is easily got over by supposing that Abram, though named first on account of his dignity, was not the eldest son, but probably the youngest of the three, born when his father was 130 years old—a supposition with which the marriage of Nahor with his elder brother Haran's daughter, Milcah, and the apparent nearness of age between Abram and Lot, and the three generations from Nahor to Rebecca corresponding to only two, from Abraham to Isaac, are in perfect harmony." From the simple facts of Terah's life recorded in the O. T. has been constructed the entire legend of Abram which is current in Jewish and Arabian traditions. Terah the idolater is turned into a maker of images, and "Ur of the Chaldees" is the original of the "furnace" into which Abram was cast (comp. Ez. v. 2). Rashi's note on Gen. xi. 28 is as follows:—"'In the presence of Terah his father:' in the lifetime of his father. And the Midrash Hagada says that he died beside his father, for Terah had complained of Abram his son, before Nimrod, that he had broken his images, and he cast him into a furnace of fire. And Haran was sitting and saying in his heart, If Abram overcome I am on his side, and if Nimrod overcome I am on his side. And when Abram was saved they said to Haran, On whose side art thou? He said to them, I am on Abram's side. So they cast him into the furnace of fire and he was burnt; and this is [what is meant by] *Ur Casdim* (Ur of the Chaldees)." In *Bereshith Rabba* (Par. 17) the story is told of Abraham being left to sell idols in his father's stead, which is repeated in Weil's *Biblical Legends*, p. 49. The whole legend depends upon the ambiguity of the word עָבַר, which signifies "to make" and "to serve or worship," so that Terah, who in the Biblical narrative is only a worshipper of idols, is in the Jewish tradition an image-maker; and about this single point the whole story has grown. It certainly was unknown to Josephus, who tells nothing of Terah, except that it was grief for the death of his son Haran that induced him to quit Ur of the Chaldees (*Ant.* i. 6, § 6).

In the Jewish traditions Terah is a prince and a great man in the palace of Nimrod (Jellinek, *Bet ham-Midrash*, p. 27), the captain of his army (*Sepher Hayyashar*), his son-in-law according to the Arabs (Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, p. 97). His wife is called in the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, fol. 91*a*) Amtelai, or Emtelai, the daughter of Carnebo. In the Book of the Jubilees she is called Edna, the daughter of Arem, or Aram; and by the Arabs Adna (D'Herbelot, art. *Abraham*; Beer, p. 97). According to D'Herbelot, the name of Abraham's father was Azar in the Arabic traditions, and Terah was his grandfather. Elmakin, quoted by Hottinger (*Smegma Orientale*, p. 281), says that, after the death of Yuna, Abraham's mother, Terah took another wife, who bare him Sarah. He adds that in the days of Terah the king of Babylon made war upon the country in which he dwelt, and that Hazrun, the brother of Terah, went out against him and slew him; and the kingdom of Babylon was transferred to Nineveh and Mosul. For all these traditions, see the Book of *Jashar*, and the works of Hottinger, D'Herbelot, Weil, and Beer above quoted. Philo (*De Somniis*) indulges in some strange speculations with regard to Terah's name and his migration. [W. A. W.]

TER'APHIM (תְּרָפִים: θεραφίν, τὸ θεραφείν, τὰ θεραφίν, κενοτάφια, εἴδωλα, γλυπτά, δῆλοι, ἀποφθεγγόμενοι: *theraphim, statua, idola, simulacra, figurae idolorum, ididolatria*), only in plural, images connected with magical rites. The subject of teraphim has been fully discussed in art. MAGIC (ii. 195-197), and it is therefore unnecessary here to do more than repeat the results there stated. The derivation of the name is obscure. In one case a single statue seems to be intended by the plural (1 Sam. xix. 13, 16). The teraphim carried away from Laban by Rachel do not seem to have been very small; and the image (if one be intended), hidden in David's bed by Michal to deceive Saul's messengers, was probably of the size of a man, and perhaps in the head and shoulders, if not lower, of human or like form; but David's sleeping-room may have been a mere cell without a window, opening from a large apartment, which would render it necessary to do no more than fill the bed. Laban regarded his teraphim as gods; and, as he was not ignorant of the true God, it would therefore appear that they were used by those who added corrupt practices to the patriarchal religion. Teraphim again are included among Micah's images, which were idolatrous objects connected with heretical corruptions rather than with heathen worship (Judg. xvii. 3-5, xviii. 17, 18, 20). Teraphim were consulted for oracular answers by the Israelites (Zech. x. 2; comp. Judg. xviii. 5, 6; 1 Sam. xv. 22, 23, xix. 13, 16, LXX.; and 2 K. xxiii. 24), and by the Babylonians, in the case of Nebuchadnezzar (Ez. xxi. 19-22). There is no evidence that they were ever worshipped. Though not frequently mentioned, we find they were used by the Israelites in the time of the Judges and of Saul, and until the reign of Josiah, who put them away

* The Sam. text and version make him 145, and so avoid this difficulty.

2 K. xxiii. 24, and apparently again after the Captivity (Zech. x. 2). [R. S. P.]

TER'ESH (תֶּרֶשׁ: om. in Vat. and Alex.; FA. third hand has Θάρας, Θάρρας: *Tharas*). One of the two eunuchs who kept the door of the palace of Ahasuerus, and whose plot to assassinate the king was discovered by Mordecai (Esth. ii. 21, vi. 2). He was hanged. Josephus calls him Theodestes (*Ant.* xi. 6, §4), and says that the conspiracy was detected by Barnabazus, a servant of one of the eunuchs, who was a Jew by birth, and who revealed it to Mordecai. According to Josephus, the conspirators were crucified.

TER'TIUS (Τέρτιος: *Tertius*) was the amanuensis of Paul in writing the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. xvi. 22). He was at Corinth, therefore, and Cenchreae, the port of Corinth, at the time when the Apostle wrote to the Church at Rome. It is noticeable that Tertius intercepts the message which Paul sends to the Roman Christians, and inserts a greeting of his own in the first person singular (ἀσπάζομαι ἐγὼ Τέρτιος). Both that circumstance and the frequency of the name among the Romans may indicate that Tertius was a Roman, and was known to those whom Paul salutes at the close of the letter. Secundus (Acts xx. 4) is another instance of the familiar usage of the Latin ordinals employed as proper names. The idle pedantry which would make him and Silas the same person because *tertius* and שְׁלִישִׁי mean the same in Latin and Hebrew, hardly deserves to be mentioned (see Wolf, *Curae Philologicae*, tom. iii. p. 295). In regard to the ancient practice of writing letters from dictation, see Becker's *Gallus*, p. 180. Nothing certain is known of Tertius apart from this passage in the Romans. No credit is due to the writers who speak of him as bishop of Iconium (see Fabricius, *Lux Evangelica*, p. 117). [H. B. H.]

TE'TA (Vat. omits; Alex. Ατητα: *Topa*). The form under which the name HATITA, one of the doorkeepers of the Temple, appears in the lists of 1 Esd. v. 28.

TERTUL'LUS (Τερτυλλος, a diminutive form from the Roman name *Tertius*, analogous to *Lucullus* from *Lucius*, *Fabullus* from *Fabius*, &c.), "a certain orator" (Acts xxiv. 1) who was retained by the High Priest and Sanhedrim to accuse the Apostle Paul at Caesarea before the Roman Procurator Antonius Felix. [PAUL.] He evidently belonged to the class of professional orators, multitudes of whom were to be found not only in Rome, but in other parts of the empire, to which they had betaken themselves in the hope of finding occupation at the tribunals of the provincial magistrates. Both from his name, and from the great probability that the proceedings were conducted in Latin (see especially Milman, *Bampton Lectures* for 1827, p. 185, *note*), we may infer that Tertullus was of Roman, or at all events of Italian origin. The Sanhedrim would naturally desire to secure his services on account of their own ignorance both of the Latin language and of the ordinary procedure of a Roman law-court.

The exordium of his speech is designed to conciliate the good will of the Procurator, and is accordingly overcharged with flattery. There is a strange contrast between the opening clause—πολλῆς εἰρήνης τυγχάνοντες διὰ σοῦ—and the brief summary of the Procurator's administration given by Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 9):—"Antonius Felix per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit" (comp. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 54). But the commendations of Tertullus were not altogether unfounded, as Felix had really succeeded in putting down several seditious movements. [FELIX.] It is not very easy to determine whether St. Luke has preserved the oration of Tertullus entire. On the one hand we have the elaborate and artificial opening, which can hardly be other than an accurate report of that part of the speech; and on the other hand we have a narrative which is so very dry and concise, that, if there were nothing more, it is not easy to see why the orator should have been called in at all. The difficulty is increased if, in accordance with the greatly preponderating weight of external authority, we omit the words in vers. 6-8, καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον . . , ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ σέ. On the whole it seems most natural to conclude that the historian, who was almost certainly an ear-witness, merely gives an abstract of the speech, giving however in full the most salient points, and those which had the most forcibly impressed themselves upon him, such as the exordium, and the character ascribed to St. Paul (ver. 5).

The doubtful reading in vers. 6-8, to which reference has already been made, seems likely to remain an unsolved difficulty. Against the external evidence there would be nothing to urge in favour of the disputed passage, were it not that the statement which remains after its removal is not merely extremely brief (its brevity may be accounted for in the manner already suggested), but abrupt and awkward in point of construction. It may be added that it is easier to refer παρ' οὗ (ver. 8) to the Tribune Lysias than to Paul. For arguments founded on the words καὶ κατὰ . . . κρίνειν (ver. 6)—arguments which are dependent on the genuineness of the disputed words—see Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*, b. i. ch. 2; Biscoe, *On the Acts*, ch. vi. §16.

We ought not to pass over without notice a strange etymology for the name Tertullus proposed by Calmet, in the place of which another has been suggested by his English editor (ed. 1830), who takes credit for having rejected "fanciful and improbable" etymologies, and substituted improvements of his own. Whether the suggestion is an improvement in this case the reader will judge:—"Tertullus, Τέρτυλλος, *liar, impostor*, from τερατολόγος, *a teller of stories, a cheat*. [Qy. was his true appellation *Ter-Tullius*, 'thrice Tully,' that is, extremely eloquent, varied by Jewish wit into Tertullus?]" [W. B. J.]

TESTAMENT, NEW. [NEW TESTAMENT.]

TESTAMENT, OLD. [OLD TESTAMENT.]

TETRARCH (τετράρχης). Properly the sovereign or governor of the fourth part of a country. On the use of the title in Thessaly, Galatia, and Syria, consult the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, "Tetrarcha," and the authorities there referred to. "In the later period of the republic and under the empire, the Romans seem to have used the title (as also those of *ethnarch* and *phylarch*) to designate those tributary princes who were not of sufficient importance to be called

kings." In the New Testament we meet with the designation, either actually or in the form of its derivative τετραρχεῖν, applied to three persons:—

(1.) Herod Antipas (Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 1, 19, ix. 7; Acts xiii. 1), who is commonly distinguished as "Herod the tetrarch," although the title of "king" is also assigned to him both by St. Matthew (xiv. 9) and by St. Mark (vi. 14, 22 sqq.). St. Luke, as might be expected, invariably adheres to the formal title, which would be recognized by Gentile readers. Herod is described by the last-named Evangelist (ch. iii. 1) as "tetrarch of Galilee;" but his dominions, which were bequeathed to him by his father Herod the Great, embraced the district of Peraea beyond the Jordan (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8, §1): this bequest was confirmed by Augustus (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 6, §3). After the disgrace and banishment of Antipas, his tetrarchy was added by Caligula to the kingdom of Herod Agrippa I. (*Ant.* xviii. 7, §2). [HEROD ANTIPAS.]

(2.) Herod Philip (the son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra, *not* the husband of Herodias), who is said by St. Luke (iii. 1) to have been "tetrarch of Ituraea, and of the region of Trachonitis." Josephus tells us that his father bequeathed to him Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas (*Ant.* xvii. 8, §1), and that his father's bequest was confirmed by Augustus, who assigned to him Batanaea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, with certain parts about Jamnia belonging to the "house of Zenodorus" (*B. J.* ii. 6, §3). Accordingly the territories of Philip extended eastward from the Jordan to the wilderness, and from the borders of Peraea northwards to Lebanon and the neighbourhood of Damascus. After the death of Philip his tetrarchy was added to the province of Syria by Tiberius (*Ant.* xviii. 4, §6), and subsequently conferred by Caligula on Herod Agrippa I., with the title of king (*Ant.* xviii. 6, §10). [HEROD PHILIP I.; HEROD AGRIPPA I.]

(3.) Lysanias, who is said (Luke iii. 1) to have been "tetrarch of Abilene," a small district surrounding the town of Abila, in the fertile valley of the Barada or Chrysorrhoas, between Damascus and the mountain-range of Antilibanus. [ABILENE.] There is some difficulty in fixing the limits of this tetrarchy, and in identifying the person of the tetrarch. [LYSANIAS.] We learn, however, from Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 6, §10, xix. 5, §1) that a Lysanias had been tetrarch of Abila before the time of Caligula, who added this tetrarchy to the dominions of Herod Agrippa I.—an addition which was confirmed by the emperor Claudius.

It remains to inquire whether the title of tetrarch, as applied to these princes, had any reference to its etymological signification. We have seen that it was at this time probably applied to petty princes without any such determinate meaning. But it appears from Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 11, §4; *B. J.* ii. 6, §3) that the tetrarchies of Antipas and Philip were regarded as constituting each a fourth part of their father's kingdom. For we are told that Augustus gave one-half of Herod's kingdom to his son Archelaus, with the appellation of ethnarch, and with a promise of the regal title; and that he divided the remainder into the two tetrarchies. Moreover, the revenues of Archelaus, drawn from his territory, which included Judaea, Samaria, and Idumaea, amounted to 400 talents, the tetrarchies of Philip and Antipas producing 200 talents each. We conclude that in these two cases, at least, the title was used in its strict and literal sense. [W. B. J.]

THADDAE'US (Θαδδαῖος: *Thaddaeus*), a name in St. Mark's catalogue of the twelve Apostles (Mark iii. 18) in the great majority of MSS. In St. Matthew's catalogue (Matt. x. 3) the corresponding place is assigned to Θαδδαῖος by the Vatican MS. (B), and to Λεββαῖος by the Codex Bezae (D). The Received Text, following the first correction of the Codex Ephraemi (C)—where the original reading is doubtful—as well as several cursive MSS., reads Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος. We are probably to infer that Λεββαῖος, alone, is the original reading of Matt. x. 3, and Θαδδαῖος of Mark iii. 18. By these two Evangelists the tenth place among the Apostles is given to Lebbaeus or Thaddaeus, the eleventh place being given to Simon the Canaanite. St. Luke, in both his catalogues (Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13), places Simon Zelotes tenth among the Apostles, and assigns the eleventh place to Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου. As the other names recorded by St. Luke are identical with those which appear (though in a different order) in the first two Gospels, it seems scarcely possible to doubt that the three names of Judas, Lebbaeus, and Thaddaeus were borne by one and the same person. [JUDE; LEBBAEUS.] [W. B. J.]

THA'HASH (תַּחַשׁ: Τοχός: *Thahas*). Son of Nahor by his concubine Reumah (Gen. xxii. 24). He is called Ταύαος by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §5).

THA'MAH (תָּמַח: Θεμά: *Thema*). "The children of Thamah" were a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 53). The name elsewhere appears in the A. V. as TAMAH.

THA'MAR (Θάμαρ: *Thamar*). TAMAR 1 (Matt. i. 3).

THAM'NATHA (ἡ Θαμναθά: *Thamnata*). One of the cities of Judaea fortified by Bacchides after he had driven the Maccabees over the Jordan (1 Macc. ix. 50). Thamnatha no doubt represents an ancient TIMNATH, possibly the present *Tibneh*, half-way between Jerusalem and the Mediterranean. Whether the name should be joined to Pharathoni, which follows it, or whether they should be independent, is matter of doubt. [PHARATHON.] [G.]

THANK-OFFERING, or **PEACE-OFFERING** (זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים, or simply שְׁלָמִים, and in Amos v. 22, שֶׁלֶם: Θυσία σωτηρίου, σωτήριον, occasionally εἰρηνική: *hostia pacificorum, pacifica*), the properly eucharistic offering among the Jews, in its theory resembling the MEAT-OFFERING, and therefore indicating that the offerer was already reconciled to, and in covenant with, God. Its ceremonial is described in Lev. iii. The nature of the victim was left to the sacrificer; it might be male or female, of the flock or of the herd, provided that it was unblemished; the hand of the sacrificer was laid on its head, the fat burnt, and the blood sprinkled, as in the burnt-offering; of the flesh, the breast and right shoulder were given to the priest; the rest belonged to the sacrificer, to be eaten, either on the day of sacrifice, or on the next day (Lev. vii. 11-18, 29-34), except in the case of the firstlings, which belonged to the priest alone

xxiii. 20). The eating of the flesh of the meat-offering was considered a partaking of the "table of the Lord;" and on solemn occasions, as at the dedication of the Temple of Solomon, it was conducted on an enormous scale, and became a great national feast.

The peace-offerings, unlike other sacrifices, were not ordained to be offered in fixed and regular course. The meat-offering was regularly ordained as the eucharistic sacrifice; and the only constantly recurring peace-offering appears to have been that of the two firstling lambs at Pentecost (Lev. xxiii. 19). The general principle of the peace-offering seems to have been, that it should be entirely spontaneous, offered as occasion should arise, from the feeling of the sacrificer himself. "If ye offer a sacrifice of peace-offerings to the Lord, ye shall offer it *at your own will*" (Lev. xix. 5). On the first institution (Lev. vii. 11-17), peace-offerings are divided into "offerings of thanksgiving," and "vows or free-will offerings;" of which latter class the offering by a Nazarite, on the completion of his vow, is the most remarkable (Num. vi. 14). The very names of both divisions imply complete freedom, and show that this sacrifice differed from others, in being considered not a duty, but a privilege.

We find accordingly peace-offerings offered for the people on a great scale at periods of unusual solemnity or rejoicing; as at the first inauguration of the covenant (Ex. xxiv. 5), at the first consecration of Aaron and of the Tabernacle (Lev. ix. 18), at the solemn reading of the Law in Canaan by Joshua (Josh. viii. 31), at the accession of Saul (1 Sam. xi. 15), at the bringing of the ark to Mount Zion by David (2 Sam. vi. 17), at the consecration of the Temple, and thrice every year afterwards, by Solomon (1 K. viii. 63, ix. 25), and at the great passover of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxx. 22). In two cases only (Judg. xx. 26; 2 Sam. xxiv. 25) peace-offerings are mentioned as offered with burnt-offerings at a time of national sorrow and fasting. Here their force seems to have been precatory rather than eucharistic. [See SACRIFICE.] [A. B.]

THA'RA (Θάρα: *Thare*). TERAH the father of Abraham (Luke iii. 34).

THAR'RA (*Thara*), Esth. xii. 1. A corrupt form of the name TERESH.

THAR'SHISH (תַּרְשִׁישׁ: Θαρσεῖς: *Tharsis*). 1. In this more accurate form the translators of the A. V. have given in two passages (1 K. x. 22, xxii. 48) the name elsewhere presented as TARSHISH. In the second passage the name is omitted in both MSS. of the LXX., while the Vulgate has *in mari*.

2. (Ῥαμεσσαί; Alex. Θαρσεις: *Tharsis*.) A Benjamite, one of the family of Bilhan and the house of Jediael (1 Chr. vii. 10 only). The variation in the Vatican LXX. (Mai) is very remarkable. [G.]

THAS'SI (Θασσί, Θασσίς: *Thasi, Hassii*: Syr. ܬܰܣܝ). The surname of Simon the son of Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 3). [MACCABEES, vol. ii. p. 166.] The derivation of the word is uncertain. Michael is suggests תַּרְשִׁי, Chald. "the fresh grass springs up," *i. e.* "the spring is come," in reference to the tranquillity first secured during the supremacy of Simon (Grimm, *ad* 1 Macc. ii. 3). This seems very far-fetched. Winer (*Realwb.* "Simon") suggests a connexion with תָּסַס, *fervere*, as Grotius (*ad loc.*) seems to have done before him. In Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 6, §1) the surname is written Ματθῆς, with various readings Θαδῆς, Θαθῆς. [B. F. W.]

THEATRE (θέατρον: *theatron*). For the general subject, see *Dict. of Ant.* pp. 995-998. For the explanation of the biblical allusions, two or three points only require notice. The Greek term, like the corresponding English term, denotes the *place* where dramatic performances are exhibited, and also the *scene* itself or *spectacle* which is witnessed there. It occurs in the first or local sense in Acts xix. 29, where it is said that the multitude at Ephesus rushed to the theatre, on the occasion of the excitement stirred up against Paul and his associates by Demetrius, in order to consider what should be done in reference to the charges against them. It may be remarked also (although the word does not occur in the original text or in our English version) that it was in the theatre at Caesarea that Herod Agrippa I. gave audience to the Tyrian deputies, and was himself struck with death, because he heard so gladly the impious acclamations of the people (Acts xii. 21-23). See the remarkably confirmatory account of this event in Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 8, §2). Such a use of the theatre for public assemblies and the transaction of public business, though it was hardly known among the Romans, was a common practice among the Greeks. Thus Valer. Max. ii. 2: *Legati in theatrum, ut est consuetudo Graeciae, introducti.* Justin xxii. 2: *Veluti reipublicae statum formaturus in theatrum ad contionem vocari jussit.* Com. Nep. *Timol.* 4, §2: *Veniebat in theatrum, cum ibi concilium plebis haberetur.* The other sense of the term "theatre" occurs in 1 Cor. iv. 9, where the Common Version renders: "God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death; for we are made (rather, *were made*, θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν) a *spectacle* unto the world, and to angels, and to men." Instead of "spectacle" (so also Wiclif and the Rhemish translators after the Vulgate), some might prefer the more energetic Saxon, "gazing-stock," as in Tyndale, Cranmer, and the Geneva version. But the latter would be now inappropriate, if it includes the idea of scorn or exultation, since the angels look down upon the sufferings of the martyrs with a very different interest. Whether "theatre" denotes more here than to be an object of earnest attention (θέαμα), or refers at the same time to the theatre as the place where criminals were sometimes brought forward for punishment, is not agreed among interpreters. In Heb. xii. 1, where the writer speaks of our having around us "so great a cloud of witnesses" (τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων), he has in mind no doubt the agonistic scene, in which Christians are viewed as running a race, and not the theatre or stage where the eyes of the spectators are fixed on them. [H. B. H.]

THEBES (נֹא אָמוֹן: Θῆβαι, Διόσπολις, μερὶς Ἀμμών; in Jer. τὸν Ἀμμὼν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς: *Alexandria, Al. populorum, tumultus Alexandriae, No-Amon*: A.V., No, the multitude of No, populous No).—A chief city of ancient Egypt, long the capital of the upper country, and the seat of the Diospolitan dynasties, that ruled over all Egypt at the era of its highest splendour. Upon the monuments this city bears three distinct names—that of the Nome, a sacred name, and the name by which it is commonly known in profane history. Of the twenty Nomes or districts into which Upper Egypt was divided, the fourth in

order, proceeding northward from Nubia, was designated in the hieroglyphics as *Za'm*—the Phæthyrite of the Greeks—and Thebes appears as the "*Za'm*-city," the principal city or metropolis of the *Za'm* Nome. In later times the name *Za'm* was applied in common speech to a particular locality on the western side of Thebes.

The sacred name of Thebes was *P-amen*, "the abode of Amon," which the Greeks reproduced in their *Diospolis* (Διὸς πόλις), especially with the addition *the Great* (ἡ μεγάλη), denoting that this was the chief seat of Jupiter-Ammon, and distinguishing it from *Diospolis the Less* (ἡ μικρά). No-Amon is the name of Thebes in the Hebrew Scriptures (Jer. xlvi. 25; Nah. iii. 8). Ezekiel uses *No* simply to designate the Egyptian seat of Ammon, which the Septuagint translates by Diospolis (Ez. xxx. 14, 16). Gesenius defines this name by the phrase "portion of Ammon," *i. e.* the possession of the god Ammon, as the chief seat of his worship.

The name of Thebes in the hieroglyphics is explained under No-Amon.

The origin of the city is lost in antiquity. Niebuhr is of opinion that Thebes was much older than Memphis, and that "after the centre of Egyptian life was transferred to Lower Egypt, Memphis acquired its greatness through the ruin of Thebes" (*Lectures on Ancient History*, Lect. vii.). Other authorities assign priority to Memphis. But both cities date from our earliest authentic knowledge of Egyptian history. The first allusion to Thebes in classical literature is the familiar passage of the Iliad (ix. 381-385):—"Egyptian Thebes, where are vast treasures laid up in the houses; where are a hundred gates, and from each two hundred men go forth with horses and chariots." Homer—speaking with a poet's licence, and not with the accuracy of a statistician—no doubt incorporated into his verse the glowing accounts of the Egyptian capital current in his time. Wilkinson thinks it conclusive against a literal understanding of Homer, that no traces of an ancient city-wall can be found at Thebes, and accepts as probable the suggestion of Diodorus Siculus that the "gates" of Homer may have been the propylaea of the temples:—"Non centum portas habuisse urbem, sed multa et ingentia templorum vestibula" (i. 45, 7). In the time of Diodorus, the city-wall, if any there was, had already disappeared, and the question of its existence in Homer's time was in dispute. But, on the other hand, to regard the "gates" of Homer as temple-porches is to make these the barracks of the army, since from these gates the horsemen and chariots issue forth to war. The almost universal custom of walling the cities of antiquity, and the poet's reference to the gates as pouring forth troops, point strongly to the supposition that the vast area of Thebes was surrounded with a wall having many gates.

Homer's allusion to the treasures of the city, and to the size of its standing army, numbering 20,000 chariots, shows the early repute of Thebes for wealth and power. Its fame as a great capital had crossed the sea when Greece was yet in its infancy as a nation. It has been questioned whether Herodotus visited Upper Egypt (see *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geog.* art. "Thebes"), but he says, "I went to Heliopolis *and to Thebes*, expressly to try whether the priests of those places would agree in their accounts with the priests at Memphis" (Herod. ii. 3). Afterwards he describes the features of the Nile valley, and the chief points and distances upon the river, as only an eye-witness would be likely to record them. He informs us that "from Heliopolis to Thebes is nine days' sail up the river, the distance 4800 stadia .... and the distance from the sea inland to Thebes 6120 stadia" (Herod. ii. 8, 9). In chap. 29 of the same book he states that he ascended the Nile as high as Elephantiné. Herodotus, however, gives no particular account of the city, which in his time had lost much of its ancient grandeur. He alludes to the temple of Jupiter there, with its ram-headed image, and to the fact that goats, never sheep, were offered in sacrifice. In the 1st century before Christ, Diodorus visited Thebes, and he devotes several sections of his general work to its history and appearance. Though he saw the city when it had sunk to quite secondary importance, he preserves the tradition of its early grandeur—its circuit of 140 stadia, the size of its public edifices, the magnificence of its temples, the number of its monuments, the dimensions of its private houses, some of them four or five stories high—all giving it an air of grandeur and beauty surpassing not only all other cities of Egypt, but of the world. Diodorus deplores the spoiling of its buildings and monuments by Cambyses (Diod. i. 45, 46). Strabo, who visited Egypt a little later—at about the beginning of the Christian era—thus describes (xvii. p. 816) the city under the name Diospolis:—"Vestiges of its magnitude still exist which extend 80 stadia in length. There are a great number of temples, many of which Cambyses mutilated. The spot is at present occupied by villages. One part of it, in which is the city, lies in Arabia; another is in the country on the other side of the river, where is the Memnonium." Strabo here makes the Nile the dividing line between Libya and Arabia. The temples of Karnak and Luxor are on the eastern side of the river, where was probably the main part of the city. Strabo gives the following description of the twin colossi still standing upon the western plain:—"Here are two colossal figures near one another, each consisting of a single stone. One is entire; the upper parts of the other, from the chair, are fallen down—the effect, it is said, of an earthquake. It is believed that once a day a noise, as of a slight blow, issues from the part of the statue which remains in the seat, and on its base. When I was at those places, with Aelius Gallus, and numerous friends and soldiers about him, I heard a noise at the first hour of the day, but whether proceeding from the base, or from the colossus, or produced on purpose by some of those standing around the base, I cannot confidently assert. For, from the uncertainty of the cause, I am inclined to believe anything rather than that stones disposed in that manner could send forth sound" (xvii. §46). Simple, honest, sceptical Strabo! Eighteen centuries later, the present writer interrogated these same stones as to the ancient mystery of sound; and not at sunrise, but in the glaring noon, the statue emitted a sharp, clear sound like the ringing of a disc of brass under a sudden concussion. This was produced by a ragged urchin, who, for a few piastres, clambered up the knees of the "vocal Memnon," and there effectually concealing himself from observation, struck with a hammer a sonorous stone in the lap of the statue. Wilkinson, who was one of the first to describe this sounding stone, conjectures that the priests had a secret chamber in the body of the statue, from which they could strike it unobserved at the instant of sunrise: thus

producing in the credulous multitude the notion of a supernatural phenomenon. It is difficult to conceive, however, that such a trick, performed in open day, could have escaped detection, and we are therefore left to share the mingled wonder and scepticism of Strabo (see Wilkinson; also Thompson's *Photographic Views of Egypt, Past and Present*, p. 156).

Pliny speaks of Thebes in Egypt as known to fame as "a hanging city," *i. e.* built upon arches, so that an army could be led forth from beneath the city while the inhabitants above were wholly unconscious of it. He mentions also that the river flows through the middle of the city. But he questions the story of the arches, because, "if this had really been the case, there is no doubt that Homer would have mentioned it, seeing that he has celebrated the hundred gates of Thebes." Do not the two stories possibly explain each other? May there not have been near the river-line arched buildings used as barracks, from whose gateways issued forth 20,000 chariots of war?

But, in the uncertainty of these historical allusions, the *monuments* of Thebes are the most reliable witnesses for the ancient grandeur of the city. These are found in almost equal proportions upon both sides of the river. The parallel ridges which skirt the narrow Nile valley upon the east and west from the northern limit of Upper Egypt, here sweep outward upon either side, forming a circular plain whose diameter is nearly ten miles. Through the centre of this plain flows the river, usually at this point about half a mile in width, but at the inundation overflowing the plain, especially upon the western bank, for a breadth of two or more miles. Thus the two colossal statues, which are several hundred yards from the bed of the low Nile, have accumulated about their bases alluvial deposit to the depth of seven feet.

The plan of the city, as indicated by the principal monuments, was nearly quadrangular, measuring two miles from north to south, and four from east to west. Its four great landmarks were, Karnak and Luxor upon the eastern or Arabian side, and Qoornah and Medeenet Haboo upon the western or Libyan side. There are indications that each of these temples may have been connected with those facing it upon two sides by grand *dromoi*, lined with sphinxes and other colossal figures. Upon the western bank there was almost a continuous line of temples and public edifices for a distance of two miles, from Qoornah to Medeenet Haboo; and Wilkinson conjectures that from a point near the latter, perhaps in the line of the colossi, the "Royal Street" ran down to the river, which was crossed by a ferry terminating at Luxor on the eastern side. The recent excavations and discoveries of M. Mariette, now in course of publication (1863), may enable us to restore the ground-plan of the city and its principal edifices with at least proximate accuracy.

It does not enter into the design, nor would it fall within the limits of this article, to give a minute description of these stupendous monuments. Not only are verbal descriptions everywhere accessible through the pages of Wilkinson, Kenrick, and other standard writers upon Egypt, but the magnificently illustrated work of Lepsius, already completed, the companion work of M. Mariette, just referred to, and multiplied photographs of the principal ruins, are within easy reach of the scholar through the munificence of public libraries. A mere outline of the groups of ruins must here suffice. Beginning at the northern extremity on the western bank, the first conspicuous ruins are those of a palace-temple of the nineteenth dynasty, and therefore belonging to the middle style of Egyptian architecture. It bears the name *Menephtheion*, suggested by Champollion because it appears to have been founded by Menephthah (the Osirei of Wilkinson), though built principally by his son the great Rameses. The plan of the building is much obscured by mounds of rubbish, but some of the bas-reliefs are in a fine state of preservation. There are traces of a dromos, 128 feet in length, with sphinxes, whose fragments here and there remain. This building stands upon a slight elevation, nearly a mile from the river, in the now deserted village of old Qoornah.

Nearly a mile southward from the Menephtheion are the remains of the combined palace and temple known since the days of Strabo as the Memnonium. An examination of its sculptures shows that this name was inaccurately applied, since the building was clearly erected by Rameses II. Wilkinson suggests that the title Miamun attached to the name of this king misled Strabo in his designation of the building. The general form of the Memnonium is that of a parallelogram in three main sections, the interior areas being successively narrower than the first court, and the whole terminating in a series of sacred chambers beautifully sculptured and ornamented. The proportions of this building are remarkably fine, and its remains are in a sufficient state of preservation to enable one to reconstruct its plan. From the first court or area, nearly 180 feet square, there is an ascent by steps to the second court, 140 feet by 170. Upon three sides of this area is a double colonnade, and on the south side a single row of Osiride pillars, facing a row of like pillars on the north, the other columns being circular. Another ascent leads to the hall, 100 × 133, which originally had forty-eight huge columns to support its solid roof. Beyond the hall are the sacred chambers. The historical sculptures upon the walls and columns of the Memnonium are among the most finished and legible of the Egyptian monuments. But the most remarkable feature of these ruin is the gigantic statue of Rameses II., once a single block of syenite carved to represent the king upon his throne, but now scattered in fragments upon the floor of the first hall. The weight of this statue has been computed at 887 tons, and its height at 75 feet. By measurement of the fragments, the writer found the body 51 feet around the shoulders, the arm 11 feet 6 inches from shoulder to elbow, and the foot 10 feet 10 inches in length, by 4 feet 8 inches in breadth. This stupendous monolith must have been transported at least a hundred miles from the quarries of Assouan. About a third of a mile farther to the south are the two colossal statues already referred to, one of which is familiarly known as "the vocal Memnon." The height of each figure is about 53 feet above the plain.

Proceeding again toward the south for about the same distance, we find at Medeenet Haboo ruins upon a more stupendous scale than at any other point upon the western bank of Thebes. These consist of a temple founded by Thothmes I., but which also exhibits traces of the Ptolemaic architecture in the shape of pyramidal towers, gateways, colonnades, and vestibules, inscribed with the

memorials of the Roman era in Egypt. This temple, even with all its additions, is comparatively small; but adjacent to it is the magnificent ruin known as the southern Rameseion, the palace-temple of Rameses III. The general plan of this building corresponds with those above described; a series of grand courts or halls adorned with columns, conducting to the inner pavilion of the king or sanctuary of the god. The second court is one of the most remarkable in Egypt for the massiveness of its columns, which measure 24 feet in height by a circumference of nearly 23. Within this area are the fallen columns of a Christian church, which once established the worship of the true God in the very sanctuary of idols and amid their sculptured images and symbols. This temple presents some of the grandest effects of the old Egyptian architecture, and its battle-scenes are a valuable contribution to the history of Rameses III.

Behind this long range of temples and palaces are the Libyan hills, which, for a distance of five miles, are excavated to the depth of several hundred feet for sepulchral chambers. Some of these are of vast extent—one tomb, for instance, having a total area of 22,217 square feet. A retired valley in the mountains, now known as Beeban-el-Melook, seems to have been appropriated to the sepulchres of kings. Some of these, in the number and variety of their chambers, the finish of their sculptures, and the beauty and freshness of their frescoes, are among the most remarkable monuments of Egyptian grandeur and skill. It is from the tombs especially that we learn the manners and customs of domestic life, as from the temples we gather the record of dynasties and the history of battles. The preservation of these sculptured and pictorial records is due mainly to the dryness of the climate. The sacredness with which the Egyptians regarded their dead preserved these mountain catacombs from molestation during the long succession of native dynasties, and the sealing up of the entrance to the tomb for the concealment of the sarcophagus from human observation until its mummied occupant should resume his long-suspended life, has largely secured the city of the dead from the violence of invaders and the ravages of time. It is from the adornments of these subterranean tombs, often distinct and fresh as when prepared by the hand of the artist, that we derive our principal knowledge of the manners and customs of the Egyptians. Herodotus himself is not more minute and graphic than these silent but most descriptive walls. The illustration and confirmation which they bring to the sacred narrative, so well discussed by Hengstenberg, Osborn, Poole, and others, is capable of much ampler treatment than it has yet received. Every incident in the pastoral and agricultural life of the Israelites in Egypt and in the exactions of their servitude, every art employed in the fabrication of the tabernacle in the wilderness, every allusion to Egyptian rites, customs, laws, finds some counterpart or illustration in this picture-history of Egypt; and whenever the Theban cemetery shall be thoroughly explored, and its symbols and hieroglyphics fully interpreted by science, we shall have a commentary of unrivalled interest and value upon the books of Exodus and Leviticus, as well as the later historical books of the Hebrew Scriptures. The art of photography is already contributing to this result by furnishing scholars with materials for the leisurely study of the pictorial and monumental records of Egypt.

The eastern side of the river is distinguished by the remains of Luxor and Karnak, the latter being of itself a city of temples. The main colonnade of Luxor faces the river, but its principal entrance looks northward towards Karnak, with which it was originally connected by a dromos 6000 feet in length, lined on either side with sphinxes. At this entrance are two gigantic statues of Rameses II., one upon each side of the grand gateway; and in front of these formerly stood a pair of beautifully wrought obelisks of red granite, one of which now graces the Place de la Concorde at Paris.

The approach to Karnak from the south is marked by a series of majestic gateways and towers, which were the appendages of later times to the original structure. The temple properly faces the river, *i. e.* toward the north-west. The courts and propylaea connected with this structure occupy a space nearly 1800 feet square, and the buildings represent almost every dynasty of Egypt, from Sesortasen I. to Ptolemy Euergetes I. Courts, pylons, obelisks, statues, pillars, everything pertaining to Karnak, are on the grandest scale. Nearest the river is an area measuring 275 feet by 329, which once had a covered corridor on either side, and a double row of columns through the centre, leading to the entrance of the hypostyle hall, the most wonderful monument of Egyptian architecture. This grand hall is a forest of sculptured columns; in the central avenue are twelve, measuring each 66 feet in height by 12 in diameter, which formerly supported the most elevated portion of the roof, answering to the clerestory in Gothic architecture; on either side of these are seven rows, each column nearly 42 feet high by 9 in diameter, making a total of 134 pillars in an area measuring 170 feet by 330. Most of the pillars are yet standing in their original site, though in many places the roof has fallen in. A moonlight view of this hall is the most weird and impressive scene to be witnessed among all the ruins of antiquity—the Coliseum of Rome not excepted. With our imperfect knowledge of mechanic arts among the Egyptians, it is impossible to conceive how the outer wall of Karnak—forty feet in thickness at the base, and nearly a hundred feet high—was built; how single blocks weighing several hundred tons were lifted into their place in the wall, or hewn into obelisks and statues to adorn its gates; how the majestic columns of the Grand Hall were quarried, sculptured, and set up in mathematical order; and how the whole stupendous structure was reared as a fortress in which the most ancient civilization of the world, as it were petrified or fossilized in the very flower of its strength and beauty, might defy the desolations of war, and the decay of centuries. The grandeur of Egypt is here in its architecture, and almost every pillar, obelisk, and stone tells its historic legend of her greatest monarchs.

We have alluded, in the opening of this article, to the debated question of the priority of Thebes to Memphis. As yet the data are not sufficient for its satisfactory solution, and Egyptologists are not agreed. Upon the whole we may conclude that before the time of Menes there was a local sovereignty in the Thebaid, but the historical nationality of Egypt dates from the founding of Memphis. "It is probable that the priests of Memphis and Thebes differed in their representations of early history, and that each sought to extol the glory of their own city. The history of Herodotus turns about Memphis as a centre; he mentions Thebes

only incidentally, and does not describe or allude to one of its monuments. Diodorus, on the contrary, is full in his description of Thebes, and says little of Memphis. But the distinction of Upper and Lower Egypt exists in geological structure, in language, in religion, and in historical tradition" (Kenrick). A careful digest of the Egyptian and Greek authorities, the Turin papyrus, and the monumental tablets of Abydos and Karnak, gives this general outline of the early history of Egypt:—That before Memphis was built, the nation was mainly confined to the valley of the Nile, and subdivided politically into several sovereignties, of which Thebes was one; that Menes, who was a native of *This* in the Thebaid, centralised the government at Memphis, and united the upper and lower countries; that Memphis retained its pre-eminence, even in the hereditary succession of sovereigns, until the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties of Manetho, when Diospolitan kings appear in his lists, who brought Thebes into prominence as a royal city; that when the Shepherds or Hyksos, a nomadic race from the east, invaded Egypt and fixed their capital at Memphis, a native Egyptian dynasty was maintained at Thebes, at times tributary to the Hyksos, and at times in military alliance with Ethiopia against the invaders; until at length, by a general uprising of the Thebaid, the Hyksos were expelled, and Thebes became the capital of all Egypt under the resplendent eighteenth dynasty. This was the golden era of the city as we have already described it from its monuments. The names and deeds of the Thothmes and the Rameses then figure upon its temples and palaces, representing its wealth and grandeur in architecture, and its prowess in arms. Then it was that Thebes extended her sceptre over Libya and Ethiopia on the one hand, and on the other over Syria, Media, and Persia; so that the walls of her palaces and temples are crowded with battle-scenes in which all contiguous nations appear as captives or as suppliants. This supremacy continued until the close of the nineteenth dynasty, or for a period of more than five hundred years; but under the twentieth dynasty—the Diospolitan house of Rameses numbering ten kings of that name—the glory of Thebes began to decline, and after the close of that dynasty her name no more appears in the lists of kings. Still the city was retained as the capital, in whole or in part, and the achievements of Shishonk the Bubastite, of Tirhakah the Ethiopian, and other monarchs of celebrity, are recorded upon its walls. The invasion of Palestine by Shishonk is graphically depicted upon the outer wall of the grand hall of Karnak, and the names of several towns in Palestine, as well as the general name of "the land of the king of Judah," have been deciphered from the hieroglyphics. At the later invasion of Judea by Sennacherib, we find Tirhakah, the Ethiopian monarch of the Thebaid, a powerful ally of the Jewish king. But a century later, Ezekiel proclaims the destruction of Thebes by the arm of Babylon:—"I will execute judgments in No;" "I will cut off the multitude of No;" "No shall be rent asunder, and Noph [Memphis] shall have distresses daily" (Ez. xxx. 14-16); and Jeremiah, predicting the same overthrow, says, "The Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel saith, Behold, I will punish the multitude of No, and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with their gods and their kings." The Persian invader completed the destruction that the Babylonian had begun; the hammer of Cambyses levelled the proud statue of Rameses, and his torch consumed the temples and palaces of the city of the hundred gates. No-Ammon, the shrine of the Egyptian Jupiter, "that was situate among the rivers, and whose rampart was the sea," sank from its metropolitan splendour to the position of a mere provincial town; and, notwithstanding the spasmodic efforts of the Ptolemies to revive its ancient glory, became at last only the desolate and ruined sepulchre of the empire it had once embodied. It lies to-day a nest of Arab hovels amid crumbling columns and drifting sands. [J. P. T.]

THE'BEZ (תֵּבֵץ: Θήβης, Θαμασί; Alex. Θαιβαις, Θαμασει: *Thebes*). A place memorable for the death of the bravo Abimelech (Judg. ix. 50[a]). After suffocating a thousand of the Shechemites in the hold of Baal-berith by the smoke of green wood—an exploit which recals the notorious feat of a modern French general in Algeria (Eccl. i. 9, 10)—he went off with his band to Thebez. The town was soon taken, all but one tower, into which the people of the place crowded, and which was strong enough to hold out. To this he forced his way, and was about to repeat the barbarous stratagem which had succeeded so well at Shechem, when the fragment of millstone descended and put an end to his turbulent career. The story was well known in Israel, and gave the point to a familiar maxim in the camp (2 Sam. xi. 21).

Thebez is not mentioned again in the Bible. But it was known to Eusebius and Jerome. In their day the village still bore its old name, and was situated "in the district of Neapolis," 13 Roman miles therefrom, on the road to Scythopolis (*Onom.* Θήβης). There it still is; its name—*Tubâs*—hardly changed; the village on a rising ground to the left of the road, a thriving, compact, and strong-looking place, surrounded by immense woods of olives, and by perhaps the best cultivated land in all Palestine. It was known to hap-Parchi in the 13th century (Zunz's *Benjamin*, ii. 426), and is mentioned occasionally by later travellers. But Dr. Robinson appears to have been the first to recognise its identity with Thebez (*B. R.* iii. 305). [G.]

THECO'E, THE WILDERNESS OF (τὴν ἔρημον Θεκωέ: *desertum Thecuae*). The wild uncultivated pastoral tract lying around the town of Tekoa, more especially to the east of it (1 Macc. ix. 33). In the Old Test. (2 Chr. xx. 20) it is mentioned by the term *Midbar*, which answers to the Greek ἔρημος.

Thecoe is merely the Greek form of the name TEKOA. [G.]

THEL'ASAR (תַּלְאַשָּׁר: Θαεσθέν; Alex. Θαλασσαρ: *Thelassar*). Another form of the name examined under TEL-ASSAR. It occurs 2 K. xix. 12. The A. V. is unfortunate in respect of this name, for it has contrived to give the contracted Hebrew form in the longest English shape, and *vice versâ*. [G.]

THELER'SAS (Θελερσᾶς: *Thelharsa*), 1 Esd. v. 36. The Greek equivalent of the name TEL-HARSAS.

THE'MAN (Θαιμάν: *Theman*), Bar. iii. 22, 23. [TEMAN.]

[a] In the Hebrew text Thebez occurs twice in the verse but in the LXX. it stands thus, "And Abimelech went out of Bethelberith (Vulg. *inde*) and fell upon Thebes," &c.

THEOCA'NUS (Θεωκανός; Alex. Θωκανός: *Thecam*). TIKVAH the father of Jahaziah (1 Esd. ix. 14).

THEOD'OTUS (Θεόδοτος: *Theodotius, Theodorus*). An envoy sent by Nicanor to Judas Macc. c. B.C. 162 (2 Macc. xiv. 19). [B. F. W.]

THEOPH'ILUS (Θεόφιλος). **1.** The person to whom St. Luke inscribes his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles (Luke i. 3; Acts i. 1). The important part played by Theophilus, as having immediately occasioned the composition of these two books, together with the silence of Scripture concerning him, has at once stimulated conjecture, and left the field clear for it. Accordingly we meet with a considerable number and variety of theories concerning him.

(1.) Several commentators, especially among the Fathers, have been disposed to doubt the personality of Theophilus, regarding the name either as that of a fictitious person, or as applicable to every Christian reader. Thus Origen (*Hom.* i. *in Luc.*) raises the question, but does not discuss it, his object being merely practical. He says that all who are beloved of God are Theophili, and may therefore appropriate to themselves the Gospel which was addressed to Theophilus. Epiphanius (*Haeres.* li. p. 429) speaks doubtfully: εἴτ' οὖν τινὶ Θεοφίλῳ τότε γράφων ἔλεγεν, ἢ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ Θεὸν ἀγαπῶντι. Salvianus (*Epist.* ix. *ad Salonium*) apparently assumes that Theophilus had no historical existence. He justifies the composition of a work addressed "Ad Ecclesiam Catholicam," under the name of Timotheus, by the example of the Evangelist St. Luke, who addressed his Gospel nominally to a particular man, but really to "the love of God:" "nam sicut Theophili vocabulo amor, sic Timothei honor divinitatis exprimitur." Even Theophylact, who believes in the existence of Theophilus, takes the opportunity of moralizing upon his name: καὶ πᾶς δὲ ἄνθρωπος θεοφιλὴς, καὶ κράτος κατὰ τῶν παθῶν ἀναδειξάμενος, Θεόφιλός ἐστι κράτιστος, ὃς καὶ ἄξιος τῷ ὄντι ἐστὶν ἀκούειν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου (*Argum. in Luc.*). Among modern commentators Hammond and Leclerc accept the allegorical view: Erasmus is doubtful, but on the whole believes Theophilus to have had a real existence.

(2.) From the honourable epithet κράτιστε, applied to Theophilus in Luke i. 3, compared with the use of the same epithet as applied by Claudius Lysias and Tertullus severally to Felix, and by St. Paul to Festus (Acts xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3, xxvi. 25), it has been argued with much probability, but not quite conclusively, that he was a person in high official position. Thus Theophylact (*Argum. in Luc.*) conjectures that he was a Roman governor, or a person of senatorial rank, grounding his conjecture expressly on the use of κράτιστε. Oecumenius (*ad Act. Apost.* i. 1) tells us that he was a governor, but gives no authority for the assertion. The traditional connexion of St. Luke with Antioch has disposed some to look upon Antioch as the abode of Theophilus, and possibly as the seat of his government. Bengel believes him to have been an inhabitant of Antioch, "ut veteres testantur." The belief may partly have grown out of a story in the so-called *Recognitions of St. Clement* (lib. x.), which represents a certain nobleman of Antioch of that name to have been converted by the preaching of St. Peter, and to have dedicated his own house as a church, in which, as we are told, the Apostle fixed his episcopal seat. Bengel thinks that the omission of κράτιστε in Acts i. 1 proves that St. Luke was on more familiar terms with Theophilus than when he composed his Gospel.

(3.) In the Syriac Lexicon extracted from the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* of Castell, and edited by Michaelis (p. 948), the following description of Theophilus is quoted from Bar Bahlul, a Syrian lexicographer of the 10th century:—"Theophilus primus credentium et celeberrimus apud Alexandrienses, qui cum aliis Aegyptiis Lucam rogabat ut eis Evangelium scriberet." In the inscription of the Gospel according to St. Luke in the Syriac version we are told that it was published at Alexandria. Hence it is inferred by Jacob Hase (*Bibl. Bremensis Class.* iv. Fasc. iii. Diss. 4, quoted by Michaelis, *Introd. to the N. T.*, vol. iii. ch. vi. §4, ed. Marsh) and by Bengel (*Ordo Temporum*, p. 196, ed. 2), that Theophilus was, as asserted by Bar Bahlul, a convert of Alexandria. This writer ventures to advance the startling opinion that Theophilus, if an Alexandrian, was no other than the celebrated Philo, who is said to have borne the Hebrew name of Jedidiah (יְדִידְיָה, *i. e.* Θεόφιλος). It hardly seems necessary to refute this theory, as Michaelis has refuted it, by chronological arguments.

(4.) Alexander Morus (*Ad quaedam loca Nov. Foed. Notae: ad Luc.* i. 1) makes the rather hazardous conjecture that the Theophilus of St. Luke is identical with the person who is recorded by Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 55) to have been condemned for fraud at Athens by the court of the Areopagus. Grotius also conjectures that he was a magistrate of Achaia baptized by St. Luke. The conjecture of Grotius must rest upon the assertion of Jerome (an assertion which, if it is received, renders that of Alex. Morus possible, though certainly most improbable), namely, that Luke published his Gospel in the parts of Achaia and Boeotia (Jerome, *Comm. in Matt.* Prooem.).

(5.) It is obvious to suppose that Theophilus was a Christian. But a different view has been entertained. In a series of Dissertations in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis*, of which Michaelis gives a *résumé* in the section already referred to, the notion that he was not a Christian is maintained by different writers, and on different grounds. Heumann, one of the contributors, assuming that he was a Roman governor, argues that he could not be a Christian, because no Christian would be likely to have such a charge entrusted to him. Another writer, Theodore Hase, believes that the Theophilus of Luke was no other than the deposed High Priest Theophilus the son of Ananus, of whom more will be said presently. Michaelis himself is inclined to adopt this theory. He thinks that the use of the word κατηχήθης in Luke i. 4, proves that Theophilus had an imperfect acquaintance with the facts of the Gospel (an argument of which Bishop Marsh very properly disposes in his note upon the passage of Michaelis), and further contends, from the ἐν ἡμῖν of Luke i. 1, that he was not a member of the Christian community. He thinks it probable that the Evangelist wrote his Gospel, during the imprisonment of St. Paul at Caesarea, and addressed it to Theophilus as one of the heads of the Jewish nation. According to this view, it would be regarded as a sort of historical apology for the Christian faith.

In surveying this series of conjectures, and of traditions which are nothing more than conjectures, we find it easier to determine what is to be re

jected than what we are to accept. In the first place, we may safely reject the Patristic notion that Theophilus was either a fictitious person, or a mere personification of Christian love. Such a personification is alien from the spirit of the New Testament writers, and the epithet κράτιστε is a sufficient evidence of the historical existence of Theophilus. It does not, indeed, prove that he was a governor, but it makes it most probable that he was a person of high rank. His supposed connexion with Antioch, Alexandria, or Achaia, rests on too slender evidence either to claim acceptance or to need refutation; and the view of Theodore Hase, although endorsed by Michaelis, appears to be incontestably negatived by the Gentile complexion of the Third Gospel. The grounds alleged by Heumann for his hypothesis that Theophilus was not a Christian are not at all trustworthy, as consisting of two very disputable premises. For, in the first place, it is not at all evident that Theophilus was a Roman governor; and in the second place, even if we assume that at that time no Christian would be appointed to such an office (an assumption which we can scarcely venture to make), it does not at all follow that no person in that position would become a Christian. In fact, we have an example of such a conversion in the case of Sergius Paulus (Acts xiii. 12). In the article on the GOSPEL OF LUKE [vol. ii. p. 155 *a*], reasons are given for believing that Theophilus was "not a native of Palestine . . . not a Macedonian, nor an Athenian, nor a Cretan. But that he was a native of Italy, and perhaps an inhabitant of Rome, is probable from similar data." All that can be conjectured with any degree of safety concerning him, comes to this, that he was a Gentile of rank and consideration, who came under the influence of St. Luke, or (not improbably) under that of St. Paul, at Rome, and was converted to the Christian faith. It has been observed that the Greek of St. Luke, which elsewhere approaches more nearly to the classical type than that of the other Evangelists, is purer and more elegant in the dedication to Theophilus than in any other part of his Gospel.

2. A Jewish High-Priest, the son of Annas or Ananus, brother-in-law to Caiaphas [ANNAS; CAIAPHAS], and brother and immediate successor of Jonathan. The Roman Prefect Vitellius came to Jerusalem at the Passover (A.D. 37), and deposed Caiaphas, appointing Jonathan in his place. In the same year, at the feast of Pentecost, he came to Jerusalem, and deprived Jonathan of the High Priesthood, which he gave to Theophilus (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4, §3, xviii. 5, §3). Theophilus was removed from his post by Herod Agrippa I., after the accession of that prince to the government of Judaea in A.D. 41, so that he must have continued in office about five years (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 6, §2). Theophilus is not mentioned by name in the New Testament; but it is most probable that he was the High Priest who granted a commission to Saul to proceed to Damascus, and to take into custody any believers whom he might find there. [W. B. J.]

THE'RAS (Θέρα: *Thia*: Syr. *Tharan*). The equivalent in 1 Esd. viii. 41, 61, for the AHAVA of the parallel passage in Ezra. Nothing whatever appears to be known of it.

THERMELETH (Θερμελέθ: *Thelmela*), 1 Esd. v. 36. The Greek equivalent of the name TEL-MELAH.

THESSALONIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE. 1. The *date* of the Epistle is made out approximately in the following way. During the course of his second missionary journey, probably in the year 52, St. Paul founded the Church of Thessalonica. Leaving Thessalonica he passed on to Beroea. From Beroea he went to Athens, and from Athens to Corinth (Acts xvii. 1–xviii. 18). With this visit to Corinth, which extends over a period of two years or thereabouts, his second missionary journey closed, for from Corinth he returned to Jerusalem, paying only a brief visit to Ephesus on the way (xviii. 20, 21). Now it appears that, when this Epistle was written, Silvanus and Timotheus were in the Apostle's company (1 Thess. i. 1; comp. 2 Thess. i. 1)—a circumstance which confines the date to the second missionary journey, for though Timotheus was with him on several occasions afterwards, the name of Silvanus appears for the last time in connexion with St. Paul during this visit to Corinth (Acts xviii. 5; 2 Cor. i. 19). The Epistle then must have been written in the interval between St. Paul's leaving Thessalonica and the close of his residence at Corinth, *i. e.* according to the received chronology within the years 52-54. The following considerations however narrow the limits of the possible date still more closely. (1.) When St. Paul wrote, he had already visited, and probably left Athens (1 Thess. iii. 1). (2.) Having made two unsuccessful attempts to revisit Thessalonica, he had despatched Timothy to obtain tidings of his converts there. Timothy had returned before the Apostle wrote (iii. 2, 6). (3.) St. Paul speaks of the Thessalonians as "ensamples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia," adding that "in every place their faith to Godward was spread abroad" (i. 7, 8)—language prompted indeed by the overflowing of a grateful heart, and therefore not to be rigorously pressed, but still implying some lapse of time at least. (4.) There are several traces of a growth and progress in the condition and circumstances of the Thessalonian Church. Perhaps the mention of "rulers" in the Church (v. 12) ought not to be adduced as proving this, since some organisation would be necessary from the very beginning. But there is other evidence besides. Questions had arisen relating to the state of those who had fallen asleep in Christ, so that one or more of the Thessalonian converts must have died in the interval (iv. 13-18). The storm of persecution which the Apostle had discerned gathering on the horizon had already burst upon the Christians of Thessalonica (iii. 4, 7). Irregularities had crept in and sullied the infant purity of the Church (iv. 4, v. 14). The lapse of a few months however would account for these changes, and a much longer time cannot well be allowed. For (5) the letter was evidently written by St. Paul immediately on the return of Timothy, in the fulness of his gratitude for the joyful tidings (iii. 6). Moreover, (6) the Second Epistle also was written before he left Corinth, and there must have been a sufficient interval between the two to allow of the growth of fresh difficulties, and of such communication between the Apostle and his converts as the case supposes. We shall not be far wrong therefore in placing the writing of this Epistle early in St. Paul's residence at Corinth, a few months after he had founded the Church at Thessalonica, at the close of the year 52 or the beginning of 53. The statement in the subscription appearing in several MSS. and versions, that it was written "from Athens" is a superficial inference from 1 Thess. iii. 1, to which no weight should be attached. The views of critics who have

assigned to this Epistle a later date than the second missionary journey are stated and refuted in the Introductions of Koch (p. 23, &c.), and Lünemann, (§3).

2. The Epistles to the Thessalonians then (for the second followed the first after no long interval) are the earliest of St. Paul's writings—perhaps the earliest written records of Christianity. They belong to that period which St. Paul elsewhere styles "the beginning of the Gospel" (Phil. iv. 15). They present the disciples in the first flush of love and devotion, yearning for the day of deliverance, and straining their eyes to catch the first glimpse of their Lord descending amidst the clouds of heaven, till in their feverish anxiety they forget the sober business of life, absorbed in this one engrossing thought. It will be remembered that a period of about five years intervenes before the second group of Epistles—those to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans—were written, and about twice that period to the date of the Epistles of the Roman Captivity. It is interesting therefore to compare the Thessalonian Epistles with the later letters, and to note the points of difference. These differences are mainly threefold. (1.) In the general *style* of these earlier letters there is greater simplicity and less exuberance of language. The brevity of the opening salutation is an instance of this. "Paul ..... to the Church of the Thessalonians in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, grace and peace to you" (1 Thess. i. 1; comp. 2 Thess. i. 1). The closing benediction is correspondingly brief:—"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you" (1 Thess. v. 28; comp. 2 Thess. iii. 18). And throughout the Epistles there is much more evenness of style, words are not accumulated in the same way, the syntax is less involved, parentheses are not so frequent, the turns of thought and feeling are less sudden and abrupt, and altogether there is less intensity and variety than we find in St. Paul's later Epistles. (2.) The *antagonism to St. Paul* is not the same. The direction of the attack has changed in the interval between the writing of these Epistles and those of the next group. Here the opposition comes from *Jews*. The admission of the Gentiles to the hopes and privileges of Messiah's kingdom on any condition is repulsive to them. They "forbad the Apostle to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved" (ii. 16). A period of five years changes the aspect of the controversy. The opponents of St. Paul are now no longer *Jews*, so much as *Judaizing Christians* (Ewald, *Jahrb.* iii. 249; *Sendschr.*, p. 14). The question of the admission of the Gentiles has been solved by time, for they have "taken the kingdom of heaven by storm." But the antagonism to the Apostle of the Gentiles, having been driven from its first position, entrenched itself behind a second barrier. It was now urged that though the Gentiles may be admitted to the Church of Christ, the only door of admission is the Mosaic covenant-rite of circumcision. The language of St. Paul speaking of the Jewish Christians in this Epistle shows that the opposition to his teaching had not at this time assumed this second phase. He does not yet regard them as the disturbers of the peace of the Church, the false teachers who by imposing a bondage of ceremonial observances frustrate the free grace of God. He can still point to them as examples to his converts at Thessalonica (ii. 14). The change indeed was imminent, the signs of the gathering storm had already appeared (Gal. ii 11), but hitherto they were faint and indistinct, and had scarcely darkened the horizon of the Gentile Churches. (3.) It will be no surprise that the doctrinal teaching of the Apostle does not bear quite the same aspect in these as in the later Epistles. Many of the distinctive doctrines of Christianity, which are inseparably connected with St. Paul's name, though implicitly contained in the teaching of these earlier letters—as indeed they follow directly from the true conception of the Person of Christ—were yet not evolved and distinctly enunciated till the needs of the Church drew them out into prominence at a later date. It has often been observed for instance, that there is in the Epistles to the Thessalonians no mention of the characteristic contrast of "faith and works;" that the word "justification" does not once occur; that the idea of dying with Christ and living with Christ, so frequent in St. Paul's later writings, is absent in these. It was in fact the opposition of Judaizing Christians, insisting on a strict ritualism, which led the Apostle somewhat later to dwell at greater length on the true doctrine of a saving faith, and the true conception of a godly life. But the time had not yet come, and in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, as has been truly observed, the Gospel preached is that of the coming of Christ, rather than of the cross of Christ. There are many reasons why the subject of the second advent should occupy a larger space in the earliest stage of the Apostolical teaching than afterwards. It was closely bound up with the fundamental fact of the Gospel, the resurrection of Christ, and thus it formed a natural starting-point of Christian doctrine. It afforded the true satisfaction to those Messianic hopes which had drawn the Jewish converts to the fold of Christ. It was the best consolation and support of the infant Church under persecution, which must have been most keenly felt in the first abandonment of worldly pleasures and interests. More especially, as telling of a righteous Judge who would not overlook iniquity, it was essential to that call to repentance which must everywhere precede the direct and positive teaching of the Gospel. "Now He commandeth all men everywhere to repent, for He hath appointed a day in the which He will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom He hath ordained, whereof He hath given assurance unto all men in that He raised him from the dead" (Acts xvii. 30, 31).

3. The *occasion* of this Epistle was as follows St. Paul had twice attempted to revisit Thessalonica, and both times had been disappointed. Thus prevented from seeing them in person, he had sent Timothy to inquire and report to him as to their condition (iii. 1-5). Timothy returned with most favourable tidings, reporting not only their progress in Christian faith and practice, but also their strong attachment to their old teacher (iii. 6-10). The First Epistle to the Thessalonians is the outpouring of the Apostle's gratitude on receiving this welcome news. At the same time the report of Timothy was not unmixed with alloy. There were certain features in the condition of the Thessalonian Church which called for St. Paul's interference, and to which he addresses himself in his letter (1.) The very intensity of their Christian faith, dwelling too exclusively on the day of the Lord's coming, had been attended with evil consequences. On the one hand a practical inconvenience had arisen. In their feverish expectation of this great crisis, some had been led to neglect their ordinary business, as

though the daily concerns of life were of no account in the immediate presence of so vast a change (iv. 11; comp. 2 Thess. ii. 1, iii. 6, 11, 12). On the other hand a theoretical difficulty had been felt. Certain members of the Church had died, and there was great anxiety lest they should be excluded from any share in the glories of the Lord's advent (iv. 13-18). St. Paul rebukes the irregularities of the former, and dissipates the fears of the latter. (2.) The flame of persecution had broken out, and the Thessalonians needed consolation and encouragement under their sore trial (ii. 14, iii. 2-4). (3.) An unhealthy state of feeling with regard to spiritual gifts was manifesting itself. Like the Corinthians at a later day, they needed to be reminded of the superior value of "prophesying," compared with other gifts of the Spirit which they exalted at its expense (v. 19, 20). (4.) There was the danger, which they shared in common with most Gentile Churches, of relapsing into their old heathen profligacy. Against this the Apostle offers a word in season (iv. 4-8). We need not suppose however that Thessalonica was worse in this respect than other Greek cities.

4. Yet notwithstanding all these drawbacks, the condition of the Thessalonian Church was highly satisfactory, and the most cordial relations existed between St. Paul and his converts there. This honourable distinction it shares with the other great Church of Macedonia, that of Philippi. At all times, and amidst every change of circumstance, it is to his Macedonian Churches that the Apostle turns for sympathy and support. A period of about ten years is interposed between the First Epistle to the Thessalonians and the Epistle to the Philippians, and yet no two of his letters more closely resemble each other in this respect. In both he drops his official title of Apostle in the opening salutation, thus appealing rather to their affection than to his own authority; in both he commences the body of his letter with hearty and unqualified commendation of his converts; and in both the same spirit of confidence and warm affection breathes throughout.

5. A comparison of the narrative in the Acts with the allusions in this and the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians is instructive. With some striking coincidences, there is just that degree of divergence which might be expected between a writer who had borne the principal part in the scenes referred to, and a narrator who derives his information from others, between the casual half-expressed allusions of a familiar letter and the direct account of the professed historian.

Passing over patent coincidences, we may single out one of a more subtle and delicate kind. It arises out of the form which the accusation brought against St. Paul and his companions at Thessalonica takes in the Acts: "All these do contrary to the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another king, one Jesus" (xvii. 7). The allusions in the Epistles to the Thessalonians enable us to understand the ground of this accusation. It appears that the *kingdom* of Christ had entered largely into his oral teaching in this city, as it does into that of the Epistles themselves. He had charged his new converts to await the coming of the Son of God from heaven, as their deliverer (i. 10). He had dwelt long and earnestly (προείπαμεν καὶ διεμαρτυράμεθα) on the terrors of the judgment which would overtake the wicked (iv. 6). He had even explained at length the signs which would usher in the last day (2 Thess. ii. 5). Either from malice or in ignorance such language had been misrepresented, and he was accused of setting up a rival sovereign to the Roman Emperor.

On the other hand, the language of these Epistles diverges from the narrative of St. Luke on two or three points in such a way as to establish the independence of the two accounts, and even to require some explanation. (1.) The first of these relates to the composition of the Church of Thessalonica. In the First Epistle St. Paul addresses his readers distinctly as Gentiles, who had been converted from idolatry to the Gospel (i. 9, 10). In the Acts we are told that "some (of the Jews) believed . . . and of the devout Greeks (*i. e.* proselytes) a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few" (xvii. 4). If for σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων we read σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, "proselytes and Greeks," the difficulty vanishes; but though internal probabilities are somewhat in favour of this reading, the array of direct evidence (now reinforced by the Cod. Sinaiticus) is against it. But even if we retain the common reading, the account of St. Luke does not exclude a number of believers converted directly from heathendom—indeed, if we may argue from the parallel case at Beroea (xvii. 12), the "women" were chiefly of this class: and, if any divergence remains, it is not greater than might be expected in two independent writers, one of whom, not being an eye-witness, possessed only a partial and indirect knowledge. Both accounts alike convey the impression that the Gospel made but little progress with the Jews themselves. (2.) In the Epistle the persecutors of the Thessalonian Christians are represented as their fellow-countrymen, *i. e.* as heathens (ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν, ii. 14), whereas in the Acts the Jews are regarded as the bitterest opponents of the faith (xvii. 5). This is fairly met by Paley (*Horae Paul.* ix. No. 5), who points out that the Jews were the instigators of the persecution, which however they were powerless of themselves to carry out without aid from the heathen, as may be gathered even from the narrative of St. Luke. We may add also, that the expression ἴδιοι συμφυλέται need not be restricted to the heathen population, but might include many Hellenist Jews who must have been citizens of the free town of Thessalonica. (3.) The narrative of St. Luke appears to state that St. Paul remained only three weeks at Thessalonica (xvii. 2), whereas in the Epistle, though there is no direct mention of the length of his residence among them, the whole language (i. 4, ii. 4-11) points to a much longer period. The latter part of the assertion seems quite correct; the former needs to be modified. In the Acts it is stated simply that for three Sabbath days (three weeks) St. Paul taught in the synagogue. The silence of the writer does not exclude subsequent labour among the Gentile population, and indeed as much seems to be implied in the success of his preaching, which exasperated the Jews against him. (4.) The notices of the movements of Silas and Timotheus in the two documents do not accord at first sight. In the Acts St. Paul is conveyed away secretly from Beroea to escape the Jews. Arrived at Athens, he sends to Silas and Timothy, whom he had left behind at Beroea, urging them to join him as soon as possible (xvii. 14-16). It is evident from the language of St. Luke that the Apostle expects them to join him at Athens. Yet we hear nothing more of them for some time, when at length after St. Paul had passed on to Corinth, and several incidents had occurred since his arrival there, we

are told that Silas and Timotheus came from Macedonia (xviii. 5). From the First Epistle, on the other hand, we gather the following facts. St. Paul there tells us that they (ἡμεῖς, *i. e.* himself, and probably Silas), no longer able to endure the suspense, "consented to be left alone at Athens, and sent Timothy their brother" to Thessalonica (iii. 1, 2). Timothy returned with good news (iii. 6) (whether to Athens or Corinth does not appear), and when the two Epistles to the Thessalonians were written, both Timothy and Silas were with St. Paul (1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; comp. 2 Cor. i. 19). Now, though we may not be prepared with Paley to construct an undesigned coincidence out of these materials, yet on the other hand there is no insoluble difficulty; for the events may be arranged in two different ways, either of which will bring the narrative of the Acts into accordance with the allusions of the Epistle. (i.) Timotheus was despatched to Thessalonica, not from Athens, but from Beroea, a supposition quite consistent with the Apostle's expression of "consenting to be left alone at Athens." In this case Timotheus would take up Silas somewhere in Macedonia on his return, and the two would join St. Paul in company; not however at Athens, where he was expecting them, but later on at Corinth, some delay having arisen. This explanation however supposes that the plurals "*we* consented, *we* sent" (εὐδοκήσαμεν, ἐπέμψαμεν), can refer to St. Paul alone. The alternative mode of reconciling the accounts is as follows:—(ii.) Timotheus and Silas did join the Apostle at Athens, where we learn from the Acts that he was expecting them. From Athens he despatched Timotheus to Thessalonica, so that he and Silas (ἡμεῖς) had to forego the services of their fellow-labourer for a time. This mission is mentioned in the Epistle, but not in the Acts. Subsequently he sends Silas on some other mission, not recorded either in the history or the Epistle; probably to another Macedonian Church, Philippi for instance, from which he is known to have received contributions about this time, and with which therefore he was in communication (2 Cor. xi. 9; comp. Phil. iv. 14-16; see Koch, p. 15). Silas and Timotheus returned together from Macedonia and joined the Apostle at Corinth. This latter solution, if it assumes more than the former, has the advantage that it preserves the proper sense of the plural "*we* consented, *we* sent," for it is at least doubtful whether St. Paul ever uses the plural of himself alone. The silence of St. Luke may in this case be explained either by his possessing only a partial knowledge of the circumstances, or by his passing over incidents of which he was aware, as unimportant.

6. This Epistle is rather practical than doctrinal. It was suggested rather by personal feeling, than by any urgent need, which might have formed a centre of unity, and impressed a distinct character on the whole. Under these circumstances we need not expect to trace unity of purpose, or a continuous argument, and any analysis must be more or less artificial. The body of the Epistle, however, may conveniently be divided into two parts, the former of which, extending over the first three chapters, is chiefly taken up with a retrospect of the Apostle's relation to his Thessalonian converts, and an explanation of his present circumstances and feelings, while the latter, comprising the 4th and 5th chapters, contains some seasonable exhortations. At the close of each of these divisions is a prayer, commencing with the same words, "May God Himself," etc., and expressed in somewhat similar language.

The following is a table of contents:—

Salutation (i. 1).

1. Narrative portion (i. 2–iii. 13).
   - (1.) i. 2-10. The Apostle gratefully records their conversion to the Gospel and progress in the faith.
   - (2.) ii. 1-12. He reminds them how pure and blameless his life and ministry among them had been.
   - (3.) ii. 13-16. He repeats his thanksgiving for their conversion, dwelling especially on the persecutions which they had endured.
   - (4.) ii. 17–iii. 10. He describes his own suspense and anxiety, the consequent mission of Timothy to Thessalonica, and the encouraging report which he brought back.
   - (5.) iii. 11-13. The Apostle's *prayer* for the Thessalonians.
2. Hortatory portion (iv. 1–v. 24).
   - (1.) iv. 1-8. Warning against impurity.
   - (2.) iv. 9-12. Exhortation to brotherly love and sobriety of conduct.
   - (3.) iv. 13–v. 11. Touching the Advent of the Lord.
     - (*a.*) The dead shall have their place in the resurrection, iv. 13-18.
     - (*b.*) The time however is uncertain, v. 1-3.
     - (*c.*) Therefore all must be watchful, v. 4-11.
   - (4.) v. 12-15. Exhortation to orderly living and the due performance of social duties.
   - (5.) v. 16-22. Injunctions relating to prayer and spiritual matters generally.
   - (6.) v. 23, 24. The Apostle's *prayer* for the Thessalonians.

The Epistle closes with personal injunctions and a benediction (v. 25-28).

7. The external evidence in favour of the *genuineness* of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians is chiefly negative, but this is important enough. There is no trace that it was ever disputed at any age or in any section of the Church, or even by any individual, till the present century. On the other hand, the allusions to it in writers before the close of the 2nd century are confessedly faint and uncertain—a circumstance easily explained, when we remember the character of the Epistle itself, its comparatively simple diction, its silence on the most important doctrinal questions, and, generally speaking, the absence of any salient points to arrest the attention and provoke reference. In Clement of Rome there are some slight coincidences of language, perhaps not purely accidental (c. 38, κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστεῖν αὐτῷ, comp. 1 Thess. v. 18; ib. σωζέσθω οὖν ἡμῖν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν X., I., comp. 1 Thess. v. 23). Ignatius in two passages (*Polyc.* 1, and *Ephes.* 10) seems to be reminded of St. Paul's expression ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε (1 Thess. v. 17), but in both passages of Ignatius the word ἀδιαλείπτως, in which the similarity mainly consists, is absent in the Syriac, and is therefore probably spurious. The supposed references in Polycarp (c. iv. to 1 Thess. v. 17, and c. ii. to 1 Thess. v. 22) are also unsatisfactory. It is more important to observe that the Epistle was included in the Old Latin and Syriac Versions, that it is found in the Canon of the Muratorian fragment, and that it was also contained in that of Marcion. Towards

the close of the 2nd century from Irenaeus downwards, we find this Epistle directly quoted and ascribed to St. Paul.

The evidence derived from the character of the Epistle itself is so strong that it may fairly be called irresistible. It would be impossible to enter into the question of *style* here, but the reader may be referred to the Introduction of Jowett, who has handled this subject very fully and satisfactorily. An equally strong argument may be drawn also from the *matter* contained in the Epistle. Two instances of this must suffice. In the first place, the fineness and delicacy of touch with which the Apostle's relations towards his Thessalonian converts are drawn—his yearning to see them, his anxiety in the absence of Timothy, and his heartfelt rejoicing at the good news—are quite beyond the reach of the clumsy forgeries of the early Church. In the second place, the writer uses language which, however it may be explained, is certainly coloured by the anticipation of the speedy advent of the Lord—language natural enough on the Apostle's own lips, but quite inconceivable in a forgery written after his death, when time had disappointed these anticipations, and when the revival or mention of them would serve no purpose, and might seem to discredit the Apostle. Such a position would be an anachronism in a writer of the 2nd century.

The genuineness of this Epistle was first questioned by Schrader (*Apostel Paulus*), who was followed by Baur (*Paulus*, p. 480). The latter writer has elaborated and systematized the attack. The arguments which he alleges in favour of his view have already been anticipated to a great extent. They are briefly controverted by Lünemann, and more at length and with great fairness by Jowett. The following is a summary of Baur's arguments (i.) He attributes great weight to the general character of the epistle, the difference of style, and especially the absence of distinctive Pauline doctrines—a peculiarity which has already been remarked upon and explained, § 2. (ii.) In the mention of the "wrath" overtaking the Jewish people (ii. 16), Baur sees an allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem, and therefore a proof of the later date of the Epistle. The real significance of these words will be considered below in discussing the apocalyptic passage in the Second Epistle. (iii.) He urges the contradictions to the account in the Acts—a strange argument surely to be brought forward by Baur, who postdates and discredits the authority of that narrative. The real extent and bearing of these divergences has been already considered. (iv.) He discovers references to the Acts, which show that the Epistle was written later. It has been seen however that the coincidences are subtle and incidental, and the points of divergence and *primâ facie* contradictions, which Baur himself allows, and indeed insists upon, are so numerous as to preclude the supposition of copying. Schleiermacher (*Einl. ins N. T.* p. 150) rightly infers the independence of the Epistle on these grounds. (v.) He supposes passages in this Epistle to have been borrowed from the acknowledged letters of St. Paul. The resemblances however which he points out are not greater than, or indeed so great as, those in other Epistles, and bear no traces of imitation.

8. A list of the Patristic commentaries comprising the whole of St. Paul's Epistles, will be found in the article on the EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. To this list should be added the work of Theodore of Mopsuestia, a portion of which containing the shorter Epistles from Galatians onwards is preserved in a Latin translation. The part relating to the Thessalonians is at present only accessible in the compilation of Rabanus Maurus (where it is quoted under the name of Ambrose), which ought to be read with the corrections and additions given by Dom Pitra (*Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 133). This commentary is attributed by Pitra to Hilary of Poitiers, but its true authorship was pointed out by Hort (*Journal of Class. and Sacr. Phil.* iv. p. 302). The portion of Cramer's *Catena* relating to this Epistle seems to be made up of extracts from Chrysostom, Severianus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

For the more important recent works on the whole of St. Paul's Epistles the reader may again be referred to the article on the Epistle to the Romans. The notes on the Thessalonians in Meyer's Commentary are executed by Lünemann. Of special annotators on the Thessalonian Epistles, the chief are, in Germany, Flatt (1829), Pelt (1830), Schott (1834), and Koch (2nd ed. 1855, the First Epistle alone), and in England Jowett (2nd ed. 1859) and Ellicott (2nd ed. 1862). [J. B. L.]

THESSALONIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE. 1. This Epistle appears to have been written from Corinth not very long after the First, for Silvanus and Timotheus were still with St. Paul (i. 1). In the former letter we saw chiefly the outpouring of strong personal affection, occasioned by the renewal of the Apostle's intercourse with the Thessalonians, and the doctrinal and hortatory portions are there subordinate. In the Second Epistle, on the other hand, his leading motive seems to have been the desire of correcting errors in the Church of Thessalonica. We notice two points especially which call forth his rebuke. *First*, it seems that the anxious expectation of the Lord's advent, instead of subsiding, had gained ground since the writing of the First Epistle. They now looked upon this great crisis as imminent, and their daily avocations were neglected in consequence. There were expressions in the First Epistle which, taken by themselves, might seem to favour this view; and at all events such was falsely represented to be the Apostle's doctrine. He now writes to soothe this restless spirit and quell their apprehensions by showing that many things must happen first, and that the end was not yet, referring to his oral teaching at Thessalonica in confirmation of this statement (ii. 1-12, iii. 6-12). *Secondly*, the Apostle had also a *personal* ground of complaint. His authority was not denied by any, but it was tampered with, and an unauthorised use was made of his name. It is difficult to ascertain the exact circumstances of the case from casual and indirect allusions, and indeed we may perhaps infer from the vagueness of the Apostle's own language that he himself was not in possession of definite information; but at all events his suspicions were aroused. Designing men might misrepresent his teaching in two ways, either by suppressing what he actually had written or said, or by forging letters and in other ways representing him as teaching what he had not taught. St. Paul's language hints in different places at both these modes of false dealing. He seems to have entertained suspicions of this dishonesty even when he wrote the First Epistle. At the close of that Epistle he binds the Thessalonians by a solemn oath, "in the name of the Lord," to see that the Epistle is read "to all the holy brethren" (v. 27)—a charge unintelligible in itself

and only to be explained by supposing some misgivings in the Apostle's mind. Before the Second Epistle is written, his suspicions seem to have been confirmed, for there are two passages which allude to these misrepresentations of his teaching. In the first of these he tells them in vague language, which may refer equally well to a false interpretation put upon his own words in the First Epistle, or to a supplemental letter forged in his name, "not to be troubled either by spirit or by word or by letter, as coming from us, as if the day of the Lord were at hand." They are not to be deceived, he adds, by any one, whatever means he employs (*κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον*, ii. 2, 3). In the second passage at the close of the Epistle he says, "The salutation of Paul with mine own hand, which is a token in every Epistle: so I write" (iii. 17)—evidently a precaution against forgery. With these two passages should be combined the expression in iii. 14, from which we infer that he now entertained a fear of direct opposition:—"If any man obey not our word conveyed by our Epistle, note that man."

It will be seen then that the teaching of the Second Epistle is corrective of, or rather supplemental to, that of the First, and therefore presupposes it. Moreover, the First Epistle bears on its face evidence that it is the first outpouring of his affectionate yearnings towards his converts after his departure from Thessalonica; while on the other hand the Second Epistle contains a direct allusion to a previous letter, which may suitably be referred to the First:—"Hold fast the tradition which ye were taught either by word or by letter from us" (ii. 15). We can scarcely be wrong therefore in maintaining the received order of the two Epistles. It is due however to the great names of Grotius and of Ewald (*Jahrb.* iii. p. 250; *Sendschr.* p. 16) to mention that they reverse the order, placing the Second Epistle before the First in point of time—on different grounds indeed, but both equally insufficient to disturb the traditional order, supported as it is by the considerations already alleged.

2. This Epistle, in the range of subject as well as in style and general character, closely resembles the First; and the remarks made on that Epistle apply for the most part equally well to this. The structure also is somewhat similar, the main body of the Epistle being divided into two parts in the same way, and each part closing with a prayer (ii. 16, 17, iii. 16; both commencing with *αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος*). The following is a table of contents:—

The opening salutation (i. 1, 2).

1. A general expression of thankfulness and interest, leading up to the difficulty about the Lord's Advent (i. 3–ii. 17).

(1.) The Apostle pours forth his thanksgiving for their progress in the faith; he encourages them to be patient under persecution, reminding them of the judgment to come, and prays that they may be prepared to meet it (i. 3-12).

(2.) He is thus led to correct the erroneous idea that the judgment is imminent, pointing out that much must happen first (ii. 1-12).

(3.) He repeats his thanksgiving and exhortation, and concludes this portion with a *prayer* (ii. 13-17).

2. Direct exhortation (iii. 1-16).

(1.) He urges them to pray for him, and confidently anticipates their progress in the faith (iii. 1-5).

(2.) He reproves the idle, disorderly, and disobedient, and charges the faithful to withdraw from such (iii. 6-15).

This portion again closes with a prayer (iii. 16).

The Epistle ends with a special direction and benediction (iii. 17, 18).

3. The external evidence in favour of the Second Epistle is somewhat more definite than that which can be brought in favour of the First. It seems to be referred to in one or two passages of Polycarp (iii. 15, in Polyc. c. 11, and possibly i. 4 in the same chapter; cf. Polyc. c. 3, and see Lardner, pt. ii. c. 6); and the language in which Justin Martyr (*Dial.* p. 336 D) speaks of the Man of Sin is so similar that it can scarcely be independent of this Epistle. The Second Epistle, like the First, is found in the canons of the Syriac and Old Latin Versions, and in those of the Muratorian fragment and of the heretic Marcion; is quoted expressly and by name by Irenaeus and others at the close of the second century, and was universally received by the Church. The internal character of the Epistle too, as in the former case, bears the strongest testimony to its Pauline origin. (See Jowett, i. 143.)

Its genuineness in fact was never questioned until the beginning of the present century. Objections were first started by Christ. Schmidt (*Einl. ins N. T.* 1804). He has been followed by Schrader (*Apostel Paulus*), Kern (*Tübing. Zeitschr. f. Theol.* 1839, ii. p. 145), and Baur (*Paulus der Apostel*). De Wette at first condemned this Epistle, but afterwards withdrew his condemnation and frankly accepted it as genuine.

It will thus be seen that this Epistle has been rejected by some modern critics who acknowledge the First to be genuine. Such critics of course attribute no weight to arguments brought against the First, such as we have considered already. The apocalyptic passage (ii. 1-12) is the great stumbling-block to them. It has been objected to, either as alluding to events subsequent to St. Paul's death, the Neronian persecution for instance; or as betraying religious views derived from the Montanism of the second century; or lastly, as contradicting St. Paul's anticipations expressed elsewhere, especially in the First Epistle, of the near approach of the Lord's advent. That there is no reference to Nero, we shall endeavour to show presently. That the doctrine of an Antichrist did not start into being with Montanism, is shown from the allusions of Jewish writers even before the Christian era (see Bertholdt, *Christ.* p. 69; Gfrörer, *Jahrh. des Heils*, pt. ii. p. 257); and appears still more clearly from the passage of Justin Martyr referred to in a former paragraph. That the language used of the Lord's coming in the Second Epistle does not contradict, but rather supplement the teaching of the First—postponing the day indeed, but still anticipating its approach as probable within the Apostle's lifetime—may be gathered both from expressions in the passage itself (*e. g.* ver. 7, "is already working"), and from other parts of the Epistle (i. 7, 8). Other special objections to the Epistle will scarcely command a hearing, and must necessarily be passed over here.

4. The most striking feature in the Epistle is this apocalyptic passage, announcing the revelation

of the "Man of Sin" (ii. 1-12); and it will not be irrelevant to investigate its meaning, bearing as it does on the circumstances under which the Epistle was written, and illustrating this aspect of the Apostle's teaching. He had dwelt much on the subject; for he appeals to the Thessalonians as knowing this truth, and reminds them that he had told them these things when he was yet with them.

(I.) The passage speaks of a great apostasy which is to usher in the advent of Christ, the great judgment. There are three prominent figures in the picture, Christ, Antichrist, and the Restrainer. Antichrist is described as the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, as the Adversary who exalteth himself above all that is called God, as making himself out to be God. Later on (for apparently the reference is the same) he is styled the "mystery of lawlessness," "the lawless one." The Restrainer is in one place spoken of in the masculine as a person (ὁ κατέχων), in another in the neuter as a power, an influence (τὸ κατέχον). The "mystery of lawlessness" is already at work. At present it is checked by the Restrainer; but the check will be removed, and then it will break out in all its violence. Then Christ will appear, and the enemy shall be consumed by the breath of His mouth, shall be brought to naught by the splendour of His presence.

(II.) Many different explanations have been offered of this passage. By one class of interpreters it has been referred to circumstances which passed within the circle of the Apostle's own experience, the events of his own lifetime, or the period immediately following. Others again have seen in it the prediction of a crisis yet to be realized, the end of all things. The former of these, the Praeterists, have identified the "Man of Sin" with divers historical characters—with Caligula, Nero, Titus, Simon Magus, Simon son of Giora, the high-priest Ananias, &c., and have sought for a historical counterpart to the Restrainer in like manner. The latter, the Futurists, have also given various accounts of the Antichrist, the mysterious power of evil which is already working. To Protestants for instance it is the Papacy; to the Greek Church, Mohammedanism. And in the same way each generation and each section in the Church has regarded it as a prophecy of that particular power which seemed to them and in their own time to be most fraught with evil to the true faith. A good account of these manifold interpretations will be found in Lünemann's Commentary on the Epistle, p. 204; *Schlussbem. zu* ii. 1-12. See also Alford, *Proleg.*

(III.) Now in arbitrating between the Praeterists and the Futurists, we are led by the analogy of other prophetic announcements, as well as by the language of the passage itself, to take a middle course. Neither is wholly right, and yet both are to a certain extent right. It is the special characteristic of prophecy to speak of the distant future through the present and immediate. The persons and events falling within the horizon of the prophet's own view, are the types and representatives of greater figures and crises far off, and as yet but dimly discerned. Thus the older prophets, while speaking of a delivery from the temporary oppression of Egypt or Babylon, spoke also of Messiah's kingdom. Thus our Lord himself, foretelling the doom which was even then hanging over the holy city, glances at the future judgment of the world as typified and portrayed in this; and the two are so interwoven that it is impossible to disentangle them. Following this analogy, we may agree with the Praeterists that St. Paul is referring to events which fell under his own cognizance; for indeed the Restrainer is said to be restraining now, and the mystery of iniquity to be already working: while at the same time we may accept the Futurist view, that the Apostle is describing the end of all things, and that therefore the prophecy has not yet received its most striking and complete fulfilment. This commingling of the immediate and partial with the final and universal manifestation of God's judgments, characteristic of all prophecy, is rendered more easy in St. Paul's case, because he seems to have contemplated the end of all things as possibly, or even probably, near at hand; and therefore the particular manifestation of Antichrist, which he witnessed with his own eyes, would naturally be merged in and identified with the final Antichrist in which the opposition to the Gospel will culminate.

(IV.) If this view be correct, it remains to inquire what particular adversary of the Gospel, and what particular restraining influence, St. Paul may have had in view. But, before attempting to approximate to an explanation, we may clear the way by laying down two rules. *First.* The imagery of the passage must be interpreted mainly by itself, and by the circumstances of the time. The symbols may be borrowed in some cases from the Old Testament; they may reappear in other parts of the New. But we cannot be sure that the same image denotes exactly the same thing in both cases. The language describing the Man of Sin is borrowed to some extent from the representation of Antiochus Epiphanes in the Book of Daniel, but Antiochus cannot be meant there. The great adversary in the Revelation seems to be the Roman power; but it may be widely different here. There were even in the Apostolic age "many Antichrists;" and we cannot be sure that the Antichrist present to the mind of St. Paul was the same with the Antichrist contemplated by St. John. *Secondly.* In all figurative passages it is arbitrary to assume that a person is denoted where we find a personification. Thus the "Man of Sin" here need not be an individual man; it may be a body of men, or a power, a spiritual influence. In the case of the Restrainer we seem to have positive ground for so interpreting it, since in one passage the neuter gender is used, "the thing which restraineth" (τὸ κατέχον), as if synonymous. (See Jowett's *Essay On the Man of Sin*, i. p. 178, rather for suggestions as to the mode of interpretation, than for the conclusion he arrives at.)

(V.) When we inquire then, what St. Paul had in view when he spoke of the "Man of Sin" and the Restrainer, we can only hope to get even an approximate answer by investigating the circumstances of the Apostle's life at this epoch. Now we find that the chief opposition to the Gospel, and especially to St. Paul's preaching at this time arose from the Jews. The Jews had conspired against the Apostle and his companions at Thessalonica, and he only saved himself by secret flight. Thence they followed him to Beroea, which he hurriedly left in the same way. At Corinth, whence the letters to the Thessalonians were written, they persecuted him still further, raising a cry of treason against him, and bringing him before the Roman proconsul. These incidents explain the strong expressions he uses of them in these Epistles: "They slew the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and per-

secuted the Apostles; they are hateful to God; they are the common enemies of mankind, whom the Divine wrath (ἡ ὀργή) at length overtakes" (1 Thess. ii. 15, 16). With these facts in view, it seems on the whole probable that the Antichrist is represented especially by Judaism. With a prophetic insight the Apostle foresaw, as he contemplated the moral and political condition of the race, the approach of a great and overwhelming catastrophe. And it is not improbable that our Lord's predictions of the vengeance which threatened Jerusalem blended with the Apostle's vision, and gave a colour to this passage. If it seem strange that "lawlessness" should be mentioned as the distinguishing feature of those whose very zeal for "the Law" stimulated their opposition to the Gospel, we may appeal to our Lord's own words (Matt. xxiii. 28), describing the Jewish teachers: "within they are full of hypocrisy and lawlessness (*ἀνομίας*)." Corresponding to this view of the Antichrist, we shall probably be correct in regarding the Roman Empire as the restraining power, for so it was taken by many of the Fathers, though without altogether understanding its bearing. It was to Roman justice and Roman magistrates that the Apostle had recourse at this time to shield him from the enmity of the Jews, and to check their violence. At Philippi, his Roman citizenship extorted an ample apology for ill-treatment. At Thessalonica, Roman law secured him fair play. At Corinth, a Roman proconsul acquitted him of frivolous charges brought by the Jews. It was only at a later date under Nero, that Rome became the antagonist of Christendom, and then she also in turn was fitly portrayed by St. John as the type of Antichrist. Whether the Jewish opposition to the Gospel entirely exhausted St. Paul's conception of the "mystery of lawlessness" as he saw it "already working" in his own day, or whether other elements did not also combine with this to complete the idea, it is impossible to say. Moreover at this distance of time and with our imperfect information, we cannot hope to explain the exact bearing of all the details in the picture. But following the guidance of history, we seem justified in adopting this as a probable, though only a partial, explanation of a very difficult passage.

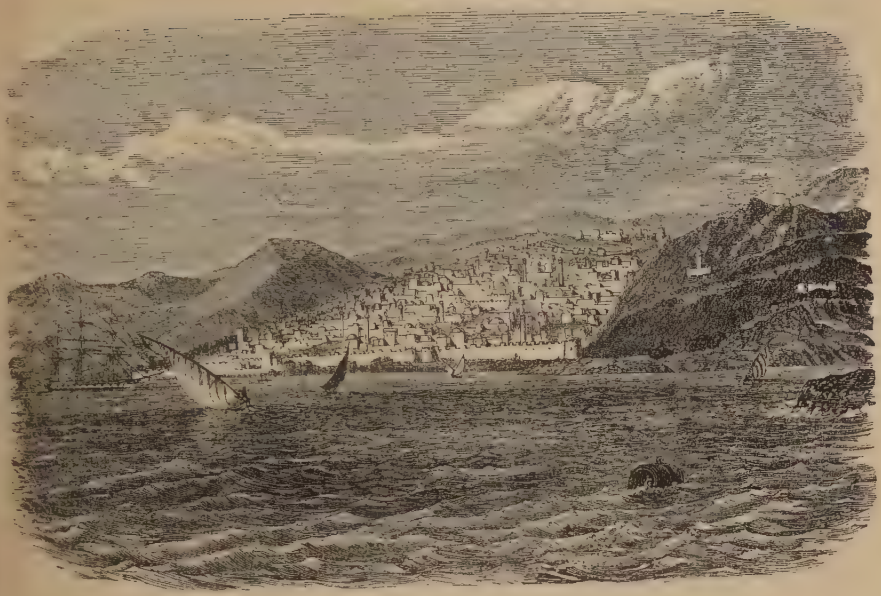
5. A list of commentaries has been given in the article on the First Epistle. [J. B. L.]

THESSALONI'CA (Θεσσαλονίκη). The original name of this city was Therma; and that part of the Macedonian shore on which it was situated ("Medio flexu litoris sinus Thermaici," Plin. *H. N.* iv. 10) retained through the Roman period the designation of the Thermaic Gulf. The history of the city under its earlier name was of no great note (see Herod. vii. 128 seqq.; Thucyd. i. 61, ii. 29; Aesch. *De fals. Leg.* p. 31). It rose into importance with the decay of Greek nationality. Cassander the son of Antipater rebuilt and enlarged it, and named it after his wife Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great. The first author in which the new appellation occurs is Polybius (xxiii. 4). The name ever since, under various slight modifications, has been continuous, and the city itself has never ceased to be eminent. *Salonîki* (though Adrianople may possibly be larger) is still the most important town of European Turkey, next after Constantinople.

Under the Romans, when MACEDONIA was divided into four governments, Thessalonica was made the capital of the second (Liv. xlv. 29); afterwards, when the whole was consolidated into one province, this city became practically the metropolis. Notices of the place now become frequent. Cicero was here in his exile (*pro Planc.* 41), and some of his letters were written from hence during his journeys to and from his own province of Cilicia. During the first Civil War it was the head-quarters of the Pompeian party and the Senate (Dion Cass. xli. 20). During the second it took the side of Octavius (Plut. *Brut.* 46; Appian, *B. C.* iv. 118), whence apparently it reaped the honour and advantage of being made a "free city" (libera civitas, Plin. *l. c.*), a privilege which is commemorated on some of its coins. Strabo in the first century speaks of Thessalonica as the most populous city in Macedonia (*μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων εὐανδρεῖ*), similar language to which is used by Lucian in the second century (*Asin.* 46).

Thus we are brought to St. Paul's visit (with Silas and Timothy)[a] during his second missionary journey, and to the introduction of Christianity into Thessalonica. Three circumstances must here be mentioned, which illustrate in an important manner this visit and this journey, as well as the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, which the Apostle wrote from Corinth very soon after his departure from his new Macedonian converts. (1.) This was the chief station on the great Roman Road, called the *Via Egnatia*, which connected Rome with the whole region to the north of the Aegean Sea. St. Paul was on this road at NEAPOLIS (Acts xvi. 11) and PHILIPPI (xvi. 12-40), and his route from the latter place (xvii. 1) had brought him through two of the well-known minor stations mentioned in the Itineraries. [AMPHIPOLIS; APOLLONIA.] (2.) Placed as it was on this great Road, and in connexion with other important Roman ways ("posita in gremio imperii Romani," to use Cicero's words), Thessalonica was an invaluable centre for the spread of the Gospel. And it must be remembered that, besides its inland communication with the rich plains of Macedonia and with far more remote regions, its maritime position made it a great emporium of trade by sea. In fact it was nearly, if not quite, on a level with Corinth and Ephesus in its share of the commerce of the Levant. Thus we see the force of what St. Paul says in his First Epistle, shortly after leaving Thessalonica—*ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἐξήχηται ὁ λόγος τοῦ Κυρίου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ* (i. 8). (3.) The circumstance noted in Acts xvii. 1, that here was the synagogue of the Jews in this part of Macedonia, had evidently much to do with the Apostle's plans, and also doubtless with his success. Trade would inevitably bring Jews to Thessalonica: and it is remarkable that, ever since, they have had a prominent place in the annals of the city. They are mentioned in the seventh century during the Sclavonic wars; and again in the twelfth by Eustathius and Benjamin of Tudela. In the

[a] Timothy is not mentioned in any part of the direct narrative of what happened at Thessalonica, though he appears as St. Paul's companion before at Philippi (Acts xvi. 1-13), and afterwards at Beroea (xvii. 14, 15); but from his subsequent mission to Thessalonica (1 Thess. iii. 1-7; see Acts xviii. 5), and the mention of his name in the opening salutation of both Epistles to the Thessalonians, we can hardly doubt that he had been with the Apostle throughout.



Thessalonica.

fifteenth century there was a great influx of Spanish Jews. At the present day the numbers of residents in the Jewish quarter (in the south-east part of the town) are estimated at 10,000 or 20,000, out of an aggregate population of 60,000 or 70,000.

The first scene of the Apostle's work at Thessalonica was the Synagogue. According to his custom he began there, arguing from the Ancient Scriptures (Acts xvii. 2, 3): and the same general results followed, as in other places. Some believed, both Jews and proselytes, and it is particularly added, that among these were many influential women (ver. 4); on which the general body of the Jews, stirred up with jealousy, excited the Gentile population to persecute Paul and Silas (vers. 5-10). It is stated that the ministrations among the Jews continued for three weeks (ver. 2). Not that we are obliged to limit to this time the whole stay of the Apostles at Thessalonica. A flourishing Church was certainly formed there: and the Epistles show that its elements were much more Gentile than Jewish. St. Paul speaks of the Thessalonians as having turned "from idols;" and he does not here, as in other Epistles, quote the Jewish Scriptures. In all respects it is important to compare these two letters with the narrative in the Acts; and such references have the greater freshness from the short interval which elapsed between visiting the Thessalonians and writing to them. Such expressions as ἐν θλίψει πολλῇ (1 Thess. i. 6), and ἐν πολλῷ ἀγῶνι (ii. 2), sum up the suffering and conflict which Paul and Silas and their converts went through at Thessalonica. (See also 1 Thess. ii. 14, 15, iii. 3, 4; 2 Thess. i. 4-7.) The persecution took place through the instrumentality of worthless idlers (τῶν ἀγοραίων ἄνδρας τινὰς πονηρούς, Acts xvii. 5), who, instigated by the Jews, raised a tumult. The house of Jason, with whom the Apostles seem to have been residing, was attacked; they themselves were not found, but Jason was brought before the authorities on the accusation that the Christians were trying to set up a new King in opposition to the Emperor; a guarantee (τὸ ἱκανόν) was taken from Jason and others for the maintenance of the peace, and Paul and Silas were sent away by night southwards to BEROEA (Acts xvii. 5-10). The particular charge brought against the Apostles receives an illustration from the Epistles, where the *kingdom* of Christ is prominently mentioned (1 Thess. ii. 12; 2 Thess. i. 5). So again, the doctrine of the Resurrection is conspicuous both in St. Luke's narrative (xvii. 3), and in the first letter (i. 10, iv. 14, 16). If we pass from these points to such as are personal, we are enabled from the Epistles to complete the picture of St. Paul's conduct and attitude at Thessalonica, as regards his love, tenderness, and zeal, his care of individual souls, and his disinterestedness (see 1 Thess. i. 5, ii. 1-10). As to this last point, St. Paul was partly supported here by contributions from Philippi (Phil. iv. 15, 16), partly by the labour of his own hands, which he diligently practised for the sake of the better success of the Gospel, and that he might set an example to the idle and selfish. (He refers very expressly to what he had said and done at Thessalonica in regard to this point. See 1 Thess. ii. 9, iv. 11; comparing 2 Thess. iii. 8-12.) [THESSALONIANS, EPISTLES TO.] To complete the account of St. Paul's connexion with Thessalonica, it must be noticed that he was certainly there again, though the name of the city is not specified, on his third missionary journey, both in going and returning (Acts xx. 1-3). Possibly he was also there again, after his liberation from his first imprisonment. See Phil. i. 25, 26, ii. 24, for the hope of revisiting Macedonia, entertained by the Apostle at Rome, and 1 Tim. i. 3; 2 Tim. iv. 13; Tit. iii. 12, for subsequent journeys in the neighbourhood of Thessalonica.

Of the first Christians of Thessalonica, we are able to specify by name the above-mentioned Jason (who may be the same as the Apostle's own kinsman mentioned in Rom. xvi. 21), Demas (at least conjec

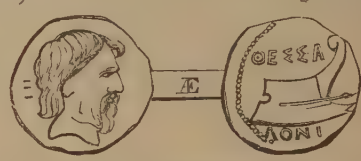
turalv; see 2 Tim. iv. 10), Gaius, who shared some of St. Paul's perils at Ephesus (Acts xix. 29), Secundus, who accompanied him from Macedonia to Asia on the eastward route of his third missionary journey, and was probably concerned in the business of the collection; see Acts xx. 4), and especially Aristarchus (who, besides being mentioned here with Secundus, accompanied St. Paul on his voyage to Rome, and had therefore probably been with him during the whole interval, and is also specially referred to in two of the Epistles written during the first Roman imprisonment. See Acts xxvii. 2; Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24; also Acts xix. 29, for his association with the Apostle at Ephesus in the earlier part of the third journey).

We must recur, however, to the narrative in the Acts, for the purpose of noticing a singularly accurate illustration which it affords of the political constitution of Thessalonica. Not only is the *demus* mentioned (*τὸν δῆμον*, Acts xvii. 5) in harmony with what has been above said of its being a "free city," but the peculiar title, *politarchs* (*πολιτάρχας*, ib. 6), of the chief magistrates. This term occurs in no other writing; but it may be read to this day conspicuously on an arch of the early Imperial times, which spans the main street of the city. From this inscription it would appear that the number of politarchs was seven. The whole may be seen in Boeckh, *Corp. Insc.* No. 1967.

This seems the right place for noticing the other remains at Thessalonica. The arch first mentioned (called the *Vardár* gate) is at the western extremity of the town. At its eastern extremity is another Roman arch of later date, and probably commemorating some victory of Constantine. The main street, which both these arches cross, and which intersects the city from east to west, is undoubtedly the line of the *Via Egnatia*. Near the course of this street, and between the two arches, are four Corinthian columns supporting an architrave, and believed by some to have belonged to the Hippodrome, which is so famous in connection with the history of Theodosius. Two of the mosques have been anciently heathen temples. The city walls are of late Greek construction, but resting on a much older foundation, with hewn stones of immense thickness. The castle contains the fragments of a shattered triumphal arch, erected in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

A word must be said, in conclusion, on the later ecclesiastical history of Thessalonica. For during several centuries this city was the bulwark, not simply of the later Greek Empire, but of Oriental Christendom, and was largely instrumental in the conversion of the Slavonians and Bulgarians. Thus it received the designation of "the Orthodox City;" and its struggles are very prominent in the writings of the Byzantine historians. Three conspicuous passages are, its capture by the Saracens, A.D. 904 (Jo. Cameniata, *De Excidio Thessalonicensi*, with Theophanes Continuatus, 1838); by the Crusaders in 1185 (Nicetas Choniates, *De Andron. Comneno*, 1835; also Eustath. *De Thessalonicâ a Latinis captâ*, in the same vol. with Leo Grammaticus, 1842); and finally by the Turks under Amurath II. in 1430 (Jo. Anagnostes, *De Thessalonicensi Excidio Narratio*, with Phrantzes and Cananus, 1838). The references are to the Bonn editions. A very large part of the population at the present day is Greek; and Thessalonica may still be destined to take a prominent part in struggles connected with nationality and religion.

The travellers to whom it is most important to refer, as having given full accounts of this place, are Clarke (*Travels in Europe*, &c., 1810-1823), Sir H. Holland (*Travels in the Ionian Isles*, &c., 1815), Cousinery (*Voyage dans la Macedoine*, 1831), and Leake (*Northern Greece*, 1835). An antiquarian essay on the subject by the Abbé Belley will be found in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxviii. *Sect. Hist.* pp. 121-146. But the most elaborate work is that of Tafel, the first part of which was published at Tübingen in 1835. This was afterwards reprinted as "Prolegomena" to the *Dissertatio de Thessalonicâ ejusque Agro Geographico*, Berlin, 1839. With this should be compared his work on the *Via Egnatia*. The Commentaries on the Epistles to the Thessalonians of course contain useful compilations on the subject. Among these, two of the most copious are those of Koch (Berlin, 1849) and Lünemann (Göttingen, 1850). [J. S. H.]



Coin of Thessalonica.

THEU'DAS (Θευδᾶς: *Theodas*: and probably = תּוֹדָה), the name of an insurgent mentioned in Gamaliel's speech before the Jewish council (Acts v. 35-39) at the time of the arraignment of the Apostles. He appeared, according to Luke's account, at the head of about four hundred men; he sought not merely to lead the people astray by false doctrine, but to accomplish his designs by violence; he entertained a high conceit of himself (*λέγων εἶναί τινα ἑαυτόν*); was slain at last (*ἀνῃρέθη*), and his party was dispersed and brought to nothing (*διελύθησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν*). Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 5, §1) speaks of a Theudas who played a similar part in the time of Claudius, about A.D. 44, *i. e.* some ten or twelve years at least later than the delivery of Gamaliel's speech; and since Luke places his Theudas, in the order of time, before Judas the Galilean, who made his appearance soon after the dethronement of Archelaüs, *i. e.* A.D. 6 or 7 (Jos. *B. J.* ii. 8, §1; *Ant.* xviii. 1, §6, xx. 5, §2), it has been charged that the writer of the Acts either fabricated the speech put into the mouth of Gamaliel, or has wrought into it a transaction which took place thirty years or more after the time when it is said to have occurred (see Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 132, seq.). Here we may protest, at the outset, against the injustice of hastily imputing to Luke so gross an error; for having established his character in so many decisive instances in which he has alluded, in the course of the Acts, to persons, places, customs, and events in sacred and profane history, he has a right to the presumption that he was well informed also as to the facts in this particular passage.[a] Every principle of just criticism demands that, instead of

[a] It may not be amiss to remind the reader of some fine remarks, in illustration of Luke's historical accuracy, in Tholuck's *Glaubwürdigkeit der Evang. Geschichte*, pp. 161-177, 375-389. See also Ebrard, *Evangelische Kritik*, pp. 678, sq.; and Lechler, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter*, pp. 6, sq.

distrusting him as soon as he goes beyond our means of verification, we should avail ourselves of any supposition for the purpose of upholding his credibility which the conditions of the case will allow.

Various solutions of the difficulty have been offered. The two following have been suggested as especially commending themselves by their fulfilment of every reasonable requisition, and as approved by learned and judicious men:—(1.) Since Luke represents Theudas as having preceded Judas the Galilean [see vol. i. p. 1160], it is certain that he could not have appeared later, at all events, than the latter part of the reign of Herod the Great. The very year, now, of that monarch's death was remarkably turbulent; the land was overrun with belligerent parties, under the direction of insurrectionary chiefs or fanatics. Josephus mentions but three of these disturbers *by name*; he passes over the others with a general allusion. Among those whom the Jewish historian has omitted to name, may have been the Theudas whom Gamaliel cites as an example of unsuccessful innovation and insubordination. The name was not an uncommon one (Winer, *Realwb.* ii. 609); and it can excite no surprise that one Theudas, who was an insurgent, should have appeared in the time of Augustus, and another, fifty years later, in the time of Claudius. As analogous to this supposition is the fact that Josephus gives an account of four men named *Simon*, who followed each other within forty years, and of three named *Judas*, within ten years, who were all instigators of rebellion. This mode of reconciling Luke with Josephus is affirmed by Lardner (*Credibility*, vol. i. p. 429), Bengel, Kuinoel, Olshausen, Anger (*de Tempp. in Act. Apost. Ratione*, p. 185), Winer, and others.

(2.) Another explanation (essentially different only as proposing to identify the person) is, that Luke's Theudas may have been one of the three insurgents whose names are mentioned by Josephus in connexion with the disturbances which took place about the time of Herod's death. Sonntag (*Theol. Stud. u. Kritik.* 1837, p. 622, &c.) has advanced this view, and supported it with much learning and ability. He argues that the Theudas referred to by Gamaliel is the individual who occurs in Josephus under the name of Simon (*B. J.* ii. 4, §2; *Ant.* xvii. 10, §6), a slave of Herod, who attempted to make himself king, amid the confusion which attended the vacancy of the throne when that monarch died. He urges the following reasons for that opinion: first, this Simon, as he was the most noted among those who disturbed the public peace at that time, would be apt to occur to Gamaliel as an illustration of his point; secondly, he is described as a man of the same lofty pretensions (εἶναι ἄξιος ἐλπίσας παρ' ὀντινοῦν = λέγων εἶναί τινα ἑαυτόν); thirdly, he died a violent death, which Josephus does not mention as true of the other two insurgents; fourthly, he appears to have had comparatively few adherents, in conformity with Luke's ὡσεὶ τετρακοσίων; and, lastly, his having been originally a slave accounts for the twofold appellation, since it was very common among the Jews to assume a different name on changing their occupation or mode of life. It is very possible, therefore, that Gamaliel speaks of him as Theudas, because, having borne that name so long at Jerusalem, he was best known by it to the members of the Sanhedrim; and that Josephus, on the contrary, who wrote for Romans and Greeks, speaks of him as Simon, because it was under that name that he set himself up as king, and in that way acquired his foreign notoriety (see Tacit. *Hist.* v. 9).

There can be no valid objection to either of the foregoing suppositions: both are reasonable, and both must be disproved before Luke can be justly charged with having committed an anachronism in the passage under consideration. So impartial a witness as Jost, the historian of the Jews (*Geschichte der Israeliten*, ii. Anh. p. 76), admits the reasonableness of such combinations, and holds in this case to the credibility of Luke, as well as that of Josephus. The considerate Lardner (*Credibility*, vol. i. p. 433), therefore, could well say here, "Indeed I am surprised that any learned man should find it hard to believe that there were two impostors of the name of Theudas in the compass of forty years." It is hardly necessary to advert to other modes of explanation. Josephus was by no means infallible, as Strauss and critics of his school may almost be said to take for granted; and it is possible certainly (this is the position of some) that Josephus himself may have misplaced the time of Theudas, instead of Luke, who is charged with that oversight. Calvin's view that Judas the Galilean appeared not *after* but *before* Theudas (μετὰ τοῦτον = *insuper* vel *praeterea*), and that the examination of the Apostles before the Sanhedrim occurred in the time of Claudius (contrary to the manifest chronological order of the Acts), deserves mention only as a waymark of the progress which has been made in Biblical exegesis since his time. Among other writers, in addition to those already mentioned, who have discussed this question or touched upon it, are the following:—Wieseler, *Chronologie der Apost. Zeitalters*, 138; Neander, *Geschichte der Pflanzung*, i. 75, 76; Guerike, *Beiträge zur Einleit. ins N. Test.* 90; Baumgarten, *Apostelgeschichte*, i. 114; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* ii. 704; Biscoe, *History of the Acts*, 428; and Wordsworth's *Commentary*, ii. 26.

[H. B. H.]

THIEVES, THE TWO. The men who under this name appear in the history of the crucifixion were robbers (λῃσταί) rather than thieves (κλέπται), belonging to the lawless bands by which Palestine was at that time and afterwards infested (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 10, §8, xx. 8, §10). Against these brigands every Roman procurator had to wage continual war (Jos. *B. J.* ii. 13, §2). The parable of the Good Samaritan shows how common it was for them to attack and plunder travellers even on the high road from Jerusalem to Jericho (Luke x. 30). It was necessary to use an armed police to encounter them (Luke xxii. 52). Often, as in the case of Barabbas, the wild robber life was connected with a fanatic zeal for freedom, which turned the marauding attack into a popular insurrection (Mark xv. 7). For crimes such as these the Romans had but one sentence. Crucifixion was the penalty at once of the robber and the rebel (Jos. *B. J.* ii. 13, §2).

Of the previous history of the two who suffered on Golgotha we know nothing. They had been tried and condemned, and were waiting their execution before our Lord was accused. It is probable enough, as the death of Barabbas was clearly expected at the same time, that they were among the συστασιασταί who had been imprisoned with him, and had taken part in the insurrection in which zeal, and hate, and patriotism, and lust of plunder were mingled in wild confusion.

They had expected to die with Jesus Barabbas

[Comp. BARABBAS.] They find themselves with one who bore the same name, but who was described in the superscription on his cross as Jesus of Nazareth. They could hardly fail to have heard something of his fame as a prophet, of his triumphal entry as a king. They now find him sharing the same fate as themselves, condemned on much the same charge (Luke xxiii. 5). They too would bear their crosses to the appointed place, while He fainted by the way. Their garments would be parted among the soldiers. For them also there would be the drugged wine, which He refused, to dull the sharp pain of the first hours on the cross. They catch at first the prevailing tone of scorn. A king of the Jews who could neither save himself nor help them, whose followers had not even fought for him (John xviii. 36), was strangely unlike the many chieftains whom they had probably known claiming the same title (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 10, §8), strangely unlike the "notable prisoner" for whom they had not hesitated, it would seem, to incur the risk of bloodshed. But over one of them there came a change. The darkness which, at noon, was beginning to steal over the sky awed him, and the divine patience and silence and meekness of the sufferer touched him. He looked back upon his past life, and saw an infinite evil. He looked to the man dying on the cross beside him, and saw an infinite compassion. There indeed was one unlike all other "kings of the Jews" whom the robber had ever known. Such an one must be all that He had claimed to be. To be forgotten by that king seems to him now the most terrible of all punishments; to take part in the triumph of His return, the most blessed of all hopes. The yearning prayer was answered, not in the letter, but in the spirit. To him alone, of all the myriads who had listened to Him, did the Lord speak of Paradise [comp. PARADISE], waking with that word the thoughts of a purer past and the hopes of an immediate rest. But its joy was to be more than that of fair groves and pleasant streams. "Thou shalt be *with me*." He should be *remembered* there.

We cannot wonder that a history of such wonderful interest should at all times have fixed itself on men's minds, and led them to speculate and ask questions which we have no data to answer. The simplest and truest way of looking at it has been that of those who, from the great Alexandrian thinker (Origen, *in Rom.* iii.) to the writer of the most popular hymn of our own times, have seen in the "dying thief" the first great typical instance that "a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." Even those whose thoughts were less deep and wide acknowledged that in this and other like cases the baptism of blood supplied the place of the outward sign of regeneration (Hilar. *De Trinit.* c. x.; Jerome, *Ep.* xiii.). The logical speculations of the Pelagian controversy overclouded, in this as in other instances, the clear judgment of Augustine. Maintaining the absolute necessity of baptism to salvation, he had to discuss the question whether the penitent thief had been baptised or not, and he oscillates, with melancholy indecision, between the two answers. At times he is disposed to rest contented with the solution which had satisfied others. Then again he ventures on the conjecture that the water which sprang forth from the pierced side had sprinkled him, and so had been a sufficient baptism. Finally, yielding to the inexorable logic of a sacramental theory, he rests in the assumption that he probably had been baptised before, either in his prison or before he entered on his robber-life (comp. *De Animâ*, i. 11, iii. 12; *Serm. de Temp.* 130; *Retract.* i. 26, iii. 18, 55).

Other conjectures turn more on the circumstances of the history. Bengel, usually acute, here overshoots the mark, and finds in the Lord's words to him, dropping all mention of the Messianic kingdom, an indication that the penitent thief was a Gentile, the impenitent a Jew, and that thus the scene on Calvary was typical of the position of the two Churches (*Gnomon N. T. in* Luke xxiii.). Stier (*Words of the Lord Jesus*, in loc.) reads in the words of reproof (οὐδὲ φοβῇ σὺ τὸν θεὸν) the language of one who had all along listened with grief and horror to the revilings of the multitude, the burst of an indignation previously suppressed. The Apocryphal Gospels, as usual, do their best to lower the divine history to the level of a legend. They follow the repentant robber into the unseen world. He is the first to enter Paradise of all mankind. Adam and Seth and the patriarchs find him already there bearing his cross. Michael the archangel had led him to the gate, and the fiery sword had turned aside to let him pass (*Evang. Nicod.* ii. 10). Names were given to the two robbers. Demas or Dismas was the penitent thief, hanging on the right, Gestas the impenitent on the left (*Evang. Nicod.* i. 10; *Narrat. Joseph.* c. 3). The cry of entreaty is expanded into a long wordy prayer (*Narr. Jos.* l. c.), and the promise suffers the same treatment. The history of the Infancy is made prophetic of that of the Crucifixion. The holy family, on their flight to Egypt, come upon a band of robbers. One of them, Titus (the names are different here), has compassion, purchases the silence of his companion, Dumachus, and the infant Christ prophesies that after thirty years Titus shall be crucified with him, and shall go before him into Paradise (*Evang. Infant.* c. 23). As in other instances [comp. MAGI], so in this, the fancy of inventors seems to have been fertile in names. Bede (*Collectan.*) gives Matha and Joca as those which prevailed in his time. The name given in the Gospel of Nicodemus has, however, kept its ground, and St. Dismas takes his place in the hagiology of the Syrian, the Greek, and the Latin Churches.

All this is, of course, puerile enough. The captious objections to the narrative of St. Luke as inconsistent with that of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and the inference drawn from them that both are more or less legendary, are hardly less puerile (Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, ii. 519; Ewald, *Christus, Gesch.* v. 438). The obvious answer to this is that which has been given by Origen (*Hom.* 35 *in Matt.*), Chrysostom (*Hom.* 88 *in Matt.*), and others (comp. Suicer, *s. v.* λῃστής). Both began by reviling. One was subsequently touched with sympathy and awe. The other explanation, given by Cyprian (*De Passione Domini*), Augustine (*De Cons. Evang.* iii. 16), and others, which forces the statement of St. Matthew and St. Mark into agreement with that of St. Luke by assuming a *synecdoche*, or *syllepsis*, or *enallage*, is, it is believed, far less satisfactory. The technical word does but thinly veil the contradiction which this hypothesis admits but does not explain. [E. H. P.]

THIMNA'THAH (תִּמְנָתָה: Θαμναθά; Alex. Θαυνα: *Themnatha*). A town in the allotment of Dan (Josh. xix. 43 only). It is named between Elon and Ekron. The name is the same as that o

the residence of Samson's wife (inaccurately given in A. V. TIMNAH); but the position of that place, which seems to agree with the modern *Tibneh* below *Zareah*, is not so suitable, being fully ten miles from *Akir*, the representative of Ekron. Timnah appears to have been almost as common a name as Gibeah, and it is possible that there may have been another in the allotment of Dan besides that represented by *Tibneh*. [G.]

THIS'BE (Θίσβη, or Θίβη). A name found only in Tob. i. 2, as that of a city of Naphtali from which Tobit's ancestor had been carried captive by the Assyrians. The real interest of the name resides in the fact that it is maintained by some interpreters (Hiller, *Onom.* 236, 947; Reland, *Pal.* 1035) to be the place which had the glory of giving birth to ELIJAH THE TISHBITE. This, however, is, at the best, very questionable, and derives its main support from the fact that the word employed in 1 K. xvii. 1 to denote the relation of Elijah to Gilead, if pointed as it now stands in the Received Hebrew Text, signifies that he was not a native of Gilead but merely a resident there, and came originally from a different and foreign district. But it is also possible to point the word so that the sentence shall mean "from Tishbi of Gilead," in which case all relation between the great Prophet and Thisbe of Naphtali at once falls to the ground. [See TISHBITE.]

There is however a truly singular variation in the texts of the passage in Tobit, a glance at which will show how hazardous it is to base any definite topographical conclusions upon it:—

A. V.	VULGATE.	LXX.	REVISED GREEK TEXT.	VETUS LATINA.
Out of Thisbe which is at the right hand of that city which is called properly Nephthali in Galilee above Aser.* [*Marg.* or Kedesh of Nephthali in Galilee, Judg. iv. 6.]	Out of the tribe and city of Nephthali which is in the upper parts of Galilee above Naasson, behind the road which leads to the west, having on the left hand the city of Sephet.	Out of Thisbe which is at the right hand of Kudiôs of Nephthaleim in Galilee above Aser.	Out of Thibe which is at the right hand of Kudiôn of Nephthaleim in Upper Galilee above Asser, behind the setting sun on the right of Phogor (Peor).	Out of the city of Bihil which is on the right hand of Edisse, a city of Nephthalim in Upper Galilee over against Naason, behind the road which leads to the west on the left of Raphain. [Another MS. reads Gebriel, Cydiscus, and Raphaim, for Bihil, Edisse, and Raphain.]

* *i. e.* probably, Hazor.

Assuming that Thisbe, and not Thibe, is the correct reading of the name, it has been conjectured (apparently for the first time by Keil, *Comm. über die Könige*, 247) that it originated in an erroneous rendering of the Hebrew word מֹתִשְׁבִי, which word in fact occurs in the Hebrew version of the passage, and may be pointed in two ways, so as to mean either "from the inhabitants of," or "from Tishbi," *i. e.* Thisbe. The reverse suggestion, in respect of the same word in 1 K. xvii. 1, has been already alluded to. [TISHBITE.] But this, though very ingenious, and quite within the bounds of possibility, is at present a mere conjecture, since none of the texts support it, and there is no other evidence in its favour.

No name resembling Thisbe or Thibe has been yet encountered in the neighbourhood of *Kedes* or *Safed*, but it seems impossible to suppose that the minute definition of the Latin and Revised Greek Texts—equalled in the sacred books only by the well-known description of the position of Shiloh in Judg. xxi. 19—can be mere invention. [G.]

THISTLE. [THORNS and THISTLES.]

THOM'AS (Θωμᾶς: *Thomas*), one of the Apostles. According to Eusebius (*H. E.* i. 13) his real name was Judas. This may have been a mere confusion with Thaddaeus, who is mentioned in the extract. But it may also be that Thomas was a surname. The word תְּאוֹמָא, *Thoma*,[a] means "a twin;" and so it is translated in John xi. 16, xxi. 2, ὁ δίδυμος. Out of this name has grown the tradition that he had a twin-sister, Lydia (*Patres Apost.* p. 272), or that he was a twin-brother of our Lord (Thilo, *Acta Thomae*, p. 94); which last, again, would confirm his identification with Judas (comp. Matt. xiii. 55).

He is said to have been born at Antioch (*Patres Apost.* pp. 272, 512).

In the catalogue of the Apostles he is coupled with Matthew in Matt. x. 3, Mark iii. 18, Luke vi. 15, and with Philip in Acts i. 13.

All that we know of him is derived from the Gospel of St. John; and this amounts to three traits, which, however, so exactly agree together, that, slight as they are, they place his character before us with a precision which belongs to no other of the twelve Apostles, except Peter, John, and Judas Iscariot. This character is that of a man, slow to believe, seeing all the difficulties of a case, subject to despondency, viewing things on the darker side, and yet full of ardent love for his Master.

The first trait is his speech when our Lord determined to face the dangers that awaited Him in Judaea on his journey to Bethany. Thomas said to his fellow-disciples, "Let us also go (καὶ ἡμεῖς) that we may die with Him" (John xi. 16). He entertained no hope of His escape—he looked on the journey as leading to total ruin; but he determined to share the peril. "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."

The second was his speech during the Last Supper. "Thomas saith unto Him, Lord, we know not whither thou goest, and how can we know the way" (xiv. 5)? It was the prosaic, incredulous doubt as to moving a step in the unseen future, and yet an eager inquiry to know how this step was to be taken.

The third was after the Resurrection. He was absent—possibly by accident, perhaps characteristically—from the first assembly when Jesus had appeared. The others told him what they had seen. He broke forth into an exclamation, the terms of which convey to us at once the vehemence of his doubt, and at the same time the vivid picture that

[a] In Cant. vii. 4, it is simply תְּאוֹם, exactly our "Tom." The frequency of the name in England is derived not from the Apostle, but from St. Thomas of Canterbury.

his mind retained of his Master's form as he had last seen Him lifeless on the cross. "Except I see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not, I cannot, believe" (οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω), John xx. 25.

On the eighth day he was with them at their gathering, perhaps in expectation of a recurrence of the visit of the previous week; and Jesus stood amongst them. He uttered the same salutation, "Peace be unto you;" and then turning to Thomas, as if this had been the special object of His appearance, uttered the words which convey as strongly the sense of condemnation and tender reproof, as those of Thomas had shown the sense of hesitation and doubt. "Bring thy finger hither [ὧδε—as if Himself pointing to His wounds] and see my hands; and bring thy hand and thrust it in my side; and do not become (μὴ γίνου) unbelieving (ἄπιστος), but believing (πιστός)." "He answers to the words that Thomas had spoken to the ears of his fellow-disciples only; but it is to the thought of his heart rather than to the words of his lips that the Searcher of hearts answers. . . . . Eye, ear, and touch, at once appealed to, and at once satisfied—the form, the look, the voice, the solid and actual body: and not the senses only, but the mind satisfied too; the knowledge that searches the very reins and the hearts; the love that loveth to the end, infinite and eternal" (Arnold's *Serm.* vi. 238).

The effect[b] on Thomas is immediate. The conviction produced by the removal of his doubt became deeper and stronger than that of any of the other Apostles. The words in which he expressed his belief contain a far higher assertion of his Master's divine nature than is contained in any other expression used by Apostolic lips, "My Lord, and my God." Some have supposed that κύριος refers to the human, θεός to the divine nature. This is too artificial. It is more to the point to observe the exact terms of the sentence, uttered (as it were) in astonished awe. "It is then my Lord and my God!"[c] And the word "my" gives it a personal application to himself. Additional emphasis is given to this declaration from its being the last incident narrated in the direct narrative of the Gospel (before the supplement of ch. xxi.), thus corresponding to the opening words of the prologue. "Thus Christ was acknowledged on earth to be what St. John had in the beginning of his Gospel declared Him to be from all eternity; and the words of Thomas at the end of the 20th chapter do but repeat the truth which St. John had stated before in his own words at the beginning of the first" (Arnold's *Serm.* vi. 401).

The answer of our Lord sums up the moral of the whole narrative: "Because[d] thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen me, and yet have believed" (xx. 29). By this incident, therefore, Thomas, "the Doubting Apostle," is raised at once to the Theologian in the original sense of the word. "Ab eo dubitatum est," says Augustine, "ne a nobis dubitaretur." It is this feature of his character which has been caught in later ages, when for the first time its peculiar lesson became apparent. In the famous statue of him by Thorwaldsen in the church at Copenhagen, he stands, the thoughtful, meditative sceptic, with the rule in his hand for the due measuring of evidence and argument. This scene was one of the favourite passages of the English theologian who in this century gave so great an impulse to the progress of free inquiry combined with fervent belief, of which Thomas is so remarkable an example. Two discourses on this subject occur in Dr. Arnold's published volumes of Sermons (v. 312, vi. 233). Amongst the last words which he repeated before his own sudden death (*Life and Correspondence*, 7th ed. 617) was the blessing of Christ on the faith of Thomas.

In the N. T. we hear of Thomas only twice again, once on the Sea of Galilee with the seven disciples, where he is ranked next after Peter (John xxi. 2), and again in the assemblage of the Apostles after the Ascension (Acts i. 13).

The close of his life is filled with traditions or legends; which, as not resting on Biblical grounds, may be briefly despatched.

The earlier traditions, as believed in the 4th century (Eus. *H. E.* i. 13, iii. 1; Socrat. *H. E.* i. 19), represent him as preaching in Parthia or Persia, and as finally buried at Edessa (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 18). Chrysostom mentions his grave at Edessa, as being one of the four genuine tombs of Apostles; the other three being Peter, Paul, and John (*Hom. in Heb.* 26). With his burial at Edessa agrees the story of his sending Thaddaeus to Abgarus with our Lord's letter (Eus. *H. E.* i. 13).

The later traditions carry him further East, and ascribe to him the foundation of the Christian Church in Malabar, which still goes by the name of "the Christians of St. Thomas;" and his tomb is shown in the neighbourhood. This, however, is now usually regarded as arising from a confusion with a later Thomas, a missionary from the Nestorians.

His martyrdom (whether in Persia or India) is said to have been occasioned by a lance; and is commemorated by the Latin Church on Dec. 21, by the Greek Church on Oct. 6, and by the Indians on July 1.

(For these traditions and their authorities, see Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Dec. 21). An apocryphal "Gospel of Thomas" (chiefly relating to the Infancy) is published in Tischendorf's *Evangelia Apocrypha*. The Apocryphal "Acts of Thomas" by Thilo (*Codex Apocryphus*). [A. P. S.]

THOMO'I (Θομοΐ: *Coësi*). THAMAH or TAMAH (1 Esd. v. 32).

THORNS and THISTLES. There appear to be eighteen or twenty Hebrew words which point to different kinds of prickly or thorny shrubs, but the context of the passages where the several terms occur affords, for the most part, scarcely a single clue whereby it is possible to come to anything like a satisfactory conclusion with regard to their respective identifications. These words are variously rendered in the A. V. by "thorns," "briers," "thistles," &c. It were a hopeless task to enter into a discussion of these numerous Hebrew terms; we shall not therefore attempt it, but confine our remarks to some of the most important names, and

[b] It is useless to speculate whether he obeyed our Lord's invitation to examine the wounds. The impression is that he did not.

[c] It is obviously of no dogmatic importance whether the words are an address or a description. That they are the latter, appears from the use of the nominative ὁ κύριος. The form ὁ θεός proves nothing, as this is used for the vocative. At the same time it should be observed that the passage is *said to Christ*, εἶπεν αὐτῷ.

[d] "Thomas" (Θῶμα) is omitted in the best MSS.

those which seem to afford some slight indications as to the plants they denote.

1. *Âtâd* (אָטָד: ἡ ῥάμνος: *rhamnus*) occurs as the name of some spinous plant in Judg. ix. 14, 15, where the A. V. renders it by "bramble" (Marg. "thistle"), and in Ps. lviii. 9 (A. V. "thorns"). The plant in question is supposed to be *Lycium Europaeum*, or *L. afrum* (Box-thorn), both of which species occur in Palestine (see Strand, *Flor. Palaest.* Nos. 124, 125). Dioscorides (i. 119) thus speaks of the Ῥάμνος: "The Rhamnus, which some call *persephonion*, others *leucacantha*, the Romans White-thorn, or *Cerbalis*, and the Carthaginians *atadin*, is a shrub which grows around hedges; it has erect branches with sharp spines, like the *oxyacantha* (Hawthorn?), but with small, oblong, thick, soft leaves." Dioscorides mentions three kinds of rhamnus, two of which are identified by Sprengel, in his Commentary, with the two species of *Lycium* mentioned above.[a] See Belon, *Observations de Plus. Sing.* &c., ii. ch. 78; Rauwolff, *Trav.* B. iii. ch. 8; Prosper Alpinus, *De Plant. Aegypt.* p. 21; Celsius, *Hierob.* i. p. 199. The Arabic

ـطد

name of this plant (أطد, *âtâd*) is identical with the Hebrew; but it was also known by the name

ـوسج

of *'Ausej.* (عوسج).

Lycium Europaeum.

Lycium Europaeum is a native of the south of Europe and the north of Africa; in the Grecian islands it is common in hedges (*English Cyclop.* "Lycium"). See also the passages in Belon and Rauwolff cited above.

2. *Chêdek* (חֶדֶק: ἄκανθα, σὴς ἐκτρώγων. *spina, paliurus*) occurs in Prov. xv. 19, "The way of the slothful is as an hedge of *Chêdek* (A. V. 'thorns')," and in Mic. vii. 4, where the A. V. has "brier." The Alexand. LXX., in the former passage, interprets the meaning thus, "The ways of the slothful are strewed with thorns." Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 35), referring the Heb. term to the

ـدق

Arabic *Chadak* (حدق), is of opinion that some spinous species of the *Solanum* is intended. The Arabic term clearly denotes some kind of *Solanum*; either the *S. melongela*, var. *esculentum*, or the *S. Sodomeum* ("apple of Sodom"). Both these kinds are beset with prickles; it is hardly probable, however, that they are intended by the Heb. word Several varieties of the Egg-plant are found in Palestine, and some have supposed that the famed Dead Sea apples are the fruit of the *S. Sodomeum* when suffering from the attacks of some insect; but see on this subject VINE OF SODOM. The Heb. term may be generic, and intended to denote any thorny plant suitable for hedges.

3. *Chôach* (חוֹחַ: ἄκαν, ἄκανθα, ἀκχιόχ, κνίδη: *paliurus, lappa, spina, tribulus*), a word of very uncertain meaning which occurs in the sense of some thorny plant in Is. xxxiv. 13, Hos. ix. 6, Prov. xxvi. 9, Cant. ii. 2, 2 K. xiv. 9, "the *chôach* of Lebanon sent to the cedar of Lebanon," &c. See also Job xxxi. 40: "Let *chôach* (A. V. 'thistles') grow instead of wheat." Celsius (*Hierob.* i. p. 477) believes the black-thorn (*Prunus sylvestris*) is denoted, but this would not suit the passage in Job just quoted, from which it is probable that some thorny weed of a quick growth is intended. Perhaps the term is used in a wide sense to signify any thorny plant; this opinion may, perhaps, receive some slight confirmation from the various renderings of the Hebrew word as given by the LXX. and Vulgate.

4. *Dardar* (דַּרְדַּר: τρίβολος: *tribulus*) is mentioned twice in connexion with the Heb. *kôts* (קוֹץ), viz. in Gen. iii. 18, "thorns and *thistles*" (A. V.), and in Hos. x. 8, "the thorn and the *thistle* shall come up on their altars." The Greek τρίβολος occurs in Matt. vii. 16, "Do men gather figs of thistles?" See also Heb. vi. 8, where it is rendered "briers" by the A. V. There is some difference of opinion as to the plant or plants indicated by the Greek τρίβολος and the Latin *tribulus*. Of the two kinds of land *tribuli* mentioned by the Greeks (Dioscorides, iv. 15; Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* vi. 7, §5), one is supposed by Sprengel, Stackhouse, Royle, and others, to refer to the *Tribulus terrestris*, Linn., the other to the *Fagonia Cretica*; but see Schneider's Comment. on Theophrastus *l. c.*, and Du Molin (*Flore Poétique Ancienne*, p. 305), who identifies the *tribulus* of Virgil with the *Centaurea calcitrapa*, Linn. ("star-thistle"). Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. p. 128) argues in favour of the *Fagonia Arabica*, of which a figure is given in Shaw's *Travels* (Catal. Plant. No. 229); see also Forskål, *Flor. Arab.* p. 88. It is probable that either the *Tribulus terrestris*, which, however, is not a spiny or thorny plant, but has spines on the fruit, or else the *C. calcitrapa*, is the plant which is more particularly intended by the word *dardar*.

[a] In his *Hist. Rei Herb.*, however, he refers the ῥάμνος to the *Ziziphus vulgaris*.

Tribulus Terrestris.

5. *Shâmîr* (שָׁמִיר), almost always found in connexion with the word *shaîth* (שַׁיִת), occurs in several places of the Hebrew text; it is variously rendered by the LXX., χέρσος, χόρτος, δέῤῥις, ἄγρωστις, ξηρά. According to Abu'lfadl, cited by Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 188), "the Samur (سمر) of the Arabs is a thorny tree; it is a species of *Sidra* which does not produce fruit." No thorny plants are more conspicuous in Palestine and the Bible Lands than different kinds of *Rhamnaceae* such as *Paliurus aculeatus* (Christ's Thorn), and *Zizyphus Spina Christi*; this latter plant is the *nebk* of the Arabs, which grows abundantly in Syria and Palestine, both in wet and dry places; Dr. Hooker noticed a specimen nearly 40 ft. high, spreading as widely as a good *Quercus ilex* in England. The *nebk* fringes the banks of the Jordan, and flourishes on the marshy banks of the Lake of Tiberias; it forms either a shrub or a tree, and, indeed, is quite common all over the country. The Arabs have the terms *Salam*, *Sidra*, *Dhâl*, *Nabca*, which appear to denote either varieties or different species of *Paliurus* and *Zizyphus*, or different states perhaps of the same tree; but it is a difficult matter to assign to each its particular signification. The *Naătsôts* (נַעֲצוּץ) of Is. vii. 19, lv. 13, probably denotes some species of *Zizyphus*. The "crown of thorns" which was put in derision upon our Lord's head just before his crucifixion, was probably composed of the thorny twigs of the *nebk* (*Zizyphus Spina Christi*) mentioned above; being common everywhere, they could readily be procured. "This plant," says Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 288), "was very suitable for the purpose, as it has many sharp thorns, and its flexible, pliant, and round branches might easily be plaited in the form of a crown; and what, in my opinion, seems to be the greatest proof is, that the leaves much resemble those of ivy, as they are a very deep green.[b] Perhaps the enemies of Christ would have a plant somewhat resembling that with which emperors and generals were used to be crowned, that there might be calumny even in the punishment." Still, as Rosenmüller (*Bib. Bot.* p. 201) remarks, "there being so many kinds of thorny plants in Palestine, all conjectures must remain uncertain, and can never lead to any satisfactory result." Although it is not possible to fix upon any one definite Hebrew word as the representative of any kind of "thistle," yet there can be no doubt this plant must be occasionally alluded to. Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 280) noticed six species of *Cardui* and *Cnici* on the road between Jerusalem and Rama; and Miss Beaufort speaks of giant thistles of the height of a man on horseback, which she saw near the ruins of Fellhâm (*Egyptian Sep. and Syrian Shrines*, ii. 45, 50). We must also notice another thorny plant and very troublesome weed, the rest-harrow (*Ononis spinosa*), which covers entire fields and plains both in Egypt and Palestine, and which, as Hasselquist says (p. 289), is no doubt referred to in some parts of the Holy Scripture.

Dr. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 59) illustrates Isa. xxxiii. 12, "the people shall be as the burning of lime, as thorns cut up shall they be burned in the fire," by the following observation, "Those people yonder are cutting up thorns with their mattocks and pruning-hooks, and gathering them into bundles to be burned in these burnings of lime. It is a curious fidelity to real life that when the thorns are merely to be destroyed, they are never cut up, but set on fire where they grow. They are *cut up* only for the lime-kiln." See also p. 342 for other Scriptural allusions. [W. H.]

THRA'CIA (Θρακία, ἡ). A Thracian horseman is incidentally mentioned in 2 Macc. xii. 35, apparently one of the bodyguard of Gorgias, governor of Idumaea under Antiochus Epiphanes. Thrace at this period included the whole of the country within the boundary of the Strymon, the Danube, and the coasts of the Aegean, Propontis, and Euxine—all the region, in fact, now comprehended in Bulgaria and Roumelia. In the early times it was inhabited by a number of tribes, each under its own chief, having a name of its own and preserving its own customs, although the same general character of ferocity and addiction to plunder prevailed throughout. Thucydides describes the limits of the country at the period of the Peloponnesian war, when Sitalces king of the Odrysae, who inhabited the valley of the Hebrus (*Maritza*), had acquired a predominant

[b] Hasselquist must have intended to restrict the similarity here spoken of entirely to the *colour* of the leaves, for the plants do not in the slightest degree resemble each other in the *form* of the leaves.

power in the country, and derived what was for those days a large revenue from it. This revenue, however, seems to have arisen mainly out of his relations with the Greek trading communities established on different points of his seaboard. Some of the clans, even within the limits of his dominion, still retained their independence; but after the establishment of a Macedonian dynasty under Lysimachus, the central authority became more powerful; and the wars on a large scale which followed the death of Alexander furnished employment for the martial tendencies of the Thracians, who found a demand for their services as mercenaries everywhere. Cavalry was the arm which they chiefly furnished, the rich pastures of Roumelia abounding in horses. From that region came the greater part of Sitalces's cavalry, amounting to nearly 50,000.

The only other passage, if any, containing an allusion to Thrace, to be found in the Bible, is Gen. x. 2, where—on the hypothesis that the sons of Japhet, who are enumerated, may be regarded as the eponymous representatives of different branches of the Japetian family of nations—*Tiras* has by some been supposed to mean Thrace; but the only ground for this identification is a fancied similarity between the two names. A stronger likeness, however, might be urged between the name Tiras and that of the Tyrsi or Tyrseni, the ancestors of the Italian Etruscans, whom, on the strength of a local tradition, Herodotus places in Lydia in the ante-historical times. Strabo brings forward several facts to show that, in the early ages, Thracians existed on the Asiatic as well as the European shore; but this circumstance furnishes very little help towards the identification referred to. (Herodotus, i. 94, v. 3, *seqq.*; Thucydides, ii. 97; Tacitus, *Annal.* iv. 35; Horat. *Sat.* i. 6.) [J. W. B.]

THRASE'AS (Θρασαῖος; *Tharsaeas*). Father of Apollonius (1). 2 Macc. iii. 5. [APOLLONIUS.]

THREE TAVERNS (Τρεῖς Ταβερναί: *Tres Tabernae*), a station on the Appian Road, along which St. Paul travelled from Puteoli to Rome (Acts xxviii. 15). The distances, reckoning southwards from Rome, are given as follows in the *Antonine Itinerary*, "to Aricia, 16 miles; to Three Taverns, 17 miles; to Appii Forum, 10 miles;" and, comparing this with what is observed still along the line of road, we have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that "Three Taverns" was near the modern *Cisterna*. For details see the *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geog.* ii. 1226 *b*, 1291 *b*.

Just at this point a road came in from Antium on the coast. This we learn from what Cicero says of a journey from that place to his villa at Formiae (*Att.* ii. 12). There is no doubt that "Three Taverns" was a frequent meeting-place of travellers. The point of interest as regards St. Paul is that he met here a group of Christians who (like a previous group whom he had met at APPII FORUM) came from Rome to meet him in consequence of having heard of his arrival at PUTEOLI. A good illustration of this kind of intercourse along the Appian Way is supplied by Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 12, §1) in his account of the journey of the pretender Herod-Alexander. He landed at Puteoli (Dicaearchia) to gain over the Jews that were there; and "when the report went about him that he was coming to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews that were there went out to meet him, ascribing it to Divine Providence that he had so unexpectedly escaped."

[J. S. H.]

THRESHING. [AGRICULTURE, i. p. 31.]

THRESHOLD. 1. [see GATE]. 2. Of the two words so rendered in A. V., one, *miphthân*,[a] seems to mean sometimes, as the Targum explains it, a projecting beam or corbel, at a higher point than the threshold properly so called (Ez. ix. 3, x. 4, 18).

THRESHOLDS, THE (הָאַסִּפִּי: ἐν τῇ συναγαγεῖν: *vestibula*). This word, *ha-Asuppi*, appears to be inaccurately rendered in Neh. xii. 25, though its real force has perhaps not yet been discovered. The "house of the Asuppim" (בֵּית הָאַסִּפִּים), or simply "the Asuppim," is mentioned in 1 Chr. xxvi. 15, 17, as a part, probably a gate, of the enclosure of the "House of Jehovah," *i. e.* the Tabernacle, as established by David—apparently at its S.W. corner. The allusion in Neh. xii. 25 is undoubtedly to the same place, as is shown not only by the identity of the name, but by the reference to David (ver. 24; compare 1 Chr. xxv. 1). *Asuppim* is derived from a root signifying "to gather" (Gesenius, *Thes.* 131), and in the absence of any indication of what the "house of the Asuppim" was, it is variously explained by the lexicographers as a storechamber (Gesenius) or a place of assembly (Fürst, Bertheau). The LXX. in 1 Chr. xxvi. have οἶκος Ἐσεφείν: Vulg. *domus seniorum concilium*. On the other hand the Targum renders the word by שֻׁקּוֹף, "a lintel," as if deriving it from סַף. [G.]

THRONE (כִּסֵּא). The Hebrew term *cissê* applies to any elevated seat occupied by a person in authority, whether a high-priest (1 Sam. i. 9), a judge (Ps. cxxii. 5), or a military chief (Jer. i. 15). The use of a chair in a country where the usual postures were squatting and reclining, was at all times regarded as a symbol of dignity (2 K. iv. 10; Prov. ix. 14). In order to specify a throne in our sense of the term, it was necessary to add to *cissê* the notion of royalty: hence the frequent occurrence of such expressions as "the throne of the kingdom" (Deut. xvii. 18; 1 K. i. 46; 2 Chr. vii. 18). The characteristic feature in the royal throne was its elevation: Solomon's throne was approached by six steps (1 K. x. 19; 2 Chr. ix. 18); and Jehovah's throne is described as "high and lifted up" (Is. vi. 1). The materials and workmanship were costly: that of Solomon is described as a "throne of ivory" (*i. e.* inlaid with ivory), and overlaid with pure gold in all parts except where the ivory was apparent. It was furnished with arms or "stays," after the manner of the Assyrian chair of state depicted on the next page. The steps were also lined with pairs of lions, the number of them being perhaps designed to correspond with that of the tribes of Israel. As to the form of the chair, we are only informed in 1 K. x. 19 that "the top was round behind" (apparently meaning either that the back was rounded off at the top, or that there was a circular canopy over it): in lieu of this particular we are told in 2 Chr. ix. 18 that "there was a footstool of gold, fastened to the throne," but the verbal agreement of the descriptions in other respects leads to the presumption that this variation arises out of a corrupted text (Thenius, *Comm.* in 1 K. *l. c.*), a presumption which is favoured by the fact that the

[a] מִפְתָּן; αἴθριον, *limen* (see Gen. 1141).

terms כֵּבֵשׁ and the Hophal form מֹאחָזִים occur nowhere else. The king sat on his throne on state occasions, as when granting audiences (1 K. ii. 19, xxii. 10; Esth. v. 1), receiving homage (2 K. xi. 19), or administering justice (Prov. xx. 8).

Assyrian throne or chair of state (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 301).

At such times he appeared in his royal robes (1 K. xxii. 10; Jon. iii. 6; Acts xii. 21). The throne was the symbol of supreme power and dignity (Gen. xli. 40), and hence was attributed to Jehovah both in respect to his heavenly abode (Ps. xi. 4, ciii. 19; Is. lxvi. 1; Acts vii. 49; Rev. iv. 2), or to his earthly abode at Jerusalem (Jer. iii. 17), and more particularly in the Temple (Jer. xvii. 12; Ez. xliii. 7). Similarly, "to sit upon the throne," implied the exercise of regal power (Deut. xvii. 18; 1 K. xvi. 11; 2 K. x. 30; Esth. i. 2), and "to sit upon the throne of another person," succession to the royal dignity (1 K. i. 13). In Nehemiah iii. 7, the term *cissê* is applied to the official residence of the governor, which appears to have been either on or near to the city wall. [W. L. B.]

THUMMIM. [URIM and THUMMIM.]

THUNDER (רַעַם). In a physical point of view, the most noticeable feature in connexion with thunder is the extreme rarity of its occurrence during the summer months in Palestine and the adjacent countries. From the middle of April to the middle of September it is hardly ever heard. Robinson, indeed, mentions an instance of thunder in the early part of May (*Researches*, i. 430), and Russell in July (*Aleppo*, ii. 289), but in each case it is stated to be a most unusual event. Hence it was selected by Samuel as a striking expression of the Divine displeasure towards the Israelites:—"Is it not wheat harvest to-day? I will call upon the Lord, and he shall send thunder and rain" (1 Sam. xii. 17). Rain in harvest was deemed as extraordinary as snow in summer (Prov. xxvi. 1), and Jerome asserts that he had never witnessed it in the latter part of June, or in July (*Comm.* on Am. iv. 7): the same observations apply equally to thunder, which is rarely unaccompanied with rain (Russell, i. 72, ii. 285). In the imaginative philosophy of the Hebrews, thunder was regarded as the voice of Jehovah (Job xxxvii. 2, 4, 5, xl. 9; Ps. xviii. 13, xxix. 3-9; Is. xxx. 30, 31), who dwelt behind the thunder-cloud (Ps. lxxxi. 7). Hence thunder is occasionally described in the Hebrew by the term "voices" (Ex. ix. 23, 28; 1 Sam. xii. 17). Hence the people in the Gospel supposed that the voice of the Lord was the sound of thunder (John xii. 29). Thunder was, to the mind of the Jew, the symbol of Divine power (Ps. xviii. 3, &c.), and vengeance (1 Sam. ii. 10; 2 Sam. xxii. 14; Ps. lxxvii. 18; Is. xxix. 6; Rev. viii. 5). It was either the sign or the instrument of His wrath on numerous occasions, as during the plague of hail in Egypt (Ex. ix. 23, 28), at the promulgation of the Law (Ex. xix. 16), at the discomfiture of the Philistines (1 Sam. vii. 10), and when the Israelites demanded a king (1 Sam. xii. 17). The term thunder was transferred to the war-shout of a military leader (Job xxxix. 25), and hence Jehovah is described as "causing His voice to be heard" in the battle (Is. xxx. 30). It is also used as a superlative expression in Job xxvi. 14, where the "thunder of his power" is contrasted with the "little portion," or rather the *gentle whisper* that can be heard. In Job xxxix. 19, "thunder" is a mistranslation for "a flowing mane." [W. L. B.]

THYATIRA (Θυάτειρα, τὰ: *civitas Thyatirenorum*). A city on the Lycus, founded by Seleucus Nicator. It was one of the many Macedonian colonies established in Asia Minor, in the sequel of the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander. It lay to the left of the road from Pergamus to Sardis, on the southern incline of the watershed which separates the valley of the Caicus (*Bakyrtchai*) from that of the Hermus, on the very confines of Mysia and Ionia, so as to be sometimes reckoned within the one, and sometimes within the other. In earlier times it had borne the names of Pelopia, Semiramis, and Euhippia. At the commencement of the Christian era, the Macedonian element so preponderated as to give a distinctive character to the population; and Strabo simply calls it a Macedonian colony. The original inhabitants had probably been distributed in hamlets round about, when Thyatira was founded. Two of these, the inhabitants of which are termed *Areni* and *Nagdemi*, are noticed in an inscription of the Roman times. The resources of the neighbouring region may be inferred both from the name Euhippia and from the magnitude of the booty which was carried off in a foray conducted jointly by Eumenes of Pergamus and a force detached by the Roman admiral from Canae, during the war against Antiochus. During the campaign of B.C. 190, Thyatira formed the base of the king's operations; and after his defeat, which took place only a few miles to the south of the city, it submitted, at the same time with its neighbour Magnesia-on-Sipylus, to the Romans, and was included in the territory made over by them to their ally the Pergamene sovereign.

During the continuance of the Attalic dynasty, Thyatira scarcely appears in history; and of the various inscriptions which have been found on the site, now called *Ak Hissar*, not one unequivocally belongs to earlier times than those of the Roman empire. The prosperity of the city seems to have received a new impulse under Vespasian, whose acquaintance with the East, previously to mounting the imperial throne, may have directed his attention to the development of the resources of the Asiatic cities. A bilingual inscription, in Greek and Latin, belonging to the latter part of his reign, shows him to have restored the roads in the domain of Thyatira. From others, between this time and that

of Caracalla, there is evidence of the existence of many corporate guilds in the city. Bakers, potters, tanners, weavers, robemakers, and dyers (*οἱ βαφεῖς*), are specially mentioned Of these last there is a notice in no less than three inscriptions, so that dyeing apparently formed an important part of the industrial activity of Thyatira, as it did of that of Colossae and Laodicaea. With this guild there can be no doubt that Lydia, the seller of purple stuffs (*πορφυρόπωλις*), from whom St. Paul met with so favourable a reception at Philippi (Acts xvi. 14), was connected.

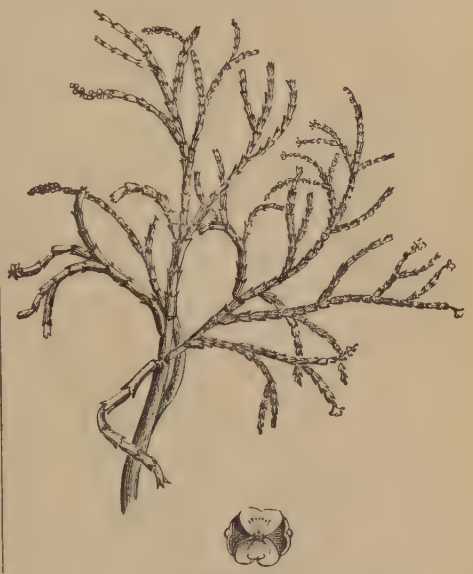
The principal deity of the city was Apollo, worshipped as the sun-god under the surname Tyrimnas. He was no doubt introduced by the Macedonian colonists, for the name is Macedonian. One of the three mythical kings of Macedonia, whom the genealogists placed before Perdiccas—the first of the Temenidae that Herodotus and Thucydides recognize—is so called; the other two being *Caranus* and *Coenus*, manifestly impersonations of the *chief* and the *tribe*. The inscriptions of Thyatira give Tyrimnas the titles of *πρόπολις* and *προπάτωρ θεός*; and a special priesthood was attached to his service. A priestess of Artemis is also mentioned, probably the administratrix of a cult derived from the earlier times of the city, and similar in its nature to that of the Ephesian Artemis. Another superstition, of an extremely curious nature, which existed at Thyatira, seems to have been brought thither by some of the corrupted Jews of the dispersed tribes. A fane stood outside the walls, dedicated to *Sambatha*—the name of the sibyl who is sometimes called Chaldaean, sometimes Jewish, sometimes Persian—in the midst of an enclosure designated "the Chaldaean's court" (*τοῦ Χαλδαίου περίβολος*). This seems to lend an illustration to the obscure passage in Rev. ii. 20, 21, which Grotius interprets of the wife of the bishop. The drawback against the commendation bestowed upon the angel of the Thyatiran Church is that he tolerates "that woman, that Jezebel, who, professing herself to be a prophetess, teaches and deludes my servants into committing fornication and eating things offered to idols." Time, however, is given her to repent; and this seems to imply a form of religion which had become condemnable from the admixture of foreign alloy, rather than one idolatrous *ab initio*. Now there is evidence to show that in Thyatira there was a great amalgamation of races. Latin inscriptions are frequent, indicating a considerable influx of Italian immigrants; and in some Greek inscriptions many Latin words are introduced. Latin and Greek names, too, are found accumulated on the same individuals,—such as Titus Antonius Alfenus Arignotus, and Julia Severina Stratonicis. But amalgamation of different races, in pagan nations, always went together with a syncretism of different religions, every relation of life having its religious sanction. If the sibyl Sambatha was really a Jewess, lending her aid to this proceeding, and not discountenanced by the authorities of the Judaeo-Christian Church at Thyatira, both the censure and its qualification become easy of explanation.

It seems also not improbable that the imagery of the description in Rev. ii. 18, *ὁ ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόγα πυρὸς, καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ*, may have been suggested by the current pagan representations of the tutelary deity of the city. See a parallel case at Smyrna. [SMYRNA.]

Besides the cults which have been mentioned, there is evidence of a deification of Rome, of Hadrian, and of the imperial family. Games were celebrated in honour of Tyrimnas, of Hercules, and of the reigning emperor. On the coins before the imperial times, the heads of Bacchus, of Athenè, and of Cybele, are also found: but the inscriptions only indicate a cult of the last of these.

(Strabo, xiii. c. 4; Pliny, *N. H.* v. 31; Liv. xxxvii. 8, 21, 44; Polybius, xvi. 1, xxxii. 25; Stephanus Byzant. *sub v.* Θυάτειρα; Boeckh, *Inscript. Graec. Thyatir.*, especially Nos. 3484-3499; Suidas, *v.* Σαμβήθη; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 35, Clinton, *F. H.* ii. 221; Hoffmann, *Griechenland*, ii. 1714.) [J. W. B.]

THYINE WOOD (*ξύλον θύϊνον*: *lignum thyinum*) occurs once only, viz. in Rev. xviii. 12, where the margin has "sweet" (wood). It is mentioned as one of the valuable articles of commerce that should be found no more in Babylon (Rome), whose fall is here predicted by St. John. There can be little doubt that the wood here spoken of is that of the *Thuya articulata*, Desfont., the *Callitris quadrivalvis* of present botanists. This tree was much prized by the ancient Greeks and Romans, on account



Thuya articulata.

of the beauty of its wood for various ornamental purposes. It is the *θυεία* of Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* iii. 4, §§2, 6); the *θύϊνον ξύλον* of Dioscorides (i. 21). By the Romans the tree was called *citrus*, the wood *citrum*. It is a native of Barbary, and grows to the height of 15 to 25 feet. Pliny (*N. H.* xiii. 15) says that the *citrus* is found abundantly in Mauretania. He speaks of a mania amongst his countrymen for tables made of its wood; and tells us that when the Roman ladies were upbraided by their husbands for their extravagance in pearls, they retorted upon them their excessive fondness for tables made of this wood. Fabulous prices were given for tables and other ornamental furniture made of citrus wood (see Pliny, *l. c.*). The Greek and Roman writers frequently allude to this wood. See a number of references in Celsius, *Hierob.* ii. 25. The roof of the mosque at

Cordova, built in the 9th cent., is of "thyine wood" (Loudon's *Arboretum*, iv. 2463). Lady Callcott says the wood is dark nut-brown, close grained, and very fragrant.[a] The resin known by the name of Sandarach is the produce of this tree, which belongs to the cypress tribe (*Cupressineae*), of the nat. order *Coniferae*. [W. H.]

TIBE'RIAS (Τιβεριάς: *Tiberias*), a city in the time of Christ, on the Sea of Galilee; first mentioned in the New Testament (John vi. 1, 23, xxi. 1), and then by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii., *Bel. Jud.* ii. 9, §1), who states that it was built by Herod Antipas, and was named by him in honour of the emperor Tiberius. It was probably a new town, and not a restored or enlarged one merely; for "Rakkath" (Josh. xix. 35), which is said in the Talmud to have occupied the same position, lay in the tribe of Naphtali (if we insist on the boundaries as indicated by the clearest passages), whereas Tiberias appears to have been within the limits of Zebulun (Matt. iv. 13). See Winer, *Realw.* ii. p. 619. The same remark may be made respecting Jerome's statement, that Tiberias succeeded to the place of the earlier Chinnereth (*Onomasticon*, sub voce); for this latter town, as may be argued from the name itself, must have been further north than the site of Tiberias. The tenacity with which its Roman name has adhered to the spot (see *infra*) indicates the same fact; for, generally speaking, foreign names in the East applied to towns previously known under names derived from the native dialect, as *e. g.* Epiphania for Hammath (Josh. xix. 35), Palmyra for Tadmor (2 Chr. viii. 4), Ptolemais for Akko (Acts xxi. 7), lost their foothold as soon as the foreign power passed away which had imposed them, and gave place again to the original appellations. Tiberias was the capital of Galilee from the time of its origin until the reign of Herod Agrippa II., who changed the seat of power back again to Sepphoris, where it had been before the founding of the new city. Many of the inhabitants were Greeks and Romans, and foreign customs prevailed there to such an extent as to give offence to the stricter Jews [HERODIANS]. Herod, the founder of Tiberias, had passed most of his early life in Italy, and had brought with him thence a taste for the amusements and magnificent buildings, with which he had been familiar in that country. He built a stadium there, like that in which the Roman youth trained themselves for feats of rivalry and war. He erected a palace, which he adorned with figures of animals, "contrary," as Josephus says (*Vit.* §12, 13, 64), "to the law of our countrymen." The place was so much the less attractive to the Jews, because, as the same authority states (*Ant.* xviii. 2, §3), it stood on the site of an ancient burial-ground, and was viewed, therefore, by the more scrupulous among them almost as a polluted and forbidden locality. Coins of the city of Tiberias are still extant, which are referred to the times of Tiberias, Trajan, and Hadrian.

The ancient name has survived in that of the modern *Tŭbarieh*, which occupies unquestionably the original site, except that it is confined to narrower limits than those of the original city. Near *Tŭbarieh*, about a mile further south along the shore are the celebrated warm baths, which the Roman naturalists (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 15) reckoned among the greatest known curiosities of the world. [HAMMATH.] The intermediate space between these baths and the town abounds with the traces of ruins, such as the foundations of walls, heaps of stone, blocks of granite, and the like; and it cannot be doubted, therefore, that the ancient Tiberias occupied also this ground, and was much more extensive than its modern successor. From such indications, and from the explicit testimony of Josephus, who says (*Ant.* xviii. 2, §3) that Tiberias was near Ammaus (Ἀμμαούς), or the Warm Baths, there can be no uncertainty respecting the identification of the site of this important city. It stood anciently as now, on the western shore, about two-thirds of the way between the northern and southern end of the Sea of Galilee. There is a margin or strip of land there between the water and the steep hills (which elsewhere in that quarter come down so boldly to the edge of the lake), about two miles long and a quarter of a mile broad. The tract in question is somewhat undulating, but approximates to the character of a plain. *Tŭbarieh*, the modern town, occupies the northern end of this parallelogram, and the Warm Baths the southern extremity; so that the more extended city of the Roman age must have covered all, or nearly all of the peculiar ground whose limits are thus clearly defined. (See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, ii. 380; and Porter's *Handbook*, ii. 421.) The present *Tŭbarieh* has a rectangular form, is guarded by a strong wall on the land side, but is left entirely open towards the sea. A few palm-trees still remain as witnesses of the luxuriant vegetation which once adorned this garden of the Promised Land, but they are greatly inferior in size and beauty to those seen in Egypt. The oleander grows here profusely, almost rivalling that flower so much admired as found on the neighbouring Plain of Gennesaret. The people, as of old, draw their subsistence in part from the adjacent lake. The spectator from his position here commands a view of almost the entire expanse of the sea, except the southern part, which is cut off by a slight projection of the coast. The precipices on the opposite side appear almost to overhang the water, but on being approached are found to stand back at some distance, so as to allow travellers to pass between them and the water. The lofty Hermon, the modern *Jebel-esh-Sheikh*, with its glistening snow-heaps, forms a conspicuous object of the landscape in the north-east. Many rock-tombs exist in the sides of the hills, behind the town, some of them no doubt of great antiquity, and constructed in the best style of such monuments. The climate here in the warm season is very hot and unhealthy; but most of the tropical fruits, as in other parts of the valley of the Jordan, become ripe very early, and, with industry, might be cultivated in great abundance and perfection. The article on GENNESARET [vol. i. p. 675] should be read in this connexion, since it is the relation of Tiberias to the surrounding region and the lake, which gave to it its chief importance in the first Christian age. The place is four and a half hours from Nazareth, one hour from Mejdel, possibly the ancient Magdala, and thirteen hours, by the shortest route, from *Bâniâs* or Caesarea Philippi.

It is remarkable that the Gospels give us no information, that the Saviour, who spent so much of his public life in Galilee, ever visited Tiberias. The surer meaning of the expression, "He went away beyond the sea of Galilee of Tiberias" in John vi. 1 (πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Γαλιλαίας τῆς Τιβε

[a] "It is highly balsamic and odoriferous, the resin, no doubt, preventing the ravages of insects as well as the influence of the air" (Loudon's *Arb. l. c.*).

ριάδος), is not that Jesus embarked from Tiberias, but, as Meyer remarks, that He crossed from the west side of the *Galilean sea of Tiberias* to the opposite side. A reason has been assigned for this singular fact, which may or may not account for it. As Herod, the murderer of John the Baptist, resided most of the time in this city, the Saviour may have kept purposely away from it, on account of the sanguinary and artful (Luke xiii. 32) character of that ruler. It is certain, from Luke xxiii. 8, that though Herod had heard of the fame of Christ, he never saw Him in person until they met at Jerusalem, and never witnessed any of his miracles. It is possible that the character of the place, so much like that of a Roman colony, may have been a reason why He who was sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, performed so little labour in its vicinity. The head of the lake, and especially the Plain of Gennesaret, where the population was more dense and so thoroughly Jewish, formed the central point of his Galilean ministry. The feast of Herod and his courtiers, before whom the daughter of Herodias danced, and in fulfilment of the tetrarch's rash oath demanded the head of the dauntless reformer, was held in all probability at Tiberias, the capital of the province. If, as Josephus mentions (*Ant.* xviii. 5, §2), the Baptist was imprisoned at the time in the castle of Machaerus beyond the Jordan, the order for his execution could have been sent thither, and the bloody trophy forwarded to the implacable Herodias at the palace where she usually resided. Gams (*Johannes der Taufer im Gefängniss*, p. 47, &c.) suggests that John, instead of being kept all the time in the same castle, may have been confined in different places, at different times. The three passages already referred to are the only ones in the New Testament which mention Tiberias by name, viz. John vi. 1, and xxi. 1 (in both instances designating the lake on which the town was situated), and John vi. 23, where boats are said to have come from Tiberias near to the place at which Jesus had supplied miraculously the wants of the multitude. Thus the lake in the time of Christ, among its other appellations, bore also that of the principal city in the neighbourhood; and in like manner, at the present day, *Bahr Tübarîeh*, "Sea of Tübarîeh," is almost the only name under which it is known among the inhabitants of the country.

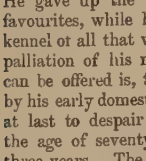
Tiberias has an interesting history, apart from its strictly Biblical associations. It bore a conspicuous part in the wars between the Jews and the Romans. The Sanhedrim, subsequently to the fall of Jerusalem, after a temporary sojourn at Jamnia and Sepphoris, became fixed there about the middle of the 2nd century. Celebrated schools of Jewish learning flourished there through a succession of several centuries. The Mishna was compiled at this place by the great Rabbi Judah Hakkodesh (A.D. 190). The Masorah, or body of traditions, which transmitted the readings of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and preserved by means of the vowel system the pronunciation of the Hebrew, originated in a great measure at Tiberias. The place passed, under Constantine, into the power of the Christians; and during the period of the Crusades was lost and won repeatedly by the different combatants. Since that time it has been possessed successively by Persians, Arabs, and Turks; and contains now, under the Turkish rule, a mixed population of Mahommedans, Jews, and Christians, variously estimated at from two to four thousand. The Jews constitute, perhaps, one-fourth of the entire number. They regard Tiberias as one of the four holy places (Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, are the others), in which, as they say, prayer must be offered without ceasing, or the world would fall back instantly into chaos. One of their singular opinions is that the Messiah when He appears will emerge from the waters of the lake, and landing at Tiberias, proceed to Safed, and there establish his throne on the highest summit in Galilee. In addition to the language of the particular country, as Poland, Germany, Spain, from which they or their families emigrated, most of the Jews here speak also the Rabbinic Hebrew, and modern Arabic. They occupy a quarter in the middle of the town, adjacent to the lake; just north of which, near the shore, is a Latin convent and church, occupied by a solitary Italian monk. Tiberias suffered terribly from the great earthquake in 1837, and has not yet recovered by any means from the effects of that disaster. In 1852, the writer of this article (later travellers report but little improvement) rode into the city over the dilapidated walls; in other parts of them not overthrown, rents were visible from top to bottom, and some of the towers looked as if they had been shattered by battering-rams. It is supposed that at least seven hundred of the inhabitants were destroyed at that time. This earthquake was severe and destructive in other parts of Galilee. It was a similar calamity no doubt, such as had left a strong impression on the minds of the people, to which Amos refers, at the beginning of his prophecy, as forming a well-known epoch from which other events were reckoned. There is a place of interment near Tiberias, in which a distinguished Rabbi is said to be buried with 14,000 of his disciples around him. The grave of the Arabian philosopher Lokman, as Burckhardt states, was pointed out here in the 14th century. Raumer's *Palästina* (p. 125) mentions some of the foregoing facts, and others of a kindred nature. The later fortunes of the place are sketched somewhat at length in Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, iii. 267-274 (ed. 1841). It is unnecessary to specify other works, as Tiberias lies in the ordinary route of travellers in the East, and will be found noticed more or less fully in most of the books of any completeness in this department of authorship.

Professor Stanley, in his *Notices of some Localities*, &c. (p. 193), has added a few charming touches to the admirable description already given in his *Sinai and Pal.* (368-82). [H. B. H.]

TIBE'RIAS, THE SEA OF (ἡ θαλάσση τῆς Τιβεριάδος: *mare Tiberiadis*). This term is found only in John xxi. 1, the other passage in which it occurs in the A. V. (ib. vi. 1) being, if the original is accurately rendered, "the sea of Galilee, of Tiberias." St. John probably uses the name as more familiar to non-residents in Palestine than the indigenous name of the "sea of Galilee," or "sea of Gennesaret," actuated no doubt by the same motive which has induced him so constantly to translate the Hebrew names and terms which he uses (such as Rabbi, Rabboni, Messias, Cephas, Siloam, &c.) into the language of the Gentiles. [GENNESARET SEA OF.] [G.]

TIBE'RIUS (Τιβέριος: in full, Tiberius Claudius Nero), the second Roman emperor, successor of Augustus, who began to reign A.D. 14, and reigned until A.D. 37. He was the son of Tiberius Claudius Nero and Livia, and hence a stepson of

Augustus. He was born at Rome on the 16th of November, B.C. 45. He became emperor in his fifty-fifth year, after having distinguished himself as a commander in various wars, and having evinced talents of a high order as an orator, and an administrator of civil affairs. His military exploits and those of Drusus, his brother, were sung by Horace (*Carm.* iv. 4, 14). He even gained the reputation of possessing the sterner virtues of the Roman character, and was regarded as entirely worthy of the imperial honours to which his birth and supposed personal merits at length opened the way. Yet on being raised to the supreme power, he suddenly became, or showed himself to be, a very different man. His subsequent life was one of inactivity, sloth, and self-indulgence. He was despotic in his government, cruel and vindictive in his disposition. He gave up the affairs of the state to the vilest favourites, while he himself wallowed in the very kennel of all that was low and debasing. The only palliation of his monstrous crimes and vices which can be offered is, that his disgust of life, occasioned by his early domestic troubles, may have driven him at last to despair and insanity. Tiberius died at the age of seventy-eight, after a reign of twenty-three years. The ancient writers who supply most of our knowledge respecting him are Suetonius, Tacitus (who describes his character as one of studied dissimulation and hypocrisy from the beginning), *Annal.* i.–vi.; Vell. Paterc. L. ii. 94, etc.; and Dion Cass. xlvi.–xlviii. The article in the *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.* (vol. iii. pp. 1117-1127) furnishes a copious outline of the principal events in his life, and holds him up in his true light as deserving the scorn and abhorrence of men.



Coin of Tiberius.

The city of TIBERIAS took its name from this emperor. It will be seen that the Saviour's public life, and some of the introductory events of the apostolic age, must have fallen within the limits of his administration. The memorable passage in Tacitus (*Annal.* xv. 44) respecting the origin of the Christian sect, places the crucifixion of the Redeemer under Tiberius: "Ergo abolendo rumori (that of his having set fire to Rome) Nero subdidit reos, et quaesitissimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat." The martyrdom of Stephen belongs in all probability to the last year, or last but one of this reign. In Luke iii. 1 he is termed Tiberius Caesar; John the Baptist, it is there said, began his ministry in the *fifteenth year* of his reign (ἡγεμονία). This chronological notation is an important one in determining the year of Christ's birth and entrance on his public work [JESUS CHRIST, vol. i. p. 1074]. Augustus admitted Tiberius to a share in the empire two or three years before his own death; and it is a question, therefore, whether the *fifteenth year* of which Luke speaks, should be reckoned from the time of the co-partnership, or from that when Tiberius began to reign alone. The former is the computation more generally adopted; but the data which relate to this point in the chronology of the Saviour's life, may be reconciled easily with the one view or the other. Some discussion, more or less extended, in reference to this inquiry will be found in Krafft's *Chronologie*, p. 66; Sepp's *Leben Christi*, i. 1, &c.; Friedlieb's *Leben Jesu Christi*, 47, &c.; Ebrard's *Kritik*, 184; Tischendorf's *Synopsis*, xvi.; Greswell's *Dissertations*, i. 334; and Robinson's *Harmony of the Gospels*, 181. [H. B. H.]

TIB'HATH (טִבְחַת: Ματαβέθ *Thebath*), a city of Hadadezer, king of Zobah (1 Chr. xviii. 8), which in 2 Sam. viii. 8 is called Betah, probably by an accidental transposition of the first two letters. Its exact position is unknown, but in Aram-Zobah is the country between the Euphrates and Coelesyria [see SYRIA], we must look for Tibhath on the eastern skirts of the Anti-Libanus, or of its continuation, the *Jebel Shahshabu* and the *Jebel Rieha.* [G. R.]

TIB'NI (תִּבְנִי: Θαμνί: *Thebni*). After Zimri had burnt himself in his palace, there was a division in the northern kingdom, half of the people following Tibni the son of Ginath, and half following Omri (1 K. xvi. 21, 22). Omri was the choice of the army. Tibni was probably put forward by the people of Tirzah, which was then besieged by Omri and his host. The struggle between the contending factions lasted four years (comp. 1 K. xvi. 15, 23); but the only record of it is given in the few words of the historian: "The people that followed Omri prevailed against the people that followed Tibni the son of Ginath; so Tibni died, and Omri reigned." The LXX. add that Tibni was bravely seconded by his brother Joram, for they tell us, in a clause which Ewald pronounces to be undoubtedly genuine, "and Thamni and Joram his brother died at that time; and Ambri reigned after Thamni." [W. A. W.]

TIDAL (תִּדְעָל: Θαργάλ: *Thadal*) is mentioned only in Gen. xiv. 1, 9. He there appears among the kings confederated with, and subordinate to, Chedorlaomer, the sovereign of Elam, who leads two expeditions from the country about the mouth of the Tigris into Syria. The name, Tidal, is certainly an incorrect representation of the original. If the present Hebrew text is accepted, the king was called *Thid'al*; while, if the Septuagint more nearly represents the original,[a] his name was *Thargal*, or perhaps *Thurgal*. This last rendering is probably to be preferred, as the name is then a significant one in the early Hamitic dialect of the lower Tigris and Euphrates country—*Thurgal* being "the great chief"—βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας (*naqa wazarka*) of the Persians Thargal is called "king of nations" (כֶּלֶךְ גּוֹיִם), by which it is reasonable to understand that he was a chief over various nomadic tribes to whom no special tract of country could be assigned, since at different times of the year they inhabited different portions of Lower Mesopotamia. This is the case with the Arabs of these parts at the present day. Thargal, however, should from his name have been a Turanian. [G. R.]

TIG'LATH-PILE'SER (תִּגְלַת־פִּלְאֶסֶר: Θαλγαθφελλασάρ, Θαγλαφαλλασάρ: *Theglath Phalasar*). In 1 Chr. v. 26, and again in 2 Chr. xxviii 20, the name of this king is written תִּלְגַת־פַּלְנֶסֶר, "Tilgath-pilneser;" but in this form there is a double corruption. The native word reads as

[a] The LXX. evidently read תרעל for תדעל, and therefore wrote Θαργάλ, representing the ע by a γ. The Alex. Codex, however, has ΘΑΛΓΑ, which originally was doubtless ΘΑΔΓΑ, agreeing so far with the present Hebrew text.

Tiglti-pal-tsira, for which the Tiglath-pil-eser of 2 Kings is a fair equivalent. The signification of the name is somewhat doubtful. M. Oppert renders it, "Adoratio [sit] filio Zodiaci," and explains "the son of the Zodiac" as *Nin*, or Hercules (*Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie*, ii. 352).

Tiglath-Pileser is the second Assyrian king mentioned in Scripture as having come into contact with the Israelites. He attacked Samaria in the reign of Pekah, on what ground we are not told, but probably because Pekah withheld his tribute, and, having entered his territories, "took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria" (2 K. xv. 29): thus "lightly afflicting the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali" (Is. ix. 1)—the most northern, and so the most exposed portion of the country. The date of this invasion cannot at present be fixed; but it was, apparently, many years afterwards that Tiglath-Pileser made a second expedition into these parts, which had more important results than his former one. It appears that, after the date of his first expedition, a close league was formed between Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, having for its special object the humiliation of Judaea, and intended to further generally the interests of the two allies. At first great successes were gained by Pekah and his confederate (2 K. xv. 37; 2 Chr. xxviii. 6-8); but, on their proceeding to attack Jerusalem itself, and to threaten Ahaz, who was then king, with deposition from his throne, which they were about to give to a pretender, "the son of Tabeal" (Is. vii. 6), the Jewish monarch applied to Assyria for assistance, and Tiglath-Pileser, consenting to aid him, again appeared at the head of an army in these regions. He first marched, naturally, against Damascus, which he took (2 K. xvi. 9), razing it (according to his own statement) to the ground, and killing Rezin, the Damascene monarch. After this, probably, he proceeded to chastise Pekah, whose country he entered on the north-east, where it bordered upon "Syria of Damascus." Here he overran the whole district to the east of Jordan, no longer "lightly afflicting" Samaria, but injuring her far "*more grievously*, by the way of the sea, in Galilee of the Gentiles" (Is. ix. 1), carrying into captivity "the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh" (1 Chr. v. 26), who had previously held this country, and placing them in Upper Mesopotamia from Harran to about Nisibis (ib.). Thus the result of this expedition was the absorption of the kingdom of Damascus, and of an important portion of Samaria, into the Assyrian empire; and it further brought the kingdom of Judah into the condition of a mere tributary and vassal of the Assyrian monarch.

Before returning into his own land, Tiglath-Pileser had an interview with Ahaz at Damascus (2 K. xvi. 10). Here doubtless was settled the amount of tribute which Judaea was to pay annually; and it may be suspected that here too it was explained to Ahaz by his suzerain that a certain deference to the Assyrian gods was due on the part of all tributaries, who were usually required to set up in their capital "the Laws of Asshur," or "altars to the Great Gods" [see vol. i. p. 132 *a*]. The "altar" which Ahaz "saw at Damascus," and of which he sent the pattern to Urijah the priest (2 K. xvi. 10, 11), was probably such a badge of subjection.

This is all that Scripture tells us of Tiglath-Pileser. He appears to have succeeded Pul, and to have been succeeded by Shalmaneser; to have been contemporary with Rezin, Pekah, and Ahaz; and therefore to have ruled Assyria during the latter half of the eighth century before our era. From his own inscriptions we learn that his reign lasted *at least* seventeen years; that, besides warring in Syria and Samaria, he attacked Babylonia, Media, Armenia, and the independent tribes in the upper regions of Mesopotamia, thus, like the other great Assyrian monarchs, warring along the whole frontier of the empire; and finally, that he was (probably) not a legitimate prince, but an usurper and the founder of a dynasty. This last fact is gathered from the circumstance that, whereas the Assyrian kings generally glory in their ancestry, Tiglath-Pileser omits all mention of his, not even recording his father's name upon his monuments. It accords remarkably with the statements of Berosus (in Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 4) and Herodotus (i. 95), that about this time, *i. e.* in the latter half of the eighth century B.C., there was a change of dynasty in Assyria, the old family, which had ruled for 520 (526) years, being superseded by another not long before the accession of Sennacherib. The authority of these two writers, combined with the monumental indications, justifies us in concluding that the founder of the Lower Dynasty or Empire, the first monarch of the New Kingdom, was the Tiglath-Pileser of Scripture, whose date must certainly be *about* this time, and whose monuments show him to have been a self-raised sovereign. The exact date of the change cannot be positively fixed; but it is *probably* marked by the era of Nabonassar in Babylon, which synchronises with B.C. 747. According to this view, Tiglath-Pileser reigned certainly from B.C. 747 to B.C. 730, and possibly a few years longer, being succeeded by Shalmaneser at least as early as B.C. 725.[a] [SHALMANESER.]

The circumstances under which Tiglath-Pileser obtained the crown have not come down to us from any good authority; but there is a tradition on the subject which seems to deserve mention. Alexander Polyhistor, the friend of Sylla, who had access to the writings of Berosus, related that the first Assyrian dynasty continued from Ninus, its founder, to a certain Beleûs (Pul), and that he was succeeded by Belêtaras, a man of low rank, a mere vine-dresser (*φυτουργός*), who had the charge of the gardens attached to the royal palace. Belêtaras he said, having acquired the sovereignty in an extraordinary way, fixed it in his own family, in which it continued to the time of the destruction of Nineveh (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii. 210). It can scarcely be doubted that Belêtaras here is intended to represent Tiglath-Pileser, Belêtar being in fact another mode of expressing the native *Pal-tsira* or *Palli-tsir* (Oppert), which the Hebrews represented by Pileser. Whether there is any truth in the tradition may perhaps be doubted. It bears too near a resemblance to the Oriental stories of Cyrus, Gyges, Amasis, and others, to have in itself much claim to our acceptance. On the other hand, it harmonises with the remarkable fact—unparalleled in the rest of the Assyrian records—that Tiglath-

[a] In the Assyrian Chronological Canon, of which there are four copies in the British Museum, all more or less fragmentary, the reign of Tiglath-Pileser seems to be reckoned at either 16 or 17 years. (See *Athenæum*, No. 1812, p. 84.)

Pileser is absolutely silent on the subject of his ancestry, neither mentioning his father's name, nor making any allusion whatever to his birth, descent, or parentage.

Tiglath-Pileser's wars do not, generally, appear to have been of much importance. In Babylonia he took Sippara (Sepharvaim), and several places of less note in the northern portion of the country; but he does not seem to have penetrated far, or to have come into contact with Nabonassar, who reigned from B.C. 747 to B.C. 733 at Babylon. In Media, Armenia, and Upper Mesopotamia, he obtained certain successes, but made no permanent conquests. It was on his western frontier only that his victories advanced the limits of the empire. The destruction of Damascus, the absorption of Syria, and the extension of Assyrian influence over Judaea, are the chief events of Tiglath-Pileser's reign, which seems to have had fewer external triumphs than those of most Assyrian monarchs. Probably his usurpation was not endured quite patiently, and domestic troubles or dangers acted as a check upon his expeditions against foreign countries.

No palace or great building can be ascribed to this king. His slabs, which are tolerably numerous, show that he must have built or adorned a residence at Calah (*Nimrud*), where they were found; but, as they were not discovered *in situ*, we cannot say anything of the edifice to which they originally belonged. They bear marks of wanton defacement; and it is plain that the later kings purposely injured them; for not only is the writing often erased, but the slabs have been torn down, broken, and used as building materials by Esar-haddon in the great palace which he erected at Calah, the southern capital [see vol. i. p. 573.] The dynasty of Sargon was hostile to the first two princes of the Lower Kingdom, and the result of their hostility is that we have far less monumental knowledge of Shalmaneser and Tiglath-Pileser than of various kings of the Upper Empire. [G. R.]

TIGRIS (Τίγρις: *Tygris*, *Tigris*) is used by the LXX. as the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew *Hiddekel* (חִדֶּקֶל); and occurs also in several of the apocryphal books, as in Tobit (vi. 1), Judith (i. 6), and Ecclesiasticus (xxiv. 25). The meaning, and various forms, of the word have been considered under HIDDEKEL. It only remains, therefore, in the present article, to describe the course and character of the stream.

The Tigris, like the Euphrates, rises from two principal sources. The most distant, and therefore the true, source is the western one, which is in lat. 38° 10′, long. 39° 20′ nearly, a little to the south of the high mountain lake called *Göljik* or *Gölenjik*, in the peninsula formed by the Euphrates where it sweeps round between *Palou* and *Telek*. The Tigris' source is near the south-western angle of the lake, and cannot be more than two or three miles from the channel of the Euphrates. The course of the Tigris is at first somewhat north of east, but after pursuing this direction for about 25 miles it makes a sweep round to the south, and descends by *Arghani Maden* upon Diarbekr. Here it is already a river of considerable size, and is crossed by a bridge of ten arches a little below that city (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, p. 326). It then turns suddenly to the east, and flows in this direction, past *Osman Kieui* to *Til*, where it once more alters its course and takes that south-easterly direction, which it pursues, with certain slight variations, to its final junction with the Euphrates. At *Osman Kieui* it receives the second or Eastern Tigris, which descends from Niphates (the modern *Ala-Tagh*) with a course almost due south, and, collecting on its way the waters of a large number of streams, unites with the Tigris half-way between *Diarbekr* and *Til*, in long. 41° nearly. The courses of the two streams to the point of junction are respectively 150 and 100 miles. A little below the junction, and before any other tributary of importance is received, the Tigris is 150 yards wide and from three to four feet deep. Near *Til* a large stream flows into it from the north-east, bringing almost as much water as the main channel ordinarily holds (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 49). This branch rises near *Billi*, in northern Kurdistan, and runs at first to the north-east, but presently sweeps round to the north, and proceeds through the districts of *Shattak* and Boktan with a general westerly course, crossing and recrossing the line of the 38th parallel, nearly to *Sert*, whence it flows south-west and south to *Til*. From *Til* the Tigris runs southward for 20 miles through a long, narrow, and deep gorge, at the end of which it emerges upon the comparatively low but still hilly country of Mesopotamia, near *Jezireh*. Through this it flows with a course which is south-south-east to *Mosul*, thence nearly south to *Kileh-Sherghat*, and again south-south-east to *Samara*, where the hills end and the river enters on the great alluvium. The course is now more irregular. Between *Samara* and Baghdad a considerable bend is made to the east; and, after the *Shat-el-Hie* is thrown off in lat. 32° 30′, a second bend is made to the north, the regular south-easterly course being only resumed a little above the 32nd parallel, from which point the Tigris runs in a tolerably direct line to its junction with the Euphrates at *Kurnah*. The length of the whole stream, exclusive of meanders, is reckoned at 1146 miles. It can be descended on rafts during the flood season from Diarbekr, which is only 150 miles from its source; and it has been navigated by steamers of small draught nearly up to Mosul. From Diarbekr to Samara the navigation is much impeded by rapids, rocks, and shallows, as well as by artificial *bunds* or dams, which in ancient times were thrown across the stream, probably for purposes of irrigation. Below *Samara* there are no obstructions; the river is deep, with a bottom of soft mud; the stream moderate; and the course very meandering. The average width of the Tigris in this part of its course is 200 yards, while its depth is very considerable.

Besides the three head-streams of the Tigris, which have been already described, the river receives, along its middle and lower course, no fewer than five important tributaries. These are the river of *Zakko* or Eastern Khabour, the Great Zab (*Zab Ala*), the Lesser Zab (*Zab Asfal*), the Adhem, and the Diyaleh or ancient Gyndes. All these rivers flow from the high range of Zagros, which shuts in the Mesopotamian valley on the east, and is able to sustain so large a number of great streams from its inexhaustible springs and abundant snows. From the west the Tigris obtains no tributary of the slightest importance, for the *Tharthar*, which is said to have once reached it, now ends in a salt lake, a little below *Tekrit*. Its volume, however, is continually increasing as it descends, in consequence of the great bulk of water

brought into it from the east, particularly by the Great Zab and the Diyaleh; and in its lower course it is said to be a larger stream and to carry a greater body than the Euphrates (Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, i. 62).

The Tigris, like the Euphrates, has a flood season. Early in the month of March, in consequence of the melting of the snows on the southern flank of Niphates, the river rises rapidly. Its breadth gradually increases at Diarbekr from 100 or 120 to 250 yards. The stream is swift and turbid. The rise continues through March and April, reaching its full height generally in the first or second week of May. At this time the country about Baghdad is often extensively flooded, not, however, so much from the Tigris as from the overflow of the Euphrates, which is here poured into the eastern stream through a canal. Further down the river, in the territory of the *Beni-Lam* Arabs, between the 32nd and 31st parallels, there is a great annual inundation on both banks. About the middle of May the Tigris begins to fall, and by midsummer it has reached its natural level. In October and November there is another rise and fall in consequence of the autumnal rains; but compared with the spring flood that of autumn is insignificant.

The Tigris is at present better fitted for purposes of traffic than the Euphrates (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 475); but in ancient times it does not seem to have been much used as a line of trade. The Assyrians probably floated down it the timber which they were in the habit of cutting in Amanus and Lebanon, to be used for building purposes in their capital; but the general line of communication between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf was by the Euphrates. [See vol. i. p. 591.] According to the historians of Alexander (Arrian, *Exp. Al.* vii. 7; comp. Strab. xv. 3, §4), the Persians purposely obstructed the navigation of the lower Tigris by a series of dams which they threw across from bank to bank between the embouchure and the city of Opis, and such trade as there was along its course proceeded by land (Strab. *ibid.*). It is probable that the dams were in reality made for another purpose, namely, to raise the level of the waters for the sake of irrigation; but they would undoubtedly have also the effect ascribed to them, unless in the spring flood time, when they might have been shot by boats descending the river. Thus there may always have been a certain amount of traffic down the stream; but up it trade would scarcely have been practicable at any time further than Samara or Tekrit, on account of the natural obstructions, and of the great force of the stream. The lower part of the course was opened by Alexander (Arrian, vii. 7); and Opis, near the mouth of the Diyaleh, became thenceforth known as a mart (*ἐμπόριον*), from which the neighbouring districts drew the merchandise of India and Arabia (Strab. xvi. 1, §9). Seleucia, too, which grew up soon after Alexander, derived no doubt a portion of its prosperity from the facilities for trade offered by this great stream.

We find but little mention of the Tigris in Scripture. It appears indeed under the name of Hiddekel, among the rivers of Eden (Gen. ii. 14), and is there correctly described as "running eastward to Assyria." But after this we hear no more of it, if we except one doubtful allusion in Nahum (ii. 6), until the Captivity, when it becomes well known to the prophet Daniel, who had to cross it in his journeys to and from Susa (Shushan). With Daniel it is "the Great River"—הַנָּהָר הַגָּדוֹל—an expression commonly applied to the Euphrates; and by its side he sees some of his most important visions (Dan. x. to xii.). No other mention of the Tigris seems to occur except in the apocryphal books; and there it is unconnected with any real history.

The Tigris, in its upper course, anciently ran through Armenia and Assyria. Lower down, from about the point where it enters on the alluvial plain, it separated Babylonia from Susiana. In the wars between the Romans and the Parthians, we find it constituting, for a short time (from A.D. 114 to A.D. 117), the boundary line between these two empires. Otherwise it has scarcely been of any political importance. The great chain of Zagros is the main natural boundary between Western and Central Asia; and beyond this, the next defensible line is the Euphrates. Historically it is found that either the central power pushes itself westward to that river; or the power ruling the west advances eastward to the mountain barrier.

The water of the Tigris, in its lower course, is yellowish, and is regarded as unwholesome. The stream abounds with fish of many kinds, which are often of a large size (see Tobit vi. 11, and compare Strab. xi. 14, §8). Abundant water-fowl float on the waters. The banks are fringed with palm-trees and pomegranates, or clothed with jungle and reeds, the haunt of the wild-boar and the lion.

(The most important notices of the Tigris to be found in the classical writers are the following: Strabo, xi. 14, §8, and xvi. 1, §9-13; Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* vii. 7; and Plin. *H. N.* vi. 27. The best modern accounts are those of Col. Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, i. 16, &c., and Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 622, 623; with which may be compared Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 49-51, and 464-476; Loftus, *Chaldaea and Susiana*, 3-8; Jones in *Transactions of the Geographical Society of Bombay*, vol. ix.; Lynch in *Journal of Geographical Society*, vol. ix.; and Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 552, 553.) [G. R.]

TIK'VAH (תִּקְוָה: Θεκουάν; Alex. Θεκκού: *Thecua*). 1. The father of Shallum the husband of the prophetess Huldah (2 K. xxii. 14). He is called TIKVATH in the A. V. of 2 Chr. xxxiv. 22.

2. (Θεκωέ; Alex. Θεκουέ: *Thecue.*) The father of Jahaziah (Ezr. x. 15). In 1 Esd. ix. 14 he is called THEOCANUS.

TIK'VATH (תּוֹקְהַת; Keri, תִּקְהַת; properly *Tôkĕhath* or *Tokhath*: Θεκωέ; Alex. Θακουάθ: *Thecuath*). TIKVAH the father of Shallum (2 Chr. xxxiv. 22).

TILE. For general information on the subject see the articles BRICK, POTTERY, SEAL. The expression in the A. V. rendering of Luke v. 19, "through[a] the tiling," has given much trouble to expositors, from the fact that Syrian houses are in general covered, not with tiles, but with plaster terraces. Some suggestions towards the solution of this difficulty have been already given. [HOUSE, vol. i. p. 837.] An additional one may here be offered. 1. Terrace-roofs, if constructed improperly, or at the wrong season of the year, are apt to crack, and to become so saturated with rain as to be easily penetrable. May not the roof of the house in which our Lord performed his miracle, have been in this

[a] διὰ τῶν κεράμων.

condition, and been pierced, or, to use St. Mark's[b] word, "broken up," by the bearers of the paralytic? (Arundell, *Trav. in Asia Minor*, i. 171; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 35).

2. Or may the phrase "through the tiling" be accounted for thus? Greek houses were often, if not always, roofed with tiles (Pollux, vii. 161; Vitruvius, iii. 3). Did not St. Luke, a native, probably, of Greek Antioch, use the expression "tiles," as the form of roof which was most familiar to himself and to his Greek readers without reference to the particular material of the roof in question? (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 4; Jerome, *Prol. to Com. on St. Matth.* vol. vii. p. 4; Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, i. 367.) It may perhaps be worth remarking that houses in modern Antioch, at least many of them, have tiled roofs (Fisher, *Views in Syria*, i. 19, vi. 56). [H. W. P.]

TIL'GATH-PIL'NE'SER (תִּלְגַת פִּלְנֶאסֶר; תִּלְגַת פִּלְנֶסֶר; תִּלְגַת פִּלְנֶסֶר: Θαλγαβανασάρ, Θαγαφαμασάρ, Θαλγαφελλαδάρ; Alex. Θαγλαθ φαλνασαρ: *Theglatphalnasar, Thelgathphalnasar*). A variation, and probably a corruption, of the name TIGLATH-PILESER. It is peculiar to the Books of Chronicles, being found in 1 Chr. v. 6, 26; 2 Chr. xxviii. 20. [G.]

TI'LON (תּוֹלוֹן; Keri, תִּילוֹן: Ἰνών; Alex. Θιλών: *Thilon*). One of the four sons of Shimon, whose family is reckoned in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 20).

TIMAE'US (Τίμαιος: *Timaeus*). The father of the blind man, Bar-timaeus, who was restored to sight by Jesus as He left Jericho (Mark x. 46).

TIMBREL, TABRET. By these words the A. V. translates the Heb. תֹּף, *tôph*, which is derived from an imitative root occurring in many languages not immediately connected with each other.

ד ב

It is the same as the Arabic and Persian دُفّ, *duff*, which in Spanish becomes *adufe*, a tambourine. The root, which signifies to beat or strike, is found in the Greek τύπανον or τύμπανον, Lat. *tympanum*, It. *tamburo*, Sp. *tambor*, Fr. *tambour*, Prov. *tabor*, Eng. *tabor*, *tabouret*, *timbrel*, *tambourine*, A. S. *dubban*, to strike, Eng. *tap*, and many others.[c] In Old English *tabor* was used for any drum. Thus Rob. of Gloucester, p. 396 (ed. Hearne, 1810):

"Vor of trompes and of *tabors* the Saracens made there
So gret noise, that Cristenmen al distourbed were."

In Shakspere's time it seems to have become an instrument of peace, and is thus contrasted with the drum: "I have known when there was no music with him but the drum and fife; and now had he rather hear the *tabor* and the pipe" (*Much Ado*, ii. 3). *Tabouret* and *tabourine* are diminutives of *tabor*, and denote the instrument now known as the *tambourine*:—

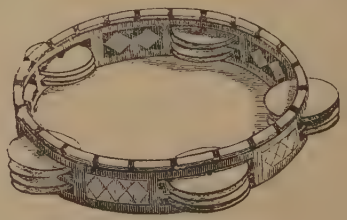
"Or Mimoe's whistling to his *tabouret*,
Selling a laughter for a cold meal's meat"

HALL, *Sat.* iv. 1, 78.

Tabret is a contraction of *tabouret*. The word is retained in the A. V. from Coverdale's translation in all passages except Is. xxx. 32, where it is omitted in Coverdale, and Ez. xxviii. 13, where it is rendered "beauty."

The Heb. *tôph* is undoubtedly the instrument described by travellers as the *duff* or *diff* of the Arabs. It was used in very early times by the Syrians of Padan-aram at their merry-makings (Gen. xxxi. 27). It was played principally by women (Ex. xv. 20; Judg. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6; Ps. lxviii. 25 [26]) as an accompaniment to the song and dance (comp. Jud. iii. 7), and appears to have been worn by them as an ornament (Jer. xxxi. 4). The *tôph* was one of the instruments played by the young prophets whom Saul met on his return from Samuel (1 Sam. x. 5), and by the Levites in the Temple-band (2 Sam. vi. 5; 1 Chr. xiii. 8). It accompanied the merriment of feasts (Is. v. 12, xxiv. 8), and the joy of triumphal processions (Judg. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6), when the women came out to meet the warriors returning from victory, and is everywhere a sign of happiness and peace (Job xxi. 12; Is. xxx. 32; Jer. xxxi. 4). So in the grand triumphal entry of God into His Temple, described in strong figures in Ps. lxviii., the procession is made up by the singers who marched in front, and the players on stringed instruments who brought up the rear, while round them all danced the young maidens with their timbrels (Ps. lxviii. 25 [26]).

The *diff* of the Arabs is described by Russell (*Aleppo*, p. 94, 1st ed.) as "a hoop (sometimes with pieces of brass fixed in it to make a jingling) over which a piece of parchment is distended. It is beat with the fingers, and is the true tympanum of the ancients, as appears from its figure in several relievos, representing the orgies of Bacchus and rites of Cybele." The same instrument was used by the Egyptian dancing-women whom Hasselquist saw (*Trav.* p. 59, ed. 1766). In Barbary it is called *tar*, and "is made like a sieve, consisting (as Isidore[d] describes the tympanum) of a rim or thin hoop of wood with a skin of parchment stretched over the top of it. This serves for the *bass* in all their concerts, which they accordingly touch very artfully with their fingers, or with the knuckles or palms of their hands, as the time and measure require, or as force and softness are to be communicated to the several parts of the performance" (Shaw, *Trav.* p. 202).



Tar. (Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, 366, 5th ed.)

The tympanum was used in the feasts of Cybele (Her. iv. 76), and is said to have been the invention of Dionysus and Rhea (Eur. *Bacch.* 59). It was played by women, who beat it with the palms

[b] ἐξορύξαντες (Mark ii. 4).

[c] It is usual for etymologists to quote the Arab. *tunbûr* as the original of *tambour* and *tabor*; but unfortunately the *tunbûr* is a guitar, and not a drum (Russell's *Aleppo*, i. 152, 2nd ed.). The parallel Arabic word is *tabl*, which denotes a kind of drum, and is the same with the Rabb. Heb. *tablâ*, and Span. *atabal*, a kettle-drum. The instrument and the word may have come to us through the Saracens.

[d] *Orig.* iii. 31

of their hands (Ovid, *Met.* iv. 29), and Juvenal (*Sat.* iii. 64) attributes to it a Syrian origin:

"Jam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes
Et linguam, et mores et cum tibicine chordas
Obliquas, necnon *gentilia tympana* secum
Vexit."

In the same way the *tabor* is said to have been introduced into Europe by the Crusaders, who adopted it from the Saracens, to whom it was peculiar (see Du Cange's note on De Joinville's *Hist. du Roy Saint Louis*, p. 61).

The author of *Shilte Haggibborim* (c. 2) gives the Greek κύμβαλον as the equivalent of *tôph*, and says it was a hollow basin of metal, beaten with a stick of brass or iron.

The passage of Ezekiel (xxviii. 13) is obscure, and appears to have been early corrupted. Instead of תֻּפֶּיךָ, "thy tabrets," the Vulg. and Targum read יָפְיֵךְ, "thy beauty," which is the rendering adopted in Coverdale's and Cranmer's Bibles. The LXX. seem to have read תּוֹכֵךְ, as in ver. 16. If the ordinary text be adopted, there is no reason for taking *tôph*, as Jerome suggests, in the sense of the setting of a gem, "pala qua gemma continetur." [W. A. W.]

TIM'NA, TIM'NAH (תִּמְנָע: Θαμνά: *Thamna*). 1. A concubine of Eliphaz son of Esau, and mother of Amalek (Gen. xxxvi. 12; in 1 Chr. i. 36 named as a son of Eliphaz): it may be presumed that she was the same as Timna, sister of Lotan, and daughter of Seir the Horite (ver. 22, and 1 Chr. i. 39).

2. A duke, or phylarch, of Edom in the last list in Gen. xxxvi. 40-43 (1 Chr. i. 51-54), where the dukes are named "according to their families, after their places, by their names . . . . according to their habitations:" whence we may conclude, as in the case of TEMAN, that Timnah was also the name of a place or a district. [E. S. P.]

TIM'NAH (תִּמְנָה). A name which occurs, simple and compounded, and with slight variations of form, several times, in the topography of the Holy Land. The name is derived by the lexicographers (Gesenius, Simonis, Fürst) from a root signifying to "portion out, or [a] divide;" but its frequent occurrence, and the analogy of the topographical names of other countries, would rather imply that it referred to some natural feature of the country.

1. (Λίβα, Θαμνᾶ; Alex. γοτον, Θαμνα; Joseph. Θαμνά: *Thamna, Thamnan.*) A place which formed one of the landmarks on the north boundary of the allotment of Judah (Josh. xv. 10). It was obviously near the western end of the boundary, being between Bethshemesh and the "shoulder of Ekron." It is probably identical with the THIMNATHAH of Josh. xix. 43, one of the towns of Dan, also named in connexion with Ekron, and that again with the Timnath, or more accurately Timnathah, of Samson, and the Thamnatha of the Maccabees. Its belonging at that time to Dan would explain its absence from the list of the towns of Judah (Josh. xv.), though mentioned in describing the course of the boundary. The modern representative of all these various forms of the same name is probably *Tibneh*, a village about two miles west of *Ain Shems* (Bethshemesh), among the broken undulating country by which the central mountains of this part of Palestine descend to the maritime plain. It has been shown in several other cases [KEILAH, &c.] that this district contained towns which in the lists are enumerated as belonging to the plain. Timnah is probably another instance of the same thing, for in 2 Chr. xxviii. 18 a place of the same name is mentioned as among the cities of the Shefelah, which from its occurrence with Bethshemesh, Gideroth, Gimzo, all more or less in the neighbourhood of Ekron, is probably the same as that just described as in the hills. After the Danites had deserted their original allotment for the north, their towns would naturally fall into the hands of Judah, or of the Philistines, as the continual struggle between them might happen to fluctuate.

In the later history of the Jews Timnah must have been a conspicuous place. It was fortified by Bacchides as one of the most important military posts of Judaea (1 Macc. ix. 50), and it became the head of a district or toparchy, which was called after its name, and was reckoned the fourth in order of importance among the fourteen into which the whole country was divided at the time of Vespasian's invasion (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, §5; and see Pliny, v. 14).

Tibneh is now spoken of as "a deserted site" (Rob. ii. 16), and not a single Western traveller appears to have visited it, or even to have seen it, though its position is indicated with tolerable certainty. [TIMNATH.]

2. (Θαμνάθα; Alex. Θαμνα: *Thamna.*) A town in the mountain district of Judah (Josh. xv. 57). It is named in the same group with Maon, Ziph, and Carmel, which are known to have been south of Hebron. It is, therefore, undoubtedly a distinct place from that just examined. [G.]

TIM'NATH. The form in which the translators of the A. V. inaccurately present two names which are certainly distinct, though it is possible that they refer to the same place.

1. TIMNAH (תִּמְנָה, *i. e.* Timnah: Θαμνᾶ: *Thamnatha*). The scene of the adventure of Judah with his daughter-in-law Tamar (Gen. xxxviii. 12, 13, 14). There is nothing here to indicate its position. The expression "went up to Timnah" (ver. 12) indicates that it was on higher ground than the spot from which Judah started. But as we are ignorant where that was, the indication is of no service. It seems to have been the place where Judah's flocks were kept. There was a road to it (A. V. "way"). It may be identified either with the Timnah in the mountains of Judah, which was in the neighbourhood of Carmel where Nabal kept his huge flocks of sheep; or with the Timnathah so familiar in the story of Samson's conflicts. In favour of the latter is the doubtful suggestion named under ENAM and TAPPUAH, that in the words translated "an open place" there is a reference to those two towns. In favour of the former is the possibility of the name in Gen. xxxviii. being not Timnah but Timnathah (as in the Vulgate), which is certainly the name of the Philistine place connected with Samson. More than this cannot be said.

The place is named in the specification of the allotment of the tribe of Dan, where the A. V. exhibits it accurately as THIMNATHAH, and its name doubtless survives in the modern *Tibneh* which is said to lie below *Zareah*, about three miles to the S.W. of it, where the great Wady *es-Sŭrâr* issues upon the plain.

[a] The LXX., as above, derived it from *teman*, the South.

2. TIMNATHAH (תִּמְנָתָה: Θαμναθᾶ; Joseph. Θαμνά: *Thamnatha*). The residence of Samson's wife (Judg. xiv. 1, 2, 5). It was then in the occupation of the Philistines. It contained vineyards, haunted however by such savage animals as indicate that the population was but sparse. It was on higher ground than Ashkelon (xiv. 19), but lower than Zorah, which we may presume was Samson's starting point (xiii. 25). [G.]

TIM'NATH-HE'RES (תִּמְנַת חֶרֶס: Θαμναθαρές; Alex. Θαμναθαρ εως: *Thamnath Sare*). The name under which the city and burial place of Joshua, previously called TIMNATH-SERAH, is mentioned in Judg. ii. 9. The constituent consonants of the word are the same, but their order is reversed. The authorities differ considerably in their explanations. The Jews adopt Heres as the real name; interpret it to mean the sun; and see in it a reference to the act of making the sun stand still, which is to them the greatest exploit of Joshua's life. Others (as Fürst, i. 442), while accepting Heres as the original form, interpret that word as "clay," and as originating in the character of the soil. Others again, like Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 347, 8), and Bertheau (*On Judges*), take Serah to be the original form, and Heres an ancient but unintentional error. [G.]

TIM'NATH-SE'RAH (תִּמְנַת־סֶרַח: Θαμαρχαρής, Θαμναθασαχάρα; Alex. Θαμναθ σαρα, Θαμνασαχαρ; Joseph. Θαμνά: *Thamnath Seraa, Thamnath Sare*). The name of the city which at his request was presented to Joshua after the partition of the country was completed (Josh. xix. 50); and in "the border" of which he was buried (xxiv. 30). It is specified as "in Mount Ephraim on the north side of Mount Gaash." In Judg. ii. 9, the name is altered to TIMNATH-HERES. The latter form is that adopted by the Jewish writers, who interpret Heres as meaning the sun, and account for the name by stating that the figure of the sun (*temunath ha-cheres*) was carved upon the sepulchre, to indicate that it was the tomb of the man who had caused the sun to stand still (Rashi, *Comment.* on both passages). Accordingly, they identify the place with *Kefar cheres*, which is said by Rabbi Jacob (Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, &c., 186), hap-Parchi (Asher's *Benj.* 434), and other Jewish travellers down to Schwarz in our own day (151), to be about 5 miles S. of Shechem (*Nablus*). No place with that name appears on the maps, the closest approach to it being *Kefr-Hartt*, which is more nearly double that distance S.S.W. of *Nablus*. Wherever it be, the place is said by the Jews still to contain the tombs of Joshua, of Nun, and of Caleb (Schwarz, 151).

Another and more promising identification has, however, been suggested in our own day by Dr. Eli Smith (*Bibl. Sacra*, 1843). In his journey from *Jifna* to *Mejdel-Yaba*, about six miles from the former, he discovered the ruins of a considerable town on a gentle hill on the left (south) of the road. Opposite the town (apparently to the south) was a much higher hill, in the north side of which are several excavated sepulchres, which in size and in the richness and character of their decorations resemble the so-called "Tombs of the Kings" at Jerusalem. The whole bears the name of *Tibneh*, and although without further examination it can hardly be affirmed to be the Timnah of Joshua, yet the identification appears probable.

Timnath-Serah and the tomb of its illustrious owner were shown in the time of Jerome, who mentions them in the *Epitaphium Paulae* (§13) Beyond its being south of Shechem, he gives no indication of its position, but he dismisses it with the following characteristic remark, a fitting tribute to the simple self-denial of the great soldier of Israel:—"Satisque mirata est, quod distributor possessionum sibi montana et aspera delegisset." [G.]

TIM'NITE, THE (הַתִּמְנִי: τοῦ Θαμνεί; Alex. ὁ Θαμναθαιος: *Thamnathaeus*), that is, the Timnathite (as in the Alex. LXX., and Vulg.). Samson's father-in-law (Judg. xv. 6).

TI'MON (Τίμων: *Timon*). One of the seven, commonly called "Deacons" [DEACON], who were appointed to act as almoners on the occasion of complaints of partiality being raised by the Hellenistic Jews at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 1-6). Like his colleagues, Timon bears a Greek name, from which, taken together with the occasion of their appointment, it has been inferred with much probability that the seven were themselves Hellenists. The name of Timon stands fifth in the catalogue. Nothing further is known of him with certainty; but in the "Synopsis de Vita et Morte Prophetarum Apostolorum et Discipulorum Domini," ascribed to Dorotheus of Tyre (*Bibl. Patrum*, iii. p. 149), we are informed that he was one of the "seventy-two" disciples (the catalogue of whom is a mere congeries of New Testament names), and that he afterwards became bishop of Bostra (? "Bostra Arabum"), where he suffered martyrdom by fire. [W. B. J.]

TIMO'THEUS (Τιμόθεος). 1. A "captain of the Ammonites" (1 Macc. v. 6), who was defeated on several occasions by Judas Maccabaeus, B.C. 164 (1 Macc. v. 6, 11, 34-44). He was probably a Greek adventurer (comp. Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8, §1), who had gained the leadership of the tribe. Thus Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8, §1, quoted by Grimm, on 1 Macc. v. 6) mentions one "Zeno, surnamed Cotylas, who was despot of Rabbah" in the time of Johannes Hyrcanus.

2. In 2 Macc. a leader named Timotheus is mentioned as having taken part in the invasion of Nicanor (B.C. 166: 2 Macc. viii. 30, ix. 3). At a later time he made great preparations for a second attack on Judas, but was driven to a stronghold, Gazara, which was stormed by Judas, and there Timotheus was taken and slain (2 Macc. x. 24-37). It has been supposed that the events recorded in this latter narrative are identical with those in 1 Macc. v. 6-8, an idea rendered more plausible by the similarity of the names Jazer and Gazara (in Lat. Gazer, Jazare, Gazara). But the name Timotheus was very common, and it is evident that Timotheus the Ammonite leader was not slain at Jazer (1 Macc. v. 34); and Jazer was on the east side of Jordan, while Gazara was almost certainly the same as Gezer. [JAAZER; GAZARA.] It may be urged further, in support of the substantial accuracy of 2 Macc., that the second campaign of Judas against Timotheus (1) (1 Macc. v. 27-44) is given in 2 Macc. xii. 2-24, after the account of the capture of Gazara and the death of Timotheus (2) there. Wernsdorff assumes that all the differences in the narratives are blunders in 2 Macc. (*De fide Libr Macc.* §lxx.), and in this he is followed by Grimm (on 2 Macc. x. 24, 32). But, if any reliance is to be placed on 2 Macc., the differences of place and circumstances are rightly taken by Patritius to

mark different events (*De Libr. Macc.* § xxxii. p. 259).

3. The Greek name of TIMOTHY (Acts xvi. 1, xvii. 14, &c.). He is called by this name in the A. V. in every case except 2 Cor. i. 1, Philem. 1, Heb. xiii. 23, and the Epistles addressed to him.

[B. F. W.]

TIM'OTHY (Τιμόθεος: *Timotheus*). The disciple thus named was the son of one of those mixed marriages which, though condemned by stricter Jewish opinion, and placing their offspring on all but the lowest step in the Jewish scale of precedence,[a] were yet not uncommon in the later periods of Jewish history. The father's name is unknown: he was a Greek, *i. e.* a Gentile by descent (Acts xvi. 1, 3). If in any sense a proselyte, the fact that the issue of the marriage did not receive the sign of the covenant would render it probable that he belonged to the class of half-converts, the so-called Proselytes of the Gate, not those of Righteousness [comp. PROSELYTES]. The absence of any personal allusion to the father in the Acts or Epistles suggests the inference that he must have died or disappeared during his son's infancy. The care of the boy thus devolved upon his mother Eunice and her mother Lois (2 Tim. i. 5). Under their training his education was emphatically Jewish. "From a child" he learnt (probably in the LXX. version) to "know the Holy Scriptures" daily. The language of the Acts leaves it uncertain whether Lystra or Derbe were the residence of the devout family. The latter has been inferred, but without much likelihood, from a possible construction of Acts xx. 4, the former from Acts xvi. 1, 2 (comp. Neander, *Pfl. und Leit.* i. 288; Alford and Huther, *in loc.*). In either case the absence of any indication of the existence of a synagogue makes this devout consistency more noticeable. We may think here, as at Philippi, of the few devout women going forth to their daily worship at some river-side oratory (Conybeare and Howson, i. 211). The reading παρὰ τίνων, in 2 Tim. iii. 14, adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf, indicates that it was from them as well as from the Apostle that the young disciple received his first impression of Christian truth. It would be natural that a character thus fashioned should retain throughout something of a feminine piety. A constitution far from robust (1 Tim. v. 23), a morbid shrinking from opposition and responsibility (1 Tim. iv. 12-16, v. 20, 21, vi. 11-14; 2 Tim. ii. 1-7), a sensitiveness even to tears (2 Tim. i. 4), a tendency to an ascetic rigour which he had not strength to bear (1 Tim. v. 23), united, as it often is, with a temperament exposed to some risk from "youthful lusts"[b] (2 Tim. ii. 22) and the softer emotions (1 Tim. v. 2)—these we may well think of as characterising the youth as they afterwards characterised the man.

The arrival of Paul and Barnabas in Lycaonia (Acts xiv. 6) brought the message of glad-tidings to Timotheus and his mother, and they received it with "unfeigned faith" (2 Tim. i. 5). If at Lystra, as seems probable from 2 Tim. iii. 11, he may have witnessed the half-completed sacrifice, the half-finished martyrdom, of Acts xiv. 19. The preaching of the Apostle on his return from his short circuit prepared him for a life of suffering (Acts xiv. 22). From that time his life and education must have been under the direct superintendence of the body of elders (ib. 23). During the interval of seven years between the Apostle's first and second journeys, the boy grew up to manhood. His zeal, probably his asceticism, became known both at Lystra and Iconium. The mention of the two Churches as united in testifying to his character (Acts xvi. 2), leads us to believe that the early work was prophetic of the later, that he had been already employed in what was afterwards to be the great labour of his life, as "the messenger of the Churches," and that it was his tried fitness for that office which determined St. Paul's choice. Those who had the deepest insight into character, and spoke with a prophetic utterance, pointed to him (1 Tim. i. 18, iv. 14), as others had pointed before to Paul and Barnabas (Acts xiii. 2), as specially fit for the missionary work in which the Apostle was engaged. Personal feeling led St. Paul to the same conclusion (Acts xvi. 3), and he was solemnly set apart (the whole assembly of the elders laying their hands on him, as did the Apostle himself) to do the work and possibly to bear the title of Evangelist (1 Tim. iv. 14 2 Tim. i. 6, iv. 5).[c] A great obstacle, however, presented itself. Timotheus, though inheriting, as it were, from the nobler side (Wetstein, *in loc.*), and therefore reckoned as one of the seed of Abraham, had been allowed to grow up to the age of manhood without the sign of circumcision, and in this point he might seem to be disclaiming the Jewish blood that was in him and choosing to take up his position as a heathen. Had that been his real position, it would have been utterly inconsistent with St. Paul's principle of action to urge on him the necessity of circumcision (1 Cor. vii. 18; Gal. ii. 3, v. 2). As it was, his condition was that of a negligent, almost of an apostate Israelite; and, though circumcision was nothing, and uncircumcision was nothing, it was a serious question whether the scandal of such a position should be allowed to frustrate all his efforts as an Evangelist. The fact that no offence seems to have been felt hitherto is explained by the predominance of the Gentile element in the churches of Lycaonia (Acts xiv. 27). But his wider work would bring him into contact with the Jews, who had already shown themselves so ready to attack, and then the scandal would come out. They might tolerate a heathen, as such, in the synagogue or the church, but an uncircumcised Israelite would be to them a horror and a portent. With a special view to their feelings, making no sacrifice of principle, the Apostle, who had refused to permit the circumcision of Titus, "took and circumcised" Timotheus (Acts xvi. 3); and then, as conscious of no inconsistency, went on his way distributing the decrees of the council of Jerusalem, the great charter of the freedom of the Gentiles (ib. 4). Henceforth Timotheus was one of his most constant

[a] The children of these marriages were known as Mamzerim (bastards), and stood just above the NETHINIM. This was, however, *caeteris paribus*. A bastard who was a wise student of the Law was, in theory, above an ignorant high-priest (Gem. Hieros. *Horajoth*, fol. 84, in Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in Matt. xxiii. 14); and the education of Timotheus (2 Tim. iii. 15) may therefore have helped to overcome the prejudice which the Jews would naturally have against him on this ground.

[b] Comp. the elaborate dissertation, *De νεωτερικαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις*, by Bosius, in Hase's *Thesaurus*, vol. ii.

[c] Iconium has been suggested by Conybeare and Howson (i. 289) as the probable scene of the ordination.

companions. Not since he parted from Barnabas had he found one whose heart so answered to his own. If Barnabas had been as the brother and friend of early days, he had now found one whom he could claim as his own true son by a spiritual parentage (1 Cor. iv. 17; 1 Tim. i. 2; 2 Tim. i. 2). They and Silvanus, and probably Luke also, journeyed to Philippi (Acts xvi. 12), and there already the young Evangelist was conspicuous at once for his filial devotion and his zeal (Phil. ii. 22). His name does not appear in the account of St. Paul's work at Thessalonica, and it is possible that he remained some time at Philippi, and then acted as the messenger by whom the members of that Church sent what they were able to give for the Apostle's wants (Phil. iv. 15). He appears, however, at Beroea, and remains there when Paul and Silas are obliged to leave (Acts xvii. 14), going on afterwards to join his master at Athens (1 Thess. iii. 2). From Athens he is sent back to Thessalonica (ib.), as having special gifts for comforting and teaching. He returns from Thessalonica, not to Athens but to Corinth,[d] and his name appears united with St. Paul's in the opening words of both the letters written from that city to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1). Here also he was apparently active as an Evangelist (2 Cor. i. 19), and on him, probably, with some exceptions, devolved the duty of baptising the new converts (1 Cor. i. 14). Of the next five years of his life we have no record, and can infer nothing beyond a continuance of his active service as St. Paul's companion. When we next meet with him it is as being sent on in advance when the Apostle was contemplating the long journey which was to include Macedonia, Achaia, Jerusalem, and Rome (Acts xix. 22). He was sent to "bring" the churches "into remembrance of the ways" of the Apostle (1 Cor. iv. 17). We trace in the words of the "father" an anxious desire to guard the son from the perils which, to his eager but sensitive temperament, would be most trying (1 Cor. xvi. 10). His route would take him through the churches which he had been instrumental in founding, and this would give him scope for exercising the gifts which were afterwards to be displayed in a still more responsible office. It is probable, from the passages already referred to, that, after accomplishing the special work assigned to him, he returned by the same route and met St. Paul according to a previous arrangement (1 Cor. xvi. 11), and was thus with him when the second epistle was written to the Church of Corinth (2 Cor. i. 1). He returns with the Apostle to that city, and joins in messages of greeting to the disciples whom he had known personally at Corinth and who had since found their way to Rome (Rom. xvi. 21). He forms one of the company of friends who go with St. Paul to Philippi and then sail by themselves, waiting for his arrival by a different ship (Acts xx. 3-6). Whether he continued his journey to Jerusalem, and what became of him during St. Paul's two years' imprisonment, are points on which we must remain uncertain. The language of St. Paul's address to the elders of Ephesus (Acts xx. 17-35) renders it unlikely that he was then left there with authority. The absence of his name from Acts xxvii. in like manner leads to the conclusion that he did not share in the perilous voyage to Italy. He must have joined him, however, apparently soon after his arrival in Rome, and was with him when the Epistles to the Philippians, to the Colossians, and to Philemon were written (Phil. i. 1, ii. 19; Col. i. 1; Philem. 1). All the indications of this period point to incessant missionary activity. As before, so now, he is to precede the personal coming of the Apostle, inspecting, advising, reporting (Phil. ii. 19-23), caring especially for the Macedonian Churches as no one else could care. The special messages of greeting sent to him at a later date (2 Tim. iv. 21) show that at Rome also, as elsewhere, he had gained the warm affection of those among whom he ministered. Among those most eager to be thus remembered to him, we find, according to a fairly supported hypothesis, the names of a Roman noble [PUDENS], of a future bishop of Rome [LINUS], and of the daughter of a British king [CLAUDIA] (Williams, *Claudia and Pudens*; Conybeare and Howson, ii. 501; Alford, *Excursus in Greek Test.* iii. 104). It is interesting to think of the young Evangelist as having been the instrument by which one who was surrounded by the fathomless impurity of the Roman world was called to a higher life, and the names which would otherwise have appeared only in the foul epigrams of Martial (i. 32, iv. 13. v. 48, xi. 53) raised to a perpetual honour in the salutations of an apostolic epistle.[e] To this period of his life (the exact time and place being uncertain) we may probably refer the imprisonment of Heb. xiii. 23, and the trial at which he "witnessed the good confession" not unworthy to be likened to that of the Great Confessor before Pilate (1 Tim. vi. 13).

Assuming the genuineness and the later date of the two epistles addressed to him [comp. the following article], we are able to put together a few notices as to his later life. It follows from 1 Tim. i. 3 that he and his master, after the release of the latter from his imprisonment, revisited the proconsular Asia, that the Apostle then continued his journey to Macedonia,[f] while the disciple remained, half-reluctantly, even weeping at the separation (2 Tim. i. 4), at Ephesus, to check, if possible, the outgrowth of heresy and licentiousness which had sprung up there. The time during which he was thus to exercise authority as the delegate of an

[d] Dr. Wordsworth infers from 2 Cor. ix. 11, and Acts xviii. 5 that he brought contributions to the support of the Apostle from the Macedonian Churches, and thus released him from his continuous labour as a tent-maker.

[e] The writer has to thank Prof. Lightfoot for calling his attention to an article ("They of Caesar's Household") in *Journ. of Class. and Sacred Philology*, No. X., in which the hypothesis is questioned, on the ground that the Epigrams are later than the Epistles, and that they connect the name of Pudens with heathen customs and vices. On the other hand it may be urged that the bantering tone of the Epigrams forbids us to take them as evidences of character. Pudens tells Martial that he does not "like his poems." "Oh, that is because you read too many at a time" (iv. 29). He begs him to correct their blemishes. "You want an autograph copy then, do you?" (vii. 11). The slave Encolpos (the name is possibly a wilful distortion of Eubulus) does what *might* be the fulfilment of a Christian vow (Acts xviii. 18), and this is the occasion of the suggestion which seems most damnatory (v. 48) With this there mingles however, as in iv. 13, vi. 58, the language of a more real esteem than is common in Martial (comp. some good remarks in Rev. W. B. Galloway, *A Clergyman's Holidays*, pp. 35-49).

[f] Dr. Wordsworth, in an interesting note on 2 Tim. i. 15, supposes the parting to have been in consequence of St. Paul's second arrest, and sees in this the explanation of the tears of Timotheus.

Apostle—a vicar apostolic rather than a bishop—was of uncertain duration (1 Tim. iii. 14). The position in which he found himself might well make him anxious. He had to rule presbyters, most of whom were older than himself (1 Tim. iv. 12), to assign to each a stipend in proportion to his work (ib. v. 17), to receive and decide on charges that might be brought against them (ib. v. 1, 19, 20), to regulate the almsgiving and the sisterhoods of the Church (ib. v. 3-10), to ordain presbyters and deacons (ib. iii. 1-13). There was the risk of being entangled in the disputes, prejudices, covetousness, sensuality of a great city. There was the risk of injuring health and strength by an overstrained asceticism (ib. iv. 4, v. 23). Leaders of rival sects were there—Hymenaeus, Philetus, Alexander—to oppose and thwart him (1 Tim. i. 20; 2 Tim. ii. 17, iv. 14, 15). The name of his beloved teacher was no longer honoured as it had been; the strong affection of former days had vanished, and "Paul the aged" had become unpopular, the object of suspicion and dislike (comp. Acts xx. 37 and 2 Tim. i. 15). Only in the narrowed circle of the faithful few, Aquila, Priscilla, Mark, and others, who were still with him, was he likely to find sympathy or support (2 Tim. iv. 19). We cannot wonder that the Apostle, knowing these trials, and, with his marvellous power of bearing another's burdens, making them his own, should be full of anxiety and fear for his disciple's steadfastness; that admonitions, appeals, warnings should follow each other in rapid and vehement succession (1 Tim. i. 18, iii. 15, iv. 14, v. 21, vi. 11). In the second epistle to him this deep personal feeling utters itself yet more fully. The friendship of fifteen years was drawing to a close, and all memories connected with it throng upon the mind of the old man, now ready to be offered, the blameless youth (2 Tim. iii. 15), the holy household (ib. i. 5), the solemn ordination (ib. i. 6), the tears at parting (ib. i. 4). The last recorded words of the Apostle express the earnest hope, repeated yet more earnestly, that he might see him once again (ib. iv. 9, 21). Timotheus is to come before winter, to bring with him the cloak for which in that winter there would be need (2 Tim. iv. 13). We may hazard the conjecture that he reached him in time, and that the last hours of the teacher were soothed by the presence of the disciple whom he loved so truly. Some writers have even seen in Heb. xiii. 23 an indication that he shared St. Paul's imprisonment and was released from it by the death of Nero (Conybeare and Howson, ii. 502; Neander, *Pfl. und Leit.* i. 552). Beyond this all is apocryphal and uncertain. He continues, according to the old traditions, to act as bishop of Ephesus (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 14), and dies a martyr's death under Domitian or Nerva (Niceph. *H. E.* iii. 11). The great festival of Artemis (the *καταγώγιον* of that goddess) led him to protest against the licence and frenzy which accompanied it. The mob were roused to fury, and put him to death with clubs (comp. Polycrates and Simeon Metaphr. in Henschen's *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. 24). Some later critics—Schleiermacher, Mayerhoff—have seen in him the author of the whole or part of the Acts (Olshausen, *Commentar.* ii. 612).

A somewhat startling theory as to the intervening period of his life has found favour with Calmet (s. v. *Timothée*), Tillemont (i. 147), and others. If he continued, according to the received tradition, to be bishop of Ephesus, then he, and no other, must have been the "angel" of that church to whom the message of Rev. ii. 1-7 was addressed. It may be urged, as in some degree confirming this view, that both the praise and the blame of that message are such as harmonise with the impressions as to the character of Timotheus derived from the Acts and the Epistles. The refusal to acknowledge the self-styled Apostles, the abhorrence of the deeds of the Nicolaitans, the unwearied labour, all this belongs to "the man of God" of the Pastoral Epistles. And the fault is no less characteristic. The strong language of St. Paul's entreaty would lead us to expect that the temptation of such a man would be to fall away from the glow of his "first love," the zeal of his first faith. The promise of the Lord of the Churches is in substance the same as that implied in the language of the Apostle (2 Tim. ii. 4-6).

The conjecture, it should be added, has been passed over unnoticed by most of the recent commentators on the Apocalypse (comp. Alford and Wordsworth, *in loc.*). Trench (*Seven Churches of Asia*, p. 64) contrasts the "angel" of Rev. ii. with Timotheus as an "earlier angel" who, with the generation to which he belonged, had passed away when the Apocalypse was written. It must be remembered, however, that, at the time of St. Paul's death, Timotheus was still "young," probably not more than thirty-five, that he might, therefore, well be living, even on the assumption of the later date of the Apocalypse, and that the traditions (*valeant quantum*) place his death after that date. Bengel admits this, but urges the objection that he was not the bishop of any single diocese, but the superintendent of many churches. This however may, in its turn, be traversed, by the answer that the death of St. Paul may have made a great difference in the work of one who had hitherto been employed in travelling as his representative. The special charge committed to him in the Pastoral Epistles might not unnaturally give fixity to a life which had previously been wandering.

An additional fact connected with the name of Timothy is that two of the treatises of the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite are addressed to him (*De Hierarch. Coel.* i. 1; comp. Le Nourry, *Dissert.* c. ix., and Halloix, *Quaest.* iv. in Migne's edition).

[E. H. P.]

TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO. *Authorship.*—The question whether these Epistles were written by St. Paul was one to which, till within the last half-century, hardly any answer but an affirmative one was thought possible. They are reckoned among the Pauline Epistles in the Muratorian Canon and the Peshito version. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25) places them among the *ὁμολογούμενα* of the N. T., and, while recording the doubts which affected the 2nd Epistle of St. Peter and the other *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, knows of none which affect these. They are cited as authoritative by Tertullian (*De Praescr.* c. 25; *ad Uxorem*, i. 7), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 11), Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* iv. 16, §3, ii. 14, §8). Parallelisms, implying quotation, in some cases with close verbal agreement, are found in Clem. Rom. 1 *Cor.* c. 29 (comp. 1 Tim. ii. 8); Ignat. *ad Magn.* c. 8 (1 Tim. i. 4); Polycarp, c. 4 (comp. 1 Tim. vi. 7, 8); Theophilus of Antioch *ad Autol.* iii. 126 (comp. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2). There were indeed some notable exceptions to this *consensus*. The three Pastoral Epistles were all re

jected by Marcion (Tertull. *adv. Marc.* v. 21; Iren. i. 29), Basilides, and other Gnostic teachers (Hieron. *Praef. in Titum*). Tatian, while strongly maintaining the genuineness of the Epistle to Titus, denied that of the other two (Hieron. *ib.*). In these instances we are able to discern a dogmatic reason for the rejection. The sects which these leaders represented could not but feel that they were condemned by the teaching of the Pastoral Epistles. Origen mentions some who excluded 2 Tim. from the Canon for a very different reason. The names of Jannes and Jambres belonged to an Apocryphal history, and from such a history St. Paul never would have quoted (Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* 117).

The Pastoral Epistles have, however, been subjected to a more elaborate scrutiny by the criticism of Germany. The first doubts were uttered by J. C. Schmidt. These were followed by the *Sendschreiben* of Schleiermacher, who, assuming the genuineness of 2 Tim. and Titus, undertook, on that hypothesis, to prove the spuriousness of 1 Tim. Bolder critics saw that the position thus taken was untenable, that the three Epistles must stand or fall together. Eichhorn (*Einl.* iii.) and De Wette (*Einleit.*) denied the Pauline authorship of all three. There was still, however, an attempt to maintain their authority as embodying the substance of the Apostle's teaching, or of letters written by him, on the hypothesis that they had been sent forth after his death by some over-zealous disciple, who wished, under the shadow of his name, to attack the prevailing errors of the time (Eichhorn, *ib.*). One writer (Schott, *Isagoge Hist. Crit.* p. 324) ventures on the hypothesis that Luke was the writer. Baur (*Die sogenannten Pastoral-Briefe*), here as elsewhere more daring than others, assigns them to no earlier period than the latter half of the second century, after the death of Polycarp in A.D. 167 (p. 138). On this hypothesis 2 Tim. was the earliest, 1 Tim. the latest of the three, each probably by a different writer (p. 72-76). They grew out of the state of parties in the Church of Rome, and, like the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts, were intended to mediate between the extreme Pauline and the extreme Petrine sections of the Church (p. 58). Starting from the data supplied by the Epistle to the Philippians, the writers, first of 2 Tim., then of Titus, and lastly of 1 Tim., aimed, by the insertion of personal incidents, messages, and the like, at giving to their compilations an air of verisimilitude (p. 70).

It will be seen from the above statement that the question of authorship is here more than usually important. There can be no solution as regards these Epistles like that of an obviously dramatic and therefore legitimate personation of character, such as is possible in relation to the authorship of Ecclesiastes. If the Pastoral Epistles are not Pauline, the writer clearly meant them to pass as such, and the *animus decipiendi* would be there in its most flagrant form. They would have to take their place with the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, or the Pseudo-Ignatian Epistles. Where we now see the traces, full of life and interest, of the character of "Paul the aged," firm, tender, zealous, loving, we should have to recognise only the tricks, sometimes skilful, sometimes clumsy, of some unknown and dishonest controversialist.

Consequences such as these ought not, it is true, to lead us to suppress or distort one iota of evidence. They may well make us cautious, in examining the evidence, not to admit conclusions that are wider than the premises, nor to take the premises themselves for granted. The task of examining is rendered in some measure easier by the fact that, in the judgment of most critics, hostile as well as friendly, the three Pastoral Epistles stand on the same ground. The intermediate hypotheses of Schleiermacher (*supra*) and Credner (*Einl. ins N. T.*), who looks on Titus as genuine, 2 Tim. as made up out of two genuine letters, and 1 Tim. as altogether spurious, may be dismissed as individual eccentricities, hardly requiring a separate notice. In dealing with objections which take a wider range, we are meeting those also which are confined to one or two out of the three Epistles.

The chief elements of the alleged evidence of spuriousness may be arranged as follows:—

I. *Language.*—The style, it is urged, is different from that of the acknowledged Pauline Epistles. There is less logical continuity, a want of order and plan, subjects brought up, one after the other, abruptly (Schleiermacher). Not less than fifty words, most of them striking and characteristic, are found in these Epistles which are not found in St. Paul's writings (see the list in Conybeare and Howson, App. I., and Huther's *Einleit.*). The formula of salutation (χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη), half-technical words and phrases, like εὐσέβεια and its cognates (1 Tim. ii. 2, iii. 16, vi. 6, *et al.*), παραθήκη (1 Tim. i. 18, vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 12, 14, ii. 2), the frequently-recurring πιστὸς ὁ λόγος (1 Tim. i. 15, iii. 1, iv. 9; 2 Tim. ii. 11), the use of ὑγιαίνουσα as the distinctive epithet of a true teaching, these and others like them appear here for the first time (Schleierm. and Baur). Some of these words, it is urged, φανεροῦν, ἐπιφάνεια, σωτήρ, φῶς ἀπρόσιτον, belong to the Gnostic terminology of the 2nd century.

On the other side it may be said, (1) that there is no test so uncertain as that of language and style thus applied; how uncertain we may judge from the fact that Schleiermacher and Neander find no stumbling-blocks in 2 Tim. and Titus, while they detect an un-Pauline character in 1 Tim. A difference like that which marks the speech of men divided from each other by a century may be conclusive against the identity of authorship, but short of that there is hardly any conceivable divergency which may not coexist with it. The style of one man is stereotyped, formed early, and enduring long. The sentences move after an unvarying rhythm; the same words recur. That of another changes, more or less, from year to year. As his thoughts expand they call for a new vocabulary. The last works of such a writer, as those of Bacon and of Burke, may be florid, redundant, figurative, while the earlier were almost meagre in their simplicity. In proportion as the man is a solitary thinker, or a strong assertor of his own will, will he tend to the former state. In proportion to his power of receiving impressions from without, of sympathising with others, will be his tendency to the latter. Apart from all knowledge of St. Paul's character, the alleged peculiarities are but of little weight in the adverse scale. With that knowledge we may see in them the natural result of the intercourse with men in many lands, of that readiness to become all things to all men, which could hardly fail to show itself in speech as well as in action. Each group of his Epistles has, in like manner, its characteristic words and phrases. (2) If this is true generally, it is so yet more emphatically when the

circumstances of authorship are different. The language of a Bishop's Charge is not that of his letters to his private friends. The Epistles, which St. Paul wrote to the churches as societies, might well differ from those which he wrote, in the full freedom of open speech, to a familiar friend, to his own "true son." It is not strange that we should find in the latter a Luther-like vehemence of expression (*e. g.* κεκαυστηριασμένων, 1 Tim. iv. 2, διαπαρατριβαὶ διεφθαρμένων ἀνθρώπων τὸν νοῦν, 1 Tim. vi. 5, σεσωρευμένα ἁμαρτίαις, 2 Tim. iii. 6), mixed sometimes with words that imply that which few great men have been without, a keen sense of humour, and the capacity, at least, for satire (*e. g.* γραώδεις μύθους, 1 Tim. iv. 7; φλύαροι καὶ περίεργοι, 1 Tim. v. 13; τετύφωται, 1 Tim. vi. 4; γαστέρες ἀργαί, Tit. i. 12). (3) Other letters, again, were dictated to an amanuensis. These have every appearance of having been written with his own hand, and this can hardly have been without its influence on their style, rendering it less diffuse, the transitions more abrupt, the treatment of each subject more concise. In this respect it may be compared with the other two autograph Epistles, those to the Galatians and Philemon. A list of words given by Alford (iii. *Proleg.* c. vii.) shows a considerable resemblance between the former of the two and the Pastoral Epistles. (4) It may be added, that to whatever extent a forger of spurious Epistles would be likely to form his style after the pattern of the recognised ones, so that men might not be able to distinguish the counterfeit from the true, to that extent the diversity which has been dwelt on is, within the limits that have been above stated, not against, but for the genuineness of these Epistles. (5) Lastly, there is the positive argument that there is a large common element, both of thoughts and words, shared by these Epistles and the others. The grounds of faith, the law of life, the tendency to digress and go off at a word, the personal, individualising affection, the free reference to his own sufferings for the truth, all these are in both, and by them we recognise the identity of the writer. The evidence can hardly be given within the limits of this article, but its weight will be felt by any careful student. The coincidences are precisely those, in most instances, which the forger of a document would have been unlikely to think of, and give but scanty support to the perverse ingenuity which sees in these resemblances a proof of compilation, and therefore of spuriousness.

II. It has been urged (chiefly by Eichhorn, *Einl.* p. 315) against the reception of the Pastoral Epistles that they cannot be fitted in to the records of St. Paul's life in the Acts. To this there is a threefold answer. (1) The difficulty has been enormously exaggerated. If the dates assigned to them must, to some extent, be conjectural, there are, at least, two hypotheses in each case (*infra*) which rest on reasonably good grounds. (2) If the difficulty were as great as it is said to be, the mere fact that we cannot fix the precise date of three letters in the life of one of whose ceaseless labours and journeyings we have, after all, but fragmentary records, ought not to be a stumbling-block. The hypothesis of a release from the imprisonment with which the history of the Acts ends removes all difficulties; and if this be rejected (Baur, p. 67), as itself not resting on sufficient evidence, there is, in any case, a wide gap of which we know nothing. It may at least claim to be a theory which explains phenomena. (3) Here, as before, the reply is obvious, that a man composing counterfeit Epistles would have been likely to make them square with the acknowledged records of the life.

III. The three Epistles present, it is said, a more developed state of Church organisation and doctrine than that belonging to the lifetime of St. Paul. (1) The rule that the bishop is to be "the husband of one wife" (1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 6) indicates the strong opposition to second marriages which characterised the 2nd century (Baur, pp. 113-120). (2) The "younger widows" of 1 Tim. v. 11 cannot possibly be literally widows. If they were, St. Paul, in advising them to marry, would be excluding them, according to the rule of 1 Tim. v. 9, from all chance of sharing in the Church's bounty. It follows therefore that the word χῆραι is used, as it was in the 2nd century, in a wider sense, as denoting a consecrated life (Baur, pp. 42-49). (3) The rules affecting the relation of the bishops and elders indicate a hierarchic development characteristic of the Petrine element, which became dominant in the Church of Rome in the post-Apostolic period, but foreign altogether to the genuine Epistles of St. Paul (Baur, pp. 80-89). (4) The term αἱρετικός is used in its later sense, and a formal procedure against the heretic is recognised, which belongs to the 2nd century rather than the 1st. (5) The upward progress from the office of deacon to that of presbyter, implied in 1 Tim. iii. 13, belongs to a later period (Baur, *l. c.*).

It is not difficult to meet objections which contain so large an element of mere arbitrary assumption. (1) Admitting Baur's interpretation of 1 Tim. iii. 2 to be the right one, the rule which makes monogamy a condition of the episcopal office is very far removed from the harsh, sweeping censures of all second marriages which we find in Athenagoras and Tertullian. (2) There is not a shadow of proof that the "younger widows" were not literally such. The χῆραι of the Pastoral Epistles are, like those of Acts vi. 1, ix. 39, women dependent on the alms of the Church, not necessarily deaconesses, or engaged in active labours. The rule fixing the age of sixty for admission is all but conclusive against Baur's hypothesis. (3) The use of ἐπίσκοποι and πρεσβύτεροι in the Pastoral Epistles as equivalent (Tit. i. 5, 7), and the absence of any intermediate order between the bishops and deacons (1 Tim. iii. 1-8), are quite unlike what we find in the Ignatian Epistles and other writings of the 2nd century. They are in entire agreement with the language of St. Paul (Acts xx. 17, 28; Phil. i. 1). Few features of these Epistles are more striking than the absence of any high hierarchic system. (4) The word αἱρετικός has its counterpart in the αἱρέσεις of 1 Cor. xi. 19. The sentence upon Hymenæus and Alexander (1 Tim. i. 20) has a precedent in that of 1 Cor. v. 5. (5) The best interpreters do not see in 1 Tim. iii. 13 the transition from one office to another (comp. Ellicott, *in loc.*, and DEACON). If it is there, the assumption that such a change is foreign to the Apostolic age is entirely an arbitrary one.

IV. Still greater stress is laid on the indications of a later date in the descriptions of the false teachers noticed in the Pastoral Epistles. These point, it is said, unmistakeably to Marcion and his followers. In the ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως (1 Tim. vi. 20) there is a direct reference to the treatise which he wrote under the title of Ἀντιθέσεις, setting forth the contradiction between

the Old and New Testament (Baur, p. 26). The "genealogies" of 1 Tim. i. 4, Tit. iii. 9, in like manner, point to the Aeons of the Valentinians and Ophites (*ibid.* p. 12). The "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats," fits in to Marcion's system, not to that of the Judaizing teachers of St. Paul's time (*ibid.* p. 24). The assertion that "the law is good" (1 Tim. i. 8) implies a denial, like that of Marcion, of its divine authority. The doctrine that the "Resurrection was past already" (2 Tim. ii. 18), was thoroughly Gnostic in its character. In his eagerness to find tokens of a later date everywhere, Baur sees in the writer of these Epistles not merely an opponent of Gnosticism, but one in part infected with their teaching, and appeals to the doxologies of 1 Tim. i. 17, vi. 15, and their Christology throughout, as having a Gnostic stamp on them (pp. 28-33).

Carefully elaborated as this part of Baur's attack has been, it is perhaps the weakest and most capricious of all. The false teachers of the Pastoral Epistles are predominantly Jewish, νομοδιδάσκαλοι (1 Tim. i. 7), belonging altogether to a different school from that of Marcion, giving heed to "Jewish fables" (Tit. i. 4) and "disputes connected with the Law" (Tit. iii. 9). Of all monstrosities of Exegesis few are more wilful and fantastic than that which finds in νομοδιδάσκαλοι Antinomian teachers and in μαχαὶ νομικαί Antinomian doctrine (Baur, p. 17). The natural suggestion that in Acts xx. 30, 31, St. Paul contemplates the rise and progress of a like perverse teaching, that in Col. ii. 8-23 we have the same combination of Judaism and a self-styled γνῶσις (1 Tim. vi. 20) or φιλοσοφία (Col. ii. 8), leading to a like false asceticism, is set aside summarily by the rejection both of the Speech and the Epistle as spurious. Even the denial of the Resurrection, we may remark, belongs as naturally to the mingling of a Sadducaean element with an Eastern mysticism as to the teaching of Marcion. The self-contradictory hypothesis that the writer of 1 Tim. is at once the strongest opponent of the Gnostics, and that he adopts their language, need hardly be refuted. The whole line of argument, indeed, first misrepresents the language of St. Paul in these Epistles and elsewhere, and then assumes the entire absence from the first century of even the germs of the teaching which characterised the second (comp. Neander, *Pfl. und Leit.* i. p. 401; Heydenreich, p. 64).

Date.—Assuming the two Epistles to Timothy to have been written by St. Paul, to what period of his life are they to be referred? The question as it affects each Epistle may be discussed separately.

First Epistle to Timothy.—The direct *data* in this instance are very few. (1) i. 3, implies a journey of St. Paul from Ephesus to Macedonia, Timothy remaining behind. (2) The age of Timothy is described as νεότης (iv. 12). (3) The general resemblance between the two Epistles indicates that they were written at or about the same time. Three hypotheses have been maintained as fulfilling these conditions.

(A) The journey in question has been looked on as an unrecorded episode in the two years' work at Ephesus of Acts xix. 10.

(B) It has been identified with the journey of Acts xx. 1, after the tumult at Ephesus.

On either of these suppositions the date of the Epistle has been fixed at various periods after St. Paul's arrival at Ephesus, before the conclusion of his first imprisonment at Rome.

(C) It has been placed in the interval between St. Paul's first and second imprisonments at Rome.

Of these conjectures, A and B have the merit of bringing the Epistle within the limit of the authentic records of St. Paul's life, but they have scarcely any other. Against A, it may be urged that a journey to Macedonia would hardly have been passed over in silence either by St. Luke in the Acts, or by St. Paul himself in writing to the Corinthians. Against B, that Timothy, instead of remaining at Ephesus when the Apostle left, had gone on into Macedonia before him (Acts xix. 22). The hypothesis of a possible return is traversed by the fact that he is with St. Paul in Macedonia at the time when 2 Cor. was written and sent off. In favour of C as compared with A or B, is the internal evidence of the contents of the Epistle. The errors against which Timothy is warned are present, dangerous, portentous. At the time of St. Paul's visit to Miletus in Acts xx., *i. e.*, according to those hypotheses, subsequent to the Epistle, they are still only looming in the distance (ver. 30). All the circumstances referred to, moreover, imply the prolonged absence of the Apostle. Discipline had become lax, heresies rife, the economy of the Church disordered. It was necessary to check the chief offenders by the sharp sentence of excommunication (1 Tim. i. 20). Other Churches called for his counsel and directions, or a sharp necessity took him away, and he hastens on, leaving behind him, with full delegated authority, the disciple in whom he most confided. The language of the Epistle also has a bearing on the date. According to the hypotheses A and B, it belongs to the same periods as 1 and 2 Cor. and the Ep. to the Romans, or, at the latest, to the same group as Philippians and Ephesians; and, in this case, the differences of style and language are somewhat difficult to explain. Assume a later date, and then there is room for the changes in thought and expression which, in a character like St. Paul's, were to be expected as the years went by. The only objections to the position thus assigned are—(1) the doubtfulness of the second imprisonment altogether, which has been discussed in another place [PAUL]; and (2), the "youth" of Timothy at the time when the letter was written (iv. 12). In regard to the latter, it is sufficient to say that, on the assumption of the later date, the disciple was probably not more than 34 or 35, and that this was young enough for one who was to exercise authority over a whole body of Bishop-presbyters, many of them older than himself (v. 1).

Second Epistle to Timothy.—The number of special names and incidents in the 2nd Epistle make the chronological data more numerous. It will be best to bring them, as far as possible, together, noticing briefly with what other facts each connects itself, and to what conclusion it leads. Here also there are the conflicting theories of an earlier and later date, (A) during the imprisonment of Acts xxviii. 30, and (B) during the second imprisonment already spoken of.

(1) A parting apparently recent, under circumstances of special sorrow (i. 4). Not decisive. The scene at Miletus (Acts xx. 37) suggests itself, if we assume A. The parting referred to in 1 Tim. i. 3 might meet B.

(2) A general desertion of the Apostle even by the disciples of Asia (i. 15). Nothing in the Acts indicates anything like this before the imprison

ment of Acts xxviii. 30. Everything in Acts xix. and xx., and not less the language of the Epistle to the Ephesians, speaks of general and strong affection. This, therefore, so far as it goes, must be placed on the side of B.

(3) The position of St. Paul as suffering (i. 12), in bonds (ii. 9), expecting "the time of his departure" (iv. 6), forsaken by almost all (iv. 16). Not quite decisive, but tending to B rather than A. The language of the Epistles belonging to the first imprisonment imply, it is true, bonds (Phil. i. 13, 16; Eph. iii. 1, vi. 20), but in all of them the Apostle is surrounded by many friends, and is hopeful, and confident of release (Phil. i. 25; Philem. 22).

(4) The mention of Onesiphorus, and of services rendered by him both at Rome and Ephesus (i. 16-18). Not decisive again, but the tone is rather that of a man looking back on a past period of his life, and the order of the names suggests the thought of the ministrations at Ephesus being subsequent to those at Rome. Possibly too the mention of "the household," instead of Onesiphorus himself, may imply his death in the interval. This therefore tends to B rather than A.

(5) The abandonment of St. Paul by Demas (iv. 10). Strongly in favour of B. Demas was with the Apostle when the Epistles to the Colossians (iv. 14) and Philemon (24) were written. 2 Tim. must therefore, in all probability, have been written after them; but, if we place it anywhere in the first imprisonment, we are all but compelled[a] by the mention of Mark, for whose coming the Apostle asks in 2 Tim. iv. 11, and who is with him in Col. iv. 10, to place it at an earlier age.

(6) The presence of Luke (iv. 11). Agrees well enough with A (Col. iv. 14), but is perfectly compatible with B.

(7) The request that Timothy would bring Mark (iv. 11). Seems at first, compared as above, with Col. iv. 14, to support A, but, in connexion with the mention of Demas, tends decidedly to B.

(8) Mention of Tychicus as sent to Ephesus (iv. 12). Appears, as connected with Eph. vi. 21, 22, Col. iv. 7, in favour of A, yet, as Tychicus was continually employed on special missions of this kind, may just as well fit in with B.

(9) The request that Timothy would bring the cloak and books left at Troas (iv. 13). On the assumption of A, the last visit of St. Paul to Troas would have been at least four or five years before, during which there would probably have been opportunities enough for his regaining what he had left. In that case, too, the circumstances of the journey present no trace of the haste and suddenness which the request more than half implies. On the whole, then, this must be reckoned as in favour of B.

(10) "Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil," "greatly withstood our words" (iv. 14, 15). The part taken by a Jew of this name in the uproar of Acts xix., and the natural connexion of the χαλκεὺς with the artisans represented by Demetrius, suggest a reference to that event as something recent, and so far support A. On the other hand, the name Alexander was too common to make us certain as to the identity, and if it were the same, the hypothesis of a later date only requires us to assume what was probable enough, a renewed hostility.

(11) The abandonment of the Apostle in his first defence (ἀπολογία), and his deliverance "from the mouth of the lion" (iv. 16, 17). Fits in as a possible contingency with either hypothesis, but, like the mention of Demas in (5), must belong, at any rate, to a time much later than any of the other Epistles written from Rome.

(12) "Erastus abode at Corinth, but Trophimus I left at Miletus sick" (iv. 20). Language, as in (9), implying a comparatively recent visit to both places. If, however, the letter were written during the first imprisonment, then Trophimus had not been left at Miletus, but had gone on with St. Paul to Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 29),[b] and the mention of Erastus as remaining at Corinth would have been superfluous to one who had left that city at the same time as the Apostle (Acts xx. 4).

(13) "Hasten to come before winter." Assuming A, the presence of Timothy in Phil. i. 1; Col. i. 1; Philem. 1, might be regarded as the consequence of this; but then, as shown in (5) and (7), there are almost insuperable difficulties in supposing this Epistle to have been written before those three.

(14) The salutations from Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, and Claudia. Without laying much stress on this, it may be said that the absence of these names from all the Epistles, which, according to A, belong to the same period, would be difficult to explain. B leaves it open to conjecture that they were converts of more recent date. They are mentioned too as knowing Timothy, and this implies, as at least probable, that he had already been at Rome, and that this letter to him was consequently later than those to the Philippians and Colossians.

On the whole, it is believed that the evidence preponderates strongly in favour of the later date, and that the Epistle, if we admit its genuineness, is therefore a strong argument for believing that the imprisonment of Acts xxviii. was followed by a period first of renewed activity and then of suffering.

Places.—In this respect as in regard to time, 1 Tim. leaves much to conjecture. The absence of any local reference but that in i. 3, suggests Macedonia or some neighbouring district. In A and other MSS. in the Peshito, Ethiopic, and other versions, Laodicea is named in the inscription as the place whence it was sent, but this appears to have grown out of a traditional belief resting on very insufficient grounds, and incompatible with the conclusion which has been above adopted, that this is the Epistle referred to in Col. iv. 16 as that from Laodicea (Theophyl. *in loc.*). The Coptic version with as little likelihood states that it was written from Athens (Huther, *Einleit.*).

The Second Epistle is free from this conflict of conjectures. With the solitary exception of Böttger, who suggests Caesarea, there is a *consensus* in favour of Rome, and everything in the circumstances and names of the Epistle leads to the same conclusion (*ibid.*).

Structure and Characteristics.—The peculiarities of language, so far as they affect the question of authorship, have been already noticed. Assuming the genuineness of the Epistles, some characteristic features remain to be noticed.

(1) The ever-deepening sense in St. Paul's heart of the Divine Mercy, of which he was the object, as shown in the insertion of ἔλεος in the salutations of both Epistles, and in the ἠλεήθην of 1 Tim. i. 13.

[a] The qualifying words might have been omitted, but for the fact that it has been suggested that Demas, having forsaken St. Paul, repented and returned (Lardner. vi. 328).

[b] The conjecture that the "leaving" referred to took place during the voyage of Acts xxvii. is purely arbitrary, and at variance with vers. 5 and 6 of that chapter.

(2) The greater abruptness of the Second Epistle. From first to last there is no plan, no treatment of subjects carefully thought out. All speaks of strong overflowing emotion, memories of the past, anxieties about the future.

(3) The absence, as compared with St. Paul's other Epistles, of Old Testament references. This may connect itself with the fact just noticed, that these Epistles are not argumentative, possibly also with the request for the "books and parchments" which had been left behind (2 Tim. iv. 13). He may have been separated for a time from the *ἱερὰ γράμματα*, which were commonly his companions.

(4) The conspicuous position of the "faithful sayings" as taking the place occupied in other Epistles by the O. T. Scriptures. The way in which these are cited as authoritative, the variety of subjects which they cover, suggest the thought that in them we have specimens of the prophecies of the Apostolic Church which had most impressed themselves on the mind of the Apostle, and of the disciples generally. 1 Cor. xiv. shows how deep a reverence he was likely to feel for such spiritual utterances. In 1 Tim. iv. 1, we have a distinct reference to them.

(5) The tendency of the Apostle's mind to dwell more on the universality of the redemptive work of Christ (1 Tim. ii. 3-6, iv. 10), his strong desire that all the teaching of his disciples should be "sound" (*ὑγιαίνουσα*), commending itself to minds in a healthy state, his fear of the corruption of that teaching by morbid subtleties.

(6) The importance attached by him to the practical details of administration. The gathered experience of a long life had taught him that the life and well-being of the Church required these for its safeguards.

(7) The recurrence of doxologies (1 Tim. i. 17, vi. 15, 16; 2 Tim. iv. 18) as from one living perpetually in the presence of God, to whom the language of adoration was as his natural speech.

It has been thought desirable, in the above discussion of conflicting theories, to state them simply as they stand, with the evidence on which they rest, without encumbering the page with constant reference to authorities. The names of writers on the N. T. in such a case, where the grounds of reasoning are open to all, add little or nothing to the weight of the conclusions drawn from them. Full particulars will, however, be found in the introductions of Alford, Wordsworth, Huther, Davidson, Wiesinger, Hug. Conybeare and Howson (*App.* i.) give a good tabular summary both of the objections to the genuineness of the Epistles and of the answers to them, and a clear statement in favour of the later date. The most elaborate argument in favour of the earlier is to be found in N. Lardner, *History of Apost. and Evang.* (*Works*, vi. pp. 315-375). [E. H. P.]

TIN (בְּדִיל: *κασσίτερος*: *stannum*). Among the various metals found among the spoils of the Midianites, tin is enumerated (Num. xxxi. 22). It was known to the Hebrew metal-workers as an alloy of other metals (Is. i. 25; Ez. xxii. 18, 20). The markets of Tyre were supplied with it by the ships of Tarshish (Ez. xxvii. 12). It was used for plummets (Zech. iv. 10), and was so plentiful as to furnish the writer of Ecclesiasticus (xlvii. 18) with a figure by which to express the wealth of Solomon, whom he apostrophizes thus: "Thou didst gather gold *as tin*, and didst multiply silver as lead." In the Homeric times the Greeks were familiar with it. Twenty layers of tin were in Agamemnon's cuirass given him by Kinyres (*Il.* xi. 25), and twenty bosses of tin were upon his shield (*Il.* xi. 34). Copper, tin, and gold were used by Hephaestus in welding the famous shield of Achilles (*Il.* xviii. 474). The fence round the vineyard in the device upon it was of tin (*Il.* xviii. 564), and the oxen were wrought of tin and gold (ibid. 574). The greaves of Achilles, made by Hephaestus, were of tin beaten fine, close fitting to the limb (*Il.* xviii. 612, xxi. 592). His shield had two folds or layers of tin between two outer layers of bronze and an inner layer of gold (*Il.* xx. 271). Tin was used in ornamenting chariots (*Il.* xxiii. 503), and a cuirass of bronze overlaid with tin is mentioned in *Il.* xxiii. 561. No allusion to it is found in the *Odyssey*. The melting of tin in a smelting-pot is mentioned by Hesiod (*Theog.* 862).

Tin is not found in Palestine. Whence, then, did the ancient Hebrews obtain their supply? "Only three countries are known to contain any considerable quantity of it: Spain and Portugal, Cornwall and the adjacent parts of Devonshire, and the islands of Junk, Ceylon, and Banca, in the Straits of Malacca" (Kenrick, *Phoenicia*, p. 212). According to Diodorus Siculus (v. 46) there were tin-mines in the island of Panchaia, off the east coast of Arabia, but the metal was not exported. There can be little doubt that the mines of Britain were the chief source of supply to the ancient world. Mr. Cooley, indeed, writes very positively (*Maritime and Inland Discovery*, i. 131): "There can be no difficulty in determining the country from which tin first arrived in Egypt. That metal has been in all ages a principal export of India: it is enumerated as such by Arrian, who found it abundant in the ports of Arabia, at a time when the supplies of Rome flowed chiefly through that channel. The tin-mines of Banca are probably the richest in the world; but tin was unquestionably brought from the West at a later period." But it has been shown conclusively by Dr. George Smith (*The Cassiterides*, Lond. 1863) that, so far from such a statement being justified by the authority of Arrian, the facts are all the other way. After examining the commerce of the ports of Abyssinia, Arabia, and India, it is abundantly evident that, "instead of its coming from the East to Egypt, it has been invariably exported from Egypt to the East" (p. 23). With regard to the tin obtained from Spain, although the metal was found there, it does not appear to have been produced in sufficient quantities to supply the Phoenician markets. Posidonius (in Strab. iii. p. 147) relates that in the country of the Artabri, in the extreme N.W. of the peninsula, the ground was bright with silver, tin, and white gold (mixed with silver), which were brought down by the rivers; but the quantity thus obtained could not have been adequate to the demand. At the present day the whole surface bored for mining in Spain is little more than a square mile (Smith, *Cassiterides*, p. 46). We are therefore driven to conclude that it was from the Cassiterides, or tin districts of Britain, that the Phoenicians obtained the great bulk of this commodity (Sir G. C. Lewis, *Hist. Survey of the Astr. of the Anc.* p. 451), and that this was done by the direct voyage from Gades. It is true that at a later period (Strabo, iii. 147) tin was conveyed overland to Marseilles by a thirty days' journey (Diod. Sic. v. 2); but Strabo (iii. 175) tells us that the Phoenicians alone carried on this traffic in former times from Gades, concealing

the passage from every one; and that on one occasion, when the Romans followed one of their vessels in order to discover the source of supply, the master of the ship ran upon a shoal, leading those who followed him to destruction. In course of time, however, the Romans discovered the passage. In Ezekiel, "the trade in tin is attributed to Tarshish, as 'the merchant' for the commodity, without any mention of the place whence it was procured" (*Cassiterides*, p. 74); and it is after the time of Julius Caesar that we first hear of the overland traffic by Marseilles.

Pliny (vi. 36) identifies the *cassiteros* of the Greeks with the *plumbum album* or *candidum* of the Romans, which is our *tin*. *Stannum*, he says, is obtained from an ore containing lead and silver, and is the first to become melted in the furnace. It is the same which the Germans call *Werk*, and is apparently the meaning of the Hebr. *bĕdîl* in Is. i. 25. The etymology of *cassiteros* is uncertain. From the fact that in Sanscrit *kastira* signifies "tin," an argument has been derived in favour of India being the source of the ancient supply of this metal, but too much stress must not be laid upon it. [LEAD.] [W. A. W.]

TIPH'SAH (תִּפְסַח: Θερσά: *Thaphsa, Thapsa*) is mentioned in 1 K. iv. 24 as the limit of Solomon's empire towards the Euphrates, and in 2 K. xv. 16 it is said to have been attacked by Menahem, king of Israel, who "smote Tiphsah and all that were therein, and all the coasts thereof." It is generally admitted that the town intended, at any rate in the former passage, is that which the Greeks and Romans knew under the name of Thapsacus (Θάψακος), situated in Northern Syria, at the point where it was usual to cross the Euphrates (Strab. xvi. 1, §21). The name is therefore, reasonably enough, connected with פָּסַח, "to pass over" (Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 613), and is believed to correspond in meaning to the Greek πόρος, the German *furt*, and our "ford."

Thapsacus was a town of considerable importance in the ancient world. Xenophon, who saw it in the time of Cyrus the younger, calls it "great and prosperous" (μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων, *Anab.* i. 4, §11). It must have been a place of considerable trade, the land-traffic between East and West passing through it, first on account of its fordway (which was the lowest upon the Euphrates), and then on account of its bridge (Strab. xvi. 1, §23), while it was likewise the point where goods were both embarked for transport down the stream (Q. Curt. x. 1), and also disembarked from boats which had come up it, to be conveyed on to their final destination by land (Strab. xvi. 3, §4). It is a fair conjecture that Solomon's occupation of the place was connected with his efforts to establish a line of trade with Central Asia directly across the continent, and that Tadmor was intended as a resting-place on the journey to Thapsacus.

Thapsacus was the place at which armies marching east or west usually crossed the "Great River." It was there that the Ten Thousand first learnt the real intentions of Cyrus, and, consenting to aid him in his enterprise, passed the stream (Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, §11). There too Darius Codomannus crossed on his flight from Issus (Arr. *Exp. Al.* ii. 13); and Alexander, following at his leisure, made his passage at the same point (ib. iii. 7). A bridge of boats was usually maintained at the place by the Persian kings, which was of course broken up when danger threatened. Even then, however, the stream could in general be forded, unless in the flood-season.[a]

It has been generally supposed that the site of Thapsacus was the modern *Deïr* (D'Anville, Rennell, Vaux, &c.). But the Euphrates expedition proved that there is no ford at *Deïr*, and indeed showed that the only ford in this part of the course of the Euphrates is at *Suriyeh*, 45 miles below Balis, and 165 above *Deïr* (Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand*, p. 70). This then must have been the position of Thapsacus. Here the river is exactly of the width mentioned by Xenophon (4 stades or 800 yards), and here for four months in the winter of 1841-1842 the river had but 20 inches of water (ib. p. 72).

"The Euphrates is at this spot full of beauty and majesty. Its stream is wide and its waters generally clear and blue. Its banks are low and level to the left, but undulate gently to the right. Previous to arriving at this point the course of the river is southerly, but here it turns to the east, expanding more like an inland lake than a river, and quitting (as Pliny has described it) the Palmyrean solitudes for the fertile Mygdonia" (ib.). A paved causeway is visible on either side of the Euphrates at *Suriyeh*, and a long line of mounds may be traced, disposed, something like those of Nineveh, in the form of an irregular parallelogram. These mounds probably mark the site of the ancient city. [G. R.]

TI'RAS (תִּירָס: Θείρας: *Thiras*). The youngest son of Japheth (Gen. x. 2). As the name occurs only in the ethnological table, we have no clue, as far as the Bible is concerned, to guide us as to the identification of it with any particular people. Ancient authorities generally fixed on the Thracians, as presenting the closest verbal approximation to the name (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6, §1; Jerome, *in Gen.* x. 2; Targums Pseudoj. and Jerus. *on Gen. l. c.*; Targ. on 1 Chr. i. 5): the occasional rendering *Persia* probably originated in a corruption of the original text. The correspondence between Thrace and Tiras is not so complete as to be convincing; the gentile form Θρᾷξ brings them nearer together, but the total absence of the ι in the Greek name is observable. Granted, however, the verbal identity, no objection would arise on ethnological grounds to placing the Thracians among the Japhetic races. Their precise ethnic position is indeed involved in great uncertainty; but all authorities agree in their general Indo-European character. The evidence of this is circumstantial rather than direct. The language has disappeared, with the exception of the ancient names and the single word *bria*, which forms the termination of Mesembria, Selymbria, &c., and is said to signify "town" (Strab. vii. p. 319). The Thracian stock was represented in later times by the Getae, and these again, still later, by the Daci, each of whom inherited the old Thracian tongue (Strab. vii. p. 303). But this circumstance throws little light

[a] This is clear from the very name of the place, and is confirmed by modern researches. When the natives told Cyrus that the stream had acknowledged him as its king, having never been forded until his army waded through it, they calculated on his ignorance, or thought he would not examine too strictly into the groundwork of a compliment (See Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, §11.)

on the subject; for the Dacian language has also disappeared, though fragments of its vocabulary may possibly exist either in Wallachian dialects or perhaps in the Albanian language (Diefenbach, *Or. Eur.* p. 68). If Grimm's identification of the Getae with the Goths were established, the Teutonic affinities of the Thracians would be placed beyond question (*Gesch. Deuts. Spr.* i. 178); but this view does not meet with general acceptance. The Thracians are associated in ancient history with the Pelasgians (Strab. ix. p. 401), and the Trojans, with whom they had many names in common (Strab. xiii. p. 590); in Asia Minor they were represented by the Bithynians (Herod. i. 28, vii. 75). These circumstances lead to the conclusion that they belonged to the Indo-European family, but do not warrant us in assigning them to any particular branch of it. Other explanations have been offered of the name Tiras, of which we may notice the Agathyrsi, the first part of the name (*Aga*) being treated as a prefix (Knobel, *Völkert.* p. 129); Taurus and the various tribes occupying that range (Kalisch, *Comm.* p. 246); the river Tyras, *Dniester*, with its cognominous inhabitants, the Tyritae (Hävernick, *Einleit.* ii. 231; Schulthess, *Parad.* p. 194); and, lastly, the maritime Tyrrheni (Tuch, *in Gen. l. c.*). [W. L. B.]

TI'RATHITES, THE (הַתִּרְעָתִים: Γαθιείμ; Alex. Αργαθιειμ: *Canentes*). One of the three families of Scribes residing with Jabez (1 Chr. ii. 55), the others being the Shimeathites and Suchathites. The passage is hopelessly obscure, and it is perhaps impossible to discover whence these three families derived their names. The Jewish commentators, playing with the names in true Shemitic fashion, interpret them thus: — "They called them Tirathim, because their voices when they sung resounded loud (תֵּרַע); and Shimeathites because they made themselves heard (שָׁמַע) in reading the Law."

The SHIMEATHITES having been inadvertently omitted in their proper place, it may be as well to give here the equivalents of the name (שִׁמְעָתִים. Σαμαθιείμ: *Resonantes*). [G.]

TIRE (פְּאֵר). An ornamental headdress worn on festive occasions (Ez. xxiv. 17, 23). The term *peër* is elsewhere rendered "goodly" (Ex. xxxix. 28); "bonnet" (Is. iii. 20; Ez. xliv. 18); and "ornament" (Is. lxi. 10). For the character of the article, see HEADDRESS. [W. L. B.]

TIR'HAKAH (תִּרְהָקָה: Θαρακά: *Tharaca*). King of Ethiopia, Cush (*βασιλεὺς Αἰθιόπων*, LXX.), the opponent of Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 9; Is. xxxvii. 9). While the king of Assyria was "warring against Libnah," in the south of Palestine, he heard of Tirhakah's advance to fight him, and sent a second time to demand the surrender of Jerusalem. This was B.C. cir. 713, unless we suppose that the expedition took place in the 24th instead of the 14th year of Hezekiah, which would bring it to B.C. cir. 703. If it were an expedition later than that of which the date is mentioned, it must have been before B.C. cir. 698, Hezekiah's last year. But if the reign of Manasseh is reduced to 35 years, these dates would be respectively B.C. cir. 693, 683, and 678, and these numbers might have to be slightly modified, the fixed date of the capture of Samaria, B.C. 721, being abandoned.

According to Manetho's epitomists, Tarkos or Tarakos was the third and last king of the xxvth dynasty, which was of Ethiopians, and reigned 18 (Afr.) or 20 (Eus.) years. [So.] From one of the Apis-Tablets we learn that a bull Apis was born in his 26th year, and died at the end of the 20th of Psammetichus I. of the xxvith dynasty. Its life exceeded 20 years, and no Apis is stated to have lived longer than 26. Taking that sum as the most probable, we should date Tirhakah's accession B.C. cir. 695, and assign him a reign of 26 years. In this case we should be obliged to take the later reckoning of the Biblical events, were it not for the possibility that Tirhakah ruled over Ethiopia before becoming king of Egypt. In connexion with this theory it must be observed, that an earlier Ethiopian of the same dynasty is called in the Bible "So, king of Egypt," while this ruler is called "Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia," and that a Pharaoh is spoken of in Scripture at the period of the latter, and also that Herodotus represents the Egyptian opponent of Sennacherib as Sethos, a native king, who may however have been a vassal under the Ethiopian.

The name of Tirhakah is written in hierogiyphics TEHARKA. Sculptures at Thebes commemorate his rule, and at Gebel-Berkel, or Napata, he constructed one temple and part of another. Of the events of his reign little else is known, and the account of Megasthenes (*ap.* Strabo xv. p. 686), that he rivalled Sesostris as a warrior and reached the Pillars of Hercules, is not supported by other evidence. It is probable that at the close of his reign he found the Assyrians too powerful, and retired to his Ethiopian dominions. [R. S. P.]

TIR'HANAH (תִּרְחָנָה: Θαράμ; Alex. Θαρχνά: *Tharana*). Son of Caleb ben-Hezron by his concubine Maachah (1 Chr. ii. 48).

TIR'IA (תִּירְיָא: Θιριά; Alex. Θηριά: *Thiria*) Son of Jehaleleel of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 16).

TIRSHA'THA (always written with the article, הַתִּרְשָׁתָא: hence the LXX. give the word Αθερσασθά (Ezr. ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65), and Αρταρσασθά (Neh. x. 1): Vulg. *Athersatha*). The title of the governor of Judaea under the Persians, derived by Gesenius from a Persian root signifying "stern," "severe." He compares the title Gestrenger Herr formerly given to the magistrates of the free and imperial cities of Germany. Compare also our expression, "most *dread* sovereign." It is added as a title after the name of Nehemiah (Neh. viii. 9, x. 1 [Heb. 2]); and occurs also in three other places, Ezr. ii. (ver. 63), and the repetition of that account in Neh. vii. (vers. 65-70), where probably it is intended to denote Zerubbabel, who had held the office before Nehemiah. In the margin of the A. V. (Ezr. ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65, x. 1) it is rendered "governor;" an explanation justified by Neh. xii. 26, where "Nehemiah the governor," הַפֶּחָה (*Pecha*, possibly from the same root as the word we write Pacha, or Pasha), occurs instead of the more usual expression, "Nehemiah the Tirshatha." This word, פֶּחָה, is one of very common occurrence. It is twice applied by Nehemiah to himself (v. 14, 18), and by the prophet Haggai (i. 1, ii. 2, 21) to Zerubbabel. According to Gesenius, it denotes the prefect or governor of a province of less extent than a satrapy. The word is used of officers and governors under the Assyrian (2 K. xviii. 24, Is. xxxvi. 9), Babylonian (Jer. li. 57, Ez. xxiii. 6, 23; see also Ezr. v. 3, 14, vi. 7, Dan. iii. 2, 3, 27, vi. 7 [Heb.

8]), Median (Jer. li. 28), and Persian (Esth. viii. 9, ix. 3) monarchies. And under this last we find it applied to the rulers of the provinces bordered by the Euphrates (Ezr. viii. 36, Neh. ii. 7, 9, iii. 7), and to the governors of Judaea, Zerubbabel and Nehemiah (compare Mal. i. 8). It is found also at an earlier period in the times of Solomon (1 K. x. 15, 2 Chr. ix. 14) and Benhadad king of Syria (1 K. xx. 24): from which last place, compared with others (2 K. xviii. 24, Is. xxxvi. 9), we find that military commands were often held by these governors; the word indeed is often rendered by the A. V., either in the text or the margin, "captain."

By thus briefly examining the sense of Pecha, which (though of course a much more general and less distinctive word) is given as an equivalent to Tirshatha, we have no difficulty in forming an opinion as to the general notion implied in it. We have, however, no sufficient information to enable us to explain in detail in what consisted the special peculiarities in honour or functions which distinguished the Tirshatha from others of the same class, governors, captains, princes, rulers of provinces. [E. P. E.]

TIR'ZAH (תִּרְצָה, *i. e.* Thirza: Θερσά: *Thersa*). The youngest of the five daughters of Zelophehad, whose case originated the law that in the event of a man dying without male issue his property should pass to his daughters (Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1, xxxvi. [a]11; Josh. xvii. 3). [ZELOPHEHAD.] [G.]

TIR'ZAH (תִּרְצָה: Θαρσᾶ, Θερσᾶ, Θαρσείλα; Alex. Θερμα, Θερσα, Θερσιλα: *Thersa*). An ancient Canaanite city, whose king is enumerated amongst the twenty-one overthrown in the conquest of the country (Josh. xii. 24). From that time nothing is heard of it till after the disruption of Israel and Judah. It then reappears as a royal city—the residence of Jeroboam (1 K. xiv. [b]17), and of his successors, Baasha (xv. 21, 33), Elah (xvi. 8, 9), and Zimri (ib. 15). It contained the royal sepulchres of one (xvi. 6), and probably all the first four kings of the northern kingdom. Zimri was besieged there by Omri, and perished in the flames of his palace (ib. 18). The new king continued to reside there at first, but after six years he removed to a new city which he built and named Shomrôn (Samaria), and which continued to be the capital of the northern kingdom till its fall. Once, and once only, does Tirzah reappear, as the seat of the conspiracy of Menahem ben-Gaddi against the wretched Shallum (2 K. xv. 14, 16); but as soon as his revolt had proved successful, Menahem removed the seat of his government to Samaria, and Tirzah was again left in obscurity.

Its reputation for beauty throughout the country must have been wide-spread. It is in this sense that it is mentioned in the [c]Song of Solomon, where the juxtaposition of Jerusalem is sufficient proof of the estimation in which it was held—"Beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem" (Cant. vi. 4). The LXX. (εὐδοκία) and Vulg. (*suavis*) do not, however, take *tirtsah* as a proper name in this passage.

Eusebius (*Onomast.* Θαρσιλά [d]) mentions it in connexion with Menahem, and identifies it with a "village of Samaritans in Batanaea." There is, however, nothing in the Bible to lead to the inference that the Tirzah of the Israelite monarchs was on the east of Jordan. It does not appear to be mentioned by the Jewish topographers, or any of the Christian travellers of the middle ages, except Brocardus, who places "Thersa on a high mountain, three leagues (*leucae*) from Samaria to the [e]east" (*Descriptio*, cap. vii.). This is exactly the direction, and very nearly the distance, of *Tellûzah*, a place in the mountains north of *Nablus*, which was visited by Dr. Robinson and Mr. Van de Velde in 1852 (*B. R.* iii. 302; *Syr. and Pal.* iii. 334). The town is on an eminence, which towards the east is exceedingly lofty, though, being at the edge of the central highlands, it is more approachable from the west. The place is large and thriving, but without any obvious marks of antiquity. The name may very probably be a corruption of Tirzah; but beyond that similarity, and the general agreement of the site with the requirements of the narrative, there is nothing at present to establish the identification with certainty. [G.]

TISH'BITE, THE (הַתִּשְׁבִּי: ὁ Θεσβείτης; Alex. [f]Θεσβίτης: *Thesbites*). The well-known designation of Elijah (1 K. xvii. 1, xxi. 17, 28; 2 K. i. 3, 8, ix. 36).

(1.) The name naturally points to a place called Tishbeh (Fürst), Tishbi, or rather perhaps Tesheb, as the residence of the prophet. And indeed the word מתשבי, which follows it in 1 K. xvii. 1, and which in the received Hebrew Text is so pointed as to mean "from the residents," may, without violence or grammatical impropriety, be pointed to read "from Tishbi." This latter reading appears to have been followed by the LXX. (ὁ Θεσβείτης ὁ ἐκ Θεσβῶν); Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13, §2, πόλεως Θεσβώνης), and the Targum (דְּמִתּוֹשָׁב, "from out of Toshab"); and it has the support of Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 468 *note*). It is also supported by the fact, which seems to have escaped notice, that the word does not in this passage contain the ו which is present in each one of the places where תּוֹשָׁב is used as a mere appellative noun. Had the ו been present in 1 K. xvii. 1, the interpretation "from Tishbi" could never have been proposed.

Assuming, however, that a town is alluded to, as Elijah's native place, it is not necessary to infer that it was itself in Gilead, as Epiphanius, Adrichomius, [g]Castell, and others have imagined; for the

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[a] In this passage the order of the names is altered in the Hebrew text from that preserved in the other passages—and still more so in the LXX.

[b] The LXX. version of the narrative of which this verse forms part, amongst other remarkable variations from the Hebrew text, substitutes Sarira, that is, Zereda, for Tirzah. In this they are supported by no other version.

[c] Its occurrence here on a level with Jerusalem has been held to indicate that the Song of Songs was the work of a writer belonging to the northern kingdom. But surely a poet, and so ardent a poet as the author of the Song of Songs, may have been sufficiently independent of political considerations to go out of his own country—if Tirzah can be said to be out of the country of a native of Judah—for a metaphor.

[d] It will be observed that the name stood in the LXX. of 2 K. xv. 14 in Eusebius' time virtually in the same strange un-hebrew form that it now does.

[e] Schwarz (150) seems merely to repeat this passage.

[f] The Alex. MS. omits the word in 1 K. xvii. 1, and both MSS. omit it in xxi. 28, which they cast, with the whole passage, in a different form from the Hebrew text.

[g] This lexicographer pretends to have been in possession of some special information as to the situation of the place.

word תּוֹשָׁב, which in the A. V. is rendered by the general term "inhabitant," has really the special force of "resident" or even[b] "stranger." This, and the fact that a place with a similar name is not elsewhere mentioned, has induced the commentators[1] and lexicographers, with few exceptions, to adopt the name "Tishbite" as referring to the place THISBE in Naphtali, which is found in the LXX. text of Tobit i. 2. The difficulty in the way of this is the great uncertainty in which the text of that passage is involved, as has already been shown under the head of THISBE; an uncertainty quite sufficient to destroy any dependence on it as a topographical record, although it bears the traces of having originally been extremely minute. Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, note to 1 K. xvii. 1) suggests in support of the reading "the Tishbite from Tishbi of Gilead" (which however he does not adopt in his text), that the place may have been purposely so described, in order to distinguish it from the town of the same name in Galilee.

(2.) But התשבי has not always been read as a proper name, referring to a place. Like מתושבי, though exactly in reverse, it has been pointed so as to make it mean "the stranger." This is done by Michaelis in the Text of his interesting *Bibel für Ungelehrten*—"der Fremdling Elia, einer von den Fremden, die in Gilead wohnhaft waren;" and it throws a new and impressive air round the prophet, who was so emphatically the champion of the God of Israel. But this suggestion does not appear to have been adopted by any other interpreter, ancient or modern.

The numerical value of the letters תשבי is 712, on which account, and also doubtless with a view to its correspondence with his own name, Elias Levita entitled his work, in which 712 words are explained, *Sepher Tishbi* (Bartolocci, i. 140 *b*). [G.]

TITANS (Τιτᾶνες, of uncertain derivation). These children of Uranus (Heaven) and Gaia (Earth) were, according to the earliest Greek legends, the vanquished predecessors of the Olympian gods, condemned by Zeus to dwell in Tartarus, yet not without retaining many relics of their ancient dignity (Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* passim). By later (Latin) poets they were confounded with the kindred *Gigantes* (Hor. *Od.* iii. 4, 42, &c.), as the traditions of the primitive Greek faith died away; and both terms were transferred by the Seventy to the Rephaim of ancient Palestine. [GIANT.] The usual Greek rendering of *Rephaim* is indeed Γίγαντες (Gen. xiv. 5; Josh. xii. 4, &c.), or, with a yet clearer reference to Greek mythology, γηγενεῖς (Prov. ii. 18, ix. 18), and θεομάχοι (Symmach. Prov. ix. 18, xxi. 16; Job xxvi. 5). But in 2 Sam. v. 18, 22, "the valley of Rephaim" is represented by ἡ κοιλὰς τῶν τιτάνων instead of ἡ κοιλὰς τῶν γιγάντων, 1 Chr. xi. 15, xiv. 9, 13; and the same rendering occurs in a Hexapl. text in 2 Sam. xxiii. 13. Thus Ambrose defends his use of a classical allusion by a reference to the Old Latin version of 2 Sam. v., which preserved the LXX. rendering (*De fide*, iii. 1, 4, Nam et *gigantes* et *vallem Titanum* prophetici sermonis series non refugit. Ei Esaias *Sirenas* . . . dixit). It can therefore occasion no surprise that in the Greek version of the triumphal hymn of Judith, "the sons of the Titans" (υἱοὶ Τιτάνων: Vulg. *filii Titan*: Old Latin, *filii Dathan*; *f. Tela*; *f. bellatorum*) stands parallel with "high giants," ὑψηλοὶ Γίγαντες, where the original text probably had רָפָאִים and גִּבּוֹרִים. The word has yet another interesting point of connexion with the Bible; for it may have been from some vague sense of the struggle of the infernal and celestial powers, dimly shadowed forth in the classical myth of the Titans, that several Christian fathers inclined to the belief that Τειτάν was the mystic name of "the beast" indicated in Rev. xiii. 18 (Iren. v. 30, 3 . . . "divinum putatur apud multos esse hoc nomen . . . et ostentationem quandam continet ultionis . . . et alias autem et antiquum, et fide dignum, et regale, magis autem et tyrannicum nomen . . . ut ex multis colligamus ne forte *Titan* vocetur qui veniet"). [B. F. W.]

TITHE.[a] Without inquiring into the reason for which the number ten[b] has been so frequently preferred as a number of selection in the cases of tribute-offerings, both sacred and secular, voluntary and compulsory, we may remark that numerous instances of its use are found both in profane and also in Biblical history, prior to or independently of the appointment of the Levitical tithes under the Law. In Biblical history the two prominent instances are—1. Abram presenting the tenth of all his property, according to the Syriac and Arabic versions of Heb. vii. and S. Jarchi in his Com., but as the passages themselves appear to show, of the spoils of his victory, to Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 20; Heb. vii. 2, 6; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 10, §2; Selden, *On Tithes*, c. 1). 2. Jacob, after his vision at Luz, devoting a tenth of all his property to God in case he should return home in safety (Gen. xxviii. 22). These instances bear witness to the antiquity of tithes, in some shape or other, previous to the Mosaic tithe-system. But numerous instances are to be found of the practice of heathen nations, Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, Arabians, of applying tenths derived from property in general, from spoil, from confiscated goods, or from commercial profits, to sacred, and quasi-sacred, and also to fiscal purposes, viz. as consecrated to a deity, presented as a reward to a successful general, set apart as a tribute to a sovereign, or as a permanent source of revenue. Among other passages, the following may be cited: 1 Macc. xi. 35; Herod. i. 89, iv. 152, v. 77, vii. 132, ix. 81; Diod. Sic. v. 42, xi. 33, xx. 14; Paus. v. 10, §2, x. 10, §1; Dionys. Hal. . 19, 23; Justin xviii. 7, xx. 3; Arist. *Oecon.* ii. 2; Liv. v. 21; Polyb. ix. 39; Cic. *Verr.* ii. 3, 6, and 7 (where tithes of wine, oil, and "minutae fruges," are mentioned), *Pro Leg. Manil.* 6; Plut. *Ages.* c. 19, p. 389; Pliny, *N. H.* xii. 14; Macrob. *Sat* iii. 6, Xen. *Hell.* i. 7, 10, iv. 3, 21; Rose, *Inscr. Gr.* p. 215; Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 301, ed. Smith; and a remarkable instance of fruits tithed and offered to a deity, and a feast made, of which the

He says (*Lex. Hebr.* ed. Michaelis), "Urbs in tribu Gad, Jebaa inter et Saron." Jebaa should be Jecbaa (*i. e.* Jogbehah) and this strange bit of confident topography is probably taken from the map of Adrichomius, made on the principle of inserting every name mentioned in the Bible, known or unknown.

[b] There is no doubt that this is the meaning of תּוֹשָׁב. See Gen. xxiii. 4 ("sojourner"), Ex. xii. 45 ("foreigner"), Lev. xxv. 6 ("stranger"), Ps. xxxix. 12 ("sojourner"). It often occurs in connexion with גֵּר, "an alien," as in Lev. xxv. 23, 35, 40, 47 *b*, 1 Chr. xxix. 15. Besides the above passages, *tôshâb* is found in Lev xxii. 10, xxv. 45, 47 *a*.

[1] Reland, *Pal.* 1035; Gesenius, *Thes.* 1352 *b*, &c. &c.

[a] מַעֲשֵׂר; δεκάτη; *decimae*: and plur. מַעֲשֵׂרוֹת; αἱ δέκατοι; *decimae*; from עֶשֶׂר, "ten."

[b] Philo derives δέκα from δέχεσθαι (*De X. Orac.* ii. 184)

people of the district partook, in Xen. *Exp. Cyr.* v. 3, 9, answering thus to the Hebrew poor man's tithe-feast to be mentioned below.

The first enactment of the Law in respect of tithe is the declaration that the tenth of all produce, as well as of flocks and cattle, belongs to Jehovah, and must be offered to Him. 2. That the tithe was to be paid in kind, or, if redeemed, with an addition of one-fifth to its value (Lev. xxvii. 30-33). This tenth, called *Terumoth*, is ordered to be assigned to the Levites, as the reward of their service, and it is ordered further, that they are themselves to dedicate to the Lord a tenth of these receipts, which is to be devoted to the maintenance of the high-priest (Num. xviii. 21-28).

This legislation is modified or extended in the Book of Deuteronomy, *i. e.* from thirty-eight to forty years later. Commands are given to the people, 1. to bring their tithes, together with their votive and other offerings and first-fruits, to the chosen centre of worship, the metropolis, there to be eaten in festive celebration in company with their children, their servants, and the Levites (Deut. xii. 5-18). 2. After warnings against idolatrous or virtually idolatrous practices, and the definition of clean as distinguished from unclean animals, among which latter class the swine is of obvious importance in reference to the subject of tithes, the legislator proceeds to direct that all the produce of the soil shall be tithed every year (ver. 17 seems to show that corn, wine, and oil, alone are intended), and that these tithes with the firstlings of the flock and herd are to be eaten in the metropolis. 3. But in case of distance, permission is given to convert the produce into money, which is to be taken to the appointed place, and there laid out in the purchase of food for a festal celebration, in which the Levite is, by special command, to be included (Deut. xiv. 22-27). 4. Then follows the direction, that at the end of three years, *i. e.* in the course of the third and sixth years of the Sabbatical period, all the tithe of that year is to be gathered and laid up "within the gates," *i. e.* probably in some central place in each district, not at the metropolis; and that a festival is to be held, in which the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, together with the Levite, are to partake (*ib.* vers. 28, 29). 5. Lastly, it is ordered that after taking the tithe in each third year, "which is the year of tithing,"[c] an exculpatory declaration is to be made by every Israelite, that he has done his best to fulfil the divine command (Deut. xxvi. 12-14).[d]

From all this we gather, 1. That one-tenth of the whole produce of the soil was to be assigned for the maintenance of the Levites. 2. That out of this the Levites were to dedicate a tenth to God, for the use of the high-priest. 3. That a tithe, in all probability a *second* tithe, was to be applied to festival purposes. 4. That in every third year, either this festival tithe or a *third* tenth was to be eaten in company with the poor and the Levites. The question arises, were there *three* tithes taken in this third year; or is the third tithe only the second under a different description? That there were two yearly tithes seems clear, both from the general tenor of the directions and from the LXX. rendering of Deut. xxvi. 12. But it must be allowed that the *third* tithe is not without support. 1. Josephus distinctly says that one-tenth was to be given to the priests and Levites, one-tenth was to be applied to feasts in the metropolis, and that a tenth besides these (τοίτην πρὸς αὐταῖς) was every third year to be given to the poor (*Ant.* iv. 8, §8, and 22). 2. Tobit says, he gave one-tenth to the priests, one-tenth he sold and spent at Jerusalem, *i. e.* commuted according to Deut. xiv. 24, 25, and another tenth he gave away (Tob. i. 7, 8). 3. St. Jerome says one-tenth was given to the Levites, out of which they gave one-tenth to the priests (δευτεροδεκάτη); a second tithe was applied to festival purposes, and a third was given to the poor (πτωχοδεκάτη) (*Com. on Ezek.* xlv. vol. i. p. 565). Spencer thinks there were three tithes. Jennings, with Mede, thinks there were only two complete tithes, but that in the third year an addition of some sort was made (Spencer, *De Leg. Hebr.* p. 727; Jennings *Jew. Ant.* p. 183).

On the other hand, Maimonides says the third and sixth years' *second* tithe was shared between the poor and the Levites, *i. e.* that there was no third title (*De Jur. Paup.* vi. 4). Selden and Michaelis remark that the burden of three tithes, besides the first-fruits, would be excessive. Selden thinks that the third year's tithe denotes only a different application of the second or festival tithe, and Michaelis, that it meant a surplus after the consumption of the festival tithe (Selden, *On Tithes*, c. 2, p. 13; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, §192, vol. iii. p. 143, ed. Smith). Against a third tithe may be added Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* p. 359; Jahn, *Ant.* §389; Godwyn, *Moses and Aaron*, p. 156, and Carpzov, p. 621, 622; Keil, *Bibl. Arch.* §71, i. 337; Saalschütz, *Hebr. Arch.* i. 70; Winer, *Realwb.* s. v. *Zehnte*. Knobel thinks the tithe was never taken in full, and that the third year's tithe only meant the portion contributed in that year (*Com. on Deut.* xiv. 29, in *Kurzgef. Exeg. Hdbuch.*). Ewald thinks that for two years the tithe was left in great measure to free-will, and that the third year's tithe only was compulsory (*Alterthüm.* p. 346).

Of these opinions, that which maintains three separate and complete tithings seems improbable, as imposing an excessive burden on the land, and not easily reconcileable with the other directions; yet there seems no reason for rejecting the notion of two yearly tithes, when we recollect the especial promise of fertility to the soil, conditional on observance of the commands of the Law (Deut. xxviii.). There would thus be, 1. a yearly tithe for the Levites; 2. a second tithe for the festivals, which last would every third year be shared by the Levites with the poor. It is this poor man's tithe which Michaelis thinks is spoken of as likely to be converted to the king's use under the regal dynasty (1 Sam. viii. 15, 17; Mich. *Laws of Moses*, vol. i. p. 299). Ewald thinks that under the kings the ecclesiastical tithe system reverted to what he supposes to have been its original free-will character It is plain that during that period the tithe-system partook of the general neglect into which the observance of the Law declined, and that Hezekiah, among his other reforms, took effectual means to revive its use (2 Chr. xxxi. 5, 12, 19). Similar measures were taken after the Captivity by Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 44), and in both these cases special officers were appointed to take charge of the stores

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c שְׁנַת הַמַּעֲשֵׂר.

d The LXX. has here ἐὰν συντελέσῃς ἀποδεκατῶσαι πᾶν τὸ ἐπιδέκατον τῶν γεννημάτων τῆς γης σου ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ τρίτῳ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπιδέκατον δώσεις τῷ Λευίτῃ, κ. τ. λ.

and storehouses for the purpose. The practice of tithing especially for relief of the poor, appears to have subsisted even in Israel, for the prophet Amos speaks of it, though in an ironical tone, as existing in his day (Am. iv. 4). But as any degeneracy in the national faith would be likely to have an effect on the tithe-system, we find complaint of neglect in this respect made by the prophet Malachi (iii. 8, 10). Yet, notwithstanding partial evasion or omission, the system itself was continued to a late period in Jewish history, and was even carried to excess by those who, like the Pharisees, affected peculiar exactness in observance of the Law (Heb. vii. 5-8; Matth. xxiii. 23; Luke xviii. 12; Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 9, §2; *Vit.* c. 15).

Among details relating to the tithe payments mentioned by Rabbin cal writers may be noticed: (1) That in reference to the permission given in case of distance (Deut. xiv. 24), Jews dwelling in Babylonia, Ammon, Moab, and Egypt, were considered as subject to the law of tithe in kind (Reland, iii. 9, 2, p. 355). (2) In tithing sheep the custom was to enclose them in a pen, and as the sheep went out at the opening, every tenth animal was marked with a rod dipped in vermilion. This was the "passing under the rod." The Law ordered that no inquiry should be made whether the animal were good or bad, and that if the owner changed it, both the original and the changeling were to be regarded as devoted (Lev. xxvii. 32, 33; Jer. xxxiii. 13; *Becoroth*, ix. 7; Godwyn, *M. and A.* p. 136, vi. 7). (3) Cattle were tithed in and after August, corn in and after September, fruits of trees in and after January (Godwyn, p. 137, §9); Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* c. xii. p. 282, 283. (4) "Corners" were exempt from tithe (*Peah*, i. 6). (5) The general rule was that all edible articles not purchased, were titheable, but that products not specified in Deut. xiv. 23, were regarded as doubtful. Tithe of them was not forbidden, but was not required (*Maaseroth*, i. 1; *Demai*, i. 1; Carpzov, *App. Bibl.* p. 619, 620). [H. W. P.]

TITUS MAN'LIUS. [MANLIUS.]

TI'TUS (Τίτος: *Titus*). Our materials for the biography of this companion of St. Paul must be drawn entirely from the notices of him in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the Galatians, and to Titus himself, combined with the Second Epistle to Timothy. He is not mentioned in the Acts at all. The reading Τίτου Ἰούστου in Acts xviii. 7 is too precarious for any inference to be drawn from it. Wieseler indeed lays some slight stress upon it (*Chronol. des Apost. Zeit.* Gött. 1848, p. 204), but this is in connexion with a theory which needs every help. As to a recent hypothesis, that Titus and Timothy were the same person (R. King, *Who was St. Titus?* Dublin, 1853), it is certainly ingenious, but quite untenable.

Taking the passages in the Epistles in the chronological order of the events referred to, we turn first to Gal. ii. 1, 3. We conceive the journey mentioned here to be identical with that (recorded in Acts xv.) in which Paul and Barnabas went from Antioch to Jerusalem to the conference which was to decide the question of the necessity of circumcision to the Gentiles. Here we see Titus in close association with Paul and Barnabas at Antioch.[a] He goes with them to Jerusalem. He is in fact one of the τινες ἄλλοι of Acts xv. 2, who were deputed to accompany them from Antioch. His circumcision was either not insisted on at Jerusalem, or, if demanded, was firmly resisted (οὐκ ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι). He is very emphatically spoken of as a Gentile ("Ελλην), by which is most probably meant that both his parents were Gentiles. Here is a double contrast from Timothy, who was circumcised by St. Paul's own directions, and one of whose parents was Jewish (Acts xvi. 1, 3; 2 Tim. i. 5. iii. 15). Titus would seem, on the occasion of the council, to have been specially a representative of the church of the uncircumcision.

It is to our purpose to remark that, in the passage cited above, Titus is so mentioned as apparently to imply that he had become personally known to the Galatian Christians. This, again, we combine with two other circumstances, viz. that the Epistle to the Galatians and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians were probably written within a few months of each other [GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO], and both during the same journey. From the latter of these two Epistles we obtain fuller notices of Titus in connexion with St. Paul.

After leaving Galatia (Acts xviii. 23), and spending a long time at Ephesus (Acts xix. 1–xx. 1), the Apostle proceeded to Macedonia by way of Troas. Here he expected to meet Titus (2 Cor. ii. 13), who had been sent on a mission to Corinth. In this hope he was disappointed [TROAS], but in Macedonia Titus joined him (2 Cor. vii. 6, 7, 13-15). Here we begin to see not only the above-mentioned fact of the mission of this disciple to Corinth, and the strong personal affection which subsisted between him and St. Paul (ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ, vii. 7), but also some part of the purport of the mission itself. It had reference to the immoralities at Corinth rebuked in the First Epistle, and to the effect of that First Epistle on the offending church. We learn further that the mission was so far successful and satisfactory: ἀναγγέλλων τὴν ὑμῶν ἐπιπόθησιν (vii. 7), ἐλυπήθητε εἰς μετάνοιαν (vii. 9), τὴν πάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακοήν (vii. 15); and we are enabled also to draw from the chapter a strong conclusion regarding the warm zeal and sympathy of Titus, his grief for what was evil, his rejoicing over what was good: τῇ παρακλήσει ᾗ παρεκλήθη ἐφ' ὑμῖν (vii. 7); ἀναπέπαυται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ πάντων ὑμῶν (vii. 13); τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐστιν (vii. 15). But if we proceed further, we discern another part of the mission with which he was entrusted. This had reference to the collection, at that time in progress, for the poor Christians of Judaea (καθὼς προενήρξατο, viii. 6), a phrase which shows that he had been active and zealous in the matter, while the Corinthians themselves seem to have been rather remiss. This connexion of his mission with the gathering of these charitable funds is also proved by another passage, which contains moreover an implied assertion of his integrity in the business (μή τι ἐπλεονέκτησεν ὑμᾶς Τίτος; xii. 18), and a statement that St. Paul himself had sent him on the errand (παρεκάλεσα Τίτον, *ib.*). Thus we are prepared for what the Apostle now proceeds to do after his encouraging conversations with Titus regarding the Corinthian Church. He sends him back from Macedonia to Corinth, in company with two other trustworthy Christians [TROPHIMUS, TYCHICUS], bearing the Second Epistle, and with an earnest request (παρακαλέσαι, viii. 6, τὴν παράκλησιν, viii. 17) that he would see to the

[a] His birth-place may have been here; but this is quite uncertain. The name, which is Roman, proves nothing.

completion of the collection, which he had zealously promoted on his late visit (ἵνα καθὼς προενήρξατο, οὕτως καὶ ἐπιτελέσῃ, viii. 6), Titus himself being in nowise backward in undertaking the commission. On a review of all these passages, elucidating as they do the characteristics of the man, the duties he discharged, and his close and faithful co-operation with St. Paul, we see how much meaning there is in the Apostle's short and forcible description of him (εἴτε ὑπὲρ Τίτου, κοινωνὸς ἐμὸς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς συνεργός, viii. 23).

All that has preceded is drawn from direct statements in the Epistles; but by indirect though fair inference we can arrive at something further, which gives coherence to the rest, with additional elucidations of the close connexion of Titus with St. Paul and the Corinthian Church. It has generally been considered doubtful who the ἀδελφοί were (1 Cor. xvi. 11, 12) that took the First Epistle to Corinth. Timothy, who had been recently sent thither from Ephesus (Acts xix. 22), could not have been one of them (ἐὰν ἔλθῃ Τιμ. 1 Cor. xvi. 10), and Apollos declined the commission (1 Cor. xvi. 12). There can be little doubt that the messengers who took that first letter were Titus and his companion, whoever that might be, who is mentioned with him in the second letter (παρεκάλεσα Τίτον, καὶ συναπέστειλα τὸν ἀδελφόν, 2 Cor. xii. 18). This view was held by Macknight, and very clearly set forth by him (*Transl. of the Apostolical Epistles, with Comm.* Edinb. 1829, vol. i. pp. 451, 674, vol. ii. pp. 2, 7, 124). It has been more recently given by Professor Stanley (*Corinthians*, 2nd ed. pp. 348, 492),[b] but it has been worked out by no one so elaborately as by Professor Lightfoot (*Camb. Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, ii. 201, 202). As to the connexion between the two contemporaneous missions of Titus and Timotheus, this observation may be made here, that the difference of the two errands may have had some connexion with a difference in the characters of the two agents. If Titus was the firmer and more energetic of the two men, it was natural to give him the task of enforcing the Apostle's rebukes, and urging on the flagging business of the collection.

A considerable interval now elapses before we come upon the next notices of this disciple. St. Paul's first imprisonment is concluded, and his last trial is impending. In the interval between the two, he and Titus were together in Crete (ἀπέλιπόν σε ἐν Κρήτῃ, Tit. i. 5). We see Titus remaining in the island when St. Paul left it, and receiving there a letter written to him by the Apostle. From this letter we gather the following biographical details:—In the first place we learn that he was originally converted through St. Paul's instrumentality: this must be the meaning of the phrase γνήσιον τέκνον, which occurs so emphatically in the opening of the Epistle (i. 4). Next we learn the various particulars of the responsible duties which he had to discharge in Crete. He is to complete what St. Paul had been obliged to leave unfinished (ἵνα τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθώσῃ, i. 5), and he is to organise the Church throughout the island by appointing presbyters in every city [GORTYNA; LASAEA]. Instructions are given as to the suitable character of such presbyters (vers. 6-9); and we learn further that we have here the repetition of instructions previously furnished by word of mouth (ὡς ἐγώ σοι διεταξάμην, ver. 5). Next he is to control and bridle (ἐπιστομίζειν, ver. 11) the restless and mischievous Judaizers, and he is to be peremptory in so doing (ἔλεγχε αὐτοὺς ἀποτόμως, ver. 13). Injunctions in the same spirit are reiterated (ii. 1, 15, iii. 8). He is to urge the duties of a decorous and Christian life upon the women (ii. 3-5), some of whom (πρεσβύτιδας, ii. 3) possibly had something of an official character (καλοδιδασκάλους, ἵνα σωφρονίζωσι τὰς νέας, vers. 3, 4). He is to be watchful over his own conduct (ver. 7); he is to impress upon the slaves the peculiar duties of their position (ii. 9, 10); he is to check all social and political turbulence (iii. 1), and also all wild theological speculations (iii. 9); and to exercise discipline on the heretical (iii. 10). When we consider all these particulars of his duties, we see not only the confidence reposed in him by the Apostle, but the need there was of determination and strength of purpose, and therefore the probability that this was his character; and all this is enhanced if we bear in mind his isolated and unsupported position in Crete, and the lawless and immoral character of the Cretans themselves, as testified by their own writers (i. 12, 13). [CRETE.]

The notices which remain are more strictly personal. Titus is to look for the arrival in Crete of Artemas and Tychicus (iii. 12), and then he is to hasten (σπούδασον) to join St. Paul at Nicopolis, where the Apostle is proposing to pass the winter (*ib.*). Zenas and Apollos are in Crete, or expected there; for Titus is to send them on their journey, and supply them with whatever they need for it (iii. 13). It is observable that Titus and Apollos are brought into juxtaposition here, as they were before in the discussion of the mission from Ephesus to Corinth.

The movements of St. Paul, with which these later instructions to Titus are connected, are considered elsewhere. [PAUL; TIMOTHY.] We need only observe here that there would be great difficulty in inserting the visits to Crete and Nicopolis in any of the journeys recorded in the Acts, to say nothing of the other objections to giving the Epistle any date anterior to the voyage to Rome. [TITUS, EPISTLE TO.] On the other hand, there is no difficulty in arranging these circumstances, if we suppose St. Paul to have travelled and written after being liberated from Rome, while thus we gain the further advantage of an explanation of what Paley has well called the affinity of this Epistle and the first to Timothy. Whether Titus did join the Apostle at Nicopolis we cannot tell. But we naturally connect the mention of this place with what St. Paul wrote at no great interval of time afterwards, in the last of the Pastoral Epistles (Τίτος εἰς Δαλματίαν, 2 Tim. iv. 10); for Dalmatia lay to the north of Nicopolis, at no great distance from it. [NICOPOLIS.] From the form of the whole sentence, it seems probable that this disciple had been with St. Paul in Rome during his final imprisonment: but this cannot be asserted confidently. The touching words of the Apostle in this passage might seem to imply some reproach, and we might draw from them the conclusion that Titus became a second Demas: but on the whole this seems a harsh and unnecessary judgment.

[b] There is some danger of confusing *Titus and the brother* (2 Cor. xii. 18) i. e *the brethren* of 1 Cor. xvi. 11, 12, who (according to this view) took the first letter, with *Titus and the brethren* (2 Cor. viii. 16-24) who took the second letter.

Whatever else remains is legendary, though it may contain elements of truth. Titus is connected by tradition with Dalmatia, and he is said to have been an object of much reverence in that region. This, however, may simply be a result of the passage quoted immediately above: and it is observable that of all the churches in modern Dalmatia (Neale's *Ecclesiological Notes on Dalm.* p. 175) not one is dedicated to him. The traditional connexion of Titus with Crete is much more specific and constant, though here again we cannot be certain of the facts. He is said to have been permanent bishop in the island, and to have died there at an advanced age. The modern capital, *Candia*, appears to claim the honour of being his burial-place (Cave's *Apostolici*, 1716, p. 42). In the fragment, *De Vitâ et Actis Titi*, by the lawyer Zenas (Fabric. *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* ii. 831, 832), Titus is called Bishop of Gortyna: and on the old site of Gortyna is a ruined church, of ancient and solid masonry, which bears the name of St. Titus, and where service is occasionally celebrated by priests from the neighbouring hamlet of *Metropolis* (E. Falkener, *Remains in Crete, from a MS. History of Candia by Onorio Belli*, p. 23). The cathedral of *Megalo-Castron*, in the north of the island, is also dedicated to this saint. Lastly, the name of Titus was the watchword of the Cretans when they were invaded by the Venetians: and the Venetians themselves, after their conquest of the island, adopted him to some of the honours of a patron saint; for, as the response after the prayer for the Doge of Venice was "Sancte Marce, tu nos adjuva," so the response after that for the Duke of Candia was "Sancte Tite, tu nos adjuva" (Pashley's *Travels in Crete*, i. 6, 175).[c]

We must not leave unnoticed the striking, though extravagant, panegyric of Titus by his successor in the see of Crete, Andreas Cretensis (published, with Amphilochius and Methodius, by Combefis, Paris, 1644). This panegyric has many excellent points: *e. g.* it incorporates well the more important passages from the 2nd Ep. to the Corinthians. The following are stated as facts. Titus is related to the Proconsul of the island: among his ancestors are Minos and Rhadamanthus (*οἱ ἐκ Διός*). Early in life he obtains a copy of the Jewish Scriptures, and learns Hebrew in a short time. He goes to Judaea, and is present on the occasion mentioned in Acts i. 15. His conversion takes place before that of St. Paul himself, but afterwards he attaches himself closely to the Apostle. Whatever the value of these statements may be, the following description of Titus (p. 156) is worthy of quotation:—*ὁ πρῶτος τῆς Κρήτων ἐκκλησίας θεμέλιος· τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ στῦλος· τὸ τῆς πίστεως ἔρεισμα· τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν κηρυγμάτων ἡ ἀσίγητος σάλπιγξ· τὸ ὑψηλὸν τῆς Πεύλου γλώττης ἀπήχημα.* [J. S. H.]

TITUS, EPISTLE TO. There are no specialties in this Epistle which require any very elaborate treatment distinct from the other Pastoral Letters of St. Paul. [TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO.] If those two were not genuine, it would be difficult confidently to maintain the genuineness of this. On the other hand, if the Epistles to Timothy are received as St. Paul's, there is not the slightest reason for doubting the authorship of that to Titus. Amidst the various combinations which are found among those who have been sceptical on the subject of the Pastoral Epistles, there is no instance of the rejection of that before us on the part of those who have accepted the other two. So far indeed as these doubts are worth considering at all, the argument is more in favour of this than of either of those. Tatian accepted the Epistle to Titus, and rejected the other two. Origen mentions some who excluded 2 Tim., but kept 1 Tim. with Titus. Schleiermacher and Neander invert this process of doubt in regard to the letters addressed to Timothy, but believe that St. Paul wrote the present letter to Titus. Credner too believes it to be genuine, though he pronounces 1 Tim. to be a forgery, and 2 Tim. a compound of two epistles.

To turn now from opinions to direct external evidence, this Epistle stands on quite as firm a ground as the others of the Pastoral group, if not a firmer ground. Nothing can well be more explicit than the quotations in Irenaeus, *C. Haeres.* i. 16, 3 (see Tit. iii. 10), Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 350 (see i. 12), Tertull. *De Praescr. Haer.* c. 6 (see iii. 10, 11), and the reference, also *Adv. Marc.* v. 21; to say nothing of earlier allusions in Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 47 (see iii. 4), which can hardly be doubted, Theoph. *Ad Autol.* ii. p. 95 (see iii. 5), iii. p. 126 (see iii. 1), which are probable, and Clem. Rom. i. *Cor.* 2 (see iii. 1), which is possible.

As to internal features, we may notice, in the first place, that the Epistle to Titus has all the characteristics of the other Pastoral Epistles. See, for instance, *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος* (iii. 8) *ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία* (i. 9, ii. 1, comparing i. 13, ii. 8), *σωφρονεῖν, σώφρων, σωφρόνως* (i. 8, ii. 5, 6, 12), *σωτήριος, σωτήρ, σώζω* (i. 3, 4, ii. 10, 11, 13, iii. 4, 5, 7), *Ἰουδαϊκοὶ μῦθοι* (i. 14, comparing iii. 9), *ἐπιφάνεια* (ii. 13), *εὐσέβεια* (i. 1), *ἔλεος* (iii. 5; in i. 4 the word is doubtful). All this tends to show that this Letter was written about the same time and under similar circumstances with the other two. But, on the other hand, this Epistle has marks in its phraseology and style which assimilate it to the general body of the Epistles of St. Paul. Such may fairly be reckoned the following:—*κηρύγματι ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγώ* (i. 3); the quotation from a heathen poet (i. 12); the use of *ἀδόκιμος* (i. 16); the "going off at a word" (*σωτῆρος . . . ἐπεφάνη γὰρ . . . σωτήριος* . . . ii. 10, 11); and the modes in which the doctrines of the Atonement (ii. 13) and of Free Justification (iii. 5-7) come to the surface. As to any difficulty arising from supposed indications of advanced hierarchical arrangements, it is to be observed that in this Epistle *πρεσβύτερος* and *ἐπίσκοπος* are used as synonymous (*ἵνα καταστήσῃς πρεσβυτέρους . . . δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον* . . . i. 5, 7), just as they are in the address at Miletus about the year 58 A.D. (Acts xx. 17, 28). At the same time this Epistle has features of its own, especially a certain tone of abruptness and severity, which probably arises partly out of the circumstances of the Cretan population [CRETE], partly out of the character of Titus himself. If all these things are put together, the phenomena are seen to be very unlike what would be presented by a forgery, to say nothing of the general overwhelming difficulty of imagining who could have been the writer of the Pastoral Epistles, if it were not St. Paul himself.

Concerning the contents of this Epistle, something has already been said in the article on TITUS. No very exact subdivision is either necessary or possible. After the introductory salutation

[c] The day on which Titus is commemorated is Jan. 4th in the Latin Calendar, and Aug. 25th in the Greek.

which has marked peculiarities (i. 1-4), Titus is enjoined to appoint suitable presbyters in the Cretan Church, and specially such as shall be sound in doctrine and able to refute error (5-9). The Apostle then passes to a description of the coarse character of the Cretans, as testified by their own writers, and the mischief caused by Judaizing error among the Christians of the island (10-16). In opposition to this, Titus is to urge sound and practical Christianity on all classes (ii. 1-10), on the older men (ii. 2), on the older women, and especially in regard to their influence over the younger women (3-5), on the younger men (6-8), on slaves (9, 10), taking heed meanwhile that he himself is a pattern of good works (ver. 7). The grounds of all this are given in the free grace which trains the Christian to self-denying and active piety (11, 12), in the glorious hope of Christ's second advent (ver. 13), and in the atonement by which He has purchased us to be His people (ver. 14). All which lessons Titus is to urge with fearless decision (ver. 15). Next, obedience to rulers is enjoined, with gentleness and forbearance towards all men (iii. 1, 2), these duties being again rested on our sense of past sin (ver. 3), and on the gift of new spiritual life and free justification (4-7). With these practical duties are contrasted those idle speculations which are to be carefully avoided (8, 9); and with regard to those men who are positively heretical, a peremptory charge is given (10, 11). Some personal allusions then follow: Artemas or Tychicus may be expected at Crete, and on the arrival of either of them Titus is to hasten to join the Apostle at Nicopolis, where he intends to winter; Zenas the lawyer also, and Apollos, are to be provided with all that is necessary for a journey in prospect (12, 13). Finally, before the concluding messages of salutation, an admonition is given to the Cretan Christians, that they give heed to the duties of practical useful piety (14, 15).

As to the time and place and other circumstances of the writing of this Epistle, the following scheme of filling up St. Paul's movements after his first imprisonment will satisfy all the conditions of the case:—We may suppose him (possibly after accomplishing his long-projected visit to Spain) to have gone to Ephesus, and taken voyages from thence, first to Macedonia and then to Crete, during the former to have written the First Epistle to Timothy, and after returning from the latter to have written the Epistle to Titus, being at the time of despatching it on the point of starting for Nicopolis, to which place he went, taking Miletus and Corinth on the way. At Nicopolis we may conceive him to have been finally apprehended and taken to Rome, whence he wrote the Second Epistle to Timothy. Other possible combinations may be seen in Birks (*Horae Apostolicae*, at the end of his edition of the *Horae Paulinae*, pp. 299-301), and in Wordsworth (*Greek Testament*, Pt. iii. pp. 418, 421). It is an undoubted mistake to endeavour to insert this Epistle in any period of that part of St. Paul's life which is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. There is in this writing that unmistakeable difference of style (as compared with the earlier Epistles) which associates the Pastoral Letters with one another, and with the latest period of St. Paul's life; and it seems strange that this should have been so slightly observed by good scholars and exact chronologists, *e. g.* Archdn. Evans (*Script. Biog.* iii. 327-333), and Wieseler (*Chronol. des Apost. Zeitalt.* 329-355), who, approaching the subject in very different ways, agree in thinking that this letter was written at Ephesus (between 1 and 2 Cor.), when the Apostle was in the early part of his third missionary journey (Acts xix.).

The following list of Commentaries on the Pastoral Epistles may be useful for 1 and 2 Tim., as well as for Titus. Besides the general Patristic commentaries on all St. Paul's Epistles (Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, Jerome, Bede, Alcuin), the Mediaeval (Oecumenius, Euthymius, Aquinas), those of the Reformation period (Luther Melancthon, Calvin), the earlier Roman Catholic (Justiniani, Cornelius à Lapide, Estius), the Protestant commentaries of the 17th century (Cocceius, Grotius, &c.), and the recent annotations on the whole Greek Testament (Rosenmüller, De Wette, Alford, Wordsworth, &c.), the following on the Pastoral Epistles may be specified:—Daillé, *Exposition* (1 *Tim.* Genev. 1661, 2 *Tim.* Genev. 1659, *Tit.* Par. 1655); Heydenreich, *Die Pastoralbriefe Pauli erläutert* (Hadam. 1826, 1828); Flatt, *Vorlesungen über die Br. P. an Tim. u. Tit.* (Tüb. 1831); Mack (Roman Catholic), *Comm. über die Pastoralbriefe* (Tüb. 1836); Matthies, *Erklärung der Pastoralbr.* (Greifsw. 1840); Huther (part of Meyer's Commentary, Gött. 1850); Wiesinger (in continuation of Olshausen, Koenigsb. 1850), translated (with the exception of 2 Tim.) in Clark's *Foreign Theolog. Lib.* (Edinb. 1851), and especially Ellicott (*Pastoral Epistles*, 2nd Ed. London, 1861), who mentions in his Preface a Danish commentary by Bp. Möller, and one in modern Greek, Συνέκδημος Ἱερατικός, by Coray (Par 1831). Besides these, there are commentaries on 1 Tim. and 2 Tim. by Mosheim (Hamb. 1755), and Leo (Lips. 1837, 1850), on 1 Tim. by Fleischmann (Tüb. 1791), and Wegscheider (Gött. 1810), on 2 Tim. by J. Barlow and T. Hall (Lond. 1632 and 1658), and by Bröchner (Hafn. 1829), on Tit. by T. Taylor (London, 1668), Van Haven (Hal. 1742) and Kuinoel (*Comment. Theol.* ed. Velthusen, Ruperti et Kuinoel). To these must be added what is found in the *Critici Sacri, Supp.* ii., v., vii., and a still fuller list is given in Darling's *Cyclopaedia Bibliographica*, Pt. ii. Subjects, pp. 1535, 1555, 1574. [J. S. H.]

TI'ZITE, THE (הַתִּיצִי: Vat. and FA. ὁ Ἰεασεί; Alex. Θωσαει: *Thosaites*). The designation of Joha, the brother of Jediael and son of Shimri, one of the heroes of David's army named in the supplementary list of 1 Chr. xi. 45. It occurs nowhere else, and nothing is known of the place or family which it denotes. [G.]

TO'AH (תֹּוחַ: Θοού; Alex. Θοουέ: *Thohu*). A Kohathite Levite, ancestor of Samuel and Heman (1 Chr. vi. 34 [19]). The name as it now stands may be a fragment of "Nahath" (comp. ver. 26, 34).

TOB-ADONI'JAH (טוֹב אֲדֹנִיָּה: Τωβαδονίας: *Thobadonias*). One of the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat through the cities of Judah to teach the Law to the people (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

TOB, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ טוֹב: γῆ Τωβ: *terra Tob*). The place in which Jephthah took refuge when expelled from home by his half brother (Judg. xi. 3); and where he remained at the head of a band of freebooters, till he was brought back by the sheikhs[a] of Gilead (ver. 5).

[a] The word is זְקֵנֵי, which exactly answers to *sheikhs*

The narrative implies that the land of Tob was not far distant from Gilead: at the same time, from the nature of the case, it must have lain out towards the eastern deserts. It is undoubtedly mentioned again in 2 Sam. x. 6, 8, as one of the petty Aramite kingdoms or states which supported the Ammonites in their great conflict with David. In the Authorized Version the name is presented *literatim* as Ishtob, *i. e.* Man of Tob, meaning, according to a common Hebrew idiom, the "men of Tob." After an immense interval it appears again in the Maccabaean history (1 Macc. v. 13). Tob or Tobie was then the abode of a considerable colony of Jews, numbering at least a thousand males. In 2 Macc. xii. 17 its position is defined very exactly as at or near Charax, 750 stadia from the strong town Caspis, though, as the position of neither of these places is known, we are not thereby assisted in the recovery of Tob. [TOBIE; TUBIENI.]

Ptolemy (*Geogr.* v. 19) mentions a place called Θαῦβα as lying to the S.W. of Zobah, and therefore possibly to the E. or N.E. of the country of Ammon proper. In Stephanus of Byzantium and in Eckhel (*Doctr. Numm.* iii. 352), the names Tubal and Tabeni occur.

No identification of this ancient district with any modern one has yet been attempted. The name *Tell Dobbe* (Burckhardt, *Syria*, April 25), or, as it is given by the latest explorer of those regions, *Tell Dibbe* (Wetzstein, *Map*), attached to a ruined site at the south end of the *Leja*, a few miles N.W. of *Kenâwat*, and also that of *ed Dab*, some twelve hours east of the mountain *el Kuleib*, are both suggestive of Tob. But nothing can be said, at present, as to their connexion with it. [G.]

TOBI'AH (טוֹבִיָּה: Τωβίας, Τωβία: *Tobia*). 1. "The children of Tobiah" were a family who returned with Zerubbabel, but were unable to prove their connexion with Israel (Ezr. ii. 60; Neh. vii. 62).

2. (*Tobias.*) "Tobiah the slave, the Ammonite," played a conspicuous part in the rancorous opposition made by Sanballat the Moabite and his adherents to the rebuilding of Jerusalem. The two races of Moab and Ammon found in these men fit representatives of that hereditary hatred to the Israelites which began before the entrance into Canaan, and was not extinct when the Hebrews had ceased to exist as a nation. The horrible story of the origin of the Moabites and Ammonites, as it was told by the Hebrews, is an index of the feeling of repulsion which must have existed between these hostile families of men. In the dignified rebuke of Nehemiah it received its highest expression: "ye have no portion, nor right, nor memorial in Jerusalem" (Neh. ii. 20). But Tobiah, though a slave (Neh. ii. 10, 19), unless this is a title of opprobrium, and an Ammonite, found means to ally himself with a priestly family, and his son Johanan married the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berechiah (Neh. vi. 18). He himself was the son-in-law of Shechaniah the son of Arah (Neh. vi. 17), and these family relations created for him a strong faction among the Jews, and may have had something to do with the stern measures which Ezra found it necessary to take to repress the intermarriages with foreigners. Even a grandson of the high-priest Eliashib had married a daughter of Sanballat (Neh. xiii. 28). In xiii. 4 Eliashib is said to have been allied to Tobiah, which would imply a relationship of some kind between Tobiah and Sanballat, though its nature is not mentioned. The evil had spread so far that the leaders of the people were compelled to rouse their religious antipathies by reading from the law of Moses the strong prohibition that the Ammonite and the Moabite should not come into the congregation of God for ever (Neh. xiii. 1). Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 173) conjectures that Tobiah had been a page ("slave") at the Persian court, and, being in favour there, had been promoted to be satrap of the Ammonites. But it almost seems that against Tobiah there was a stronger feeling of animosity than against Sanballat, and that this animosity found expression in the epithet "the slave," which is attached to his name. It was Tobiah who gave venom to the pitying scorn of Sanballat (Neh. iv. 3), and provoked the bitter cry of Nehemiah (Neh. iv. 4, 5); it was Tobiah who kept up communications with the factious Jews, and who sent letters to put their leader in fear (Neh. vi. 17, 19); but his crowning act of insult was to take up his residence in the Temple in the chamber which Eliashib had prepared for him in defiance of the Mosaic statute. Nehemiah's patience could no longer contain itself, "therefore," he says, "I cast forth all the household stuff of Tobiah out of the chamber," and with this summary act Tobiah disappears from history (Neh. xiii 7, 8). [W. A. W.]

TOBI'AS. The Greek form of the name TOBIAH or TOBIJAH. 1. (Τωβίας: *Thobias, Tobias.*) The son of Tobit, and central character in the book of that name. [TOBIT, BOOK OF.]

2. The father of Hyrcanus, apparently a man of great wealth and reputation at Jerusalem in the time of Seleucus Philopator (cir. B.C. 187). In the high-priestly schism which happened afterwards [MENELAUS], "the sons of Tobias" took a conspicuous part (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, §1). One of these, Joseph, who raised himself by intrigue to high favour with the Egyptian court, had a son named Hyrcanus (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, §2). It has been supposed that this is the Hyrcanus referred to in 2 Macc. iii. 11; and it is not impossible that, for some unknown reason (as in the case of the Maccabees), the whole family were called after their grandfather, to the exclusion of the father's name. On the other hand, the natural recurrence of names in successive generations makes it more probable that the Hyrcanus mentioned in Josephus was a nephew of the Hyrcanus in 2 Macc. (Comp. Ewald, *Gesch. d. V. I.* iv. 309; Grimm, *ad Macc.* l. c.) [B. F. W.]

TOBIE, THE PLACES OF (ἐν τοῖς Τουβίου: *in locis Tubin*: Syr. *Tubin*). A district which in the time of the Maccabees was the seat of an extensive colony of Jews (1 Macc. v. 13). It is in all probability identical with the Land of Tob mentioned in the history of Jephthah. [See also TUBIENI.] [G.]

TOBI'EL (טוֹבִיאֵל, "the goodness of God:" Τωβιήλ: *Thobiel, Tobiel*), the father of Tobit and grandfather of Tobias (1), Tob. i. 1. The name may be compared with Tabael (Ταβεήλ). [TABAEL.] [B. F. W.]

TOBI'JAH (טוֹבִיָּהוּ: Τωβίας: *Thobias*). 1. One of the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat to teach the Law in the cities of Judah (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

2. (οἱ χρήσιμοι αὐτῆς: *Tobias.*) One of the Captivity in the time of Zechariah, in whose presence the prophet was commanded to take crowns of silver and gold and put them on the head of

Jochua the high-priest (Zech. vi 10). In ver. 14 his name appears in the shortened form טוֹבִיָּה. Rosenmüller conjectures that he was one of a deputation who came up to Jerusalem, from the Jews who still remained in Babylon, with contributions of gold and silver for the Temple. But Maurer considers that the offerings were presented by Tobijah and his companions, because the crowns were commanded to be placed in the Temple as a memorial of their visit and generosity. [W. A. W.]

TOBIT (Τωβεὶθ, Τωβείτ, Τωβίτ: Vulg. *Tobias*; Vet. Lat. *Tobi, Thobi, Tobis*), the son of Tobiel (Τοβιήλ; *Thobiel, Tobiel*) and father of Tobias (Tob. i. 1, &c.). [TOBIT, BOOK OF.] The name appears to answer to טוֹבִי, which occurs frequently in later times (Fritzsche, *ad Tob.* i. 1), and not (as Welte, *Einl.* 65) to טוֹבִיָּה; yet in that case Τωβίς, according to the analogy of Λευΐς (לֵוִי), would have been the more natural form. The etymology of the word is obscure. Ilgen translates it simply "my goodness;" Fritzsche, with greater probability, regards it as an abbreviation of טוֹבִיָּה, comparing Μελχί (Luke iii. 24, 28), חִזְקִי, &c. (*ad Tob.* l. c.). The form in the Vulgate is of no weight against the Old Latin, except so far as it shows the reading of the Chaldaic text which Jerome used, in which the identity of the names of the father and son is directly affirmed (i. 9, Vulg.). [B. F. W.]

TOBIT, BOOK OF. The book is called simply Tobit (Τωβίτ, Τωβείτ) in the old MSS. At a later time the opening words of the book, Βίβλος λόγων Τωβίτ, were taken as a title. In Latin MSS. it is styled *Tobis, Liber Thobis, Liber Tobiae* (Sabatier, 706), *Tobit et Tobias, Liber utriusque Tobiae* (Fritzsche, *Einl.* §1).

1. *Text.*—The book exists at present in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Hebrew texts, which differ more or less from one another in detail, but yet on the whole are so far alike that it is reasonable to suppose that all were derived from one written original, which was modified in the course of translation or transcription. The *Greek* text is found in two distinct recensions. The one is followed by the mass of the MSS. of the LXX., and gives the oldest text which remains. The other is only fragmentary, and manifestly a revision of the former. Of this, one piece (i. 1–ii. 2) is contained in the Cod. Sinaiticus (=Cod. Frid. Augustanus), and another in three later MSS. (44, 106, 107, Holmes and Parsons; vi. 9–xii.; Fritzsche, *Exeg. Handb.* 71-110). The *Latin* texts are also of two kinds. The common (Vulgate) text is due to Jerome, who formed it by a very hasty revision of the old Latin version with the help of a Chaldee copy, which was translated into Hebrew for him by an assistant who was master of both languages. The treatment of the text in this recension is very arbitrary, as might be expected from the description which Jerome gives of the mode in which it was made (comp. *Praef. in Tob.* §4); and it is of very little critical value, for it is impossible to distinguish accurately the different elements which are incorporated in it. The ante-Hieronymian (Vetus Latina) texts are far more valuable, though these present considerable variations among themselves, as generally happens, and represent the revised and not the original Greek text. Sabatier has given one text from these MSS of the eighth century, and also added various readings from another MS., formerly in the possession of Christina of Sweden, which contains a distinct version of a considerable part of the book, i.–vi. 12 (*Bibl. Lat.* ii. p. 706). A third text is found in the quotations of the *Speculum*, published by Mai *Spicileg. Rom.* ix. 21-23. The *Hebrew* versions are of no great weight. One, which was published by P. Fagius (1542) after a Constantinopolitan edition of 1517, is closely moulded on the common Greek text without being a servile translation (Fritzsche, §4). Another, published by S. Munster (1542, &c.), is based upon the revised text, but is extremely free, and is rather an adaptation than a version. Both these versions, with the Syriac, are reprinted in Walton's Polyglott, and are late Jewish works of uncertain date (Fritzsche, *l. c.* Ilgen, ch. xvii. ff.) The *Syriac* version is of a composite character. As far as ch. vii. 9 it is a close rendering of the common Greek text of the LXX., but from this point to the end it follows the revised text, a fact which is noticed in the margin of one of the MSS.

2. *Contents.*—The outline of the book is as follows. Tobit, a Jew of the tribe of Naphtali, who strictly observed the law and remained faithful to the Temple-service at Jerusalem (i. 4–8), was carried captive to Assyria by Shalmaneser. While in captivity he exerted himself to relieve his countrymen, which his favourable position at court (ἀγοραστής, i. 13, "purveyor") enabled him to do, and at this time he was rich enough to lend ten talents of silver to a countryman, Gabael of Rages in Media. But when Sennacherib succeeded his father Shalmaneser, the fortune of Tobit was changed. He was accused of burying the Jews whom the king had put to death, and was only able to save himself, his wife Anna, and his son Tobias, by flight. On the accession of Esarhaddon he was allowed to return to Nineveh, at the intercession of his nephew, Achiacharus, who occupied a high place in the king's household (i. 22); but his zeal for his countrymen brought him into a strange misfortune. As he lay one night in the court of his house, being unclean from having buried a Jew whom his son had found strangled in the market-place, sparrows "muted warm dung into his eyes," and he became blind. Being thus disabled, he was for a time supported by Achiacharus, and after his departure (read ἐπορεύθη, ii. 10) by the labour of his wife. On one occasion he falsely accused her of stealing a kid which had been added to her wages, and in return she reproached him with the miserable issue of all his righteous deeds. Grieved by her taunts he prayed to God for help; and it happened that on the same day Sara, his kinswoman (vi. 10, 11), the only daughter of Raguel, also sought help from God against the reproaches of her father's household. For seven young men wedded to her had perished on their marriage night by the power of the evil spirit Asmodeus [ASMODEUS]; and she thought that she should "bring her father's old age with sorrow unto the grave" (iii. 10). So Raphael was sent to deliver both from their sorrow. In the mean time Tobit called to mind the money which he had lent to Gabael, and despatched Tobias, with many wise counsels, to reclaim it (iv.). On this Raphael (under the form of a kinsman, Azarias) offered himself as a guide to Tobias on his journey to Media, and they "went forth both, and *the young man's dog with them*," and Anna was comforted for the absence of her son (v.). When they reached the Tigris, Tobias was commanded by Raphael to take "the heart, and liver, and gall" of "a fish which leaped out of the river and would have

devoured him," and instructed how to use the first two against Asmodeus, for Sara, Raphael said, was appointed to be his wife (vi.). So when they reached Ecbatana they were entertained by Raguel, and in accordance with the words of the angel, Sara was given to Tobias in marriage that night, and Asmodeus was "driven to the utmost parts of Egypt," where "the angel bound him" (vii., viii.). After this Raphael recovered the loan from Gabael (ix.), and Tobias then returned with Sara and half her father's goods to Nineve (x.). Tobit, informed by Anna of their son's approach, hastened to meet him. Tobias by the command of the angel applied the fish's gall to his father's eyes and restored his sight (xi.). After this Raphael addressing to both words of good counsel revealed himself, and "they saw him no more" (xii.). On this Tobit expressed his gratitude in a fine psalm (xiii.); and he lived to see the long prosperity of his son (xiv. 1, 2). After his death Tobias, according to his instruction, returned to Ecbatana, and "before he died he heard of the destruction of Nineve," of which "Jonas the prophet spake" (xiv. 15, 4).

3. *Historical character.*—The narrative which has been just sketched, seems to have been received without inquiry or dispute as historically true till the rise of free criticism at the Reformation. Luther, while warmly praising the general teaching of the book (comp. §6), yet expressed doubts as to its literal truth, and these doubts gradually gained a wide currency among Protestant writers. Bertholdt (*Einl.* §579) has given a summary of alleged errors in detail (*e. g.* i. 1, 2, of *Napthali*, compared with 2 K. xv. 29; vi. 9, Rages, said to have been founded by Sel. Nicator), but the question turns rather upon the general complexion of the history than upon minute objections, which are often captious and rarely satisfactory (comp. Welte, *Einl.* pp. 84-94). This, however, is fatal to the supposition that the book could have been completed shortly after the fall of Nineveh (B.C. 606; Tob. xiv. 15), and written in the main some time before (Tob. xii. 20). The whole tone of the narrative bespeaks a later age; and above all, the doctrine of good and evil spirits is elaborated in a form which belongs to a period considerably posterior to the Babylonian Captivity (Asmodeus, iii. 8, vi. 14, viii. 3; Raphael, xii. 15). The incidents again, are completely isolated, and there is no reference to them in any part of Scripture (the supposed parallels, Tob. iv. 15 (16) || Matt. vii. 12; Tob. xiii. 16-18 || Rev. xxi. 18, are mere general ideas), nor in Josephus or Philo. And though the extraordinary character of the details, as such, is no objection against the reality of the occurrences, yet it may be fairly urged that the character of the alleged miraculous events, when taken together, is alien from the general character of such events in the historical books of Scripture, while there is nothing exceptional in the circumstances of the persons, as in the case of Daniel [DANIEL, vol. i. p. 394], which might serve to explain this difference. On all these grounds it may certainly be concluded that the narrative is not simply history, and it is superfluous to inquire how far it is based upon facts. It is quite possible that some real occurrences, preserved by tradition, furnished the basis of the narrative, but it does not follow by any means that the elimination of the extraordinary details will leave behind pure history (so Ilgen). As the book stands it is a distinctly didactic narrative. Its point lies in the moral lesson which it conveys, and not in the incidents. The incidents furnish lively pictures of the truth which the author wished to inculcate, but the lessons themselves are independent of them. Nor can any weight be laid on the minute exactness with which apparently unimportant details are described (*e. g.* the genealogy and dwelling-place of Tobit, i. 1, 2; the marriage festival, viii. 20, xi. 18, 19, quoted by Ilgen and Welte), as proving the reality of the events, for such particularity is characteristic of Eastern romance, and appears again in the Book of Judith. The writer in composing his story necessarily observed the ordinary form of a historical narrative.

4. *Original Language and Revisions.*—In the absence of all direct evidence, considerable doubt has been felt as to the original language of the book. The superior clearness, simplicity, and accuracy of the LXX. text prove conclusively that this is nearer the original than any other text which is known, if it be not, as some have supposed (Jahn and Fritzsche doubtfully), the original itself. Indeed, the arguments which have been brought forward to show that it is a translation are far from conclusive. The supposed contradictions between different parts of the book, especially the change from the first (i.–iii. 6) to the third person (iii. 7–xiv.), from which Ilgen endeavoured to prove that the narrative was made up of distinct Hebrew documents, carelessly put together, and afterwards rendered by one Greek translator, are easily explicable on other grounds; and the alleged mistranslations (iii. 6; iv. 19, &c.) depend rather on errors in interpreting the Greek text, than on errors in the text itself. The style, again, though harsh in parts, and far from the classical standard, is not more so than some books which were undoubtedly written in Greek (*e. g.* the Apocalypse); and there is little, if any thing, in it which points certainly to the immediate influence of an Aramaic text. (i. 4, *εἰς πάσας τὰς γενέας τοῦ αἰῶνος*, comp. Eph. iii. 21; i. 22, *ἐκ δευτέρας*; iii. 15, *ἵνα τί μοι ζῇν*; v. 15, *τίνα σοι ἔσομαι μισθὸν διδόναι*; xiv. 3, *προσέθετο φοβεῖσθαι*, &c.) To this it may be added that Origen was not acquainted with any Hebrew original (*Ep. ad Afric.* 13); and the Chaldee copy which Jerome used, as far as its character can be ascertained, was evidently a later version of the story. On the other hand, there is no internal evidence against the supposition that the Greek text is a translation. Some difficulties appear to be removed by this supposition (*e. g.* ix. 6); and if the consideration of the date and place of the composition of the book favour this view, it may rightly be admitted. The Greek offers some peculiarities in vocabulary:—i. 6, *πρωτοκουρία, i. e. ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κουρῶν*, Deut. xviii. 4; i. 7, *ἀποπρατίζομαι*; i. 21, *ἐκλογιστία*; ii. 3, *στραγγαλάω*, &c.: and in construction, xiii. 7, *ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι τὴν μεγαλωσύνην*; xii. 4, *δικαιοῦσθαί τινι*; vi. 19, *προσάγειν τινί* (intrans.); vi. 6, *ἐγγίζειν ἐν*, &c. But these furnish no argument on either side.

The various texts which remain have already been enumerated. Of these, three varieties may be distinguished: (1) the LXX.; (2) the revised Greek text, followed by the Old Latin in the main, and by the Syriac in part; and (3) the Vulgate Latin. The Hebrew versions have no critical value. (1) The LXX. is followed by A. V., and has been already characterized as the standard to which the others are to be referred. (2) The revised text, first brought distinctly into notice by Fritzsche (*Einl.* §5), is based on the LXX. Greek, which is

at one time extended, and then compressed, with a view to greater fulness and clearness. A few of the variations in the first chapter will indicate its character:—Ver. 2, Θίσβης, add. ὀπίσω δυσμῶν ἡλίου ἐξ ἀριστερῶν Φογώρ; ver. 8, οἷς καθήκει, given at length τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς καὶ ταῖς χήραις, κ.τ.λ.; ver. 18, ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, add. ἐν ἡμέραις τῆς κρίσεως ἧς ἐποίησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περὶ τῶν βλασφημιῶν ὧν ἐβλασφήμησεν; ver. 22, οἰνοχόος, ἀρχιοινοχόος. (3) The Vulgate text was derived in part from a Chaldee copy which was translated by word of mouth into Hebrew for Jerome, who in turn dictated a Latin rendering to a secretary. (*Praef. in Tob.*: .... Exigitis ut librum Chaldaec sermone conscriptum ad Latinum stylum traham .... Feci satis desiderio vestro, non tamen meo studio .... Et quia vicina est Chaldaeorum lingua sermoni Hebraico, utriusque linguae peritissimum loquacem reperiens *unius diei laborem arripui*, et quidquid ille mihi Hebraicis verbis expressit, hoc ego, accito notario, sermonibus Latinis exposui.) It is evident that in this process Jerome made some use of the Old Latin version, which he follows almost verbally in a few places: iii. 3-6; iv. 6, 7, 11, 23, &c.; but the greater part of the version seems to be an independent work. On the whole, it is more concise than the Old Latin; but it contains interpolations and changes, many of which mark the asceticism of a late age: ii. 12-14 (parallel with Job); iii. 17-23 (expansion of iii. 14); vi. 17 ff. (expansion of vi. 18); ix. 11, 12; xii. 13 (et quia acceptus eras Deo, necesse fuit ut tentatio probaret te).

5. *Date and place of Composition.*—The data for determining the age of the book and the place where it was compiled are scanty, and consequently very different opinions have been entertained on these points. Eichhorn (*Einl.* pp. 408 ff.) places the author after the time of Darius Hystaspis without fixing any further limit of age or country. Bertholdt, insisting (wrongly) on the supposed date of the foundation of Rages [RAGES], brings the book considerably later than Seleucus Nicator (cir. B.C. 250-200), and supposes that it was written by a Galilaean or Babylonian Jew, from the prominence given to those districts in the narrative (*Einl.* pp. 2499, 2500). De Wette leaves the date undetermined, but argues that the author was a native of Palestine (*Einl.* §311). Ewald (*Geschichte*, iv. 233-238) fixes the composition in the far East, towards the close of the Persian period (cir. 350 B.C.). This last opinion is almost certainly correct. The superior and inferior limits of the date of the book seem to be defined with fair distinctness. On the one hand the detailed doctrine of evil spirits points clearly to some time after the Babylonian Captivity; and this date is definitely marked by the reference to a new Temple at Jerusalem, "not like the first" (Tob. xiv. 5; comp. Ezr. iii. 12). On the other hand, there is nothing to show that the Jews were threatened with any special danger when the narrative was written (as in Judith), and the manner in which Media is mentioned (xiv. 4) implies that the Persian monarchy was still strong. Thus its date will fall somewhere within the period between the close of the work of Nehemiah and the invasion of Alexander (cir. B.C. 430-334). The contents of the book furnish also some clue to the place where it was written. Not only is there an accurate knowledge of the scenes described (Ewald, 233), but the incidents have a local colouring. The continual reference to almsgiving and the burial of the dead, and the stress which is laid upon the right performance of worship at Jerusalem by those who are afar off (i. 4), can scarcely be due to an effort of imagination, but must rather have been occasioned by the immediate experience of the writer. This would suggest that he was living out of Palestine, in some Persian city, perhaps Babylon, where his countrymen were exposed to the capricious cruelty of heathen governors, and in danger of neglecting the Temple-service. Glimpses are also given of the presence of the Jews at court, not only in the history (Tob. i. 22), but also in direct counsel (xii. 7, μυστήριον βασίλεως καλὸν κρύψαι), which better suit such a position than any other (comp. xiii. 3). If these conjectures as to the date and place of writing be correct, it follows that we must assume the existence of a Hebrew or Chaldee original. And even if the date of the book be brought much lower, to the beginning of the second century B.C., which seems to be the latest possible limit, it is equally certain that it must have been written in some Aramaic dialect, as the Greek literature of Palestine belongs to a much later time; and the references to Jerusalem seem to show that the book could not have been composed in Egypt (i. 4, xiv. 5), an inference, indeed, which may be deduced from its general contents. As long as the book was held to be strict history it was supposed that it was written by the immediate actors, in accordance with the direction of the angel (xii. 20). The passages where Tobit speaks in the first person (i.–iii. 6, xiii.) were assigned to his authorship. The intervening chapters to Tobit or Tobias. The description of the close of the life of Tobit to Tobias (xiv. 1-11); and the concluding verses (xiv. 12-15) to one of his friends who survived him. If, however, the historical character of the narrative is set aside, there is no trace of the person of the author.

6. *History.*—The history of the book is in the main that of the LXX. version. While the contents of the LXX., as a whole, were received as canonical, the Book of Tobit was necessarily included without further inquiry among the books of Holy Scripture. [CANON.] The peculiar merits of the book contributed also in no small degree to gain for it a wide and hearty reception. There appears to be a clear reference to it in the Latin version of the Epistle of Polycarp (c. 10, *eleemosyna de morte liberat*, Tob. iv. 10, xii. 9). In a scheme of the Ophites, if there be no corruption in the text, Tobias appears among the prophets (Iren. i. 30, 11). Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 23, §139, τοῦτο βραχέως ἡ γραφὴ δεδήλωκεν εἰρηκυῖα, Tob. iv. 16) and Origen practically use the book as canonical; but Origen distinctly notices that neither Tobit nor Judith were received by the Jews, and rests the authority of Tobit on the usage of the Churches (*Ep. ad Afric.* 13, Ἑβραῖοι τῷ Τωβίᾳ οὐ χρῶνται . . . ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ χρῶνται τῷ Τωβίᾳ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι . . . *De Orat.* 1, §14, τῇ τοῦ Τωβὴτ βίβλῳ ἀντιλέγουσιν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς ὡς μὴ ἐνδιαθήκῳ . . .). Even Athanasius when writing without any critical regard to the Canon quotes Tobit as Scripture (*Apol. c. Arian.* §11, ὡς γέγραπται, Tob. xii. 7); but when he gives a formal list of the Sacred Books, he definitely excludes it from the Canon, and places it with other apocryphal books among the writings which were "to be read by those who were but just entering on Christian teaching, and desirous to be instructed in the rules of piety" (*Ep. Fest.* p. 1177, ed. Migne). In the Latin Church Tobit found a much more de-

cided acceptance. Cyprian, Hilary, and Lucifer, quote it as authoritative (Cypr. *De Orat. Dom.* 32; Hil. Pict. *In Psalm.* cxxix. 7; yet comp. *Prol. in Ps.* xv.; Lucif. *Pro Athan.* i. p. 871). Augustine includes it with the other apocrypha of the LXX. among "the books which the Christian Church received" (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 8),[a] and in this he was followed by the mass of the later Latin fathers [comp. CANON, vol. i. p. 256, &c.]. Ambrose in especial wrote an essay on Tobias, treating of the evils of usury, in which he speaks of the book as "prophetic" in the strongest terms (*De Tobiâ*, 1, 1; comp. *Hexaem.* vi. 4). Jerome however, followed by Ruffinus, maintained the purity of the Hebrew Canon of the O. T., and, as has been seen, treated it very summarily (for later authorities see CANON). In modern times the moral excellence of the book has been rated highly, except in the heat of controversy. Luther pronounced it, if only a fiction, yet "a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction, the work of a gifted poet. . . . A book useful for Christian reading" (ap. Fritzsche, *Einl.* §11). The same view is held also in the English Church. A passage from Tobit is quoted in the Second Book of Homilies as the teaching "of the Holy Ghost in Scripture" (Of Almsdeeds, ii. p. 391, ed. Corrie); and the Prayer-book offers several indications of the same feeling of respect for the book. Three verses are retained among the sentences used at the Offertory (Tob. iv. 7-9); and the Preface to the Marriage Service contains a plain adaptation of Jerome's version of Tob. vi. 17 (Hi namque qui conjugium ita suscipiunt ut Deum a se et a sua mente excludant, et suae libidini ita vacent, sicut equus et mulus quibus non est intellectus, habet potestatem daemonium super eos). In the First Book of Edward VI. a reference to the blessing of Tobias and Sara by Raphael was retained in the same service from the old office in place of the present reference to Abraham and Sarah; and one of the opening clauses of the Litany, introduced from the Sarum Breviary, is a reproduction of the Vulgate version of Tob. iii. 3 (Ne vindictam sumas de peccatis meis, neque reminiscaris delicta mea vel parentum meorum).

7. *Religious character.*—Few probably can read the book in the LXX. text without assenting heartily to the favourable judgment of Luther on its merits. Nowhere else is there preserved so complete and beautiful a picture of the domestic life of the Jews after the Return. There may be symptoms of a tendency to formal righteousness of works, but as yet the works are painted as springing from a living faith. The devotion due to Jerusalem is united with definite acts of charity (i. 6-8) and with the prospect of wider blessings (xiii. 11). The giving of alms is not a mere scattering of wealth, but a real service of love (i. 16, 17, ii. 1-7, iv. 7-11, 16), though at times the emphasis which is laid upon the duty is exaggerated (as it seems) from the special circumstances in which the writer was placed (xii. 9, xiv. 10). Of the special precepts one (iv. 15, ὃ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσῃς) contains the negative side of the golden rule of conduct (Matt. vii. 12), which in this partial form is found among the maxims of Confucius. But it is chiefly in the exquisite tenderness of the portraiture of domestic life that the book excels. The parting of Tobias and his mother, the consolation of Tobit (v. 17-22), the affection of Raguel (vii. 4-8), the anxious waiting of the parents (x. 1-7), the son's return (ix. 4, xi.), and even the unjust suspiciousness of the sorrow of Tobit and Anna (ii. 11-14) are painted with a simplicity worthy of the best times of the patriarchs.[b] Almost every family relation is touched upon with natural grace and affection: husband and wife, parent and child, kinsmen, near or distant, master and servant, are presented in the most varied action, and always with life-like power (ii. 13, 14, v. 17-22, vii. 16, viii. 4-8, x. 1-7, xi. 1-13, i. 22, ii. 10, vii. 3-8, v. 14, 15, xii. 1-5, &c.). Prayer hallows the whole conduct of life (iv. 19, vi. 17, viii. 5-8, &c.); and even in distress there is confidence that in the end all will be well (iv. 6, 14, 19), though there is no clear anticipation of a future personal existence (iii. 6). The most remarkable doctrinal feature in the book is the prominence given to the action of spirits, who, while they are conceived to be subject to the passions of men and material influences (Asmodeus), are yet not affected by bodily wants, and manifested only by their own will (Raphael, xii. 19). Powers of evil (δαιμόνιον, πνεῦμα πονηρόν, iii. 8, 17, vi. 7, 14, 17) are represented as gaining the means of injuring men by sin [ASMODEUS], while they are driven away and bound by the exercise of faith and prayer (viii. 2, 3). On the other hand Raphael comes among men as "the healer" (comp. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, c. 20), and by the mission of God (iii. 17, xii. 18), restores those whose good actions he has secretly watched (xii. 12, 13), and "the remembrance of whose prayers he has brought before the Holy One" (xii. 12). This ministry of intercession is elsewhere expressly recognized. Seven holy angels, of whom Raphael is one, are specially described as those "which present the prayers of the Saints, and which go in and out before the glory of God" (xii. 15). It is characteristic of the same sense of the need of some being to interpose between God and man that singular prominence is given to the idea of "the glory of God," before which these archangels appear as priests in the holiest place (viii. 15, xii. 15); and in one passage "the angel of God" (v. 16, 21) occupies a position closely resembling that of the Word in the Targums and Philo (*De mut. nom.* §13, &c.). Elsewhere blessing is rendered to "all the holy angels" (xi. 14, εὐλογημένοι as contrasted with εὐλογητός: comp. Luke i. 42), who are themselves united with "the elect" in the duty of praising God for ever (viii. 15). This mention of "the elect" points to a second doctrinal feature of the book, which it shares with Baruch alone of the apocryphal writings, the firm belief in a glorious restoration of the Jewish people (xiv. 5, xiii. 9-18). But the restoration contemplated is national, and not the work of a universal Saviour. The Temple is described as "consecrated and built for all ages" (i. 4), the feasts are "an everlasting decree" (i. 6), and when it is restored "the streets of Jerusalem shall say . . . Blessed be God which hath

[a] This is expressed still more distinctly in the *Speculum* (p. 1127, C., ed. Par. 1836): "Non sunt omittendi et hi [libri] quos quidem ante Salvatoris adventum constat esse conscriptos, sed eos non receptos a Judaeis recipit tamen ejusdem Salvatoris ecclesia." The preface from which these words are taken is followed by quotations from Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus and Tobit.

[b] In this connexion may be noticed the incident, which is without a parallel in Scripture, and seems more natural to the West than to the East, the companionship of the dog with Tobias (v. 16, xi. 4: comp. Ambr. *Hexaem.* vi. 4, 17: "Mutae specie bestiae sanctus Raphael, angelus Tobiae juvenis . . . . . ad relationem gratiae erudiebat affectum").

extolled it for ever" (xiii. 18). In all there is not the slightest trace of the belief in a personal Messiah.

8. Comparisons have often been made between the Book of Tobit and Job, but from the outline which has been given it is obvious that the resemblance is only superficial, though Tob. ii. 14 was probably suggested by Job ii. 9, 10, while the differences are such as to mark distinct periods. In Tobit the sorrows of those who are afflicted are laid at once in prayer before God, in perfect reliance on His final judgment, and then immediately relieved by Divine interposition. In Job the real conflict is in the soul of the sufferer, and his relief comes at length with humiliation and repentance (xlii. 6). The one book teaches by great thoughts; the other by clear maxims translated into touching incidents. The contrast of Tobit and Judith is still more instructive. These books present two pictures of Jewish life and feeling, broadly distinguished in all their details, and yet mutually illustrative. The one represents the exile prosperous and even powerful in a strange land, exposed to sudden dangers, cherishing his national ties, and looking with unshaken love to the Holy City, but still mainly occupied by the common duties of social life; the other portrays a time of reproach and peril, when national independence was threatened, and a righteous cause seemed to justify unscrupulous valour. The one gives the popular ideal of holiness of living, the other of courage in daring. The one reflects the current feeling at the close of the Persian rule, the other during the struggles for freedom.

9. The first complete edition of the book was by K. D. Ilgen (*Die Gesch. Tobi's . . . mit . . . einer Einleitung versehen*, Jen. 1800), which, in spite of serious defects due to the period at which it was published, contains the most full discussion of the contents. The edition of Fritzsche (*Exeget. Handb.* ii., Leipzig, 1853) is concise and scholarlike, but leaves some points without illustration. In England the book, like the rest of the Apocrypha, seems to have fallen into most undeserved neglect. [B. F. W.]

TO'CHEN (תֹּכֶן: Θοκκᾶ; Alex. Θοχχαν: *Thochen*). A place mentioned (1 Chr. iv. 32 only) amongst the towns of Simeon. In the parallel list of Josh. (xix. 7) there is nothing corresponding to Tochen. The LXX., however, adds the name Thalcha between Remmon and Ether in the latter passage; and it is not impossible that this may be the remnant of a Tochen anciently existing in the Hebrew text, though it has been considered as an indication of Telem. [G.]

TOGAR'MAH (תֹּגַרְמָה: Θεργαμά: *Thogorma*). A son of Gomer, and brother of Ashkenaz and Riphath (Gen. x. 3). It has been already shown that Togarmah, as a geographical term, is connected with Armenia,[a] and that the subsequent notices of the name (Ez. xxvii. 14, xxxviii. 6) accord with this view. [ARMENIA.] It remains for us to examine into the ethnology of the Armenians with a view to the position assigned to them in the Mosaic table. The most decisive statement respecting them in ancient literature is furnished by Herodotus, who says that they were Phrygian colonists, that they were armed in the Phrygian fashion, and were associated with the Phrygians under the same commander (Herod. vii. 73). The remark of Eudoxus (Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἀρμενία that the Armenians resemble the Phrygians in many respects in language (τῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι tends in the same direction. It is hardly necessary to understand the statement of Herodotus as implying more than a common origin of the two peoples; for, looking at the general westward progress of the Japhetic races, and on the central position which Armenia held in regard to their movements, we should rather infer that Phrygia was colonized from Armenia, than *vice versâ*. The Phrygians were indeed reputed to have had their first settlements in Europe, and thence to have crossed into Asia (Herod. vii. 73), but this must be regarded as simply a retrograde movement of a section of the great Phrygian race in the direction of their original home. The period of this movement is fixed subsequently to the Trojan war (Strab. xiv. p. 680), whereas the Phrygians appear as an important race in Asia Minor at a far earlier period (Strab. vii. p. 321; Herod. vii. 8, 11). There can be little doubt but that they were once the dominant race in the peninsula, and that they spread westward from the confines of Armenia to the shores of the Aegaean. The Phrygian language is undoubtedly to be classed with the Indo-European family. The resemblance between words in the Phrygian and Greek tongues was noticed by the Greeks themselves (Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 410), and the inscriptions still existing in the former are decidedly Indo-European (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 666). The Armenian language presents many peculiarities which distinguish it from other branches of the Indo-European family; but these may be accounted for partly by the physical character of the country, and partly by the large amount of foreign admixture that it has experienced. In spite of this, however, no hesitation is felt by philologists in placing Armenian among the Indo-European languages (Pott, *Etym. Forsch.* Introd. p. 32; Diefenbach, *Orig. Europ.* p. 43). With regard to the ancient inscriptions at Wan, some doubt exists; some of them, but apparently not the most ancient, are thought to bear a Turanian character (Layard's *Nin. and Bab.* p. 402; Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 652); but, even were this fully established, it fails to prove the Turanian character of the population, inasmuch as they may have been set up by foreign conquerors. The Armenians themselves have associated the name of Togarmah with their early history in that they represent the founder of their race, Haik, as a son of Thorgom (Moses Choren. i. 4, §9-11). [W. L. B.]

TO'HU (תֹּחוּ: Θοκέ; Alex. Θοού: *Thohu*). An ancestor of Samuel the prophet, perhaps the same as TOAH (1 Sam. i. 1; comp. 1 Chr. vi. 34).

TOÏ (תֹּעִי: Θοού; Alex. Θαεί: *Thoü*). King of Hamath on the Orontes, who, after the defeat of his powerful enemy the Syrian king Hadadezer by the army of David, sent his son Joram, or Hadoram, to congratulate the victor and do him homage with presents of gold and silver and brass (2 Sam. viii. 9, 10). "For Hadadezer had wars with Toi," and Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 199) conjectures that he may have even reduced him to a state of vassalage. There was probably some policy in the conduct of Toi, and his object may have been, as Josephus says

[a] The name itself may possibly have reference to Armenia, for, according to Grimm (*Gesch. Deutsch. Spr.* ii. 925), Togarmah comes from the Sanscrit *toka*, "tribe," and *Arma* = Armenia, which he further connects with Hermino the son of Manuus.

it was (*Ant.* vi., 5, §4), to buy off the conqueror with the "vessels of ancient workmanship" (*σκεύη τῆς ἀρχαίας κατασκευῆς*) which he presented.

TO'LA (תּוֹלָע: Θωλά: *Thala*). 1. The first-born of Issachar, and ancestor of the Tolaites (Gen. xlvi. 13; Num. xxvi. 23; 1 Chr. vii. 1, 2), who in the time of David numbered 22,600 men of valour.

2. Judge of Israel after Abimelech (Judg. x. 1, 2). He is described as "the son of Puah, the son of Dodo, a man of Issachar." In the LXX. and Vulg. he is made the son of Abimelech's uncle, Dodo (דּוֹדוֹ) being considered an appellative. But Gideon, Abimelech's father, was a Manassite. Tola judged Israel for twenty-three years at Shamir in Mount Ephraim, where he died and was buried.

TO'LAD (תּוֹלָד: Θουλαέμ; Alex. Θωλαδ: *Tholad*). One of the towns of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 29), which was in the possession of the tribe up to David's reign, probably to the time of the census taken by Joab. In the lists of Joshua the name is given in the fuller form of EL-TOLAD. [G.]

TO'LAITES, THE (הַתּוֹלָעִי: ὁ Θωλαί: *Tholoïtae*). The descendants of Tola the son of Issachar (Num. xxvi. 23).

TOL'BANES (Τολβάνης: *Tolbanes*). TELEM, one of the porters in the days of Ezra (1 Esd. ix. 25).

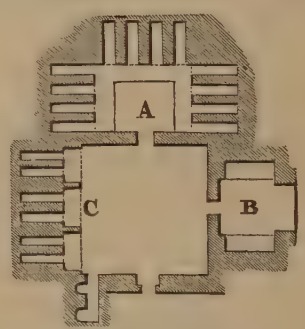
TOMB. Although the sepulchral arrangements of the Jews have necessarily many points of contact with those of the surrounding nations, they are still on the whole—like everything else that people did—so essentially different, that it is most unsafe to attempt to elucidate them by appealing to the practice of other races.

It has been hitherto too much the fashion to look to Egypt for the prototype of every form of Jewish art; but if there is one thing in the Old Testament more clear than another, it is the absolute antagonism between the two peoples, and the abhorrence of everything Egyptian that prevailed from first to last among the Jewish people. From the burial of Sarah in the cave of Machpelah (Gen. xxiii. 19) to the funeral rites prepared for Dorcas (Acts ix. 37), there is no mention of any sarcophagus, or even coffin, in any Jewish burial. No pyramid was raised—no separate hypogeum of any individual king, and what is most to be regretted by modern investigators, no inscription or painting which either recorded the name of the deceased, or symbolized the religious feeling of the Jews towards the dead. It is true of course that Jacob dying in Egypt was embalmed (Gen. l. 2), but it was only in order that he might be brought to be entombed in the cave at Hebron, and Joseph as a naturalized Egyptian and a ruler in the land was embalmed; and it is also mentioned as something exceptional that he was put into a coffin, and was so brought by the Israelites out of the land and laid with his forefathers. But these, like the burning of the body of Saul [see BURIAL], were clearly exceptional cases.

Still less were the rites of the Jews like those of the Pelasgi or Etruscans. With that people the graves of the dead were, or were intended to be, in every respect similar to the homes of the living. The lucumo lay in his robes, the warrior in his armour, on the bed on which he had reposed in life, surrounded by the furniture the vessels, and the ornaments which had adorned his dwelling when alive, as if he were to live again in a new world with the same wants and feelings as before. Besides this, no tall stelé, and no sepulchral mound, has yet been found in the hills or plains of Judaea nor have we any hint either in the Bible or Josephus of any such having existed which could be traced to a strictly Jewish origin.

In very distinct contrast to all this, the sepulchral rites of the Jews were marked with the same simplicity that characterized all their religious observances. The body was washed and anointed (Mark xiv. 8, xvi. 1; John xix. 39, &c.), wrapped in a clean linen cloth, and borne without any funeral pomp to the grave, where it was laid without any ceremonial or form of prayer. In addition to this, with kings and great persons, there seems to have been a "great burning" (2 Chr. xvi. 14, xxi. 19 Jer. xxxiv. 5): all these being measures more suggested by sanitary exigencies than by any hankering after ceremonial pomp.

This simplicity of rite led to what may be called the distinguishing characteristic of Jewish sepulchres—the *deep loculus*—which, so far as is now known, is universal in all purely Jewish rock-cut tombs, but hardly known elsewhere. Its form will be understood by referring to the annexed diagram, representing the forms of Jewish sepulture.



No. 1.—Diagram of Jewish Sepulchre.

In the apartment marked A, there are twelve such loculi, about 2 feet in width by 3 feet high. On the ground-floor these generally open on the level of the floor; when in the upper storey, as at C, on a ledge or platform, on which the body might be laid to be anointed, and on which the stones might rest which closed the outer end of each loculus.

The shallow loculus is shown in chamber B, but was apparently only used when sarcophagi were employed, and therefore, so far as we know, only during the Graeco-Roman period, when foreign customs came to be adopted. The shallow loculus would have been singularly inappropriate and inconvenient, where an unembalmed body was laid out to decay—as there would evidently be no means of shutting it off from the rest of the catacomb. The deep loculus on the other hand was as strictly conformable with Jewish customs, and could easily be closed by a stone fitted to the end and luted into the groove which usually exists there.

This fact is especially interesting as it affords a key to much that is otherwise hard to be understood in certain passages in the New Testament. Thus in John xi. 39, Jesus says, "Take away the stone," and (ver. 40) "they took away the stone" without difficulty, apparently which could hardly have

been the case had it been such a rock as would be required to close the entrance of a cave. And chap. xx. 1, the same expression is used, "the stone is taken away;" and though the Greek word in the other three Evangelists certainly implies that it was *rolled* away, this would equally apply to the stone at the mouth of the loculus, into which the Maries must have then stooped down to look in. In fact the whole narrative is infinitely more clear and intelligible if we assume that it was a stone closing the end of a rock-cut grave, than if we suppose it to have been a stone closing the entrance or door of a hypogeum. In the latter case the stone to close a door—say 6 feet by 3 feet, could hardly have weighed less than 3 or 4 tons, and could not have been moved without machinery.

There is one catacomb—that known as the "Tombs of the Kings"—which is closed by a stone rolling across its entrance; but it is the only one, and the immense amount of contrivance and fitting which it has required is sufficient proof that such an arrangement was not applied to any other of the numerous rock tombs around Jerusalem, nor could the traces of it have been obliterated had it anywhere existed. From the nature of the openings where they are natural caverns, and the ornamental form of their doorways where they are architecturally adorned, it is evident, except in this one instance, that they could not have been closed by stones rolled across their entrances; and consequently it seems only to be to the closing of the loculi that these expressions can refer. But until a more careful and more scientific exploration of these tombs is made than has hitherto been given to the public, it is difficult to feel quite certain on this point.

Although, therefore, the Jews were singularly free from the pomps and vanities of funereal magnificence, they were at all stages of their independent existence an eminently burying people.

From the time of their entrance into the Holy Land till their expulsion by the Romans, they seem to have attached the greatest importance to the possession of an undisturbed resting-place for the bodies of their dead, and in all ages seem to have shown the greatest respect, if not veneration, for the sepulchres of their ancestors. Few, however, could enjoy the luxury of a rock-cut tomb. Taking all that are known, and all that are likely to be discovered, there are not probably 500, certainly not 1000, rock-cut loculi in or about Jerusalem, and as that city must in the days of its prosperity have possessed a population of from 30,000 to 40,000 souls, it is evident that the bulk of the people must then, as now, have been content with graves dug in the earth; but situated as near the Holy Places as their means would allow their obtaining a place. The bodies of the kings were buried close to the Temple walls (Ezek. xliii. 7-9), and however little they may have done in their life, the place of their burial is carefully recorded in the Chronicles of the Kings, and the cause why that place was chosen is generally pointed out, as if that record was not only the most important event, but the final judgment on the life of the king.

Tombs of the Patriarchs.—Turning from these considerations to the more strictly historical part of the subject, we find that one of the most striking events in the life of Abraham is the purchase of the field of Ephron the Hittite at Hebron, in which was the cave of Machpelah, in order that he might therein bury Sarah his wife, and that it might be a sepulchre for himself and his children. His refusing to accept the privilege of burying there as a gift when offered to him, shows the importance Abraham attached to the transaction, and his insisting on purchasing and paying for it (Gen. xxiii. 20), in order that it might be "made sure unto him for the possession of a burying-place." There he and his immediate descendants were laid 3700 years ago, and there they are believed to rest now; but no one in modern times has seen their remains, or been allowed to enter into the cave where they rest.

A few years ago, Signor Pierotti says, he was allowed, in company with the Pasha of Jerusalem, to descend the steps to the iron-grating that closes the entrance, and to look into the cave. What he seems to have seen was—that it was a natural cavern, untouched by the chisel and unaltered by art in any way. Those who accompanied the Prince of Wales in his visit to the Mosque were not permitted to see even this entrance. All they saw was the round hole in the floor of the Mosque which admits light and air to the cave below. The same round opening exists at *Neby Samwil* in the roof of the reputed sepulchre of the Prophet Samuel, and at Jerusalem there is a similar opening into the tomb under the Dome of the rock. In the former it is used by the pious votaries to drop petitions and prayers into the tombs of patriarchs and prophets. The latter having lost the tradition of its having been a burying-place, the opening only now serves to admit light into the cave below.

Unfortunately none of those who have visited Hebron have had sufficient architectural knowledge to be able to say when the church or mosque which now stands above the cave was erected; but there seems no great reason for doubting that it is a Byzantine church erected there between the age of Constantine and that of Justinian. From such indications as can be gathered, it seems of the later period. On its floor are sarcophagi purporting to be those of the patriarchs; but, as is usual in Eastern tombs, they are only cenotaphs representing those that stand below, and which are esteemed too sacred for the vulgar to approach.

Though it is much more easy of access, it is almost as difficult to ascertain the age of the wall that encloses the sacred precincts of these tombs. From the account of Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 7), it does not seem to have existed in his day, or he surely would have mentioned it; and such a citadel could hardly fail to have been of warlike importance in those troublous times. Besides this, we do not know of any such enclosure encircling any tombs or sacred place in Jewish times, nor can we conceive any motive for so secluding these graves.

There are not any architectural mouldings about this wall which would enable an archaeologist to approximate its date; and if the bevelling is assumed to be a Jewish arrangement (which is very far from being exclusively the case), on the other hand it may be contended that no buttressed wall of Jewish masonry exists anywhere. There is in fact nothing known with sufficient exactness to decide the question, but the probabilities certainly tend towards a Christian or Saracenic origin for the whole structure both internally and externally.

Aaron died on the summit of Mount Hor (Num. xx. 28, xxxiii. 39), and we are led to infer he was buried there, though it is not so stated; and we have no details of his tomb which would lead us to suppose that anything existed there earlier than the Mahomedan Kubr that now crowns the hill over-

looking Petra, and it is at the same time extremely doubtful whether *that* is the Mount Hor where the High-Priest died.

Moses died in the plains of Moab (Deut. xxxiv. 6), and was buried there, "but no man knoweth his sepulchre to this day," which is a singular utterance, as being the only instance in the Old Testament of a sepulchre being concealed, or of one being admitted to be unknown.

Joshua was buried in his own inheritance in Timnath-Serah (Josh. xxiv. 30), and Samuel in his own house at Ramah (1 Sam. xxv. 1), an expression which we may probably interpret as meaning in the garden attached to his house, as it is scarcely probable it would be the dwelling itself. We know, however, so little of the feelings of the Jews of that age on the subject that it is by no means improqable but that it may have been in a chamber or loculus attached to the dwelling, and which, if closed by a stone carefully cemented into its place, would have prevented any annoyance from the circumstance. Joab (1 K. ii. 34) was also buried "in his own house in the wilderness." In fact it appears that from the time when Abraham established the burying-place of his family at Hebron till the time when David fixed that of his family in the city which bore his name, the Jewish rulers had no fixed or favourite place of sepulture. Each was buried on his own property, or where he died, without much caring either for the sanctity or convenience of the place chosen.

Tomb of the Kings.—Of the twenty-two kings of Judah who reigned at Jerusalem from 1048 to 590 B.C., eleven, or exactly one-half, were buried in one hypogeum in the "city of David." The names of the kings so lying together were David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Ahaziah, Amaziah, Jotham, Hezekiah, and Josiah, together with the good priest Jehoiada. Of all these it is merely said that they were buried in "the sepulchres of their fathers" or "of the kings" in the city of David, except of two—Asa and Hezekiah. Of the first it is said (2 Chr. xvi. 14), "they buried him in his own sepulchres which he had made for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed [loculus?], which was filled with sweet odours and divers spices prepared by the apothecaries' art, and they made a very great burning for him." It is not quite clear, however, from this, whether this applies to a new chamber attached to the older sepulchre, or to one entirely distinct, though in the same neighbourhood. Of Hezekiah it is said (2 Chr. xxxii. 33), they buried him in "the chiefest [or highest] of the sepulchres of the sons of David," as if there were several apartments in the hypogeum, though it may merely be that they excavated for him a chamber above the others, as we find frequently done in Jewish sepulchres.

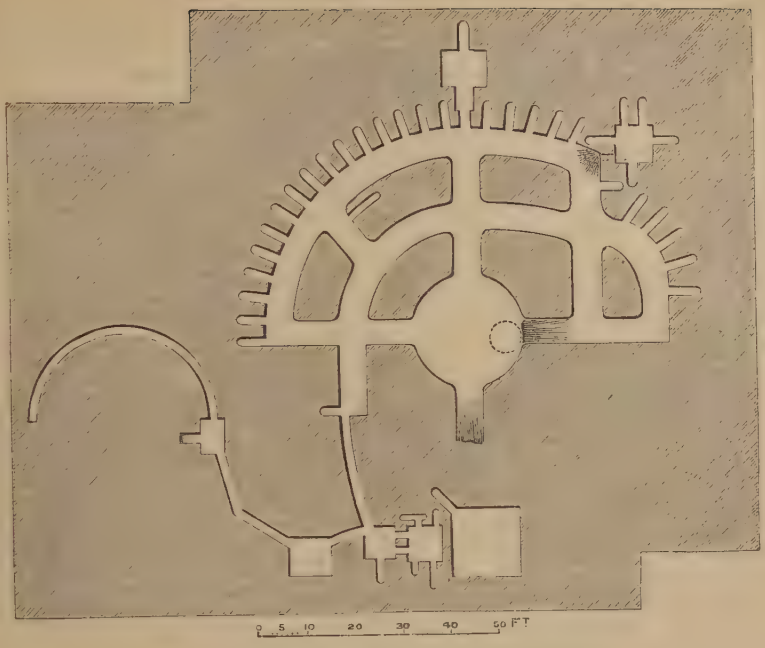
Two more of these kings (Jehoram and Joash) were buried also in the city of David, "but not in the sepulchres of the kings." The first because of the sore diseases of which he died (2 Chr. xxi. 20); the second apparently in consequence of his disastrous end (2 Chr. xxiv. 25); and one king, Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 23), was buried with his fathers in the "field of the burial of the kings," because he was a leper. All this evinces the extreme care the Jews took in the selection of the burying-places of their kings, and the importance they attached to the record. It should also be borne in mind that the highest honour which could be bestowed on the good priest Jehoiada (2 Chr. xxiv. 16) was that "they buried him in the city of David among the kings, because he had done good in Israel, both toward God and toward His House."

The passage in Nehemiah iii. 16, and in Ezekiel xliii. 7, 9, together with the reiterated assertion of the Books of Kings and Chronicles that these sepulchres were situated in the city of David, leave no doubt but that they were on Zion [see JERUSALEM], or the Eastern Hill, and in the immediate proximity of the Temple. They were in fact certainly within that enclosure now known as the "Haram Area;" but if it is asked on what exact spot, we must pause for further information before a reply can be given.

This area has been so altered by Roman, Christian, and Moslem, during the last eighteen centuries, that, till we can explore freely below the surface, much that is interesting must be hidden from us It is quite clear, however, that the spot was well known during the whole of the Jewish period, inasmuch as the sepulchres were again and again opened as each king died; and from the tradition that Hyrcanus and Herod opened these sepulchres (*Ant.* xiii. 8, §4; xvi. 7, §1). The accounts of these last openings are, it must be confessed, somewhat apocryphal, resting only on the authority of Josephus; but they prove at least that he considered there could be no difficulty in finding the place. It is very improbable, however, from what we know of the extreme simplicity of the Jewish sepulchral rites, that any large sum should have been buried in David's tomb, and have escaped not only the Persian invaders, but their own necessitous rulers in the time of their extremest need. It is much more probable that Hyrcanus borrowed the treasure of the Temple, and invented this excuse; whereas the story of Herod's descent is so like that told more than 1000 years afterwards, by Benjamin of Tudela, that both may be classed in the same category. It was a secret transaction, if it took place, regarding which rumour might fashion what wondrous tales it pleased, and no one could contradict them; but his having built a marble stelé (*Ant.* xvi. 7, §1) in front of the tomb may have been a fact within the cognisance of Josephus, and would at all events serve to indicate that the sepulchre was rock-cut, and its site well known.

So far as we can judge from this and other indications, it seems probable there was originally a natural cavern in the rock in this locality, which may afterwards have been improved by art, and in the sides of which loculi were sunk, in which the bodies of the eleven kings and of the good High-Priest were laid, without sarcophagi or coffin, but "wound in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury" (John xix. 40).

Besides the kings above enumerated, Manasseh was, according to the Book of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxiii. 20) buried in his own house, which the Book of Kings (2 K. xxi. 18) explains as the "garden of his own house, the garden of Uzza," where his son Amon was buried, also, it is said, in his own sepulchre (ver. 26), but we have nothing that would enable us to indicate where this was; and Ahaz, the wicked king, was, according to the Book of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxviii. 27) "buried in the city, even in Jerusalem, and they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel." The fact of these three last kings having been idolaters, though one reformed, and their having all three been buried apparently in the city, proves what importance the Jews attached to the locality of the sepulchre, but



No. 2.—Plan of the "Tombs of the Prophets." From De Saulcy.

also tends to show that burial within the city, or the enclosure of a dwelling, was not so repulsive to their feelings as is generally supposed. It is just possible that the rock-cut sepulchre under the western wall of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre may be the remains of such a cemetery as that in which the wicked kings were buried.

This, with many other cognate questions, must be relegated for further information; for up to the present time we have not been able to identify one single sepulchral excavation about Jerusalem which can be said with certainty to belong to a period anterior to that of the Maccabees, or, more correctly, to have been used for burial before the time of the Romans.

The only important hypogeum which is wholly Jewish in its arrangements, and may consequently belong to an earlier or to any epoch, is that known as the Tombs of the Prophets in the western flank of the Mount of Olives. It has every appearance of having originally been a natural cavern improved by art, and with an external gallery some 140 feet in extent, into which twenty-seven deep or Jewish loculi open. Other chambers and loculi have been commenced in other parts, and in the passages there are spaces where many other graves could have been located, all which would tend to show that it had been disused before completed, and consequently was very modern; but be this as it may, it has no architectural mouldings—no sarcophagi or shallow loculi, nothing to indicate a foreign origin, and may therefore be considered, if not an early, at least as the most essentially Jewish of the sepulchral excavations in this locality—every other important sepulchral excavation being adorned with architectural features and details betraying most unmistakeably their Greek or Roman origin, and fixing their date consequently as subsequent to that of the Maccabees; or in other words, like every other detail of pre-Christian architecture in Jerusalem, they belong to the 140 years that elapsed from the advent of Pompey till the destruction of the city by Titus.

Graeco-Roman Tombs.—Besides the tombs above enumerated, there are around Jerusalem, in the Valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat, and on the plateau to the north, a number of remarkable rock-cut sepulchres, with more or less architectural decoration, sufficient to enable us to ascertain that they are all of nearly the same age, and to assert with very tolerable confidence that the epoch to which they belong must be between the introduction of Roman influence and the destruction of the city by Titus. The proof of this would be easy if it were not that, like everything Jewish, there is a remarkable absence of inscriptions which can be assumed to be integral. The excavations in the Valley of Hinnom with Greek inscriptions are comparatively modern, the inscriptions being all of Christian import and of such a nature as to render it extremely doubtful whether the chambers were sepulchral at all, and not rather the dwellings of ascetics, and originally intended to be used for this purpose. These, however, are neither the most important nor the most architectural—indeed none of those in that valley are so remarkable as those in the other localities just enumerated. The most important of those in the Valley of Hinnom is that known as the "Retreat-place of the Apostles." It is an unfinished excavation of extremely late date, and many of the others look much more like the dwellings for the living than the resting-places of the dead.

In the village of Siloam there is a monolithic cell of singularly Egyptian aspect, which De Saulcy (*Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, ii. 306) assumes to be a chapel of Solomon's Egyptian wife It is

probably of very much more modern date, and is more Assyrian than Egyptian in character; but as he is probably quite correct in stating that it is not sepulchral, it is only necessary to mention it here in order that it may not be confounded with those that are so. It is the more worthy of remark as one of the great difficulties of the subject arises from travellers too readily assuming that every cutting in the rock must be sepulchral. It may be so in Egypt, but it certainly was not so at Cyrene or Petra, where many of the excavations were either temples or monastic establishments, and it certainly was not universally the case at Jerusalem, though our information is frequently too scanty to enable us always to discriminate exactly to which class the cutting in the rock may belong.

The principal remaining architectural sepulchres may be divided into three groups.

First, those existing in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and known popularly as the Tombs of Zechariah, of St. James, and of Absalom.

Second, those known as the Tombs of the Judges, and the so-called Jewish tomb about a mile north of the city.

Third, that known as the Tombs of the Kings, about half a mile north of the Damascus Gate.

Of the three first-named tombs the most southern

No. 3.—So-called "Tomb of Zechariah."

is known as that of Zechariah, a popular name which there is not even a shadow of tradition to justify. It consists of a square solid basement, measuring 18 feet 6 inches each way, and 20 feet high to the top of the cornice. On each face are four engaged Ionic columns between antae, and these are surmounted, not by an Egyptian cornice, as is usually asserted, but by one of purely Assyrian type, such as is found at Khorsabad (Woodcut No. 4). As the Ionic or voluted order came also from Assyria, this example is in

No. 4.—Section of Stylobate at Khorsabad.

fact a more pure specimen of the Ionic order than any found in Europe, where it was always used by the Greeks with a quasi-Doric cornice. Notwithstanding this, in the form of the volutes—the egg-and-dart moulding beneath, and every detail—it is so distinctly Roman that it is impossible to assume that it belongs to an earlier age than that of their influence.

Above the cornice is a pyramid rising at rather a sharp angle, and hewn like all the rest out of the solid rock. It may further be remarked that only the outward face, or that fronting Jerusalem, is completely finished, the other three being only blocked out (De Saulcy, ii. 303), a circumstance that would lead us to suspect that the works may have been interrupted by the fall of Jerusalem, or some such catastrophe, and this may possibly also account for there being no sepulchre on its rear, if such be really the case.

To call this building a tomb is evidently a misnomer, as it is absolutely solid—hewn out of the living rock by cutting a passage round it. It has no internal chambers, nor even the semblance of a doorway. From what is known of the explorations carried on by M. Renan about Byblus, we should expect that the tomb, properly so called, would be an excavation in the passage behind the monolith—but none such has been found, probably it was never looked for—and that this monolith is the stelé or indicator of that fact. If it is so, it is very singular, though very Jewish, that any one should take the trouble to carve out such a monument without putting an inscription or symbol on it to mark its destination or to tell in whose honour it was erected.

The other, or so-called Tomb of Absalom, figured in vol. i. p. 14, is somewhat larger, the base being about 21 feet square in plan, and probably 23 or 24

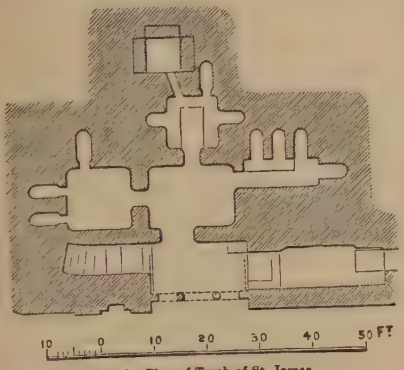
No. 5.—Angle of Tomb of Absalom. From De Saulcy.

to the top of the cornice. Like the other, it is of the Roman Ionic order, surmounted by a cornice of Ionic

type; but between the pillars and the cornice a frieze, unmistakeably of the Roman Doric order, is introduced, so Roman as to be in itself quite sufficient to fix its epoch. It is by no means clear whether it had originally a pyramidical top like its neighbour. The existence of a square blocking above the cornice would lead us to suspect it had not; at all events, either at the time of its excavation or subsequently, this was removed, and the present very peculiar termination erected, raising its height to over 60 feet. At the time this was done a chamber was excavated in the base, we must assume for sepulchral purposes, though how a body could be introduced through the narrow hole above the cornice is by no means clear, nor, if inserted, how disposed of in the two very narrow loculi that exist.

The great interest of this excavation is that immediately in rear of the monolith we do find just such a sepulchral cavern as we should expect. It is called the Tomb of Jehoshaphat, with about the same amount of discrimination as governed the nomenclature of the others, but is now closed by the rubbish and stones thrown by the pious at the Tomb of the Undutiful Son, and consequently its internal arrangements are unknown; but externally it is crowned by a pediment of considerable beauty, and in the same identical style as that of the Tombs of the Judges, mentioned further on—showing that these two at least are of the same age, and this one at least must have been subsequent to the excavation of the monolith; so that we may feel perfectly certain that the two groups are of one age, even if it should not be thought quite clear what that age may be.

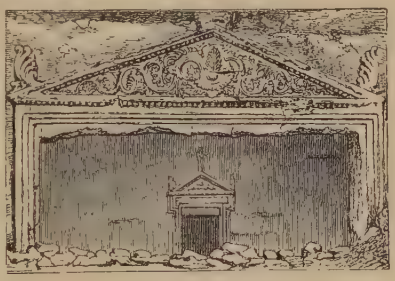
The third tomb of this group, called that of St. James, is situated between the other two, and is of



No. 6.—Plan of Tomb of St. James.

a very different character. It consists (see Plan) of a verandah with two Doric pillars in antis, which may be characterised as belonging to a very late Greek order rather than a Roman example. Behind this screen are several apartments, which in another locality we might be justified in calling a rock-cut monastery appropriated to sepulchral purposes, but in Jerusalem we know so little that it is necessary to pause before applying any such designation. In the rear of all is an apartment, apparently unfinished, with three shallow loculi meant for the reception of sarcophagi, and so indicating a post-Jewish date for the whole or at least for that part of the excavation.

The hypogeum known as the Tombs of the Judges is one of the most remarkable of the catacombs around Jerusalem, containing about sixty deep loculi, arranged in three storeys; the upper storeys with ledges in front to give convenient access, and to support the stones that closed them; the lower flush with the ground:[a] the whole, consequently, so essentially Jewish that it might be of any age if it were not for its distance from the town, and its architectural character. The latter, as before stated, is identical with that of the Tomb of Jehoshaphat, and has nothing Jewish about it. It might of course be difficult to prove this, as we know so little of what Jewish architecture really is; but we do know that the pediment is more essentially a Greek invention than any other part of their architecture, and was introduced at least not previously to the age of the Cypselidae, and this peculiar form not till long afterwards, and this particular example not till after an age when the debased Roman of the Tomb of Absalom had become possible.



No. 7.—Façade of the Tombs of the Judges.

The same remarks apply to the tomb without a name, and merely called "a Jewish Tomb," in this neighbourhood, with bevelled facets over its façade, but with late Roman Doric details at its angles, sufficient to indicate its epoch; but there is nothing else about these tombs requiring especial mention.

Tombs of Herod.—The last of the great groups enumerated above is that known as the Tombs of the Kings—*Kebûr es Sultan*—or the Royal Caverns, so called because of their magnificence, and also because that name is applied to them by Josephus, who in describing the third wall mentions them (*B. J.* v. 4, §2). He states that "the wall reached as far as the Tower Psephinus, and then extended till it came opposite the Monuments (*μνημείων*) of Helena. It then extended further to a great length till it passed by the Sepulchral Caverns of the Kings," &c. We have thus first the Tower Psephinus, the site of which is very tolerably ascertained on the ridge above the Pool *Birket Mamilla*; then the Monument of Helena, and then at some distance eastward these Royal Caverns.

They are twice again mentioned under the title of Ἡρῴδου *μνημείων*. First, when Titus, approaching from the north, ordered the ground to

[a] Pierotti, in his published Plan of Jerusalem, adds a sarcophagus chamber with shallow loculi, but as both Scales and De Saulcy omit this, it is probable the Italian is mistaken. Woodcut No. 1 is taken from his plan, but used as a diagram rather than as representing the exact facts of the case.

be cleared from Scopus—which is tolerably well known—up to those Monuments of Herod (*B. J.* v. 3, §2); and lastly in the description of the circumvallation (*B. J.* v. 12, §2), where they are mentioned after passing the Monument of Ananus and Pompey's Camp, evidently on the ridge where Psephinus afterwards stood, and on the north of the city.

These three passages refer so evidently to one and the same place, that no one would probably ever have doubted—especially when taken in conjunction with the architecture—but that these caverns were the tombs of Herod and his family, were it not for a curious contradiction of himself in the works of Josephus, which has led to considerable confusion. Herod died at Jericho, and the most probable account (*Ant.* xvii. 8, §3) would lead us to suppose (it is not so stated) that his body was brought to Jerusalem, where the funeral procession was formed on a scale and with a magnificence which would have been impossible at such a place as Jericho without long previous preparation; and it then goes on to say, "and so they went *eight stadia* to [the] Herodium, for there, by his own command, he was to be buried"—eight stadia, or one mile, being the exact distance between the royal palace and these tombs.

The other account (*B. J.* i. 33, §9) repeats the details of the procession, and nearly in the same words, but substitutes 200 for 8, which has led to the belief that he was buried at *Jebel Fureidis*, where he had erected a palace 60 stadia south of Jerusalem, and 170 from Jericho. Even then the procession must have passed through Jerusalem, and this hardly would have been the case without its being mentioned; but the great difficulty is that there is no hint anywhere else of Herod's intention to be buried there, and the most extreme improbability that he should wish to be interred so far from the city where all his predecessors were laid. Though it would be unpardonable to alter the text in order to meet any particular view, still when an author makes two statements in direct contradiction the one to the other, it is allowable to choose the most conformable with probability; and this, added to his assertion that Herod's Tombs were in this neighbourhood, seems to settle the question.

The architecture (Woodcut No. 8) exhibits the same ill-understood Roman Doric arrangements as

No. 8.—Façade of Herod's Tombs, from a Photograph.

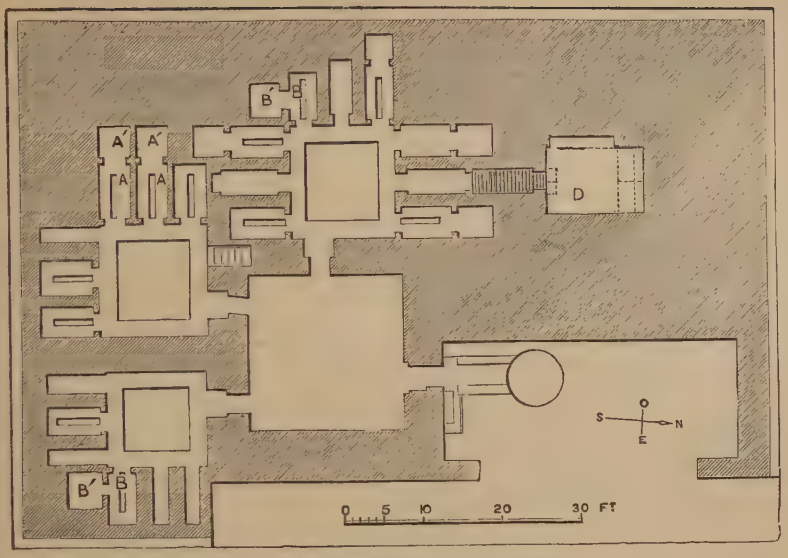
are found in all these tombs, mixed with bunches of grapes, which first appear on Maccabean coins, and foliage which is local and peculiar, and, so far as anything is known elsewhere, might be of any age. Its connexion, however, with that of the Tombs of Jehoshaphat and the Judges fixes it to the same epoch.

The entrance doorway of this tomb is below the level of the ground, and concealed, as far as anything can be said to be so which is so architecturally adorned; and it is remarkable as the only instance of this quasi-concealment at Jerusalem. It is closed by a very curious and elaborate contrivance of a rolling stone, often described, but very clumsily answering its purpose. This also is characteristic of its age, as we know from Pausanias that the structural marble monument of Queen Helena of Adiabene was remarkable for a similar piece of misplaced ingenuity. Within, the tomb consists of a vestibule or entrance-hall about 20 feet square, from which three other square apartments open, each surrounded by deep loculi. These again possess a peculiarity not known in any other tomb about Jerusalem, of having a square apartment either beyond the head of the loculus or on one side: as, for instance (Woodcut No. 9), A A have their inner chambers A′ A′ within, but B and B, at B′ B′, on one side. What the purpose of these was it is difficult to guess, but at all events it was not Jewish.

But perhaps the most remarkable peculiarity of the hypogeum is the sarcophagus chamber D, in which two sarcophagi were found, one of which was brought home by De Saulcy, and is now in the Louvre. It is of course quite natural that a Roman king who was buried with such Roman pomp should have adopted the Roman mode of sepulture; and if this and that of St. James are the only sarcophagi chambers at Jerusalem, this alone should settle the controversy; and all certainly tends to make it more and more probable that this was really the sepulchre of Herod.

If the sarcophagus now in the Louvre, which came from this chamber, is that of Herod, it is the most practical illustration that has yet come to light of a theory which has recently been forcing itself on the attention of antiquarians. According to this new view, it is not necessary that furniture, or articles which can be considered as such, *must always* follow the style of the architecture of the day. They must have done so always in Egypt, in Greece, or in the Middle Ages; but might have deviated from it at Rome, and may probably have done so at Jerusalem, among a people who had no art of their own, as was the case with the Jews. The discord in fact may not have been more offensive to them than the Louis Quatorze furniture is to us, with which we adorn our Classical and Gothic buildings with such cosmopolite impartiality. If this is so, the sarcophagus may have been made for Herod. If this hypothesis is not tenable, it may belong to any age from the time of the Maccabees to that of Justinian, most probably the latter, for it certainly is not Roman, and has no connexion with the architecture of these tombs.

Be this as it may, there seems no reason for doubting but that all the architectural tombs of Jerusalem belong to the age of the Romans, like everything that has yet been found either at Petra, Baalbec, Palmyra, or Damascus, or even among the stone cities of the Hauran. Throughout Syria, in fact, there is no important architectural example which is anterior to their day; and all the specimens which can be called Classical are strongly



No. 3.—Plan of Tombs of Herod. From De Saulcy.

marked with the impress of the peculiar forms of Roman art.

Tomb of Helena of Adiabene.—There was one other very famous tomb at Jerusalem, which cannot be passed over in silence, though not one vestige of it exists—for the simple reason, that though Queen Helena of Adiabene was converted to the Jewish faith, she had not so fully adopted Jewish feelings as to think it necessary she should be buried under ground. On the contrary, we are told that "she with her brother were buried in the pyramids which she had ordered to be constructed at a distance of three stadia from Jerusalem" (*Ant.* xx. 4, §3). This is confirmed by Pausanias (viii. 16), who, besides mentioning the marble door of very apocryphal mechanism which closed its entrance, speaks of it as a Τάφος in the same sense in which he understands the mausoleum at Halicarnassus to have been a structured tomb, which he could not have done if this were a cave, as some have supposed.

The specification of the locality by Josephus is so minute that we have no difficulty in ascertaining whereabouts the monument stood. It was situated outside the third wall, near a gate between the Tower Psephinus and the Royal Caverns (*B. J.* v. 22, and v. 4, §2). These last are perfectly known, and the tower with very tolerable approximate certainty, for it was placed on the highest point of the ridge between the hollow in which the Birket Mamilla is situated and the upper valley of the Kedron; they were consequently either exactly where marked on the plan in vol. i. p. 1018, or it may be a little more to the eastward.

They remained sufficiently entire in the 4th century to form a conspicuous object in the landscape, to be mentioned by Eusebius, and to be remarked by those who accompanied Sta. Paula (Euseb. ii. 12; Hieron. *Epitaph. Paulae*) on her journey to Jerusalem.

There is no difficulty in forming a tolerably distinct idea of what the appearance of this remarkable monument must have been, if we compare the words descriptive of it in the various authors who have mentioned it with the contemporary monuments in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. If we place together in a row three such monuments as the Tomb of Zechariah, or rather two such, with the monument of Absalom between them, we have such an edifice as will answer to the Pyramid of Josephus, the Taphos of Pausanias, the Stelés of Eusebius, or the Mausoleum of Jerome. But it need hardly be added, that not one of these expressions applies to an underground excavation. According to this view of the matter, the entrance would be under the Central Cippus, which would thus form the ante-room to the two lateral pyramids, in one of which Helena herself reposed, and in the other the remains of her brother.

Since the destruction of the city by Titus, none of the native inhabitants of Jerusalem have been in a position to indulge in much sepulchral magnificence, or perhaps had any taste for this class of display; and we in consequence find no rock-cut hypogea, and no structural monuments that arrest attention in modern times. The people, however, still cling to their ancient cemeteries in the Valley of Jehoshaphat with a tenacity singularly characteristic of the East. The only difference being, that the erection of the Wall of Agrippa, which now forms the eastern boundary of the Haram Area, has pushed the cemetery further towards the Kedron, or at least cut off the upper and nobler part of it. And the contraction of the city on the north has enabled the tombs to approach nearer the limits of the modern town than was the case in the days when Herod the Great and Helena of Adiabene were buried "on the sides of the north."

The only remarkable exception to this assertion is that splendid Mausoleum which Constantine erected over what he believed to be the Tomb of

Christ, and which still exists at Jerusalem, known to Moslems as the Dome of the Rock; to Christians as the Mosque of Omar.

The arguments for its authenticity have already been sufficiently insisted upon in the article JERUSALEM, in the first volume, and its general form and position shown in the woodcut, p. 1022. It will not, therefore, be necessary to go over this ground again. Externally its appearance was very much altered by the repairs of Suleiman the Magnificent, when the city had returned to the possession of the Moslems after the retreat of the Crusaders, and it has consequently lost much of its original Byzantine character; but internally it remains much as it was left by its founder; and is now—with the exception of a few Indian tombs—the most magnificent sepulchral monument in Asia, and is, as it ought to be, the most splendid Christian sepulchre in the world. [J. F.]

TONGUES, CONFUSION OF. The unity of the human race is most clearly implied, if not positively asserted, in the Mosaic writings. The general declaration, "So God created man in His own image, . . . male and female created He them" (Gen. i. 27), is limited as to the mode in which the act was carried out, by the subsequent narrative of the creation of the protoplast Adam, who stood alone on the earth amidst the beasts of the field, until it pleased Jehovah to create "an help meet for him" out of the very substance of his body (Gen. ii. 22). From this original pair sprang the whole antediluvian population of the world, and hence the author of the Book of Genesis conceived the unity of the human race to be of the most rigid nature—not simply a generic unity, nor again simply a specific unity (for unity of species may not be inconsistent with a plurality of original centres), but a specific based upon a numerical unity, the species being nothing else than the enlargement of the individual. Such appears to be the natural meaning of the first chapters of Genesis, when taken by themselves—much more so when read under the reflected light of the New Testament; for not only do we meet with references to the historical fact of such an origin of the human race—*e. g.* in St. Paul's declaration that God "hath made of one blood every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth"[a] (Acts xvii. 26)—but the same is evidently implied in the numerous passages which represent Jesus Christ as the counterpart of Adam in regard to the universality of His connection with the human race. Attempts have indeed been made to show that the idea of a plurality of original pairs is not inconsistent with the Mosaic writings; but there is a wide distinction between a view not inconsistent with, and a view drawn from, the words of the author: the latter is founded upon the facts he relates, as well as his mode of relating them; the former takes advantage of the weaknesses arising out of a concise or unmethodical style of composition. Even if such a view could be sustained in reference to the narrative of the original creation of man, it must inevitably fail in reference to the history of the repopulation of the world in the post-diluvian age; for whatever objections may be made to the historical accuracy of the history of the Flood, it is at all events clear that the historian believed in the universal destruction of the human race with the exception of Noah and his family, and consequently that the unity of the human race was once more reduced to one of a numerical character. To Noah the historian traces up the whole post-diluvian population of the world:—"These are the three sons of Noah: and of them was the whole earth overspread" (Gen. ix. 19).

Unity of language is assumed by the sacred historian apparently as a corollary of the unity of race. No explanation is given of the origin of speech, but its exercise is evidently regarded as coeval with the creation of man. No support can be obtained in behalf of any theory on this subject from the first recorded instance of its exercise ("Adam gave names to all cattle"), for the simple reason that this notice is introductory to what follows: "but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him" (Gen. ii. 20). It was not so much the intention of the writer to state the fact of man's power of speech, as the fact of the inferiority of all other animals to him, and the consequent necessity for the creation of woman. The proof of that inferiority is indeed most appropriately made to consist in the authoritative assignment of names, implying an act of reflection on their several natures and capacities, and a recognition of the offices which they were designed to fill in the economy of the world. The exercise of speech is thus most happily connected with the exercise of reflection, and the relationship between the inner act of the mind (λόγος ἐνδιάθετος) and the outward expression (λόγος προφορικός) is fully recognized. Speech being thus inherent in man as a reflecting being, was regarded as handed down from father to son by the same process of imitation, by which it is still perpetuated. Whatever divergences may have arisen in the antediluvian period, no notice is taken of them, inasmuch as their effects were obliterated by the universal catastrophe of the Flood. The original unity of speech was restored in Noah, and would naturally be retained by his descendants as long as they were held together by social and local bonds. Accordingly we are informed that for some time "the whole earth was of one lip and the same words" (Gen. xi. 1), *i. e.* both the vocal sounds and the vocables were identical—an exhaustive, but not, as in the A. V., a tautologous description of complete unity. Disturbing causes were, however, early at work to dissolve this twofold union of community and speech. The human family[b] endeavoured to check the tendency to separation by the establishment of a great central edifice, and a city which should serve as the metropolis of the whole world. They attempted to carry out this project in the wide plain of Babylonia, a locality admirably suited to such an object from the physical and geographical peculiarities of the country. The project was defeated by the interposition of Jehovah, who determined to "confound their language, so that they might not understand one another's speech." Contemporaneously with, and perhaps as the result of, this confusion

[a] The force of the Apostle's statement is inadequately given in the A.V., which gives "for to dwell" as the result, instead of the direct object of the principal verb.

[b] The project has been restricted by certain critics to the Hamites, or, at all events, to a mere section of the human race. This and various other questions arising out of the narrative are discussed by Vitringa in his *Observ. Sacr.* i. 1, §2-8; 6, §1-4. Although the restriction above noticed is not irreconcilable with the text, it interferes with the ulterior object for which the narrative was probably inserted, viz., to reconcile the manifest diversity of language with the idea of an original unity.

of tongues, the people were scattered abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth, and the memory of the great event was preserved in the name Babel (=confusion). The ruins of the tower are identified by M. Oppert, the highest authority on Babylonian antiquities, with the basement of the great mound of *Birs-Nimrûd*, the ancient Borsippa.[c]

Two points demand our attention in reference to this narrative, viz. the degree to which the confusion of tongues may be supposed to have extended, and the connection between the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of nations. (1.) It is unnecessary to assume that the judgment inflicted on the builders of Babel amounted to a loss, or even a suspension, of articulate speech. The desired object would be equally attained by a miraculous forestalment of those dialectical differences of language which are constantly in process of production, but which, under ordinary circumstances, require time and variations of place and habits to reach such a point of maturity that people are unable to understand one another's speech. The elements of the one original language may have remained, but so disguised by variations of pronunciation, and by the introduction of new combinations, as to be practically obliterated. Each section of the human family may have spoken a tongue unintelligible to the remainder, and yet containing a substratum which was common to all. Our own experience suffices to show how completely even dialectical differences render strangers unintelligible to one another; and if we further take into consideration the differences of habits and associations, of which dialectical differences are the exponents, we shall have no difficulty in accounting for the result described by the sacred historian. (2.) The confusion of tongues and the dispersion of nations are spoken of in the Bible as contemporaneous events. "So the Lord scattered them abroad" is stated as the execution of the Divine counsel, "Let us confound their language." The divergence of the various families into distinct tribes and nations ran parallel with the divergence of speech into dialects and languages, and thus the 10th chapter of Genesis is posterior in historical sequence to the events recorded in the 11th chapter. Both passages must be taken into consideration in any disquisition on the early fortunes of the human race. We propose therefore to inquire, in the first place, how far modern researches into the phenomena of language favour the idea that there was once a time when "the whole earth was of one speech and language;" and, in the second place, whether the ethnological views exhibited in the Mosaic table accord with the evidence furnished by history and language, both in regard to the special facts recorded in it, and in the general Scriptural view of a historical or, more properly, a gentilic unity of the human race. These questions, though independent, yet exercise a reflexive influence on each other's results. Unity of speech does not necessarily involve unity of race, nor yet *vice versâ*; but each enhances the probability of the other, and therefore the arguments derived from language, physiology, and history, may ultimately furnish a cumulative amount of probability which will fall but little below demonstration.

(A.) The advocate of the historical unity of language has to encounter two classes of opposing arguments; one arising out of the differences, the other out of the resemblances of existing languages. On the one hand, it is urged that the differences are of so decisive and specific a character as to place the possibility of a common origin wholly out of the question; on the other hand that the resemblances do not necessitate the theory of a historical unity, but may be satisfactorily accounted for on psychological principles. It will be our object to discuss the amount, the value, and the probable origin of the varieties exhibited by languages, with a view to meet the first class of objections. But before proceeding to this, we will make a few remarks on the second class, inasmuch as these, if established, would nullify any conclusion that might be drawn from the other.

A psychological unity is not necessarily opposed to a gentilic unity. It is perfectly open to any theorist to combine the two by assuming that the language of the one protoplast was founded on strictly psychological principles. But, on the other hand, a psychological unity does not necessitate a gentilic unity. It permits of the theory of a plurality of protoplasts, who under the influence of the same psychological laws arrived at similar independent results. Whether the phenomena of language are consistent with such a theory, we think extremely doubtful; certainly they cannot furnish the basis of it. The whole question of the origin of language lies beyond the pale of historical proof, and any theory connected with it admits neither of being proved nor disproved. We know, as a matter of fact, that language is communicated from one generation to another solely by force of imitation, and that there is no play whatever for the inventive faculty in reference to it. But in what manner the substance of language was originally produced, we do not know. No argument can be derived against the common origin from analogies drawn from the animal world, and when Professor Agassiz compares similarities of language with those of the cries of animals (v. Bohlen's *Introd. to Gen.* ii. 278), he leaves out of consideration the important fact that language is not identical with sound, and that the words of a rational being, however originally produced, are perpetuated in a manner wholly distinct from that whereby animals learn to utter their cries. Nor does the internal evidence of language itself reveal the mystery of its origin; for though a very large number of words may be referred either directly or mediately to the principle of onomatopoeia, there are others, as, for instance, the first and second personal pronouns, which do not admit of such an explanation. In short, this and other similar theories cannot be reconciled with the intimate connexion evidently existing between reason and speech, and which is so well expressed in the Greek language by the application of the term λόγος to each, reason being nothing else than inward speech, and speech nothing else than outward reason, neither of them possessing an independent existence without the other. As we conceive that the psychological, as opposed to the gentilic, unity involves questions connected with the origin of language, we can only say that in this respect it falls outside the range of our inquiry.

Reverting to the other class of objections, we proceed to review the extent of the differences observable in the languages of the world, in order to ascertain whether they are such as to preclude the possibility of a common origin. Such a review must necessarily be imperfect, both from the mag-

[c] See the Appendix to this article.

nitude of the subject, and also from the position of the linguistic science itself, which as yet has hardly advanced beyond the stage of infancy. On the latter point we would observe that the most important links between the various language families may yet be discovered in languages that are either unexplored, or, at all events, unplaced. Meanwhile, no one can doubt that the tendency of all linguistic research is in the direction of unity. Already it has brought within the bonds of a well established relationship languages so remote from each other in external guise, in age, and in geographical position as Sanscrit and English, Celtic and Greek. It has done the same for other groups of languages equally widely extended, but presenting less opportunities of investigation. It has recognised affinities between languages which the ancient Greek ethnologist would have classed under the head of "barbarian" in reference to each other, and even in many instances where the modern philologist has anticipated no relationship. The lines of discovery therefore point in one direction, and favour the expectation that the various families may be combined by the discovery of connecting links into a single family, comprehending in its capacious bosom all the languages of the world. But should such a result never be attained, the probability of a common origin would still remain unshaken; for the failure would probably be due to the absence, in many classes and families, of that chain of historical evidence, which in the case of the Indo-European and Shemitic families enables us to trace their progress for above 3000 years. In many languages no literature at all, in many others no ancient literature exists, to supply the philologist with materials for comparative study: in these cases it can only be by laborious research into existing dialects, that the original forms of words can be detected amidst the incrustations and transmutations with which time has obscured them.

In dealing with the phenomena of language, we should duly consider the plastic nature of the material out of which it is formed, and the numerous influences to which it is subject. Variety in unity is a general law of nature, to which even the most stubborn physical substances yield a ready obedience. In the case of language it would be difficult to lay any bounds to the variety which we might *à priori* expect it to assume. For in the first place it is brought into close contact with the spirit of man, and reflects with amazing fidelity its endless variations, adapting itself to the expression of each feeling, the designation of each object, the working of each cast of thought or stage of reasoning power. Secondly, its sounds are subject to external influences, such as peculiarities of the organ of speech, the result either of natural conformation, of geographical position, or of habits of life and associations of an accidental character. In the third place, it is generally affected by the state of intellectual and social culture of a people, as manifested more especially in the presence or absence of a standard literary dialect, and in the processes of verbal and syntactical structure, which again react on the very core of the word, and produce a variety of soundmutations. Lastly, it is subjected to the wear and tear of time and use, obliterating, as in an old coin, the original impress of the word, reducing it in bulk, producing new combinations, and occasionally leading to singular interchanges of sound and idea. The varieties, resulting from the modifying influences above enumerated, may be reduced to two classes, according as they affect the formal or the radical elements of language. On each of these subjects we propose to make a few remarks.

I. Widely as languages now differ from each other in external form, the raw material (if we may use the expression) out of which they have sprung appears to have been in all cases the same. A substratum of significant monosyllabic roots underlies the whole structure, supplying the materials necessary not only for ordinary predication, but also for what is usually termed the "growth" of language out of its primary into its more complicated forms. It is necessary to point this out clearly in order that we may not be led to suppose that the elements of one language are in themselves endued with any greater vitality than those of another. Such a distinction, if it existed, would go far to prove a specific difference between languages, which could hardly be reconciled with the idea of their common origin. The appearance of vitality arises out of the manipulation of the roots by the human mind, and is not inherent in the roots themselves.

The proofs of this original equality are furnished by the languages themselves. Adopting for the present the threefold morphological classification into isolating, agglutinative, and inflecting languages, we shall find that no original element exists in the one which does not also exist in the other. With regard to the isolating class, the terms "monosyllabic" and "radical," by which it is otherwise described, are decisive as to its character. Languages of this class are wholly unsusceptible of grammatical mutations: there is no formal distinction between verb and noun, substantive and adjective, preposition and conjunction: there are no inflections, no case- or person-terminations of any kind: the bare root forms the sole and whole substance of the language. In regard to the other two classes, it is necessary to establish the two distinct points, (1) that the formal elements represent roots, and (2) that the roots both of the formal and the radical elements of the word are monosyllabic. Now, it may be satisfactorily proved by analysis that all the component parts of both inflecting and agglutinative languages are reducible to two kinds of roots, predicable and pronominal; the former supplying the material element of verbs, substantives, and adjectives, the latter that of conjunctions, prepositions, and particles; while each kind, but more particularly the pronominal, supply the formal element, or, in other words, the terminations of verbs, substantives, and adjectives. The full proofs of these assertions would involve nothing less than a treatise on comparative grammar: we can do no more than adduce in the accompanying note a few illustrations of the various points to which we have adverted.[d] Whether the two classes

[d] 1. That prepositions are reducible to pronominal roots may be illustrated by the following instances. The Greek *ἀπό*, with its cognates the German *ab* and our *of*, is derived from the demonstrative base *a*, whence also the Sanscrit *ápa* (Bopp, §1000); *πρό* and *παρά* are akin to the Sansc. *prá* and *párâ*, secondary formations of the above mentioned *ápa* (Bopp, §1009). The only preposition which appears to spring from a predicable base is *trans*, with its cognates *durch* and *through*, which are referred to the verbal root *tar* (Bopp, 1018).

2. That conjunctions are similarly reducible may be illustrated by the familiar instances of ὅτι, *quod*, and "that," indifferently used as pronouns or conjunctions. The Latin *si* is connected with the pronoun *si-bi* and *ei*,

of roots, predicable and pronominal, are further reducible to one class, is a point that has been discussed, but has not as yet been established (Bopp's *Compar. Gram.* §105; Max Müller's *Lectures*, p. 269). We have further to show that the roots of agglutinative and inflecting languages are monosyllabic. This is an acknowledged characteristic of the Indo-European family; monosyllabism is indeed the only feature which its roots have in common; in other respects they exhibit every kind of variation from a uniliteral root, such as *i* (*ire*), up to combinations of five letters, such as *scand* (*scandere*), the total number of admissible forms of root amounting to no less than eight (Schleicher, §206). In the Shemitic family monosyllabism is not a *primâ facie* characteristic of the root: on the contrary, the verbal[e] stems exhibit bisyllabism with such remarkable uniformity, that it would lead to the impression that the roots also must have been bisyllabic. The bisyllabism, however, of the Shemitic stem is in reality triconsonantalism, the vowels not forming any part of the essence of the root, but being wholly subordinate to the consonants. It is at once apparent that a triconsonantal and even a quadriconsonantal root may be in certain combinations unisyllabic. But further, it is more than probable that the triconsonantal has been evolved out of a biconsonantal root, which must necessarily be unisyllabic if the consonants stand, as they invariably do in Shemitic roots, at the beginning and end of the word. With regard to the agglutinative class, it may be assumed that the same law which we have seen to prevail in the isolating and inflecting classes, prevails also in this, holding as it does an intermediate place between those opposite poles in the world of language.

From the consideration of the crude materials of language, we pass on to the varieties exhibited in its structure, with a view to ascertain whether in these there exists any bar to the idea of an original unity. (1.) Reverting to the classification already noticed, we have to observe, in the first place, that the principle on which it is based is the nature of the connection existing between the predicable and the relational or inflectional elements of a word. In the isolating class these two are kept wholly distinct: relational ideas are expressed by juxtaposition or by syntactical arrangement, and not by any combination of the roots. In the agglutinative class the relational elements are attached to the principal or predicable theme by a mechanical kind of junction, the individuality of each being preserved even in the combined state. In the inflecting class the junction is of a more perfect character, and may be compared to a chemical combination, the predicable and relational elements being so fused together as to present the appearance of a single and indivisible word. It is clear that there exists no insuperable barrier to original unity in these differences, from the simple fact that every inflecting language must once have been agglutinative, and every agglutinative language once isolating. If the predicable and relational elements of an isolating language be linked together, either to the eye or the ear, it is rendered agglutinative; if the material and formal parts are pronounced as one word, eliminating, if necessary, the sounds that resist incorporation, the language becomes inflecting. (2.) In the second place, it should be noted that these three classes are not separated from each other by any sharp line of demarcation. Not only does each possess in a measure the quality predominant in each other, but moreover each graduates into its neighbour through its bordering members. The isolating languages are not wholly isolating: they avail themselves of certain words as relational particles, though these still retain elsewhere their independent character: they also use composite, though not strictly compound words. The agglutinative are not wholly agglutinative: the Finnish and Turkish classes of the Ural-Altaian family are in certain instances inflectional, the relational adjunct being fully incorporated with the predicable stem, and having undergone a large amount of attrition for that purpose. Nor again are the inflectional languages wholly inflectional: Hebrew, for instance, abounds with agglutinative forms, and also avails itself largely of separate particles for the expression of relational ideas: our own language, though classed as inflectional, retains nothing more than the vestiges of inflection, and is in many respects as isolating and juxtapositional as

together with the Sansc. *yâdi*, with the relative base *ya* (Bopp, §994).

3. That the suffixes forming the inflections of verbs and nouns are nothing else than the relics of either predicable or pronominal roots, will appear from the following instances, drawn (1) from the Indo-European languages, and (2) from the Ural-Altaian languages. (1) The *-μι* in *δίδωμι* is connected with the root whence spring the oblique cases of the personal pronoun *ἐγώ*; the *-σ* in *δίδως* is the remains of *σύ*; and the *τ* in *ἐστί* (for which an *σ* is substituted in *δίδωσι*) represents the Sanscrit *ta*, which reappears in *αὐτός* and in the oblique cases of the article (Bopp, §§434, 443, 456). So again, the *-σ* in the nominative *λόγος* represents the Sanscrit pronominal root *sa*, and the *-d* of the neuter *quid* the Sanscrit *ta* (Schleicher's *Compend.* §246); the genitive terminations *-ος*, *-οιο* (originally *-οσοιο*), and hence *-ου* = the Sanscrit *sya*, another form of *sa* (Schleicher, §252); the dative (or more properly the locative) *-ῳ* or *-οι* is referable to the demonstrative root *i* (Schleicher, §254); and the accusative *-ν* (originally *-μ*) to a pronominal case probably *am*, which no longer appears in its simple form (Schleicher, §249). (2) In the Ural-Altaian languages, we find that the terminations of the verbs gerunds, and participles are referable to significant roots; as in Turkish the active affix *t* or *d* to a root signifying "to do" (Ewald, *Sprachw. Abh.* ii. 27), and in Hungarian the factitive affix *t* to *te*, "to do," the passive affix *l* to *le*, "to become;" the affix of possibility *hao* to *hat*, "to work" &c. (Pulszky, in *Philol. Trans.* 1859, p. 115).

[e] Monosyllabic substantives are not unusual in Hebrew, as instanced in אָב, בֵּן, &c. It is unnecessary to regard these as truncated forms from bisyllabic roots.

[f] That the Shemitic languages ever actually existed in a state of monosyllabism is questioned by Renan, partly because the surviving monosyllabic languages have never emerged from their primitive condition, and partly because he conceives synthesis and complexity to be anterior in the history of language to analysis and simplicity (*Hist. Gén.* i. 98-100). The first of these objections is based upon the assumption that languages are developed only in the direction of syntheticism; but this, as we shall hereafter show, is not the only possible form of development, and it is just because the monosyllabic languages have adopted another method of perfecting themselves, that they have remained in their original stage. The second objection seems to involve a violation of the natural order of things, and to be inconsistent with the evidence afforded by language itself; for, though there is undoubtedly a tendency in language to pass from the synthetical to the analytical state, it is no less clear from the elements of synthetic forms that they must have originally existed in an analytical state.

ny language of that class. While, therefore, the classification holds good with regard to the predominant characters of the classes, it does not imply differences of a specific nature. (3.) But further, the morphological varieties of language are not confined to the exhibition of the single principle hitherto described. A comparison between the westerly branches of the Ural-Altaian on the one hand, and the Indo-European on the other, belonging respectively to the agglutinative and inflectional classes, will show that the quantitative amount of synthesis is fully as prominent a point of contrast as the qualitative. The combination of primary and subordinate terms may be more perfect in the Indo-European, but it is more extensively employed in the Ural-Altaian family. The former, for instance, appends to its verbal stems the notions of time, number, person, and occasionally of interrogation; the latter further adds suffixes indicative of negation, hypothesis, causativeness, reflexiveness, and other similar ideas, whereby the word is built up tier on tier to a marvellous extent. The former appends to its substantival stems suffixes of case and number; the latter adds governing particles, rendering them post-positional instead of pre-positional, and combining them synthetically with the predicable stem. If, again, we compare the Shemitic with the Indo-European languages, we shall find a morphological distinction of an equally diverse character. In the former the grammatical category is expressed by internal vowel-changes, in the latter by external suffixes. So marked a distinction has not unnaturally been constituted the basis of a classification, wherein the languages that adopt this system of internal flection stand by themselves as a separate class, in contradistinction to those which either use terminational additions for the same purpose, or which dispense wholly with inflectional forms (Bopp's *Comp. Gr.* i. 102). The singular use of preformatives in the Coptic language is, again, a morphological peculiarity of a very decided character. And even within the same family, say the Indo-European, each language exhibits an idiosyncrasy in its morphological character, whereby it stands out apart from the other members with a decided impress of individuality. The inference to be drawn from the number and character of the differences we have noticed, is favourable, rather than otherwise, to the theory of an original unity. Starting from the same common ground of monosyllabic roots, each language-family has carried out its own special line of development, following an original impulse, the causes and nature of which must remain probably for ever a matter of conjecture. We can perceive, indeed, in a general way, the adaptation of certain forms of speech to certain states of society. The agglutinative languages, for instance, seem to be specially adapted to the nomadic state by the prominence and distinctness with which they enunciate the leading idea in each word, an arrangement whereby communication would be facilitated between tribes or families that associate only at intervals. We might almost imagine that these languages derived their impress of uniformity and solidity from the monotonous steppes of Central Asia, which have in all ages formed their proper habitat. So, again, the inflectional class reflects cultivated thought and social organisation, and its languages have hence been termed "state" or "political." Monosyllabism, on the other hand, is pronounced to be suited to the most primitive stage of thought and society, wherein the family or the individual is the standard by which things are regulated (Max Müller, in *Philos. of Hist.* i. 285). We should hesitate, however, to press this theory as furnishing an adequate explanation of the differences observable in language-families. The Indo-European languages attained their high organisation amid the same scenes and in the same nomad state as those wherein the agglutinative languages were nurtured, and we should be rather disposed to regard both the language and the higher social status of the former as the concurrent results of a higher mental organisation.

If from words we pass on to the varieties of syntactical arrangement, the same degree of analogy will be found to exist between class and class, or between family and family in the same class; in other words, no peculiarity exists in one which does not admit of explanation by a comparison with others. The absence of all grammatical forms in an isolating language necessitates a rigid collocation of the words in a sentence according to logical principles. The same law prevails to a very great extent in our own language, wherein the subject, verb, and object, or the subject, copula, and predicate, generally hold their relative positions in the order exhibited, the exceptions to such an arrangement being easily brought into harmony with that general law. In the agglutinative languages the law of arrangement is that the principal word should come last in the sentence, every qualifying clause or word preceding it, and being as it were sustained by it. The syntactical is thus the reverse of the verbal structure, the principal notion taking the precedence in the latter (Ewald, *Sprachw. Abh.* ii. 29). There is in this nothing peculiar to this class of languages, beyond the greater uniformity with which the arrangement is adhered to: it is the general rule in the classical, and the occasional rule in certain of the Teutonic languages. In the Shemitic family the reverse arrangement prevails: the qualifying adjectives follow the noun to which they belong, and the verb generally stands first: short sentences are necessitated by such a collocation, and hence more room is allowed for the influence of emphasis in deciding the order of the sentence. In illustration of grammatical peculiarities, we may notice that in the agglutinative class adjectives qualifying substantives, or substantives placed in apposition with substantives, remain undeclined: in this case the process may be compared with the formation of compound words in the Indo-European languages, where the final member alone is inflected. So again the omission of a plural termination in nouns following a numeral may be paralleled with a similar usage in our own language, where the terms "pound" or "head" are used collectively after a numeral. We may again cite the peculiar manner of expressing the genitive in Hebrew. This is effected by one of the two following methods—placing the governing noun in the *status constructus*, or using the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר with a preposition before the governed case. The first of these processes appears a strange inversion of the laws of language; but an examination into the origin of the adjuncts, whether prefixes or affixes, used in other languages for the indication of the genitive, will show that they have a more intimate connection with the governing than with the governed word, and that they are generally resolvable into either relative or personal pronouns

אֲשֶׁר לְ

which serve the simple purpose of connecting the two words together (Garnett's *Essays*, pp. 214-227). The same end may be gained by connecting the words in pronunciation, which would lead to a rapid utterance of the first, and consequently to the changes which are witnessed in the *status constructus*. The second or periphrastic process is in accordance with the general method of expressing the genitive; for the expression "the Song which is to Solomon" strictly answers to "Solomon's Song," the *s* representing (according to Bopp's explanation) a combination of the demonstrative *sa* and the relative *ya*. It is thus that the varieties of construction may be shown to be consistent with unity of law, and that they therefore furnish no argument against a common origin.

Lastly, it may be shown that the varieties of language do not arise from any constitutional inequality of vital energy. Nothing is more remarkable than the compensating power apparently inherent in all language, whereby it finds the means of reaching the level of the human spirit through a faithful adherence to its own guiding principle. The isolating languages, being shut out from the manifold advantages of verbal composition, attain their object by multiplied combinations of radical sounds, assisted by an elaborate system of accentuation and intonation. In this manner the Chinese language has framed a vocabulary fully equal to the demands made upon it; and though this mode of development may not commend itself to our notions as the most effective that can be devised, yet it plainly evinces a high susceptibility on the part of the linguistic faculty, and a keen perception of the correspondence between sound and sense. Nor does the absence of inflection interfere with the expression even of the most delicate shades of meaning in a sentence; a compensating resource is found partly in a multiplicity of subsidiary terms expressive of plurality, motion, action, &c., and partly in strict attention to syntactical arrangement. The agglutinative languages, again, are deficient in compound words, and in this respect lack the elasticity and expansiveness of the Indo-European family; but they are eminently synthetic, and no one can fail to admire the regularity and solidity with which its words are built up, suffix on suffix, and, when built up, are suffused with an uniformity of tint by the law of vowel-harmony.[h] The Shemitic languages have worked out a different principle of growth, evolved, not improbably, in the midst of a conflict between the systems of prefix and suffix, whereby the stem, being as it were enclosed at both extremities, was precluded from all external increment, and was forced back into such changes as could be effected by a modification of its vowel sounds. But whatever may be the origin of the system of internal inflection, it must be conceded that the results are very effective, as regards both economy of material, and simplicity and dignity of style.

The result of the foregoing observations is to show that the formal varieties of language present no obstacle to the theory of a common origin. Amid these varieties there may be discerned manifest tokens of unity in the original material out of which language was formed, in the stages of formation through which it has passed, in the general principle of grammatical expression, and, lastly, in the spirit and power displayed in the development of these various formations. Such a result, though it does not prove the unity of language in respect to its radical elements, nevertheless tends to establish the *à priori* probability of this unity; for if all connected with the forms of language may be referred to certain general laws, if nothing in that department owes its origin to chance or arbitrary appointment, it surely favours the presumption that the same principle would extend to the formation of the roots, which are the very core and kernel of language. Here too we might expect to find the operation of fixed laws of some kind or other, producing results of an uniform character; here too actual variety may not be inconsistent with original unity.

II. Before entering on the subject of the radical identity of languages, we must express our conviction that the time has not yet arrived for a decisive opinion as to the possibility of establishing it by proof. Let us briefly review the difficulties that beset the question. Every word as it appears in an organic language, whether written or spoken, is resolvable into two distinct elements, which we have termed predicable and formal, the first being what is commonly called the root, the second the grammatical termination. In point of fact both of these elements consist of independent roots; and in order to prove the radical identity of two languages, it must be shown that they agree in both respects, that is, in regard both to the predicable and the formal roots. As a matter of experience it is found that the formal elements, consisting for the most part of pronominal bases, exhibit a greater tenacity of life than the others; and hence agreement of inflectional forms is justly regarded as furnishing a strong presumption of general radical identity. Even foreign elements are forced into the formal mould of the language into which they are adopted, and thus bear testimony to the original character of that language. But though such a formal agreement supplies the philologist with a most valuable instrument of investigation, it cannot be accepted as a substitute for complete radical agreement: this would still remain to be proved by an independent examination of the predicable elements. The difficulties connected with these latter are many and varied. Assuming that two languages or language-families are under comparison, the phonological laws of each must be investigated in order to arrive, in the first place, at the primary forms of words in the language in which they occur, and, in the second place, at the corresponding forms in the language which constitutes the [i] other member of com-

[h] The action of this law is as follows:—The vowels are divided into three classes, which we may term sharp, medial, and flat: the first and the last cannot be combined in any fully formed word, but all the vowels must be either of the two first, or of the two last classes. The suffixes must always accord with the root in regard to the quality of its vowel-sounds, and hence the necessity of having double forms for all the suffixes to meet the sharp or the flat character of the root. The practice is probably referable to the same principle which assigned so remarkable a prominence to the root. As the root sustains the series of suffixes, its vowel-sound becomes not unnaturally the key-note of the whole strain, facilitating the processes of utterance to the speaker, and of perception to the hearer, and communicating to the word the uniformity which is so characteristic of the whole structure of these languages.

[i] Grimm was the first to discover a regular system of displacement of sounds (*lautverschiebung*) pervading the Gothic and Low German languages as compared with Greek and Latin. According to this system, the Gothic substitutes aspirates for tenues (*h* for Gr *k* or Lat. *c*, *th*

parison, as done by Grimm for the Teutonic as compared with the Sanscrit and the classical languages. The genealogy of sound, as we may term it, must be followed up by a genealogy of signification, a mere outward accordance of sound and sense in two terms being of no value whatever, unless a radical affinity be proved by an independent examination of the cognate words in each case. It still remains to be inquired how far the ultimate accordance of sense and sound may be the result of onomatopoeia,[k] of mere borrowing, or of a possible mixture of languages on equal terms. The final stage in etymological inquiry is to decide the limit to which comparison may be carried in the primitive strata of language—in other words, how far roots, as ascertained from groups of words, may be compared with roots, and reduced to yet simpler elementary forms. Any flaw in the processes above described will of course invalidate the whole result. Even where the philologist is provided with ample materials for inquiry in stores of literature ranging over long periods of time, much difficulty is experienced in making good each link in the chain of agreement; and yet in such cases the dialectic varieties have been kept within some degree of restraint by the existence of a literary language, which, by impressing its authoritative stamp on certain terms, has secured both their general use and their external integrity. Where no literature exists, as is the case with the general mass of languages in the world, the difficulties are infinitely increased by the combined effects of a prolific growth of dialectic forms, and an absence of all means of tracing out their progress. Whether under these circumstances we may reasonably expect to establish a radical unity of language, is a question which each person must decide for himself. Much may yet be done by a larger induction and a scientific analysis of languages that are yet comparatively unknown. The tendency hitherto has been to enlarge the limits of a "family" according as the elements of affinity have been recognised in outlying members. These limits may perchance be still more enlarged by the discovery of connecting links between the language-families, whereby the criteria of relationship will be modified, and new elements of internal unity be discovered amid the manifold appearances of external diversity.

Meanwhile we must content ourselves with stating the present position of the linguistic science in reference to this important topic. In the first place the Indo-European languages have been reduced to an acknowledged and well-defined relationship: they form one of the two families included under the head of "inflectional" in the morphological classification. The other family in this class is the (so-called) Shemitic, the limits of which are not equally well defined, inasmuch as it may be extended over what are termed the sub-Shemitic languages, including the Egyptian or Coptic. The criteria of the proper Shemitic family (*i. e.* the Aramean, Hebrew, Arabic, and Ethiopic languages) are distinctive enough; but the connexion between the Shemitic and the Egyptian is not definitely established. Some philologists are inclined to claim for the latter an independent position, intermediate between the Indo-European and Shemitic families (Bunsen's *Phil. of Hist.* i. 185, ff.). The agglutinative languages of Europe and Asia are combined by Prof. M. Müller in one family named "Turanian." It is conceded that the family bond in this case is a loose one, and that the agreement in roots is very partial (*Lectures*, pp. 290-292). Many philologists of high standing, and more particularly Pott (*Ungleich. Mensch. Rassen*, p. 232), deny the family relationship altogether, and break up the agglutinative languages into a great number of families. Certain it is that within the Turanian circle there are languages, such, for instance, as the Ural-Altaian, which show so close an affinity to each other as to be entitled to form a separate division, either as a family or a subdivision of a family: and this being the case, we should hesitate to put them on a parity of footing with the remainder of the Turanian languages. The Caucasian group again differs so widely from the other members of the family as to make the relationship very dubious. The monosyllabic languages of south-eastern Asia are not included in the Turanian family by Prof. M. Müller (*Lect.* pp. 290, 326), apparently on the ground that they are not agglutinative; but as the Chinese appears to be connected radically with the Burmese (Humboldt's *Verschied.* p. 368), with the Tibetan (*Ph. of Hist.* i. 393-395), and with the Ural-Altaian languages (Schott in *Abh. Ab. Berl.* 1861, p. 172), it seems to have a good title to be placed in the Turanian family. With regard to the American and the bulk of the African languages, we are unable to say whether they can be brought under any of the heads already mentioned, or whether they stand by themselves as distinct families. The former are referred by writers of high eminence to an Asiatic or Turanian origin (Bunsen, *Phil. of Hist.* ii. 111; Latham's *Man*

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for *t*, and *f* for *p*); tenues for medials (*t* for *d*, *p* for *b*, and *k* for *g*); and medials for aspirates (*g* for Gr. *ch* or Lat. *h*, *d* for Gr. *th*, and *b* for Lat. *f* or Gr. *ph*) (*Gesch. Deuts. Spr.* i. 393). We may illustrate the changes by comparing *heart* with *cor* or *καρδία*; *thou* with *tu*; *five* with *πέμπε* (*πέντε*), or *father* with *pater*; *two* with *duo*; *knee* with *γόνυ*; *goose* with *χήν*; *dare* with *θαρσέω*; *bear* with *fero* or *φέρω*. What has thus been done for the Teutonic languages, has been carried out by Schleicher in his *Compendium* for each class of the Indo-European family.

It is a delicate question to decide whether in any given language the onomatopoëtic words that may occur are original or derived. Numerous coincidences of sound and sense occur in different languages to which little or no value is attached by etymologists on the ground that they are onomatopoëtic. But evidently these may have been handed down from generation to generation, and from language to language, and may have as true a genealogy as any other terms not bearing that character.

For instance, the Hebrew *lâ'a* (לָעַע) expresses in its very sound the notion of *swallowing* or *gulping*, the word consisting, as Renan has remarked (*H. G.* i. 460), of a lingual and a guttural, representing respectively the tongue and the throat, which are chiefly engaged in the operation of swallowing. In the Indo-European languages we meet with a large class of words containing the same elements and conveying, more or less, the same meaning, such as *λείχω*, *λιχμάω*, *ligurio*, *lingua*, *gula*, "lick," and others. These words may have had a common source, but, because they are onomatopoëtic in their character, they are excluded as evidence of radical affinity. This exclusion may be carried too far, though it is difficult to point out where it should stop. But even onomatopoëtic words bear a specific character, and the names given in imitation of the notes of birds differ materially in different languages, apparently from the perception of some subtle analogy with previously existing sounds or ideas. The subject is one of great interest, and may yet play an important part in the history of language.

and his Migrat. p. 186); the latter to the Shemitic family (Latham, p. 148).

The problem that awaits solution is whether the several families above specified can be reduced to a single family by demonstrating their radical identity. It would be unreasonable to expect that this identity should be coextensive with the vocabularies of the various languages; it would naturally be confined to such ideas and objects as are common to mankind generally. Even within this circle the difficulty of proving the identity may be infinitely enhanced by the absence of materials. There are indeed but two families in which these materials are found in anything like sufficiency, viz. the Indo-European and the Shemitic, and even these furnish us with no historical evidence as to the earlier stages of their growth. We find each, at the most remote literary period, already exhibiting its distinctive character of stem- and word-formation, leaving us to infer, as we best may, from these phenomena the processes by which they had reached that point. Hence there arises abundance of room for difference of opinion, and the extent of the radical identity will depend very much on the view adopted as to these earlier processes. If we could accept in its entirety the system of etymology propounded by the analytical school of Hebrew scholars, it would not be difficult to establish a very large amount of radical identity; but we cannot regard as established the prepositional force of the initial letters, as stated by Delitzsch in his *Jeshurun* (pp. 166, 173, note), still less the correspondence between these and the initial letters of Greek and Latin words[m] (pp. 170-172). The striking uniformity of bisyllabism in the verbal stems is explicable only on the assumption that a single principle underlies the whole; and the existence of groups[n] of words differing slightly in form, and having the same radical sense, leads to the presumption that this principle was one not of composition, but of euphonism and practical convenience. This presumption is still further favoured by an analysis of the letters forming the stems, showing that the third letter is in many instances a reduplication, and in others a liquid, a nasal, or a sibilant, introduced either as the initial, the medial, or the final letter. The Hebrew alphabet admits of a classification[o] based on the radical character of the letter according to its position in the stem. The effect of composition would have been to produce, in the first place, a greater inequality in the length of the words, and, in the second place, a greater equality in the use of the various organic sounds.

After deducting largely from the amount of etymological correspondence based on the analytical tenets, there still remains a considerable amount of radical identity which appears to be above suspicion. It is impossible to produce in this place a complete list of the terms in which that identity is manifested. In the subjoined note[p] we cite some instances of agreement, which cannot possibly be explained on the principle of direct onomatopoeia, and which would therefore seem to be the common inheritance of the Indo-European and Shemitic families. Whether this agreement is, as Renan suggests, the result of a keen susceptibility of the onomatopoetic faculty in the original framers of the words (*Hist. Gén.* i. 465), is a point that can neither be proved nor disproved. But even if it were so, it does not follow that the words were not framed before the separation of the families. Our list of comparative words might be much enlarged, if we were to include comparisons based on the reduction of Shemitic roots to a bisyllabic form. A list of such words may be found in Delitzsch's *Jeshurun*, pp. 177-180. In regard to pronouns and numerals, the identity is but partial. We may detect the *t* sound, which forms the distinctive sound of the second personal pronoun in the Indo-European languages, in the Hebrew *attâh*, and in the personal terminations of the perfect tense; but the *m*, which is the prevailing sound of

[m] Several of the terms compared by him are onomatopoëtic, as *párak* (*frac*-ture), *pâtash* (πατάσσειν), and *kâlap*, and in each of these cases the initial letter forms part of the onomatopoeia. In others the initial letter in the Greek is radical, as in βασιλεύειν (Pott's *Et. Forsch.* ii. 272), δρύπτειν (i. 229), and σταλάζειν (i. 197). In others again it is euphonic, as in βδάλλειν. Lastly, we are unable to see how *târap* and *târep* admit of close comparison with δρύφειν and τρέφειν. It shows the uncertainty of such analogies that Gesenius compares *târap* with δρύπτειν, and *kâlap* (כָּלַף) with γλύφειν, which Delitzsch compares with *khâlap* (חָלַף). An attempt to establish a large amount of radical identity by means of a resolution of the Hebrew word into its component and significant elements may be seen in the *Philolog. Trans.* for 1858, where, for instance, the *ba* in the Hebrew *bakash*, is compared with the Teutonic prefix *be*; the *dar* in *dar-kash* with the Welsh *dar* in *dar-paru*; and the *chaph* in *chaphash* with the Welsh *cyf* in *cyfaros*.

[n] These groups are sufficiently common in Hebrew. We will take as an instance the following one:—טוּשׁ, טָשׁשׁ, לָטַשׁ, נָטַשׁ, פָּטַשׁ, and conveying the idea of "dash" or "strike." Or, again, the following group, with the radical sense of slipperiness:—לָבַב, לָבַהּ, שָׁלַף, סָלַף, חָלַף, חָלַב, לָבַב, לָבַהּ, &c. A classificatory lexicon of such groups would assist the etymological inquiry.

[o] Such a classification is attempted by Boetticher, in Bunsen, *Philos. of Hist.* ii. 357. After stating what letters may be inserted either at the beginning, middle, or end of the root, he enumerates those which are always radical in the several positions; ב, for instance, in the beginning and middle, but not at the end; ל and מ in the beginning only; ם and שׁ in the middle and at the end, but not in the beginning. We are not prepared to accept this classification as wholly correct, but we adduce it in illustration of the point above noticed.

[p] קֶרֶן, *cornu*, horn.
מָסַךְ, *μίσγω*, *misceo*, mix.
כָּרַךְ, *circa*, circle.
אֶרֶץ, Germ. *erde*, earth.
חָלַק, *glaber*, *glisco*, Germ. *glatt*, glide
עִם, גַּם, כּוֹם, *cum*, *σύν*, *κοινός*.
מָלֵא, *πλέος*, *plenus*, Germ. *voll*, full.
בַּר, *purus*, pure.
בָּרָא, בְּרָה, *vorare*, *βορά*.
פָּרָה, *φέρω*, *βαρύς*, *fero*, bear.
אָפָה, *ἔψω*, *epula*.
מָר, *amarus*.
כָּרַת, *curtus*.
זָרַע, *serere*.
מוּת, Sansc. *mâth*, *máth*, *mith* (Fürst *Lex.* S. V.), whence by the introduction of *r* the Latin *mors*

the first personal pronoun in the former, is supplanted by an *n* in the latter. The numerals *shesh* and *sheba*, for "six" and "seven," accord with the Indo-European forms: those representing the numbers from "one" to "five" are possibly, though not evidently, identical.[q] With regard to the other language-families, it will not be expected, after the observations already made, that we should attempt the proof of their radical identity. The Ural-Altaian languages have been extensively studied, but are hardly ripe for comparison. Occasional resemblances have been detected in grammatical forms[r] and in the vocabularies;[s] but the value of these remains to be proved, and we must await the results of a more extended research into this and other regions of the world of language.

(B.) We pass on to the second point proposed for consideration, viz., the ethnological views expressed in the Bible, and more particularly in the 10th chapter of Genesis, which records the dispersion of nations consequent on the Confusion of Tongues.

I. The Mosaic table does not profess to describe the process of the dispersion; but assuming that dispersion as a *fait accompli*, it records the ethnic relations existing between the various nations affected by it. These relations are expressed under the guise of a genealogy; the ethnological character of the document is, however, clear both from the names, some of which are gentilic in form, as Ludim, Jebusite, &c., others geographical or local, as Mizraim, Sidon, &c.; and again from the formulary, which concludes each section of the subject "after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, and in their nations" (vers. 5, 20, 31). Incidentally, the table is geographical as well as ethnological; but this arises out of the practice of designating nations by the countries they occupy. It has indeed been frequently surmised that the arrangement of the table is purely geographical, and this idea is to a certain extent favoured by the possibility of explaining the names Shem, Ham, and Japheth on this principle; the first signifying the "high" lands, the second the "hot" or "low" lands, and the third the "broad," undefined regions of the north. The three families may have been so located, and such a circumstance could not have been unknown to the writer of the table. But neither internal nor external evidence satisfactorily prove such to have been the leading idea or principle embodied in it; for the Japhetites are mainly assigned to the "isles" or maritime districts of the west and north-west, while the Shemites press down into the plain of Mesopotamia, and the Hamites, on the other hand, occupy the high lands of Canaan and Lebanon. We hold, therefore, the geographical as subordinate to the ethnographical element, and avail ourselves of the former only as an instrument for the discovery of the latter.

The general arrangement of the table is as follows:—The whole human race is referred back to Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. The Shemites are described last, apparently that the continuity of the narrative may not be further disturbed; and the Hamites stand next to the Shemites, in order to show that these were more closely related to each other than to the Japhetites. The comparative degrees of affinity are expressed, partly by coupling the names together, as in the cases of Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim (ver. 4), and partly by representing a genealogical descent, as, when the nations just mentioned are said to be "sons of Javan." An inequality may be observed in the length of the genealogical lines, which in the case of Japheth extends only to one, in Ham to two, in Shem to three, and even four degrees. This inequality clearly arises out of the varying interest taken in the several lines by the author of the table, and by those for whose use it was designed. We may lastly observe, that the occurrence of the same name in two of the lists, as in the case of Lud (vers. 13, 22), and Sheba (vers. 7, 28), possibly indicates a fusion of the races.

The identification of the Biblical with the historical or classical names of nations, is by no means an easy task, particularly where the names are not subsequently noticed in the Bible. In these cases comparisons with ancient or modern designations are the only resource, and where the designation is one of a purely geographical character, as in the case of Riphath compared with *Ripaei montes*, or Mash compared with *Masius mons*, great doubt must exist as to the ethnic force of the title, inasmuch as several nations may have successively occupied the same district. Equal doubt arises where names admit of being treated as appellatives, and so of being transferred from one district to another. Recent research into Assyrian and Egyptian records has in many instances thrown light on the Biblical titles. In the former we find Meshech and Tubal noticed under the forms *Muskai* and *Tuplai*, while Javan appears as the appellation of Cyprus, where the Assyrians first met with Greek civilization. In the latter the name Phut appears under the form of *Pount*, Hittite as *Khita*, Cush as *Keesh*, Canaan as *Kanana*, &c.

1. The Japhetite list contains fourteen names, of which seven represent independent, and the remainder affiliated nations, as follows:—(i.) Gomer, connected ethnically with the *Cimmerii*, *Cimbri* (?), and *Cymry*; and geographically with *Crimea*. Associated with Gomer are the three following:—(*a*) Ashkenaz, generally compared with lake *Ascanius* in Bithynia, but by Knobel with the tribe *Asaei*, *As*, or *Ossetes* in the Caucasian district. On the whole we prefer Hasse's suggestion of a connexion between this name and that of the *Axenus*, later the *Euxinus* Pontus. (*b*) Riphath, the *Ripaei* Montes, which Knobel connects etymologically and geographically with *Carpates* Mons. (*c*) Togarmah, undoubtedly *Armenia*, or a portion of it. (ii.) Magog, the *Scythians*. (iii.) Madai, *Media*. (iv.) Javan, the *Ionians*, as a general appellation for the Hellenic race, with whom are associated the four following:—(*a*) Elishah, the *Aeolians*, less probably identified with the district *Elis*. (*b*) Tarshish, at a later period

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[q] See Rödiger's note in Gesen. *Gramm.* p. 165. The identity even of *shesh* and "six" has been questioned, on the ground that the original form of the Hebrew word was *shet* and of the Aryan *ksvaks* (*Philol. Trans.* 1860, p. 131)

[r] Several such resemblances are pointed out by Ewald in his *Sprachw. Abhandl.*, ii. p. 18, 34 note.

[s] The following verbal resemblances in Hungarian and Sanscrit have been noticed:—*egy* and *eka*, "one;" *hat* and *shash*, "six;" *hét* and *saptan*, "seven;" *tiz* and *dasan*, "ten;" *ezer* and *sahasra*, "thousand;" *beka* and *bheka*, "frog;" *arany* and *hiranya*, "gold" (*Philol. Trans.* for 1858, p. 25). Proofs of a more intimate relationship between the Finnish and Indo-European languages are adduced in a paper on the subject in the *Philol. Trans.* for 1860, p. 231 ff.

of Biblical history certainly identical with *Tartessus* in Spain, to which, however, there are objections as regards the table, partly from the too extended area thus given to the Mosaic world, and partly because Tartessus was a Phoenician, and consequently not a Japhetic settlement. Knobel compares the *Tyrseni*, *Tyrrheni*, and *Tusci* of Italy; but this is precarious. (*c*) Kittim, the town *Citium* in Cyprus. (*d*) Dodanim, the *Dardani* of Illyria and Mysia: *Dodona* is sometimes compared. (v.) Tubal, the *Tibareni* in Pontus. (vi.) Meshech, the *Moschi* in the north-western part of Armenia. (vii.) Tiras, perhaps *Thracia*.

2. The Hamitic list contains thirty names, of which four represent independent, and the remainder affiliated nations, as follows:—(i.) Cush, in two branches, the western or African representing *Aethiopia*, the *Keesh* of the old Egyptian, and the eastern or Asiatic being connected with the names of the tribe *Cossaei*, the district *Cissia*, and the province *Susiana* or *Khuzistan*. With Cush are associated:—(*a*) Seba, the *Sabaei* of *Yemen* in south Arabia. (*b*) Havilah, the district *Khâwlân* in the same part of the peninsula. (*c*) Sabtah, the town *Sabatha* in *Hadramaut*. (*d*) Raamah, the town *Rhegma* on the south-eastern coast of Arabia, with whom are associated:—(a^2) Sheba, a tribe probably connected ethnically or commercially with the one of the same name already mentioned, but located on the west coast of the Persian Gulf. (b^2) Dedan, also on the west coast of the Persian Gulf, where the name perhaps still survives in the island *Dadan*. (*e*) Sabtechah, perhaps the town *Samydace* on the coast of the Indian Ocean eastward of the Persian Gulf. (*f*) Nimrod, a personal and not a geographical name, the representative of the eastern Cushites. (ii.) Mizraim, the two *Misrs*, i. e. Upper and Lower Egypt, with whom the following seven are connected:—(*a*) Ludim, according to Knobel a tribe allied to the Shemitic Lud, but settled in Egypt; others compare the river *Laud* (Plin. v. 2), and the *Lewâtah*, a Berber tribe on the Syrtes. (*b*) Anamim, according to Knobel the inhabitants of the *Delta*, which would be described in Egyptian by the term *sanemhit* or *tsanemhit*, "northern district," converted by the Hebrews into Anamim. (*c*) Naphtuhim, variously explained as the people of *Nephthys*, *i. e.* the northern coast district (Bochart), and as the worshippers of Phthah, meaning the inhabitants of Memphis. (*d*) Pathrusim, Upper Egypt the name being explained as meaning in the Egyptian "the south" (Knobel). (*e*) Casluhim, *Casius mons*, *Cassiotis*, and *Cassium*, eastward of the Delta (Knobel): the Colchians, according to Bochart, but this is unlikely. (*f*) Caphtorim, most probably the district about *Coptos* in Upper Egypt [CAPHTOR]; the island of Crete according to many modern critics, Cappadocia according to the older interpreters. (*g*) Phut, the *Pûnt* of the Egyptian inscriptions, meaning the Libyans. (iii.) Canaan, the geographical position of which calls for no remark in this place. The name has been variously explained as meaning the "low" land of the coast district, or the "subjection" threatened to Canaan personally (Gen. ix. 25). To Canaan belong the following eleven:—(*a*) Sidon, the well-known town of that name in Phoenicia. (*b*) Heth, or the Hittites of Biblical history. (*c*) The Jebusite, of *Jebus* or Jerusalem. (*d*) The Amorite frequently mentioned in Biblical history. (*e*) The Girgasite, the same as the Girgashites. (*f*) The Hivite, variously explained to mean the occupants of the "interior" (Ewald), or the dwellers in "villages" (Gesen.). (*g*) The Arkite, of *Arca*, north of Tripolis, at the foot of Lebanon. (*h*) The Sinite, of *Sin* or *Sinna*, places in the Lebanon district. (*i*) The Arvadite, of *Aradus* on the coast of Phoenicia. (*j*) The Zemarite, of *Simyra* on the Eleutherus. (*k*) The Hamathite, of *Hamath*, the classical *Epiphania*, on the Orontes.

3. The Shemitic list contains twenty-five names, of which five refer to independent, and the remainder to affiliated tribes, as follows:—(i.) Elam, the tribe *Elymaei* and the district *Elymais* in Susiana. (ii.) Asshur, *Assyria* between the Tigris and the range of Zagrus. (iii.) Arphaxad, *Arrapachitis* in northern Assyria, with whom are associated:—(*a*) Salah, a personal and not a geographical title, indicating a migration of the people represented by him; Salah's son (a^2) Eber, representing geographically the district *across* (*i. e.* eastward of) the Euphrates; and Eber's two sons (a^3) Peleg, a personal name indicating a "division" of this branch of the Shemitic family, and (b^3) Joktan, representing generally the inhabitants of *Arabia*, with the following thirteen sons of Joktan, viz.:—(a^4) Almodad, probably representing the tribe of *Jurhum* near Mecca, whose leader was named *Mudad*. (b^4) Sheleph, the *Salapeni* in *Yemen*. (c^4) Hazarmaveth, *Hadramaut*, in southern Arabia. (d^4) Jerah. (e^4) Hadoram, the *Adramitae* on the southern coast, in a district of *Hadramaut*. (f^4) Uzal, supposed to represent the town *Szanaa* in south Arabia, as having been founded by *Asal*. (g^4) Diklah. (h^4) Obal, or, as in 1 Chr. i. 22, Ebal, which latter is identified by Knobel with the *Gebanitae* in the south-west. (i^4) Abimael, doubtfully connected with the district *Mahra*, eastward of *Hadramaut*, and with the towns *Mara* and *Mali*. (j^4) Sheba, the *Sabaei* of south-western Arabia, about Mariaba. (k^4) Ophir, probably *Adane* on the southern coast, but see article. (l^4) Havilah, the district *Khâwlân* in the north-west of *Yemen*. (m^4) Jobab, possibly the *Jobaritae* of Ptolemy (vi. 7, §24), for which Jobabitae may originally have stood. (iv.) Lud, generally compared with *Lydia*, but explained by Knobel as referring to the various aboriginal tribes in and about Palestine, such as the Amalekites, Rephaites, Emim, &c. We cannot consider either of these views as well established. Lydia itself lay beyond the horizon of the Mosaic table: as to the Shemitic origin of its population, conflicting opinions are entertained, to which we shall have occasion to advert hereafter. Knobel's view has in its favour the probability that the tribes referred to would be represented in the table; it is, however, wholly devoid of historical confirmation, with the exception of an Arabian tradition that *Amlik* was one of the sons of *Laud* or *Lawad*, the son of Shem.[1] (v.) Aram, the general name for *Syria* and northern *Mesopotamia*, with whom the following are associated:—(*a*) Uz, probably the *Aesitae* of Ptolemy. (*b*) Hul, doubtful, but best connected with the name *Huleh*, attaching to a district north of Lake Merom. (*c*) Gether, not identified. (*d*) Mash, *Masius Mons*, in the north of Mesopotamia.

[1] This tradition probably originated in the desire to form a connecting link between the Mosaic table and the various elements of the Arabian population. The only conclusion to be drawn from it is that, in the opinion of its originator, there was an element which was neither Ishmaelite nor Joktanid (Ewald, *Gesch* i. 339, note).

There is yet one name noticed in the table viz.: Philistim, which occurs in the Hamitic division, but without any direct assertion of Hamitic descent. The terms used in the A. V. "out of whom (Casluhim) came Philistim" (ver. 14), would naturally imply descent; but the Hebrew text only warrants the conclusion that the Philistines sojourned in the land of the Casluhim. Notwithstanding this, we believe the intention of the author of the table to have been to affirm the Hamitic origin of the Philistines, leaving undecided the particular branch, whether Casluhim or Caphtorim, with which it was more immediately connected.

The total number of names noticed in the table, including Philistim, would thus amount to 70, which was raised by patristic writers to 72. These totals afforded scope for numerical comparisons, and also for an estimate of the number of nations and languages to be found on the earth's surface. It is needless to say that the Bible itself furnishes no ground for such calculations, inasmuch as it does not in any case specify the numbers.

Before proceeding further, it would be well to discuss a question materially affecting the historical value of the Mosaic table, viz.: the period to which it refers. On this point very various opinions are entertained. Knobel, conceiving it to represent the commercial geography of the Phoenicians, assigns it to about 1200 B.C. (*Völkert.* pp. 4-9), and Renan supports this view (*Hist. Gén.* i. 40), while others allow it no higher an antiquity than the period of the Babylonish Captivity (v. Bohlen's *Gen.* ii. 207; Winer, *Rwb.* ii. 665). Internal evidence leads us to refer it back to the age of Abraham on the following grounds: — (1) The Canaanites were as yet in undisputed possession of Palestine. (2) The Philistines had not concluded their migration. (3) Tyre is wholly unnoticed, an omission which cannot be satisfactorily accounted for on the ground that it is included under the name either of Heth (Knobel, p. 323), or of Sidon (v. Bohlen, ii. 241). (4) Various places such as Simyra, Sinna, and Arca, are noticed, which had fallen into insignificance in later times. (5) Kittim, which in the age of Solomon was under Phoenician dominion, is assigned to Japheth, and the same may be said of Tarshish, which in that age undoubtedly referred to the Phoenician emporium of *Tartessus*, whatever may have been its earlier significance. The chief objection to so early a date as we have ventured to propose, is the notice of the Medes under the name Madai. The Aryan nation, which bears this name in history, appears not to have reached its final settlement until about 900 B.C. (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 404). But on the other hand, the name Media may well have belonged to the district before the arrival of the Aryan Medes, whether it were occupied by a tribe of kindred origin to them or by Turanians; and this probability is to a certain extent confirmed by the notice of a Median dynasty in Babylon, as reported by Berosus, so early as the 25th century B.C. (Rawlinson, i. 434). Little difficulty would be found in assigning so early a date to the Medes, if the Aryan origin of the allied kings mentioned in Gen. xiv. 1 were thoroughly established, in accordance with Renan's view (*H. G.* i. 61): on this point, however, we have our doubts.

The Mosaic table is supplemented by ethnological

notices relating to the various divisions of the Terachite family. These belonged to the Shemitic division, being descended from Arphaxad through Peleg, with whom the line terminates in the table. Reu, Serug, and Nahor form the intermediate links between Peleg and Terah (Gen. xi. 18-25), with whom began the movement that terminated in the occupation of Canaan and the adjacent districts by certain branches of the family. The original seat of Terah[a] was Ur of the Chaldees (Gen. xi. 28): thence he migrated to Haran (Gen. xi. 31), where a section of his descendants, the representatives of Nahor, remained (Gen. xxiv. 10, xxvii. 43, xxix. 4 ff.), while the two branches, represented by Abraham and Lot, the son of Haran, crossed the Euphrates and settled in Canaan and the adjacent districts (Gen. xii. 5). From Lot sprang the Moabites and Ammonites (Gen. xix. 30-38): from Abraham the Ishmaelites through his son Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 12), the Israelites through Isaac and Jacob, the Edomites through Isaac and Esau (Gen. xxxvi.), and certain Arab tribes, of whom the Midianites are the most conspicuous, through the sons of his concubine Keturah (Gen. xxv. 1-4).

The most important geographical question in connexion with the Terachites concerns their original settlement. The presence of the Chaldees in Babylonia at a subsequent period of scriptural history has led to a supposition that they were a Hamitic people, originally belonging to Babylonia, and thence transplanted in the 7th and 8th centuries to northern Assyria (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 319). We do not think this view supported by Biblical notices. It is more consistent with the general direction of the Terachite movement to look for Ur in northern Mesopotamia, to the east of Haran. That the Chaldees, or, according to the Hebrew nomenclature, the Kasdim, were found in that neighbourhood, is indicated by the name Chesed as one of the sons of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 22), and possibly by the name Arphaxad itself, which, according to Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 378), means "fortress of the Chaldees." In classical times we find the Kasdim still occupying the mountains adjacent to *Arrapachitis*, the Biblical Arpachsad, under the names *Chaldaei* (Xen. *Anab.* iv. 3, §§1-4) and *Gordyaei* or *Carduchi* (Strab. xvi. p. 747), and here the name still has a vital existence under the form of *Kurd*. The name Kasdim is explained by Oppert as meaning "two rivers," and thus as equivalent to the Hebrew *Naharaim* and the classical *Mesopotamia* (*Zeit. Morg. Ges.* xi. 137). We receive this explanation with reserve; but, as far as it goes, it favours the northern locality. The evidence for the antiquity of the southern settlement appears to be but small, if the term *Kaldai* does not occur in the Assyrian inscriptions until the 9th century B.C. (Rawlinson, i. 449). We therefore conceive the original seat of the Chaldees to have been in the north, whence they moved southwards along the course of the Tigris until they reached Babylon, where we find them dominant in the 7th century B.C. Whether they first entered this country as mercenaries, and then conquered their employers, as suggested by Renan (*H. G.* i. 68), must remain uncertain; but we think the suggestion supported by the circumstance that the name was afterwards transferred to the whole Babylonian population. The sacerdotal character of the Chaldees is certainly

[a] A connexion between the names Terah and Trachonitis. Haran and *Hauran*, is suggested by Renan (*Hist. Gén.* i. 29). This, however, is inconsistent with the position generally assigned to Haran.

difficult to reconcile with this or any other hypothesis on the subject.

Returning to the Terachites, we find it impossible to define the geographical limits of their settlements with precision. They intermingled with the previously existing inhabitants of the countries intervening between the Red Sea and the Euphrates, and hence we find an Aram, an Uz, and a Chesed among the descendants of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 21, 22), a Dedan and a Sheba among those of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 3), and an Amalek among the descendants of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 12). Few of the numerous tribes which sprang from this stock attained historical celebrity. The Israelites must of course be excepted from this description; so also the Nabateans, if they are to be regarded as represented by the Nebaioth of the Bible, as to which there is some doubt (Quatremère, *Mélanges*, p. 59). Of the rest, the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, and Edomites are chiefly known for their hostilities with the Israelites, to whom they were close neighbours. The memory of the westerly migration of the Israelites was perpetuated in the name Hebrew, as referring to their residence beyond the river Euphrates (Josh. xxiv. 3).

Besides the nations whose origin is accounted for in the Bible, we find other early populations mentioned in the course of the history without any notice of their ethnology. In this category we may place the Horims, who occupied Edom before the descendants of Esau (Deut. ii. 12, 22); the Amalekites of the Sinaitic peninsula; the Zuzims and Zamzummims of Peraea (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. ii. 20); the Rephaims of Bashan and of the valley near Jerusalem named after them (Gen. xiv. 5; 2 Sam. v. 18); the Emims eastward of the Dead Sea (Gen. xiv. 5); the Avims of the southern Philistine plain (Deut. ii. 23); and the Anakims of southern Palestine (Josh. xi. 21). The question arises whether these tribes were Hamites, or whether they represented an earlier population which preceded the entrance of the Hamites. The latter view is supported by Knobel, who regards the majority of these tribes as Shemites, who preceded the Canaanites, and communicated to them the Shemitic tongue (*Völkert.* pp. 204, 315). No evidence can be adduced in support of this theory, which was probably suggested by the double difficulty of accounting for the name of Lud, and of explaining the apparent anomaly of the Hamites and Terachites speaking the same language. Still less evidence is there in favour of the Turanian origin, which would, we presume, be assigned to these tribes in common with the Canaanites proper, in accordance with a current theory that the first wave of population which overspread western Asia belonged to that branch of the human race (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 645, note). To this theory we shall presently advert: meanwhile we can only observe, in reference to these fragmentary populations, that, as they intermingled with the Canaanites, they probably belonged to the same stock (comp. Num. xiii. 22; Judg. i. 10). They may perchance have belonged to an earlier migration than the Canaanitish, and may have been subdued by the later comers, but this would not necessitate a different origin. The names of these tribes and of their abodes, as instanced in Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. ii. 23; Num. xiii. 22, bear a Shemitic character (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 311), and the only objection to their Canaanitish origin arising out of these names would be in connexion with Zamzummim, which, according to Renan (*H. G.* p. 35, note), is formed on the same principle as the Greek *βάρβαρος*, and in this case implies at all events a dialectical difference.

Having thus surveyed the ethnological statements contained in the Bible, it remains for us to inquire how far they are based on, or accord with, physiological or linguistic principles. Knobel maintains that the threefold division of the Mosaic table is founded on the physiological principle of colour, Shem, Ham, and Japheth representing respectively the red, black, and white complexions prevalent in the different regions of the then known world (*Völkert.* pp. 11-13). He claims etymological support for this view in respect to Ham (="dark") and Japheth (="fair"), but not in respect to Shem, and he adduces testimony to the fact that such differences of colour were noted in ancient times. The etymological argument weakens rather than sustains his view; for it is difficult to conceive that the principle of classification would be embodied in two of the names and not also in the third: the force of such evidence is wholly dependent upon its uniformity. With regard to the actual prevalence of the hues, it is quite consistent with the physical character of the districts that the Hamites of the south should be dark, and the Japhetites of the north fair, and further that the Shemites should hold an intermediate place in colour as in geographical position. But we have no evidence that this distinction was strongly marked. The "redness" expressed in the name Edom probably referred to the soil (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 87): the *Erythraeum Mare* was so called from a peculiarity in its own tint, arising from the presence of some vegetable substance, and not because the red Shemites bordered on it, the black Cushites being equally numerous on its shores: the name *Adam*, as applied to the Shemitic man, is ambiguous, from its reference to soil as well as colour. On the other hand, the Phoenicians (assuming them to have reached the Mediterranean seaboard before the table was compiled) were so called from their red hue, and yet are placed in the table among the Hamites. The argument drawn from the red hue of the Egyptian deity Typhon is of little value until it can be decisively proved that the deity in question represented the Shemites. This is asserted by Renan (*H. G.* i. 38), who endorses Knobel's view as far as the Shemites are concerned, though he does not accept his general theory.

The linguistic difficulties connected with the Mosaic table are very considerable, and we cannot pretend to unravel the tangled skein of conflicting opinions on the subject. The primary difficulty arises out of the Biblical narrative itself, and is consequently of old standing—the difficulty, namely, of accounting for the evident identity of language spoken by the Shemitic Terachites and the Hamitic Canaanites. Modern linguistic research has rather enhanced than removed this difficulty. The alternatives hitherto offered as satisfactory solutions, namely, that the Terachites adopted the language of the Canaanites, or the Canaanites that of the Terachites, are both inconsistent with the enlarged area which the language is found to cover on each side. Setting aside the question of the high improbability that a wandering nomadic tribe, such as the Terachites, would be able to impose its language on a settled and powerful nation like the Canaanites, it would still remain to be explained how the Cushites and other Hamitic tribes, who did not come into contact with the Terachites,

acquired the same general type of language. And on the other hand, assuming that what are called Shemitic languages were really Hamitic, we have to explain the extension of the Hamitic area over Mesopotamia and Assyria, which, according to the table and the general opinion of ethnologists, belonged wholly to a non-Hamitic population. A further question, moreover, arises out of this explanation, viz.: what was the language of the Terachites before they assumed this Hamitic tongue? This question is answered by J. G. Müller, in Herzog's *R. E.* xiv. 238, to the effect that the Shemites originally spoke an Indo-European language—a view which we do not expect to see generally adopted.

Restricting ourselves, for the present, to the linguistic question, we must draw attention to the fact that there is a well-defined Hamitic as well as a Shemitic class of languages, and that any theory which obliterates this distinction must fall to the ground. The Hamitic type is most highly developed, as we might expect, in the country which was, *par excellence*, the land of Ham, viz. Egypt; and whatever elements of original unity with the Shemitic type may be detected by philologists, practically the two were as distinct from each other in historical times, as any two languages could possibly be. We are not therefore prepared at once to throw overboard the linguistic element of the Mosaic table. At the same time we recognize the extreme difficulty of explaining the anomaly of Hamitic tribes speaking a Shemitic tongue. It will not suffice to say, in answer to this, that these tribes were Shemites; for again the correctness of the Mosaic table is vindicated by the differences of social and artistic culture which distinguish the Shemites proper from the Phoenicians and Cushites using a Shemitic tongue. The former are characterised by habits of simplicity, isolation, and adherence to patriarchal ways of living and thinking; the Phoenicians, on the other hand, were eminently a commercial people; and the Cushites are identified with the massive architectural erections of Babylonia and South Arabia, and with equally extended ideas of empire and social progress.

The real question at issue concerns the language, not of the whole Hamitic family, but of the Canaanites and Cushites. With regard to the former, various explanations have been offered—such as Knobel's, that they acquired a Shemitic language from a prior population, represented by the Refaites, Zuzim, Zamzummim, &c. (*Völkert.* p. 315); or Bunsen's, that they were a Shemitic race who had long sojourned in Egypt (*Phil. of Hist.* i. 191)—neither of which are satisfactory. With regard to the latter, the only explanation to be offered is that a Joktanid immigration supervened on the original Hamitic population, the result being a combination of Cushitic civilization with a Shemitic language (Renan, i. 322). Nor is it unimportant to mention that peculiarities have been discovered in the Cushite Shemitic of Southern Arabia which suggest a close affinity with the Phoenician forms (Renan, i. 318). We are not, however, without expectation that time and research will clear up much of the mystery that now enwraps the subject. There are two directions to which we may hopefully turn for light, namely Egypt and Babylonia, with regard to each of which we make a few remarks.

That the Egyptian language exhibits many striking points of resemblance to the Shemitic type is acknowledged on all sides. It is also allowed that the resemblances are of a valuable character, being observable in the pronouns, numerals, in agglutinative forms, in the treatment of vowels, and other such points (Renan, i. 84 85). There is not, however, an equal degree of agreement among scholars as to the deductions to be drawn from these resemblances. While many recognize in them the proofs of a substantial identity, and hence regard Hamitism as an early stage of Shemitism, others deny, either on general or on special grounds, the probability of such a connexion. When we find such high authorities as Bunsen on the former side (*Phil. of Hist.* i. 186-189, ii. 3), and Renan (i. 86) on the other, not to mention a long array of scholars who have adopted each view, it would be presumption dogmatically to assert the correctness or incorrectness of either. We can only point to the possibility of the identity being established, and to the further possibility that connecting links may be discovered between the two extremes, which may serve to bridge over the gulf, and to render the use of a Shemitic language by a Hamitic race less of an anomaly than it at present appears to be.

Turning eastward to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, and the adjacent countries, we find ample materials for research in the inscriptions recently discovered, the examination of which has not yet yielded undisputed results. The Mosaic table places a Shemitic population in Assyria and Elam, and a Cushitic one in Babylon. The probability of this being ethnically (as opposed to geographically) true depends partly on the age assigned to the table. There can be no question that at a late period Assyria and Elam were held by non-Shemitic, probably Aryan conquerors. But if we carry the table back to the age of Abraham, the case may have been different; for though Elam is regarded as etymologically identical with Iran (Renan, i. 41), this is not conclusive as to the Iranian character of the language in early times. Sufficient evidence is afforded by language that the basis of the population in Assyria was Shemitic (Renan, i. 70; Knobel, pp. 154-156): and it is by no means improbable that the inscriptions belonging more especially to the neighbourhood of Susa may ultimately establish the fact of a Shemitic population in Elam. The presence of a Cushitic population in Babylon is an opinion very generally held on linguistic grounds; and a close identity is said to exist between the old Babylonian and the *Mahri* language, a Shemitic tongue of an ancient type still living in a district of *Hadramaut*, in Southern Arabia (Renan, *H. G.* i. 60). In addition to the Cushitic and Shemitic elements in the population of Babylonia and the adjacent districts, the presence of a Turanian element has been inferred from the linguistic character of the early inscriptions. We must here express our conviction that the ethnology of the countries in question is considerably clouded by the undefined use of the terms Turanian, Scythic, and the like. It is frequently difficult to decide whether these terms are used in a linguistic sense, as equivalent to *agglutinative*, or in an ethnic sense. The presence of a certain amount of Turanianism in the former does not involve its presence in the latter sense. The old Babylonian and Susianian inscriptions may be more agglutinative than the later ones, but this is only a proof of their belonging to an earlier stage of the language, and does not of itself indicate a foreign population; and if these early Babylonian inscriptions graduate into the Shemitic, as is asserted even by the advo-

cates of the Turanian theory (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 442, 445), the presence of an ethnic Turanianism cannot possibly be inferred. Added to this, it is inexplicable how the presence of a large Scythic population in the Achaemenian period, to which many of the Susianian inscriptions belong, could escape the notice of historians. The only Scythic tribes noticed by Herodotus in his review of the Persian empire are the Parthians and the Sacae, the former of whom are known to have lived in the north, while the latter probably lived in the extreme east, where a memorial of them is still supposed to exist in the name *Seistan*, representing the ancient Sacastene. Even with regard to these, Scythic may not mean Turanian; for they may have belonged to the Scythians of history (the Skolots), for whom an Indo-European origin is claimed (Rawlinson's *Herod.* iii. 197). The impression conveyed by the supposed detection of so many heterogeneous elements in the old Babylonian tongue (Rawlinson, i, 442, 444, 646, notes) is not favourable to the general results of the researches.

With regard to Arabia, it may safely be asserted that the Mosaic table is confirmed by modern research. The Cushitic element has left memorials of its presence in the south in the vast ruins of *Mareb* and *Sana* (Renan, i. 318), as well as in the influence it has exercised on the *Himyaritic* and *Mahri* languages, as compared with the Hebrew. The Joktanid element forms the basis of the Arabian population, the Shemitic character of whose language needs no proof. With regard to the Ishmaelite element in the north, we are not aware of any linguistic proof of its existence, but it is confirmed by the traditions of the Arabians themselves.

It remains to be inquired how far the Japhetic stock represents the linguistic characteristics of the Indo-European and Turanian families. Adopting the twofold division of the former, suggested by the name itself, into the eastern and western; and subdividing the eastern into the Indian and Iranian, and the western into the Celtic, Hellenic, Illyrian, Italian, Teutonic, Slavonian, and Lithuanian classes, we are able to assign Madai (*Media*) and Togarmah (*Armenia*) to the Iranian class; Javan (*Ionian*) and Elishah (*Aeolian*) to the Hellenic; Gomer conjecturally to the Celtic; and Dodanim, also conjecturally, to the Illyrian. According to the old interpreters, Ashkenaz represents the Teutonic class, while, according to Knobel, the Italian would be represented by Tarshish, whom he identifies with the Etruscans; the Slavonian by Magog; and the Lithuanian possibly by Tiras (pp. 90, 68, 130). The same writer also identifies Riphath with the Gauls, as distinct from the Cymry or Gomer (p. 45); while Kittim is referred by him not improbably to the Carians, who at one period were predominant on the islands adjacent to Asia Minor (p. 98). The evidence for these identifications varies in strength, but in no instance approaches to demonstration. Beyond the general probability that the main branches of the human family would be represented in the Mosaic table, we regard much that has been advanced on this subject as highly precarious. At the same time it must be conceded that the subject is an open one, and that as there is no possibility of proving, so also none of disproving, the correctness of these conjectures. Whether the

[x] The total amount of the Shemitic population at present is computed to be only 30 millions, while the Indo-European is computed at 400 millions (Renan, i. 43, note).

Turanian family is fairly represented in the Mosaic table may be doubted. Those who advocate the Mongolian origin of the Scythians would naturally regard Magog as the representative of this family; and even those who dissent from the Mongolian theory may still not unreasonably conceive that the title Magog applied broadly to all the nomad tribes of Northern Asia, whether Indo-European or Turanian. Tubal and Meschech remain to be considered: Knobel identifies these respectively with the Iberians and the Ligurians (pp. 111, 119); and if the Finnish character of the Basque language were established, he would regard the Iberians as certainly, and the Ligurians as probably Turanians, the relics of the first wave of population which is supposed to have once overspread the whole of the European continent, and of which the Finns in the north, and the Basques in the south, are the sole surviving representatives. The Turanian character of the two Biblical races above mentioned has been otherwise maintained on the ground of the identity of the names Meschech and Muscovite (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 652).

II. Having thus reviewed the ethnic relations of the nations who fell within the circle of the Mosaic table, we propose to cast a glance beyond its limits, and inquire how far the present results of ethnological science support the general idea of the unity of the human race, which underlies the Mosaic system. The chief and in many instances the only instrument at our command for ascertaining the relationship of nations is language. In its general results this instrument is thoroughly trustworthy, and in each individual case to which it is applied it furnishes a strong *primâ facie* evidence; but its evidence, if unsupported by collateral proofs, is not unimpeachable, in consequence of the numerous instances of adopted languages which have occurred within historical times. This drawback to the value of the evidence of language will not materially affect our present inquiry, inasmuch as we shall confine ourselves as much as possible to the general results.

The nomenclature of modern ethnology is not identical with that of the Bible, partly from the enlargement of the area, and partly from the general adoption of language as the basis of classification. The term Shemitic is indeed retained, not, however, to indicate a descent from Shem, but the use of languages allied to that which was current among the Israelites in historical times. Hamitic also finds a place in modern ethnology, but as subordinate to, or co-ordinate with, Shemitic. Japhetic is superseded mainly by Indo-European or Aryan. The various nations, or families of nations, which find no place under the Biblical titles are classed by certain ethnologists under the broad title of Turanian, while by others they are broken up into divisions more or less numerous.

The first branch of our subject will be to trace the extension of the Shemitic family beyond the limits assigned to it in the Bible. The most marked characteristic of this family, as compared with the Indo-European or Turanian, is its inelasticity. Hemmed in both by natural barriers and by the superior energy and expansiveness of the Aryan and Turanian races, it retains to the present day the *status quo* of early times.[x] The only

[y] Eastward of the Tigris a Shemitic population has been supposed to exist in Afghanistan, where the *Pushtu* language has been regarded as bearing a Shemitic cha

direction in which it has exhibited any tendency to expand has been about the shores of the Mediterranean, and even here its activity was of a sporadic character, limited to a single branch of the family, viz. the Phoenicians, and to a single phase of expansion, viz. commercial colonies. In Asia Minor we find tokens of Shemitic presence in Cilicia, which was connected with Phoenicia both by tradition (Herod. vii. 91), and by language, as attested by existing coins (Gesen. *Mon. Phoen.* iii. 2): in Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycia, parts of which were occupied by the Solymi (Plin. v. 24; Herod. i. 173), whose name bears a Shemitic character, and who are reported to have spoken a Shemitic tongue (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 9), a statement confirmed by the occurrence of other Shemitic names, such as Phoenix and Cabalia, though the subsequent predominance of an Aryan population in these same districts is attested by the existing Lycian inscriptions: again in Caria, though the evidence arising out of the supposed identity of the names of the gods Osogo and Chrysaoreus with the Οβριμος and Χρυσώρ of Sanchuniathon is called in question (Renan, *H. G.* i. 49): and, lastly, in Lydia, where the descendants of Lud are located by many authorities, and where the prevalence of a Shemitic language is asserted by scholars of the highest standing, among whom we may specify Bunsen and Lassen, in spite of tokens of the contemporaneous presence of the Aryan element, as instanced in the name Sardis, and in spite also of the historical notices of an ethnical connexion with Mysia (Herod. i. 171). Whether the Shemites ever occupied any portion of the plateau of Asia Minor may be doubted. In the opinion of the ancients the later occupants of Cappadocia were Syrians, distinguished from the mass of their race by a lighter hue, and hence termed *Leucosyri* (Strab. xii. p. 542); but this statement is traversed by the evidences of Aryanism afforded by the names of the kings and deities, as well as by the Persian character of the religion (Strab. xv. p. 733). If therefore the Shemites ever occupied this district, they must soon have been brought under the dominion of Aryan conquerors (Diefenbach, *Orig. Europ.* p. 44). The Phoenicians were ubiquitous on the islands and shores of the Mediterranean: in Cyprus, where they have left tokens of their presence at Citium and other places; in Crete; in Malta, where they were the original settlers (Diod. Sic. v. 12); on the mainland of Greece, where their presence is betokened by the name Cadmus; in Samos, Same, and Samothrace, which bear Shemitic names; in Ios and Tenedos, once known by the name of Phoenice; in Sicily, where Panormus, Motya, and Soloeis were Shemitic settlements; in Sardinia (Diod. Sic. v. 35); on the eastern and southern coasts of Spain; and on the north coast of Africa, which was lined with Phoenician colonies from the Syrtis Major to the Pillars of Hercules. They must also have penetrated deeply into the interior, to judge from Strabo's statement of the destruction of three hundred towns by the Pharusians and Nigritians (Strab. xvii. p. 826). Still in none of the countries we have mentioned did they supplant the original population: they were conquerors and settlers, but no more than this.

The bulk of the North African languages, both in ancient and modern times, though not Shemitic in the proper sense of the term, so far resemble that type as to have obtained the title of sub-Shemitic. In the north the old Numidian language appears, from the prevalence of the syllable *Mas* in the name *Massylii*, &c., to be allied to the modern *Berber*; and the same conclusion has been drawn with regard to the Libyan tongue. The *Berber*, in turn, together with the *Touarick* and the great body of the North African dialects, is closely allied to the Coptic of Egypt, and therefore falls under the title of Hamitic, or, according to the more usual nomenclature, sub-Shemitic (Renan, *H. G.* i. 201, 202). Southwards of Egypt the Shemitic type is reproduced in the majority of the Abyssinian languages, particularly in the *Gheez*, and in a less marked degree in the *Amharic*, the *Saho*, and the *Galla*; and Shemitic influence may be traced along the whole east coast of Africa as far as *Mozambique* (Renan, i. 336-340). As to the languages of the interior and of the south there appears to be a conflict of opinions, the writer from whom we have just quoted denying any trace of resemblance to the Shemitic type, while Dr. Latham asserts very confidently that connecting links exist between the sub-Shemitic languages of the north, the Negro languages in the centre, and the Caffre languages of the south; and that even the Hottentot language is not so isolated as has been generally supposed (*Man and his Migr.* pp. 134-148). Bunsen supports this view as far as the languages north of the equator are concerned, but regards the southern as rather approximating to the Turanian type (*Phil. of Hist.* i. 178, ii. 20). It is impossible as yet to form a decided opinion on this large subject.

A question of considerable interest remains yet to be noticed, namely, whether we can trace the Shemitic family back to its original cradle. In the case of the Indo-European family this can be done with a high degree of probability; and if an original unity existed between these stocks, the domicile of the one would necessarily be that of the other. A certain community of ideas and traditions favours this assumption, and possibly the frequent allusions to the east in the early chapters of Genesis may contain a reminiscence of the direction in which the primeval abode lay (Renan, *H. G.* i. 476). The position of this abode we shall describe presently.

The Indo-European family of languages, as at present[a] constituted, consists of the following nine classes:—Indian,[b] Iranian, Celtic, Italian, Albanian, Greek, Teutonic, Lithuanian, and Slavonian. Geographically, these classes may be grouped together in two divisions—Eastern and Western—the former comprising the two first, the latter the seven remaining classes. Schleicher divides what we have termed the Western into two—the South-west Eu-

racter. A theory has consequently been started that the people speaking it represent the ten tribes of Israel (Forster's *Prim. Lang.* iii. 241). We believe the supposed Shemitic resemblances to be unfounded, and that the *Pushtu* language holds an intermediate place between the Iranian and Indian classes, with the latter of which it possesses in common the lingual or cerebral sounds (Diefenbach, *Or. Eur.* p. 37).

[a] We use the qualifying expression "at present," partly because it is not improbable that new classes may be hereafter added, as, for instance, an Anatolian, to describe the languages of Asia Minor, and partly because there may have been other classes once in existence, which have entirely disappeared from the face of the earth.

[b] Professor M. Müller adopts the termination *-ic*, in order to shew that classes are intended. This appears unnecessary, when it is specified that the arrangement is one of classes, and not of single languages. Moreover, in common usage, the termination does not necessarily carry the idea of a class.

ropean, and the North European—in the former of which he places the Greek, Albanian, Italian, and Celtic, in the latter the Slavonian, Lithuanian, and Teutonic (*Compend.* i. 5). Prof. M. Müller combines the Slavonian and Lithuanian classes in the Windic, thus reducing the number to eight. These classes exhibit various degrees of affinity to each other, which are described by Schleicher in the following manner:—The earliest deviation from the common language of the family was effected by the Slavono-Teutonic branch. After another interval a second bifurcation occurred, which separated what we may term the Graeco-Italo-Celtic branch from the Aryan. The former held together for a while, and then threw off the Greek (including probably the Albanian), leaving the Celtic and Italian still connected: the final division of the two latter took place after another considerable interval. The first-mentioned branch—the Slavono-Teutonic—remained intact for a period somewhat longer than that which witnessed the second bifurcation of the original stock, and then divided into the Teutonic and Slavono-Lithuanian, which latter finally broke up into its two component elements. The Aryan branch similarly held together for a lengthened period, and then bifurcated into the Indian and Iranian. The conclusion Schleicher draws from these linguistic affinities is that the more easterly of the European nations, the Slavonians and Teutons, were the first to leave the common home of the Indo-European race; that they were followed by the Celts, Italians, and Greeks; and that the Indian and Iranian branches were the last to commence their migrations. We feel unable to accept this conclusion, which appears to us to be based on the assumption that the antiquity of a language is to be measured by its approximation to Sanscrit. Looking at the geographical position of the representatives of the different language-classes, we should infer that the most westerly were the earliest immigrants into Europe, and therefore probably the earliest emigrants from the primeval seat of the race; and we believe this to be confirmed by linguistic proofs of the high antiquity of the Celtic as compared with the other branches of the Indo-European family (Bunsen, *Phil. of Hist.* i. 168).

The original seat of the Indo-European race was on the plateau of Central Asia, probably to the westward of the *Bolor* and *Mustagh* ranges. The Indian branch can be traced back to the slopes of Himalaya by the geographical allusions in the Vedic hymns (M. Müller's *Lect.* p. 201); in confirmation of which we may adduce the circumstance that the only tree for which the Indians have an appellation in common with the western nations, is one which in India is found only on the southern slope of that range (Pott, *Etym. Forsch.* i. 110). The westward progress of the Iranian tribes is a matter of history, and though we cannot trace this progress back to its fountain-head, the locality above mentioned best accords with the traditional belief of the Asiatic Aryans and with the physical and geographical requirements of the case (Renan, *H. G.* i. 481).

The routes by which the various western branches reached their respective localities, can only be conjectured. We may suppose them to have successively crossed the plateau of Iran until they reached Armenia, whence they might follow either a northerly course across Caucasus, and by the shore of the Black Sea, or a direct westerly one along the plateau of Asia Minor, which seems destined by nature to be the bridge between the two continents of Europe and Asia. A third route has been surmised for a portion of the Celtic stock, viz., along the north coast of Africa, and across the Straits of Gibraltar into Spain (Bunsen, *Ph. of H.* i. 148), but we see little confirmation of this opinion beyond the fact of the early presence of the Celtae in that peninsula, which is certainly difficult to account for.

The eras of the several migrations are again very much a matter of conjecture. The original movements belong for the most part to the ante-historical age, and we can do no more than note the period at which we first encounter the several nations. That the Indian Aryans had reached the mouth of the Indus at all events before 1000 B.C., appears from the Sanscrit names of the articles which Solomon imported from that country [INDIA]. The presence of Aryans on the Shemitic frontier is as old as the composition of the Mosaic table; and, according to some authorities, is proved by the names of the confederate kings in the age of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 1; Renan, *H. G.* i. 61). The Aryan Medes are mentioned in the Assyrian annals about 900 B.C. The Greeks were settled on the peninsula named after them, as well as on the islands of the Aegaean long before the dawn of history, and the Italians had reached their quarters at a yet earlier period. The Celtae had reached the west of Europe at all events before, probably very long before, the age of Hecataeus (500 B.C.); the latest branch of this stock arrived there about that period according to Bunsen's conjecture (*Ph. of H.* i. 152). The Teutonic migration followed at a long interval after the Celtic: Pytheas found them already seated on the shores of the Baltic in the age of Alexander the Great (Plin. xxxvii. 11), and the term *glesum* itself, by which amber was described in that district, belongs to them (Diefenbach, *Or. Eur.* p. 359). The earliest historical notice of them depends on the view taken of the nationality of the Teutones, who accompanied the Cimbri on their southern expedition in 113-102 B.C. If these were Celtic, as is not uncommonly thought, then we must look to Caesar and Tacitus for the earliest definite notices of the Teutonic tribes. The Slavonian immigration was nearly contemporaneous with the Teutonic (Bunsen, *Ph. of H.* i. 72): this stock can be traced back to the *Veneti* or *Venedae* of Northern Germany, first mentioned by Tacitus (*Germ.* 46), from whom the name *Wend* is probably descended. The designation of *Slavi* or *Sclavi* is of comparatively late date, and applied specially to the western branch of the Slavonian stock. The Lithuanians are probably represented by the *Galindae* and *Sudeni* of Ptolemy (iii. 5, §21), the names of which tribes have been preserved in all ages in the Lithuanian district (Diefenbach, p. 202). They are frequently identified with the *Aestui*, and it is not impossible that they may have adopted the title, which was a geographical one (=the *east* men): the Aestui of Tacitus, however, were Germans. In the above statements we have omitted the problematical identifications of the northern stocks with the earlier nations of history: we may here mention that the Slavonians are not unfrequently regarded as the representatives of the Scythians (Skolots) and the Sarmatians (Knobel, *Völkert.* p. 69). The writer whom we have just cited, also endeavours to connect the Lithuanians with the Agathyrsi (p. 130). So again Grimm traced the Teutonic stock to the Getae, whom he identified with the Goths (*Gesch. Deut. Spr.* i. 178).

It may be asked whether the Aryan race were the

first comers in the lands which they occupied in historical times, or whether they superseded an earlier population. With regard to the Indian branch this question can be answered decisively: the vestiges of an aboriginal population, which once covered the plains of Hindostan, still exist in the southern extremity of the peninsula, as well as in isolated localities elsewhere, as instanced in the case of the Brahus of the north. Not only this, but the Indian class of languages possesses a peculiarity of sound (the lingual or cerebral consonants) which is supposed to have been derived from this population and to betoken a fusion of the conquerors and the conquered (Schleicher, *Compend.* i. 141). The languages of this early population are classed as Turanian (M. Müller, *Lect.* p. 399). We are unable to find decided traces of Turanians on the plateau of Iran. The Sacae, of whom we have already spoken, were Scythians, and so were the Parthians, both by reputed descent (Justin, xli. 1) and by habits of life (Strab. xi. p. 515); but we cannot positively assert that they were Turanians, inasmuch as the term Scythian was also applied, as in the case of the Skolots, to Indo-Europeans. In the Caucasian district the Iberians and others may have been Turanian in early as in later times; but it is difficult to unravel the entanglement of races and languages in that district. In Europe there exists in the present day an undoubted Turanian population eastward of the Baltic, viz., the Finns, who have been located there certainly since the time of Tacitus (*Germ.* 46), and who probably at an earlier period had spread more to the southwards, but had been gradually thrust back by the advance of the Teutonic and Slavonian nations (Diefenbach, *O. E.* p. 209). There exists again in the south a population whose language (the *Basque*, or, as it is entitled in its own land, the *Euskara*) presents numerous points of affinity to the Finnish in grammar, though its vocabulary is wholly distinct. We cannot consider the Turanian character of this language as fully established, and we are therefore unable to divine the ethnic affinities of the early Iberians, who are generally regarded as the progenitors of the Basques. We have already adverted to the theory that the Finns in the north and the Basques in the south are the surviving monuments of a Turanian population which overspread the whole of Europe before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans. This is a mere theory which can neither be proved nor disproved.[b]

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to assign to the various subdivisions of the Indo-European stock their respective areas, or, where admixture has taken place, their relative proportions. Language and race are, as already observed, by no means coextensive. The Celtic race, for instance, which occupied Gaul, Northern Italy, large portions of Spain and Germany, and even penetrated across the Hellespont into Asia Minor, where it gave name to the province of Galatia, is now represented linguistically by the insignificant populations, among whom the Welsh and the Gaelic or Erse languages retain a lingering existence. The Italian race, on the other hand, which must have been well nigh annihilated by or absorbed in the overwhelming masses of the northern hordes, has imposed its language outside the bounds of Italy over the peninsula of Spain, France, and Wallachia. But, while the races have so intermingled as in many instances to lose all trace of their original individuality, the broad fact of their descent from one or other of the branches of the Indo-European family remains unaffected. It is, indeed, impossible to affiliate all the nations whose names appear on the roll of history, to the existing divisions of that family, in consequence of the absence or the obscurity of ethnological criteria. Where, for instance, shall we place the languages of Asia Minor and the adjacent districts? The Phrygian approximates perhaps to the Greek, and yet it differs from it materially both in form and vocabulary (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 666): still more is this the case with the Lycian, which appears to possess a vocabulary wholly distinct from its kindred languages (*Id.* i. 669, 677-679). The Armenian is ranged under the Iranian division: yet this, as well as the language of the Caucasian Ossetes, whose indigenous name of *Ir* or *Iron* seems to vindicate for them the same relationship, are so distinctive in their features as to render the connexion dubious. The languages prevalent in the mountainous district, answering to the ancient Pontus, are equally peculiar (Diefenbach, *O. E.* p. 51). Passing to the westward we encounter the Thracians, reputed by Herodotus (v. 3) the most powerful nation in the world, the Indians excepted; yet but one word of their language (*bria* = "town") has survived, and all historical traces of the people have been obliterated. It is true that they are represented in later times by the Getae, and these in turn by the Daci, but neither of these can be tracked either by history or language, unless we accept Grimm's more than doubtful identification which would connect them with the Teutonic branch. The remains of the Scythian language are sufficient to establish the Indo-European affinities of that nation (Rawlinson's *Herod.* iii. 196-203), but insufficient to assign to it a definite place in the family. The Scythians, as well as most of the nomad tribes associated with them, are lost to the eye of the ethnologist, having been either absorbed into other nationalities or swept away by the ravages of war. The Sarmatae can be traced down to the Iazyges of *Hungary* and *Podlachia*, in which latter district they survived until the 10th century of our era (*Dict. of Geog.* ii. 8), and then they also vanish. The Albanian language presents a problem of a different kind: materials for research are not wanting in this case, but no definite conclusions have as yet been drawn from them: the people who use this tongue, the *Skipetares* as they call themselves, are generally regarded as the representatives of the old Illyrians, who in turn appear to have been closely connected with the Thracians (Strab. vii. p. 315; Justin, xi. 1), the name Dardani being found both in Illyria and on the shores of the Hellespont: it is not, therefore, improbable that the Albanian may contain whatever vestiges of the old Thracian tongue still survive (Diefenbach, *O. E.* p. 68). In the Italic peninsula the Etruscan tongue remains as great an enigma as ever: its Indo-European character is supposed to be established, together with the probability of its being a mixed language (Bunsen's *Ph. of H.* i. 85-88). The result of researches into the Umbrian language, as represented in the Eugubine tablets, the earliest of which date from about 400 B.C.; into the Sabellian, as represented in the tablets of *Velletri* and *Antino*; and into the Oscan, of which the remains are nu-

[b] We must be understood as speaking of linguistic and ethnological proofs furnished by populations existing within historical times, without reference to the geological questions relating to the antiquity of man.

merous, have decided their position as members of the Italic class (*id.* i. 90-94). The same cannot be asserted of the Messapian or Iapygian language, which stands apart from all neighbouring dialects. Its Indo-European character is affirmed, but no ethnological conclusion can as yet be drawn from the scanty information afforded us (*id.* i. 94). Lastly, within the Celtic area there are ethnological problems which we cannot pretend to solve. The Ligurians, for instance, present one of these problems: were they Celts, but belonging to an earlier migration than the Celts of history? Their name has been referred to a Welsh original, but on this no great reliance can be placed, as it would be in this case a local (=*coastmen*) and not an ethnical title, and might have been imposed on them by the Celts. They evidently hold a posterior place to the Iberians, inasmuch as they are said to have driven a section of this people across the Alps into Italy. That they were distinct from the Celts is asserted by Strabo (ii. p. 128), but the distinction may have been no greater than exists between the British and the Gaelic branches of that race. The admixture of the Celts and Iberians in the Spanish peninsula is again a somewhat intricate question, which Dr. Latham attempts to explain on the ground that the term Celt (Κέλται) really meant Iberian (*Ethn. of Eur.* p. 35). That such questions as these should arise on a subject which carries us back to times of hoar antiquity, forms no ground for doubting the general conclusion that we can account ethnologically for the population of the European continent.

The Shemitic and Indo-European families cover after all but an insignificant portion of the earth's surface: the large areas of Northern and Eastern Asia, the numerous groups of islands that line its coast and stud the Pacific in the direction of South America, and again the immense continent of America itself, stretching well nigh from pole to pole, remain to be accounted for. Historical aid is almost wholly denied to the ethnologist in his researches in these quarters; physiology and language are his only guides. It can hardly, therefore, be matter of surprise, if we are unable to obtain certainty, or even a reasonable degree of probability, on this part of our subject. Much has been done; but far more remains to be done before the data for forming a conclusive opinion can be obtained. In Asia, the languages fall into two large classes—the monosyllabic, and the agglutinative. The former are represented ethnologically by the Chinese, the latter by the various nations classed together by Prof. M. Müller under the common head of Turanian. It is unnecessary for us to discuss the correctness of his view in regarding all these nations as members of one and the same family. Whether we accept or reject his theory, the fact of a gradation of linguistic types and of connecting links between the various branches remains unaffected, and for our present purpose the question is of comparatively little moment. The monosyllabic type apparently betokens the earliest movement from the common home of the human race, and we should therefore assign a chronological priority to the settlement of the Chinese in the east and south-east of the continent. The agglutinative languages fall geographically into two divisions, a northern and southern. The northern consists of a well-defined group, or family, designated by German ethnologists the Ural-Altaian. It consists of the following five branches:—(1) The Tunguaian, covering a large area, east of the river Yenisei, between lake Baikal and the Tunguska. (2) The Mongolian, which prevails over the Great Desert of Gobi, and among the Kalmucks, wherever their nomad habits lead them on the steppes either of Asia or Europe, in the latter of which they are found about the lower course of the Volga. (3) The Turkish, covering an immense area from the Mediterranean in the south-west to the river Lena in the north-east; in Europe spoken by the Osmanli, who form the governing class in Turkey; by the Nogai, between the Caspian and the Sea of Azov; and by various Caucasian tribes. (4) The Samoiedic, on the coast of the Arctic Ocean, between the White Sea in the west and the river Anabara in the east. (5) The Finnish, which is spoken by the Finns and Lapps; by the inhabitants of Esthonia and Livonia to the south of the Gulf of Finland; by various tribes about the Volga (the Tcheremissians and Mordvinians), and the Kama (the Votiakes and Permians); and, lastly, by the Magyars of Hungary. The southern branch is subdivided into the following four classes:—(1) The Tamulian, of the south of Hindostan. (2) The Bhotîya, of Tibet, the sub-Himalayan district (Nepaul and Bhotan), and the Lohitic languages east of the Brahmapootra. (3) The Taï, in Siam, Laos, Anam, and Pegu. (4) The Malay, of the Malay peninsula, and the adjacent islands; the latter being the original settlement of the Malay race, whence they spread in comparatively modern times to the mainland.

The early movements of the races representing these several divisions, can only be divined by linguistic tokens. Prof. M. Müller assigns to the northern tribes the following chronological order:—Tungusian, Mongolian, Turkish, and Finnish; and to the southern division the following:—Taï Malay, Bhotîya, and Tamulian (*Ph. of H.* i. 481) Geographically it appears more likely that the Malay preceded the Taï, inasmuch as they occupied a more southerly district. The later movements of the European branches of the northern division can be traced historically. The Turkish race commenced their westerly migration from the neighbourhood of the Altai range in the 1st century of our era; in the 6th they had reached the Caspian and the Volga; in the 11th and 12th the Turcomans took possession of their present quarters south of Caucasus: in the 13th the Osmanli made their first appearance in Western Asia; about the middle of the 14th they crossed from Asia Minor into Europe; and in the middle of the 15th they had established themselves at Constantinople. The Finnish race is supposed to have been originally settled about the Ural range, and thence to have migrated westward to the shores of the Baltic, which they had reached at a period anterior to the Christian era; in the 7th century a branch pressed southwards to the Danube, and founded the kingdom of Bulgaria, where, however, they have long ceased to have any national existence. The Ugrian tribes, who are the early representatives of the Hungarian Magyars, approached Europe from Asia in the 5th and settled in Hungary in the 9th century of our era. The central point from which the various branches of the Turanian family radiated would appear to be about lake Baikal. With regard to the ethnology of Oceania and America we can say but little. The languages of the former are generally supposed to be connected with the Malay class (Bunsen, *Ph. of H.* ii. 114), but the

relations, both linguistic and ethnological, existing between the Malay and the black, or Negrito population, which is found on many of the groups of islands, are not well defined. The approximation in language is far greater than in physiology (Latham's *Essays*, pp. 213, 218; Garnett's *Essays*, p. 310), and in certain cases amounts to identity (Kennedy's *Essays*, p. 85); but the whole subject is at present involved in obscurity. The polysynthetic languages of North America are regarded as emanating from the Mongolian stock (Bunsen, *Ph. of H.* ii. 111), and a close affinity is said to exist between the North American and the Kamskadale and Korean languages on the opposite coast of Asia (Latham, *Man and his Migr.* p. 185). The conclusion drawn from this would be that the population of America entered by way of Behring's Straits. Other theories have, however, been broached on this subject. It has been conjectured that the chain of islands which stretches across the Pacific may have conducted a Malay population to South America; and, again, an African origin has been claimed for the Caribs of Central America (Kennedy's *Essays*, pp. 100-123).

In conclusion, we may safely assert that the tendency of all ethnological and linguistic research is to discover the elements of unity amidst the most striking external varieties. Already the myriads of the human race are massed together into a few large groups. Whether it will ever be possible to go beyond this, and to show the historical unity of these groups, is more than we can undertake to say. But we entertain the firm persuasion that in their broad results these sciences will yield an increasing testimony to the truth of the Bible.

[The authorities referred to in the foregoing article are:—M. Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 1862; Bunsen, *Philosophy of History*, 2 vols., 1854; Renan, *Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques*, 3rd ed. 1863; Knobel, *Völkertafel der Genesis*, 1850; W. von Humboldt, *Ueber die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues*, 1836; Delitzsch, *Jeshurun*, 1858; *Transactions of the Philological Society*; Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, 4 vols., 1858; Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen*, 1833; Garnett, *Essays*, 1859; Schleicher, *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1861; Diefenbach, *Origines Europeae*, 1861; Ewald, *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen*, 1862.] [W.L.B.]

Appendix.—Tower of Babel.

The Tower of Babel forms the subject of a previous article [Babel, Tower of]; but in consequence of the discovery of a cuneiform inscription, in which the Tower is mentioned in connexion with the Confusion of Tongues, the eminent cuneiform scholar Dr. Oppert has kindly sent the following addition to the present article.

The history of the confusion of languages was preserved at Babylon, as we learn by the testimonies of classical and Babylonian authorities (Abydenus, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* ed. Didot, vol. iv.). Only the Chaldeans themselves did not admit the Hebrew etymology of the name of their metropolis; they derived it from *Bab-el*, the door of *El* (Kronos or Saturnus), whom Diodorus Siculus states to have been the planet most adored by the Babylonians.

The Talmudists say that the true site of the Tower of Babel was at Borsif, the Greek Borsippa, the *Birs Nimrud*, seven miles and a half from *Hillah*, S.W., and nearly eleven miles from the northern ruins of Babylon. Several passages state that the air of Borsippa makes forgetful (אויר מישכח, *avir mashkakh*); and one rabbi says that *Borsif* is *Bulsif*, the Confusion of Tongues (*Bereshit Rabba*, f. 42, 1). The Babylonian name of this locality is *Barsip* or *Barzipa*, which we explain by *Tower of Tongues*. The French expedition to Mesopotamia found at the Birs Nimrud a clay cake, dated from *Barsip* the 30th day of the 6th month of the 16th year of Nabonid, and the discovery confirmed the hypothesis of several travellers, who had supposed the Birs Nimrud to contain the remains of Borsippa.

Borsippa (the Tongue Tower) was formerly a suburb of Babylon, when the old Babel was merely restricted to the northern ruins, before the great extension of the city, which, according to ancient writers, was the greatest that the sun ever warmed with its beams. Nebuchadnezzar included it in the great circumvallation of 480 stades, but left it out of the second wall of 360 stades; and when the exterior wall was destroyed by Darius, Borsippa became independent of Babylon. The historical writers respecting Alexander state that Borsippa had a great sanctuary dedicated to Apollo and Artemis (Strab. xvi. p. 739; Stephanus Byz. *s. v.* Βόρσιππα), and the former is the building elevated in modern times on the very basement of the old Tower of Babel.

This building, erected by Nebuchadnezzar, is the same that Herodotus describes as the Tower of Jupiter Belus. In our *Expedition to Mesopotamia*[c] we have given a description of this ruin, and proved our assertion of the identity. This tower of Herodotus has nothing to do with the pyramid described by Strabo, and which is certainly to be seen in the remains called now *Babil* (the *Mujellibeh* of Rich). The temple of Borsippa is written with an ideogram,[d] composed of the signs for *house* and *spirit* (anima), the real pronunciation of which was probably *Sarakh*, tower.

The temple consisted of a large substructure, a stade (600 Babylonian feet) in breadth, and 75 feet in height, over which were built seven other stages of 25 feet each. Nebuchadnezzar gives notice of this building in the Borsippa inscription. He named it the temple of the *Seven Lights of the Earth*, *i. e.* the planets. The top was the temple of Nebo, and in the substructure (*igar*) was a temple consecrated to the god Sin, god of the month. This building, mentioned in the East India House inscription (col. iv. l. 61), is spoken of by Herodotus (i. 181 &c.).

Here follows the Borsippa inscription:—"Nabu chodonosor, king of Babylon, shepherd of peoples, who attests the immutable affection of Merodach, the mighty ruler-exalting Nebo; the saviour, the wise man who lends his ears to the orders of the highest god; the lieutenant without reproach, the repairer of the Pyramid and the Tower, eldest son of Nabopallassar, king of Babylon.

"We say: Merodach, the great master, has created me: he has imposed on me to reconstruct his building. Nebo, the guardian over the legions of the heaven and the earth, has charged my hands with the sceptre of justice.

"The Pyramid is the temple of the heaven and the earth, the seat of Merodach, the chief of the gods the place of the oracles, the spot of his rest, I have adorned in the form of a cupola, with shining gold.

[c] *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, i. 208. Compare also the trigonometrical survey of the river in the plates.

[d] BIT. ZI. DA in syllabic characters.

"The Tower, the eternal house, which I founded and built, I have completed its magnificence with silver, gold, other metals, stone, enamelled bricks, fir and pine.

"The first, which is the house of the earth's base, the most ancient monument of Babylon, I built and finished it; I have highly exalted its head with bricks covered with copper.[e]

"We say for the other, that is, this edifice, the house of the Seven Lights of the Earth, the most ancient monument of Borsippa: A former king built it (they reckon 42 ages), but he did not complete its head. *Since a remote time people had abandoned it, without order expressing their words.* Since that time, the earthquake and the thunder had dispersed its sun-dried clay; the bricks of the casing had been split, and the earth of the interior had been scattered in heaps. Merodach, the great lord, excited my mind to repair this building. I did not change the site, nor did I take away the foundation-stone. In a fortunate month, an auspicious day, I undertook to build porticoes around the crude brick masses, and the casing of burnt bricks. I adapted the circuits. I put the inscription of my name in the *Kîtir* of the porticoes.

"I set my hand to finish it, and to exalt its head. As it had been in former times, so I founded, I made it; as it had been in ancient days, so I exalted its summit.

"Nebo, son of himself, ruler who exaltest Merodach, be propitious to my works to maintain my authority. Grant me a life until the remotest time, a sevenfold progeny, the stability of my throne, the victory of my sword, the pacification of foes, the triumph over the lands! In the columns of thy eternal table, that fixes the destinies of the heaven and of the earth, bless the course of my days, inscribe the fecundity of my race.

"Imitate, O Merodach, king of heaven and earth, the father who begot thee; bless my buildings, strengthen my authority. May Nebuchadnezzar, the king-repairer, remain before thy face!"

This allusion to the Tower of the Tongues is the only one that has as yet been discovered in the cuneiform inscriptions.[f] The story is a Shemitic and not only a Hebrew one, and we have no reason whatever to doubt of the existence of the same story at Babylon.

The ruins of the building elevated on the spot where the story placed the tower of the dispersion of tongues, have therefore a more modern origin, but interest nevertheless by their stupendous appearance [OPPERT.]

TONGUES, GIFT OF.—I. The history of a word which has been used to express some special, wonderful fact in the spiritual life of man is itself full of interest. It may be a necessary preparation for the study of the fact which that word represents.

Γλῶττα, or γλῶσσα, the word employed throughout the N. T. for the gift now under consideration, is used—(1.) for the bodily organ of speech; (2.) for a foreign word, imported and half-naturalised in Greek (Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 2, §14), a meaning which the words "gloss" and "glossary" preserve for us; (3.) in Hellenistic Greek, after the pattern of the corresponding Hebrew word (לָשׁוֹן), for "speech" or "language" (Gen. x. 5; Dan. i. 4, &c. &c.).

Each of these meanings might be the starting-point for the application of the word to the gift of tongues, and each accordingly has found those who have maintained that it is so. (A). Eichhorn and Bardili (cited by Bleek, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1829, p. 8, et seq.), and to some extent Bunsen (*Hippolytus*, i. 9), starting from the first, see in the so-called gift an inarticulate utterance, the cry as of a brute creature, in which the tongue moves while the lips refuse their office in making the sounds definite and distinct. (B). Bleek himself (*ut supr.* p. 33) adopts the second meaning, and gives an interesting collection of passages to prove that it was, in the time of the N. T., the received sense. He infers from this that to speak in tongues was to use unusual, poetic language—that the speakers were in a high-wrought excitement which showed itself in mystic, figurative terms. In this view he had been preceded by Ernesti (*Opusc. Theolog.*; see *Morning Watch*, iv. 101) and Herder (*Die Gabe der Sprache*, pp. 47, 70), the latter of whom extends the meaning to special mystical interpretations of the O. T. (C). The received traditional view starts from the third meaning, and sees in the gift of tongues a distinctly linguistic power.

We have to see which of these views has most to commend it. (A), it is believed, does not meet the condition of answering any of the facts of the N. T., and errs in ignoring the more prominent meaning of the word in later Greek. (B), though true in some of its conclusions, and able, as far as they are concerned, to support itself by the authority of Augustine (comp. *De Gen. ad lit.* xii. 8, "linguam esse cum quis loquatur obscuras et mysticas significationes"), appears faulty, as failing (1) to recognise the fact that the sense of the word in the N. T. was more likely to be determined by that which it bore in the LXX. than by its meaning in Greek historians or rhetoricians, and (2) to meet the phenomena of Acts ii. (C) therefore commends itself, as in this respect starting at least from the right point, and likely to lead us to the truth (comp. Olshausen, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1829, p. 538).

II. The chief passages from which we have to draw our conclusion as to the nature and purpose of the gift in question, are—(1.) Mark xvi. 17; (2.) Acts ii. 1-13, x. 46, xix. 6; (3.) 1 Cor. xii. xiv. It deserves notice that the chronological sequence of these passages, as determined by the date of their composition, is probably just the opposite of that of the periods to which they severally refer. The first group is later than the second, the second than the third. It will be expedient, however, whatever modifications this fact may suggest afterwards, to deal with the passages in their commonly received order.

III. The promise of a new power coming from the Divine Spirit, giving not only comfort and insight into truth, but fresh powers of utterance of some kind, appears once and again in our Lord's teaching. The disciples are to take no thought what they shall speak, for the Spirit of their Father shall speak in them (Matt. x. 19, 20; Mark xiii. 11). The lips of Galilean peasants are to speak freely and boldly before kings. The only condition is that they are "not to premeditate"—to yield themselves altogether to the power that works on them. Thus they shall have given to them "a mouth and wisdom" which no adversary shall be able "to

[e] This manner of building is expressly mentioned by Philostratus (*Apoll. Tyan.* i. 25) as Babylonian.

[f] See *Expédition en Mesopotamie*, tom. i. 200.

[g] Several scholars, we know, do not agree with us We gave our reasons five years ago, and our antagonists have not yet refuted them.

gainsay or resist." In Mark xvi. 17 we have a more definite term employed: "They shall speak with new tongues (καιναῖς γλώσσαις)." Starting, as above, from (C), it can hardly be questioned that the obvious meaning of the promise is that the disciples should speak in new languages which they had not learnt as other men learn them. It must be remembered, however, that the critical questions connected with Mark xvi. 9-20 (comp. Meyer, Tischendorf, Alford, *in loc.*) make it doubtful whether we have here the language of the Evangelist—doubtful therefore whether we have the *ipsissima verba* of the Lord himself, or the nearest approximation of some early transcriber to the contents of the section, no longer extant, with which the Gospel had originally ended. In this case it becomes possible that the later phenomena, or later thoughts respecting them, may have determined the language in which the promise is recorded. On either hypothesis, the promise determines nothing as to the nature of the gift, or the purpose for which it was to be employed. It was to be a "sign." It was not to belong to a chosen few only—to Apostles and Evangelists. It was to "follow them that believed"—to be among the fruits of the living intense faith which raised men above the common level of their lives, and brought them within the kingdom of God.

IV. The wonder of the day of Pentecost is, in its broad features, familiar enough to us. The days since the Ascension had been spent as in a ceaseless ecstasy of worship (Luke xxiv. 53). The 120 disciples were gathered together, waiting with eager expectation for the coming of power from on high—of the Spirit that was to give them new gifts of utterance. The day of Pentecost was come, which they, like all other Israelites, looked on as the witness of the revelation of the Divine Will given on Sinai. Suddenly there swept over them "the sound as of a rushing mighty wind," such as Ezekiel had heard in the visions of God by Chebar (i. 24, xliii. 2), at all times the recognised symbol of a spiritual creative power (comp. Ez. xxxvii. 1-14; Gen. i. 2; 1 K. xix. 11; 2 Chr. v. 14; Ps. civ. 3, 4). With this there was another sign associated even more closely with their thoughts of the day of Pentecost. There appeared unto them "tongues like as of fire." Of old the brightness had been seen gleaming through the "thick cloud" (Ex. xix. 18), or "enfolding" the Divine glory (Ez. i. 4). Now the tongues were distributed (διαμεριζόμεναι), lighting upon each of them.[a] The outward symbol was accompanied by an inward change. They were "filled with the Holy Spirit," as the Baptist and their Lord had been (Luke i. 15, iv. 1), though they themselves had as yet no experience of a like kind. "They began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance." The narrative that follows leaves hardly any room for doubt that the writer meant to convey the impression that the disciples were heard to speak in languages of which they had no colloquial knowledge previously. The direct statement, "They heard them speaking, each man in his own dialect," the long list of nations, the words put into the lips of the hearers—these can scarcely be reconciled with the theories of Bleek, Herder, and Bunsen, without a wilful distortion of the evidence.[b] What view are we to take of a phenomenon so marvellous and exceptional? What views have men actually taken? (1.) The prevalent belief of the Church has been, that in the Pentecostal gift the disciples received a supernatural knowledge of all such languages as they needed for their work as Evangelists. The knowledge was permanent, and could be used at their own will, as though it had been acquired in the common order of things. With this they went forth to preach to the nations. Differences of opinion are found as to special points. Augustine thought that each disciple spoke in all languages (*De Verb. Apost.* clxxv. 3); Chrysostom that each had a special language assigned to him, and that this was the indication of the country which he was called to evangelize (*Hom. in Act.* ii.). Some thought that the number of languages spoken was 70 or 75, after the number of the sons of Noah (Gen. x.) or the sons of Jacob (Gen. xlvi.), or 120, after that of the disciples (comp. Baronius, *Annal.* i. 197). Most were agreed in seeing in the Pentecostal gift the antithesis to the confusion of tongues at Babel, the witness of a restored unity. "Poena linguarum dispersit homines, donum linguarum dispersos in unum populum collegit" (Grotius, *in loc.*).

Widely diffused as this belief has been, it must be remembered that it goes beyond the data with which the N. T. supplies us. Each instance of the gift recorded in the Acts connects it, not with the work of teaching, but with that of praise and adoration; not with the normal order of men's lives, but with exceptional epochs in them. It came and went as the Spirit gave men the power of utterance—in this respect analogous to the other gift of prophecy with which it was so often associated (Acts ii. 16, 17, xix. 6)—and was not possessed by them as a thing to be used this way or that, according as they chose.[c] The speech of St. Peter which follows, like most other speeches addressed to a Jerusalem audience, was spoken apparently in Aramaic.[d] When St. Paul, who "spake

[a] The sign in this case had its starting-point in the traditional belief of Israelites. There had been, it was said, tongues of fire on the original Pentecost (Schneckenburger, *Beiträge*, p. 8, referring to Buxtorf, *De Synag.*, and Philo, *De Decal.*). The later Rabbis were not without their legends of a like "baptism of fire." Nicodemus ben Gorion and Jochanan ben Zaccai, men of great holiness and wisdom, went into an upper chamber to expound the Law, and the house began to be full of fire (Lightfoot, *Harm.* iii. 14; Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb.* in Acts ii.).

[b] It deserves notice that here also there are analogies in Jewish belief. Every word that went forth from the mouth of God on Sinai was said to have been divided into the seventy languages of the sons of men (Wetstein, on Acts ii.); and the *bath-kol*, the echo of the voice of God, was heard by every man in his own tongue (Schneckenburger, *Beiträge*). So, as regards the power of speaking, there was a tradition that the great Rabbis of the Sanhedrim could speak all the seventy languages of the world.

[c] The first discussion whether the gift of tongues was bestowed "per modum habitus" with which I am acquainted is found in Salmasius, *De Ling. Hebr.* (quoted by Thilo, *De Ling. Ignit.* in Menthen's *Thesaurus*, ii. 497), whose conclusion is in the negative. Even Calmet admits that it was not permanent (*Comm.* in loc.). Compare also Wetstein, *in loc.*; and Olshausen, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1829, p. 546.

[d] Dr. Stanley suggests Greek, as addressed to the Hellenistic Jews who were present in such large numbers (Excurs. on Gift of Tongues, *Corinthians*, p. 260, 2nd ed.). That St. Peter and the Apostles could speak a provincial Greek is probable enough; but in this instance the speech is addressed chiefly to the permanent dwellers at Jerusalem (Acts ii. 22, 36), and was likely, like that of St. Paul (Acts xxi. 40), to be spoken in their tongue. To most of the Hellenistic hearers this would be intelligible enough.

with tongues more than all," was at Lystra, there is no mention made of his using the language of Lycaonia. It is almost implied that he did not understand it (Acts xiv. 11). Not one word in the discussion of spiritual gifts in 1 Cor. xii.-xiv. implies that the gift was of this nature, or given for this purpose. If it had been, the Apostle would surely have told those who possessed it to go and preach to the outlying nations of the heathen world, instead of disturbing the Church by what, on this hypothesis, would have been a needless and offensive ostentation (comp. Stanley, *Corinthians*, p. 261, 2nd ed.). Without laying much stress on the tradition that St. Peter was followed in his work by Mark as an interpreter (ἑρμηνευτής) (Papias, in Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 30), that even St. Paul was accompanied by Titus in the same character—"quia non potuit divinorum sensuum majestatem digno Graeci eloquii sermone explicare" (Hieron. quoted by Estius in 2 Cor. ii.)—they must at least be received as testimonies that the age which was nearest to the phenomena did not take the same view of them as those have done who lived at a greater distance. The testimony of Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* vi. 6), sometimes urged in support of the common view, in reality decides nothing, and, as far as it goes, tends against it (*infra*). Nor, it may be added, within the limits assigned by the providence of God to the working of the Apostolic Church, was such a gift necessary. Aramaic, Greek, Latin, the three languages of the inscription on the cross, were media of intercourse throughout the empire. Greek alone sufficed, as the N. T. shows us, for the Churches of the West, for Macedonia and Achaia, for Pontus, Asia, Phrygia. The conquests of Alexander and of Rome had made men *diglottic* to an extent which has no parallel in history. (2.) Some interpreters, influenced in part by these facts, have seen their way to another solution of the difficulty by changing the character of the miracle. It lay not in any new power bestowed on the speakers, but in the impression produced on the hearers. Words which the Galilean disciples uttered in their own tongue were heard by those who listened as in their native speech. This view we find adopted by Gregory of Nyssa (*De Spir. Sanct.*), discussed, but not accepted, by Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* xliv.), and reproduced by Erasmus (*in loc.*). A modification of the same theory is presented by Schneckenburger (*Beiträge*), and in part adopted by Olshausen (*l. c.*) and Neander (*Pflanz. u. Leit.* i. 15). The phenomena of somnambulism, of the so-called mesmeric state, are referred to as analogous. The speaker was *en rapport* with his hearers; the latter shared the thoughts of the former, and so heard them, or seemed to hear them, in their own tongues.

There are, it is believed, weighty reasons against both the earlier and later forms of this hypothesis. (1.) It is at variance with the distinct statement of Acts ii. 4, "They began to speak with other tongues." (2.) It at once multiplies the miracle, and degrades its character. Not the 120 disciples, but the whole multitude of many thousands, are in this case the subjects of it. The gift no longer connects itself with the work of the Divine Spirit, following on intense faith and earnest prayer, but is a mere physical prodigy wrought upon men who are altogether wanting in the conditions of capacity for such a supernatural power (Mark xvi. 17). (3.) It involves an element of falsehood. The miracle, on this view, was wrought to make men believe what was not actually the fact. (4.) It is altogether inapplicable to the phenomena of 1 Cor. xiv.

(3.) Critics of a negative school have, as might be expected, adopted the easier course of rejecting the narrative either altogether or in part. The statements do not come from an eye-witness, and may be an exaggerated report of what actually took place—a legend with or without a historical foundation. Those who recognise such a groundwork see in "the rushing mighty wind," the hurricane of a thunderstorm, the fresh breeze of morning; in the "tongues like as of fire," the flashings of the electric fluid; in the "speaking with tongues," the loud screams of men, not all Galileans, but coming from many lands, overpowered by strong excitement, speaking in mystical, figurative, abrupt exclamations. They see in this "the cry of the new-born Christendom." (Bunsen, *Hippolytus*. ii. 12; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* vi. 110; Bleek, *l. c.*; Herder, *l. c.*) From the position occupied by these writers, such a view was perhaps natural enough. It does not fall within the scope of this article to discuss in detail a theory which postulates the incredibility of any fact beyond the phenomenal laws of nature, and the falsehood of St. Luke as a narrator.

V. What, then, are the facts actually brought before us? What inferences may be legitimately drawn from them?

(1.) The utterance of words by the disciples, in other languages than their own Galilean Aramaic, is, as has been said, distinctly asserted.

(2.) The words spoken appear to have been determined, not by the will of the speakers, but by the Spirit which "gave them utterance." The outward tongue of flame was the symbol of the "burning fire" within, which, as in the case of the older prophets, could not be repressed (Jer. xx. 9).

(3.) The word used, ἀποφθέγγεσθαι, not merely λαλεῖν, has in the LXX. a special, though not an exclusive, association with the oracular speech of true or false prophets, and appears to imply some peculiar, perhaps musical, solemn intonation (comp. 1 Chr. xxv. 1; Ez. xiii. 9; Trommii *Concordant.* s. v.; Grotius and Wetstein, *in loc.*; Andrewes, *Whitsunday Sermons*, i.).

(4.) The "tongues" were used as an instrument, not of teaching but of praise. At first, indeed, there were none present to be taught. The disciples were by themselves, all sharing equally in the Spirit's gifts. When they were heard by others, it was as proclaiming the praise, the mighty and great works, of God (μεγαλεῖα). What they uttered was not a warning, or reproof, or exhortation, but a doxology (Stanley, *l. c.*; Baumgarten, *Apostelgesch.* §3). When the work of teaching began, it was in the language of the Jews, and the utterance of tongues ceased.

(5.) Those who spoke them seemed to others to be under the influence of some strong excitement, "full of new wine." They were not as other men, or as they themselves had been before. Some recognised, indeed, that they were in a higher state, but it was one which, in some of its outward features, had a counterfeit likeness in the lower. When St. Paul uses—in Eph. v. 18, 19 (πληροῦσθε πνεύματος)—the all but selfsame word which St. Luke uses here to describe the state of the disciples (ἐπλήσθησαν πνεύματος ἁγίου), it is to contrast it with "being drunk with wine," to associate it with "psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs."

(6.) Questions as to the mode of operation of

power above the common laws of bodily or mental life lead us to a region where our words should be "wary and few." There is the risk of seeming to reduce to the known order of nature that which is by confession above and beyond it. In this and in other cases, however, it may be possible, without irreverence or doubt—following the guidance which Scripture itself gives us—to trace in what way the new power did its work, and brought about such wonderful results. It must be remembered, then, that in all likelihood such words as they then uttered had been heard by the disciples before. At every feast which they had ever attended from their youth up, they must have been brought into contact with a crowd as varied as that which was present on the day of Pentecost, the pilgrims of each nation uttering their praises and doxologies. The difference was, that, before, the Galilean peasants had stood in that crowd, neither heeding, nor understanding, nor remembering what they heard, still less able to reproduce it; now they had the power of speaking it clearly and freely. The Divine work would in this case take the form of a supernatural exaltation of the memory, not of imparting a miraculous knowledge of words never heard before. We have the authority of John xiv. 26 for seeing in such an exaltation one of the special works of the Divine Comforter.

(7.) The gift of tongues, the ecstatic burst of praise, is definitely asserted to be a fulfilment of the prediction of Joel ii. 28. The twice-repeated burden of that prediction is, "I will pour out my Spirit," and the effect on those who receive it is that "they shall prophesy." We may see therefore in this special gift that which is analogous to one element at least of the προφητεία of the O. T.; but the element of teaching is, as we have seen, excluded. In 1 Cor. xiv. the gift of tongues and προφητεία (in this, the N. T. sense of the word) are placed in direct contrast. We are led, therefore, to look for that which answers to the Gift of Tongues in the other element of prophecy which is included in the O. T. use of the word; and this is found in the ecstatic praise, the burst of song, which appears under that name in the two histories of Saul (1 Sam. x. 5-13, xix. 20-24), and in the services of the Temple (1 Chr. xxv. 3).

(8.) The other instances in the Acts offer essentially the same phenomena. By implication in xiv. 15-19, by express statement in x. 47, xi. 15, 17, xix. 6, it belongs to special critical epochs, at which faith is at its highest, and the imposition of the Apostles' hands brought men into the same state, imparted to them the same gift, as they had themselves experienced. In this case, too, the exercise of the gift is at once connected with and distinguished from "prophecy" in its N. T. sense.

VI. The First Epistle to the Corinthians supplies fuller data. The spiritual gifts are classified and compared, arranged, apparently, according to their worth, placed under regulation. This fact is in itself significant. Though recognised as coming from the one Divine Spirit, they are not therefore exempted from the control of man's reason and conscience. The Spirit acts through the calm judgment of the Apostle or the Church, not less but more authoritatively than in the most rapturous and wonderful utterances. The facts which may be gathered are briefly these:

(1.) The phenomena of the gift of tongues were not confined to one Church or section of a Church. If we find them at Jerusalem, Ephesus, Corinth, by implication at Thessalonica also (1 Thess. v. 19), we may well believe that they were frequently recurring wherever the spirits of men were passing through the same stages of experience.

(2.) The comparison of gifts, in both the lists given by St. Paul (1 Cor. xii. 8-10, 28-30), places that of tongues, and the interpretation of tongues, lowest in the scale. They are not among the greater gifts which men are to "covet earnestly" (1 Cor. xii. 31, xiv. 5). As signs of a life quickened into expression where before it had been dead and dumb, the Apostle could wish that "they all spake with tongues" (1 Cor. xiv. 5), could rejoice that he himself "spake with tongues more than they all" (1 Cor. xiv. 18). It was good to have known the working of a power raising them above the common level of their consciousness. They belonged, however, to the childhood of the Christian life, not to its maturity (1 Cor. xiv. 20). They brought with them the risk of disturbance (ibid. 23). The only safe rule for the Church was not to "forbid them" (ibid. 39), not to "quench" them (1 Thess. v. 19), lest in so doing the spiritual life of which this was the first utterance should be crushed and extinguished too, but not in any way to covet or excite them. This language, as has been stated, leaves it hardly possible to look on the gift as that of a linguistic knowledge bestowed for the purpose of evangelising.

(3.) The main characteristic of the "tongue" (now used, as it were, technically, without the epithet "new" or "other")* is that it is unintelligible. The man "speaks mysteries," prays, blesses, gives thanks, in the tongue (ἐν πνεύματι as equivalent to ἐν γλώσσῃ, 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16), but no one understands him (ἀκούει). He can hardly be said, indeed, to understand himself. The πνεῦμα in him is acting without the co-operation of the νοῦς (1 Cor. xiv. 14). He speaks not to men, but to himself and to God (comp. Chrysost. *Hom.* 35, *in* 1 *Cor.*). In spite of this, however, the gift might and did contribute to the building up of a man's own life (1 Cor. xiv. 4). This might be the only way in which some natures could be roused out of the apathy of a sensual life, or the dulness of a formal ritual. The ecstasy of adoration which seemed to men madness, might be a refreshment unspeakable to one who was weary with the subtle questionings of the intellect, to whom all familiar and intelligible words were fraught with recollections of controversial bitterness or the wanderings of doubt (comp. a passage of wonderful power as to this use of the gift by Edw. Irving, *Morning Watch*, v. p. 78).

(4.) The peculiar nature of the gift leads the Apostle into what appears, at first, a contradiction. "Tongues are for a sign," not to believers, but to those who do not believe; yet the effect on unbelievers is not that of attracting but repelling. A meeting in which the gift of tongues was exercised without restraint, would seem to a heathen visitor, or even to the plain common-sense Christian (the ἰδιώτης, the man without a χάρισμα), to be an assembly of madmen. The history of the day of Pentecost may help us to explain the paradox. The tongues *are* a sign. They witness that the daily experience of men is not the limit of their spiritual powers. They disturb, startle, awaken, are given εἰς τὸ ἐκπλήττεσθαι (Chrysost. *Hom.* 36, *in*

* The reader will hardly need to be reminded that "unknown" is an interpolation of the A. V.

1 *Cor.*), but they are not, and cannot be, the grounds of conviction and belief (so *Const. Apost.* viii.). They involve of necessity a disturbance of the equilibrium between the understanding and the feelings. Therefore it is that, for those who believe already, prophecy is the greater gift. Five clear words spoken from the mind of one man to the mind and conscience of another, are better than ten thousand of these more startling and wonderful phenomena.

(5.) There remains the question whether these also were "tongues" in the sense of being languages, of which the speakers had little or no previous knowledge, or whether we are to admit here, though not in Acts ii., the theories which see in them only unusual forms of speech (Bleek), or inarticulate cries (Bunsen), or all but inaudible whisperings (Wieseler, in Olshausen, *in loc.*). The question is not one for a dogmatic assertion, but it is believed that there is a preponderance of evidence leading us to look on the phenomena of Pentecost as representative. It must have been from them that the word *tongue* derived its new and special meaning. The companion of St. Paul, and St. Paul himself, were likely to use the same word in the same sense. In the absence of a distinct notice to the contrary, it is probable that the gift would manifest itself in the same form at Corinth as at Jerusalem. The "divers kinds of tongues" (1 Cor. xii. 28), the "*tongues* of men" (1 Cor. xiii. 1), point to differences of some kind, and it is at least easier to conceive of these as differences of language than as belonging to utterances all equally wild and inarticulate. The position maintained by Lightfoot (*Harm. of Gosp. on Acts* ii.), that the gift of tongues *consisted* in the power of speaking and understanding the true Hebrew of the O. T., may seem somewhat extravagant, but there seems ground for believing that Hebrew and Aramaic words had over the minds of Greek converts at Corinth a power which they failed to exercise when translated, and that there the utterances of the tongues were probably in whole, or in part, in that language. Thus, the "Maranatha" of 1 Cor. xvi. 22, compared with xii. 3, leads to the inference that that word had been spoken under a real or counterfeit inspiration. It was the Spirit that led men to cry *Abba*, as their recognition of the fatherhood of God (Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6). If we are to attach any definite meaning to the "tongues of angels" in 1 Cor. xiii. 1, it must be by connecting it with the words surpassing human utterance, which St. Paul heard as in Paradise (2 Cor. xii. 4), and these again with the great Hallelujah hymns of which we read in the Apocalypse (Rev. xix. 1-6; Stanley, *l. c.*; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* vi. p. 117). The retention of other words like Hosanna and Sabaoth in the worship of the Church, of the Greek formula of the Kyrie Eleison in that of the nations of the West, is an exemplification of the same feeling operating in other ways after the special power had ceased.

(6.) Here also, as in Acts ii., we have to think of some peculiar intonation as frequently characterising the exercise of the "tongues." The analogies which suggest themselves to St. Paul's mind are those of the pipe, the harp, the trumpet (1 Cor. xiv. 7, 8). In the case of one "singing in the spirit" (1 Cor. xiv. 15), but not with the understanding also, the strain of ecstatic melody must have been all that the listeners could perceive. To "sing and make melody," is specially characteristic of those who are filled with the Spirit (Eph. v. 19). Other forms of utterance less distinctly musical, yet not less mighty to stir the minds of men, we may trace in the "cry" (Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6) and the "unutterable groanings" (Rom. viii. 26) which are distinctly ascribed to the work of the Divine Spirit. To those who know the wonderful power of man's voice, as the organ of his spirit, the strange, unearthly charm which belongs to some of its less normal states, the influence even of individual words thus uttered, especially of words belonging to a language which is not that of our common life (comp. Hilar. Diac. *Comm. in* 1 *Cor.* xiv.), it will not seem strange that, even in the absence of a distinct intellectual consciousness, the gift should take its place among the means by which a man "built up" his own life, and might contribute, if one were present to expound his utterances, to "edify" others also.[f]

(7.) Connected with the "tongues," there was, as the words just used remind us, the corresponding power of interpretation. It might belong to any listener (1 Cor. xiv. 27). It might belong to the speaker himself when he returned to the ordinary level of conscious thought (1 Cor. xiv. 13). Its function, according to the view that has been here taken, must have been twofold. The interpreter had first to catch the foreign words, Aramaic or others, which had mingled more or less largely with what was uttered, and then to find a meaning and an order in what seemed at first to be without either, to follow the loftiest flights and most intricate windings of the enraptured spirit, to trace the subtle associations which linked together words and thoughts that seemed at first to have no point of contact. Under the action of one with this insight the wild utterances of the "tongues" might become a treasure-house of deep truths. Sometimes, it would appear, not even this was possible. The power might be simply that of sound. As the pipe or harp, played boldly, the hand struck at random over the strings, but with no διαστολή, no musical interval, wanted the condition of distinguishable melody, so the "tongues," in their extremest form, passed beyond the limits of interpretation. There might be a strange awfulness, or a strange sweetness as of "the tongues of angels," but what it meant was known only to God (1 Cor. xiv. 7-11).

VII. (1.) Traces of the gift are found, as has been said, in the Epistles to the Romans, the Galatians, the Ephesians. From the Pastoral Epistles, from those of St. Peter and St. John, they are altogether absent, and this is in itself significant. The life of the Apostle and of the Church has passed into a calmer, more normal state. Wide truths, abiding graces, these are what he himself lives in and exhorts others to rest on, rather than exceptional χαρίσματα, however marvellous. The "tongues" are already "ceasing" (1 Cor. xiii. 8), as a thing belonging to the past. Love, which even when "tongues" were mightiest, he had seen to be above all gifts, has become more and more, all in all, to him.

(2.) It is probable, however, that the disappearance of the "tongues" was gradual. As it would have been impossible to draw the precise line of de-

[f] Neander (*Pflanz. u. Leit.* i. 15) refers to the effect produced by the preaching of St. Bernard upon hearers who did not understand one word of the Latin in which he preached (*Opp.* ii. 319, ed. Mabillon) as an instance of this. Like phenomena are related of St. Antony of Padua and St. Vincent Ferrer (*Acta Sanctorum*, June 24 and April 5), of which this is probably the explanation. (Comp. also Wolff, *Curae Philolog. in N. T.* Acta ii.)

marcation when the προφητεία of the Apostolic age passed into the διδασκαλία that remained permanently in the Church, so there must have been a time when "tongues" were still heard, though less frequently, and with less striking results. The testimony of Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* v. 6) that there were brethren in his time "who had prophetic gifts, and spoke through the Spirit in all kinds of tongues," though it does not prove, what it has sometimes been alleged to prove, the permanence of the gift in the individual, or its use in the work of evangelising (Wordsworth *on Acts* ii.), must be admitted as evidence of the existence of phenomena like those which we have met with in the Church of Corinth. For the most part, however, the part which they had filled in the worship of the Church was supplied by the "hymns and spiritual songs" of the succeeding age. In the earliest of these, distinct in character from either the Hebrew psalms or the later hymns of the Church, marked by a strange mixture of mystic names, and half-coherent thoughts (such *e. g.* as the hymn with which Clement of Alexandria ends his Παιδαγωγός, and the earliest Sibylline verses) some have seen the influence of the ecstatic utterances in which the strong feelings of adoration had originally shown themselves (Nitzsch, *Christl. Lehre*, ii. p. 268).

After this, within the Church we lose nearly all traces of them. The mention of them by Eusebius (*Comm. in Ps.* xlvi.) is vague and uncertain. The tone in which Chrysostom speaks of them (*Comm. in* 1 *Cor.* xiv.) is that of one who feels the whole subject to be obscure, because there are no phenomena within his own experience at all answering to it. The whole tendency of the Church was to maintain reverence and order, and to repress all approaches to the ecstatic state. Those who yielded to it took refuge, as in the case of Tertullian (*infra*), in sects outside the Church. Symptoms of what was then looked on as an evil, showed themselves in the 4th century at Constantinople—wild, inarticulate cries, words passionate but of little meaning, almost convulsive gestures—and were met by Chrysostom with the sternest possible reproof (*Hom. in Is.* vi. 2, ed. Migne, vi. p. 100).

VIII. (1.) A wider question of deep interest presents itself. Can we find in the religious history of mankind any facts analogous to the manifestation of the "tongues"? Recognising, as we do, the great gap which separates the work of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost from all others, both in its origin and its fruits, there is, it is believed, no reason for rejecting the thought that there might be like phenomena standing to it in the relation of foreshadowings, approximations, counterfeits. Other χαρίσματα of the Spirit, wisdom, prophecy, helps, governments, had or have analogies, in special states of men's spiritual life, at other times and under other conditions, and so may these. The three characteristic phenomena are, as has been seen, (1) an ecstatic state of partial or entire unconsciousness, the human will being, as it were, swayed by a power above itself; (2) the utterance of words in tones startling and impressive, but often conveying no distinct meaning; (3) the use of languages which the speaker at other times was unable to converse in.

(2.) The history of the O. T. presents us with some instances in which the gift of prophecy has accompaniments of this nature. The word includes something more than the utterance of a distinct message of God. Saul and his messengers come under the power of the Spirit, and he lies on the ground, all night, stripped of his kingly armour, and joining in the wild chant of the company of prophets, or pouring out his own utterances to the sound of their music (1 Sam. xix. 24; comp. Stanley, *l. c.*).

(3.) We cannot exclude the false prophets and diviners of Israel from the range of our inquiry. As they, in their work, dress, pretensions, were counterfeits of those who truly bore the name, so we may venture to trace in other things that which resembled, more or less closely, what had accompanied the exercise of the Divine gift. And here we have distinct records of strange, mysterious intonations. The ventriloquist wizards (οἱ ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνοῦσιν) "peep[g] and mutter" (Is. viii. 19). The "voice of one who has a familiar spirit," comes low out of the ground (Is. xxix. 4). The false prophets simulate with their tongues (ἐκβάλλοντας προφητείας γλώσσης, LXX.) the low voice with which the true prophets announced that the Lord had spoken. (Jer. xxiii. 31; comp. Gesen. *Thes.* s. v. נְאֻם).

(4.) The quotation by St. Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 21) from Is. xxviii. 11 ("With men of other tongues (ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις) and other lips will I speak unto this people"), has a significance of which we ought not to lose sight. The common interpretation sees in that passage only a declaration that those who had refused to listen to the Prophets should be taught a sharp lesson by the lips of alien conquerors. Ewald (*Prophet.* in loc.), dissatisfied with this, sees in the new teaching the voice of thunder striking terror into men's minds. St. Paul, with the phenomena of the "tongues" present to his mind, saw in them the fulfilment of the Prophet's words. Those who turned aside from the true prophetic message should be left to the darker, "stammering," more mysterious utterances, which were in the older, what the "tongues" were in the later Ecclesia. A remarkable parallel to the text thus interpreted is found in Hos. ix. 7. There also the people are threatened with the withdrawal of the true prophetic insight, and in its stead there is to be the wild delirium, the ecstatic madness of the counterfeit (comp. especially the LXX., ὁ προφήτης ὁ παρεστηκώς, ἄνθρωπος ὁ πνευματοφόρος).

(5.) The history of heathen oracles presents, it need hardly be said, examples of the orgiastic state, the condition of the μάντις as distinct from the προφήτης, in which the wisest of Greek thinkers recognised the lower type of inspiration (Plato, *Timaeus*, 72 B; Bleek, *l. c.*). The Pythoness and the Sibyl are as if possessed by a power which they cannot resist. They labour under the *afflatus* of the god. The wild, unearthly sounds ("nec mortale sonans"), often hardly coherent, burst from their lips. It remains for interpreters to collect the

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[g] PEEP. The word, omitted in its place, deserves a separate notice. It is used in the A. V. of Is. viii. 19, x. 14, as the equivalent of צִפְצֵף, "to chirp" or "cry." The Latin *pipio*, from which it comes, is, like the Hebrew, onomatopoetic, and is used to express the wailing cry of young chickens or infant children. In this sense it is used in the first of these passages for the low cry of the false soothsayers, in the second for that of birds whom the hand of the spoiler snatches from their nests. In Is. xxxviii. 14, where the same word is used in the Hebrew, the A. V. gives, "Like a crane or a swallow, so did I chatter."

scattered utterances, and to give them shape and meaning (Virg. *Aen.* vi. 45, 98, *et seq.*).

(6.) More distinct parallels are found in the accounts of the wilder, more excited sects which have, from time to time, appeared in the history of Christendom. Tertullian (*de Anim.* c. 9), as a Montanist, claims the "revelationum charismata" as given to a sister of that sect. They came to her "inter dominica solemnia;" she was, "per ecstasin, in spiritu," conversing with angels, and with the Lord himself, seeing and hearing mysteries ("sacramenta"), reading the hearts of men, prescribing remedies for those who needed them. The movement of the Mendicant orders in the 13th century, the prophesyings of the 16th in England, the early history of the disciples of George Fox, that of the Jansenists in France, the Revivals under Wesley and Whitefield, those of a later date in Sweden, America, and Ireland have, in like manner, been fruitful in ecstatic phenomena more or less closely resembling those which we are now considering.

(7.) The history of the French prophets at the commencement of the 18th century presents some facts of special interest. The terrible sufferings caused by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes were pressing with intolerable severity on the Huguenots of the Cevennes. The persecuted flocks met together with every feeling of faith and hope strung to its highest pitch. The accustomed order of worship was broken, and labouring men, children, and female servants, spoke with rapturous eloquence as the messengers of God. Beginning in 1686, then crushed for a time, bursting forth with fresh violence in 1700, it soon became a matter of almost European celebrity. Refugees arrived in London in 1706, claiming the character of prophets (Lacy, *Cry from the Desert*; N. Peyrat, *Pastors in the Wilderness*). An Englishman, John Lacy, became first a convert and then a leader. The convulsive ecstatic utterances of the sect drew down the ridicule of Shaftesbury (*On Enthusiasm*). Calamy thought it necessary to enter the lists against their pretensions (*Caveat against the New Prophets*). They gained a distinguished proselyte in Sir R. Bulkley, a pupil of Bishop Fell's, with no inconsiderable learning, who occupied in their proceedings a position which reminds us of that of Henry Drummond among the followers of Irving (Bulkley's *Defence of the Prophets*). Here also there was a strong contagious excitement. Nicholson, the Baxter of the sect, published a confession that he had found himself unable to resist it (*Falsehood of the New Prophets*), though he afterwards came to look upon his companions as "enthusiastick impostors." What is specially noticeable is, that the gift of tongues was claimed by them. Sir R. Bulkley declares that he had heard Lacy repeat long sentences in Latin, and another speak Hebrew, though, when not in the Spirit, they were quite incapable of it (*Narrative*, p. 92). The characteristic thought of all the revelations was, that they were the true children of God. Almost every oracle began with "My child!" as its characteristic word (Peyrat, i. 235-313). It is remarkable that a strange Revivalist movement was spreading, nearly at the same time, through Silesia, the chief feature of which was that boys and girls of tender age were almost the only subjects of it, and that they too spoke and prayed with a wonderful power (Lacy, *Relation*, &c., p. 31; Bulkley, *Narrative*, p. 46).

(8.) The so-called Unknown Tongues, which manifested themselves first in the west of Scotland, and afterwards in the Caledonian Church in Regent Square, present a more striking phenomenon, and the data for judging of its nature are more copious. Here, more than in most other cases, there were the conditions of long, eager expectation, fixed brooding over one central thought, the mind strained to a preternatural tension. Suddenly, now from one, now from another, chiefly from women, devout but illiterate, mysterious sounds were heard. Voices, which at other times were harsh and unpleasing, became, when "singing in the Spirit," perfectly harmonious[h] (Cardale, *Narrative*, in *Morning Watch*, ii. 871, 872). Those who spoke, men of known devotion and acuteness, bore witness to their inability to control themselves (Baxter, *Narrative*, pp. 5, 9, 12), to their being led, they knew not how, to speak in a "triumphant chant" (ibid. pp. 46, 81). The man over whom they exercised so strange a power, has left on record his testimony, that to him they seemed to embody a more than earthly music, leading to the belief that the "tongues" of the Apostolic age had been as the archetypal melody of which all the Church's chants and hymns were but faint, poor echoes (Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, ii. 208). To those who were without, on the other hand, they seemed but an unintelligible gibberish, the yells and groans of madmen (Newspapers of 1831, *passim*). Sometimes it was asserted that fragments of known languages, Spanish, Italian, Greek, Hebrew, were mingled together in the utterances of those who spoke in the power (Baxter, *Narrative*, pp. 133, 134). Sometimes it was but a jargon of mere sounds (ibid.). The speaker was commonly unable to interpret what he uttered. Sometimes the office was undertaken by another. A clear and interesting summary of the history of the whole movement is given in Mrs. Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, vol. ii. Those who wish to trace it through all its stages must be referred to the seven volumes of the *Morning Watch*, and especially to Irving's series of papers on the Gifts of the Spirit, in vols. iii., iv. and v. Whatever other explanation may be given of the facts, there exists no ground for imputing a deliberate imposture to any of the persons who were most conspicuous in the movement.

(9.) In certain exceptional states of mind and body the powers of memory are known to receive a wonderful and abnormal strength. In the delirium of fever, in the ecstasy of a trance, men speak in their old age languages which they have never heard or spoken since their earliest youth. The accent of their common speech is altered. Women, ignorant and untaught, repeat long sentences in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, which they had once heard, without, in any degree, understanding or intending to remember them. In all such cases the marvellous power is the accompaniment of disease, and passes away when the patient returns to his usual state, to the healthy equilibrium and interdependence of the life of sensation and of thought (Abercrombie, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 140-143; Winslow, *Obscure Diseases of the Brain*, pp. 337, 360, 374; Watson, *Principles and Practice of Physic*, i. 128). The

[h] Comp. the independent testimony of Archdeacon Stopford. He had listened to the "unknown tongue," and had found it "a sound such as I never heard before, unearthly and unaccountable." He recognised precisely the same sounds in the Irish Revivals of 1859 (*Work and Counter-work*, p. 11).

Mediaeval belief that this power of speaking in tongues belonged to those who were possessed by evil spirits rests, obviously, upon like psychological phenomena (Peter Martyr, *Loci Communes*, i. c. 10; Bayle, *Dictionn.* s. v. "Grandier").

IX. These phenomena have been brought together in order that we may see how far they resemble, how far they differ from, those which we have seen reason to believe constituted the outward signs of the Gift of Tongues. It need not startle or "offend" us if we find the likeness between the true and the counterfeit greater, at first sight, than we expected. So it was at the Churches of Corinth and of Asia. There also the two existed in the closest approximation; and it was to no outward sign, to no speaking with languages, or prediction of the future, that St. Paul and St. John pointed as the crucial test by which men were to distinguish between them, but to the confession on the one side, the denial on the other, that Jesus was the Lord (1 Cor. xii. 3; 1 John iv. 2, 3). What may be legitimately inferred from such facts is the existence, in the mysterious constitution of man's nature, of powers which are, for the most part, latent, but which, under given conditions, may be roused into activity. Memory, imagination, speech, may all be intensified, transfigured, as it were, with a new glory, acting independently of any conscious or deliberate volition. The exciting causes may be disease, or the fixed concentration of the senses or of thought on one object, or the power of sympathy with those who have already passed into the abnormal state. The life thus produced is at the furthest pole from the common life of sensation, habit, forethought. It sees what others do not see, hears what they do not hear. If there be a spiritual power acting upon man, we might expect this phase of the life of the human soul to manifest its operations most clearly. Precisely because we believe in the reality of the Divine work on the day of Pentecost, we may conceive of it as using this state as its instrument, not as introducing phenomena, in all respects without parallel, but as carrying to its highest point, what, if good, had been a foreshadowing of it, presenting the reality of what, if evil, had been the mimicry and counterfeit of good. And whatever resemblances there may be, the points of difference are yet greater. The phenomena which have been described are, with hardly an exception, morbid; the precursors or the consequences of clearly recognisable disease. The Gift of Tongues was bestowed on men in full vigour and activity, preceded by no frenzy, followed by no exhaustion. The Apostles went on with their daily work of teaching and organising the Church. The form which the new power assumed was determined partly, it may be, by deep-lying conditions of man's mental and spiritual being, within which, as self-imposed limits, the Spirit poured from on high was pleased to work, partly by the character of the people for whom this special manifestation was given as a sign. New powers of knowledge, memory, utterance, for which education and habit could not at all account, served to waken men to the sense of a power which they could not measure, a Kingdom of God into which they were called to enter. Lastly, let us remember the old rule holds good, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Other phenomena, presenting approximate resemblances, have ended in a sick man's dreams, in a fevered frenzy, in the narrowness of a sect. They grew out of a passionate brooding over a single thought, often over a single word;[1] and the end has shown that it was not well to seek to turn back God's order and to revive the long-buried past. The gift of the day of Pentecost was the starting-point of the long history of the Church of Christ, the witness, in its very form, of a universal family gathered out of all nations.

But it was the starting-point only. The newness of the truth then presented to the world, the power of the first experience of a higher life, the longing expectation in men's minds of the Divine kingdom, may have made this special manifestation, at the time, at once inevitable and fitting. It belonged, however, to a critical epoch, not to the continuous life of the Church. It implied a disturbance of the equilibrium of man's normal state. The high-wrought ecstasy could not continue, might be glorious and blessed for him who had it, a *sign*, as has been said, for those who had it not; but it was not the instrument for building up the Church. That was the work of another gift, the prophecy which came from God, yet was addressed from the mind and heart of one man to the minds and hearts of his brethren. When the overflowing fulness of life had passed away, when "tongues" had "ceased," and prophecy itself, in its irresistible power, had "failed," they left behind them the lesson they were meant to teach. They had borne their witness, and had done their work. They had taught men to believe in one Divine Spirit, the giver of all good gifts, "dividing to every man severally as He will;" to recognise His inspiration, not only in the marvel of the "tongues," or in the burning words of prophets, but in all good thoughts, in the right judgment in all things, in the excellent gift of Charity. [E. H. P.]

TOPARCHY (Τοπαρχία). A term applied in one passage of the Septuagint (1 Macc. xi. 28) to indicate three districts to which elsewhere (x. 30, xi. 34) the name *νομός* is given. In all these passages the English Version employs the term "governments." The three "toparchies" in question were Apherima (Ἀφαίρεμα), Lydda, and Ramath. They had been detached from Samaria, Peraea, and Galilee respectively, some time before the war between Demetrius Soter and Alexander Bala. Each of the two belligerents endeavoured to win over Jonathan, the Jewish High-Priest, to their side, by allowing him, among other privileges, the sovereign power over these districts without any payment of land-tax. The situation of Lydda is doubtful; for the toparchy Lydda, of which Pliny speaks (v. 14), is situated not in Peraea, but on the western side of the Jordan. Apherima is considered by Grotius to denote the region about Bethel, captured by Abijah from Jeroboam (2 Chr. xiii. 19). Ramath is probably the famous stronghold, the desire of obtaining which led to the unfortunate expedition of the allied sovereigns, Ahab and Jehoshaphat (1 K. xxii.).

The "toparchies" seem to have been of the nature of *agaliks*, and the passages in which the word τοπάρχης occurs, all harmonize with the view of that functionary as the *aga*, whose duty would be to collect the taxes and administer justice in all cases affecting the revenue, and who, for the

[1] It can hardly be doubted that the interpolated word "unknown," in the A. V. of 1 Cor. xiv., was the starting-point of the peculiarly unintelligible character of most of the Irvingite utterances.

purpose of enforcing payment, would have the command of a small military force. He would thus be the lowest in the hierarchy of a despotic administration to whom troops would be entrusted; and hence the taunt in 2 K. xviii. 24, and Is. xxxvi. 9: πῶς ἀποστρέψεις τὸ πρόσωπον τοπάρχου ἑνὸς, τῶν δούλων τοῦ κυρίου μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων; "How wilt thou resist a single toparch, one of the very least of my lord's slaves?" But the essential character of the toparch is that of a fiscal officer, and his military character is altogether subordinate to his civil. Hence the word is employed in Gen. xli. 34, for the "officers over the land," who were instructed to buy up the fifth part of the produce of the soil during the seven years of abundance. In Dan. iii. 3, Theodotion uses the word in a much more extensive sense, making it equivalent to "satraps," and the Eng. Version renders the original by "princes;" but the original word here is not the same as in Dan. iii. 2, 27, and vi. 7, in every one of which cases a subordinate functionary is contemplated. [J. W. B.]

TOPAZ (פִּטְדָה, *pitdâh*: τοπάζιον: *topazius*). The topaz of the ancient Greeks and Romans is generally allowed to be our chrysolite, while their chrysolite is our topaz. [CHRYSOLITE, App. A.] Bellermann, however (*Die Urim und Thummim*, p. 39), contends that the topaz and the chrysolite of the ancients are identical with the stones denoted by these terms at the present day. The account which Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvii. 8) gives of the *topazos* evidently leads to the conclusion that that stone is our chrysolite; "the topazos," he says, "is still held in high estimation for its *green tints*." According to the authority of Juba, cited by Pliny, the topaz is derived from an island in the Red Sea called "Topazos;" it is said that this island, where these precious stones were procured, was surrounded by fogs, and was, in consequence, often sought for by navigators, and that hence it received its name, the term "topazin" signifying, in the Troglodyte tongue, "to seek" (?). The *pitdâh*, which, as has already been stated, probably denotes the modern chrysolite, was the second stone in the first row of the high-priest's breast-plate (Ex. xxviii. 17, xxxix. 10); it was one of the jewels that adorned the apparel of the king of Tyre (Ezek. xxviii. 13); it was the bright stone that garnished the ninth foundation of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 20); in Job xxviii. 19, where wisdom is contrasted with precious articles, it is said that "the *pitdâh* of Ethiopia shall not equal it." Chrysolite, which is also known by the name of olivine and peridot, is a silicate of magnesia and iron; it is so soft as to lose its polish unless worn with care (*Mineralogy and Crystallography*, by Mitchell and Tennant, p. 512). The identity of the τοπάζιον with the פִּטְדָה of the Heb. Bible is sufficiently established by the combined authorities of the LXX., the Vulg., and Josephus, while that of the τοπάζιον with our chrysolite is, it appears to us, proved beyond a doubt by those writers who have paid most attention to this question. See Braun, *De Vest. Sac. Heb.* p. 641, ed. 1680. [W. H.]

TO'PHEL (תֹּפֶל: Τοφόλ: *Thophel*). A place mentioned Deut. i. 1, which has been probably identified with *Tûfileh* on a wady of the same name running north of Bozra towards the N.W. into the Ghôr and S.E. corner of the Dead Sea (Robinson, ii. 570). This latter is a most fertile region, having many springs and rivulets flowing into the Ghôr, and large plantations of fruit-trees, whence figs are exported. The bird *katta*, a kind of partridge, is found there in great numbers, and the steinbock pastures in herds of forty or fifty together (Burckhardt, *Holy Land*, 405-6). [H. H.]

TO'PHETH, and once **TO'PHET**, (תֹּפֶת) Generally with the article (2 K. xxiii. 10; Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 6, 13, 14). Three times without it (Jer. vii. 32, xix. 11, 12). Once not only without it, but with an affix, תָּפְתָּה, *Tophteh* (Is. xxx. 33). In Greek, **Ταφέθ**, **Τωφέθ**, and **Θοφθά** (Steph. *Lex. Voc. Peregrin.*; Biel, *Thes.*). In the Vulgate, *Thopheth*. In Jerome, *Tophet*. It is not mentioned by Josephus.

It lay somewhere east or south-east of Jerusalem, for Jeremiah went out by the Sun-gate, or east gate, to go to it (Jer. xix. 2). It was in "the Valley of the Son of Hinnom" (vii. 31), which is "by the entry of the east gate" (xix. 2). Thus it was not identical with Hinnom, as some have written, except in the sense in which Paradise is identical with Eden, the one being part of the other. It was *in* Hinnom, and was perhaps one of its chief groves or gardens. It seems also to have been part of the king's gardens, and watered by Siloam, perhaps a little to the south of the present *Birket el-Hamra*. The name Tophet occurs only in the Old Testament (2 K. xxiii. 10; Is. xxx. 33; Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 6, 11, 12, 13, 14). The New does not refer to it, nor the Apocrypha. Jerome is the first who notices it; but we can see that by his time the name had disappeared, for he discusses it very much as a modern commentator would do, only mentioning a green and fruitful spot in Hinnom, watered by Siloam, where he assumes it was: "Delubrum Baal, nemus ac lucus, Siloe fontibus irrigatus" (In Jer. vii.). If this be the case, we must conclude that the valley or gorge south of Jerusalem, which usually goes by the name of Hinnom, is not the *Ge-Ben-Hinnom* of the Bible. Indeed, until comparatively modern times, that southern ravine was never so named. Hinnom by old writers, western and eastern, is always placed *east* of the city, and corresponds to what we call the "Mouth of the Tyropoeon," along the southern bed and banks of the Kedron (Jerome, *De Locis Hebr.* and *Comm. in Matt.* x. 28; Ibn Batutah, *Travels*; Jalal Addin's *History of the Temple*; Felix Fabri), and was reckoned to be somewhere between the Potter's Field and the Fuller's Pool.

Tophet has been variously translated. Jerome says *latitudo*; others *garden*; others *drum*; others *place of burning* or *burying*; others *abomination* (Jerome, Noldius, Gesenius, Bochart, Simonis, *Onom.*). The most natural seems that suggested by the occurrence of the word in two consecutive verses, in the one of which it is a *tabret*, and in the other *Tophet* (Is. xxx. 32, 33). The Hebrew words are nearly identical; and Tophet was probably the king's "music-grove" or garden, denoting originally nothing evil or hateful. Certainly there is no proof that it took its name from the drums beaten to drown the cries of the burning victims that passed through the fire to Moloch. As Chinneroth is the *harp-sea*, so Tophet is the *tabret-grove* or valley. This might be at first part of the royal garden, a spot of special beauty, with a royal villa in the midst, like the Pasha's palace at Shûbra, near Cairo. Afterwards it was defiled by idols, and polluted by the sacrifices of Baal and the fire

of Moloch. Then it became the place of abomination, the very gate or pit of hell. The pious kings defiled it, and threw down its altars and high places, pouring into it all the filth of the city, till it became the "abhorrence" of Jerusalem; for to it primarily, though not exhaustively, the prophet refers:—

> They shall go forth and gaze
> On the carcases of the transgressors against me:
> For their worm shall not die,
> And their fire shall not be quenched,
> And they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.
> (Is. lxvi. 24.)

In Kings and Jeremiah the name is "the Tophet," but in Isaiah (xxx. 33) it is *Tophteh*; yet the places are probably the same so far, only in Isaiah's time the grove might be changing its name somewhat, and with that change taking on the symbolic meaning which it manifestly possesses in the prophet's prediction:—

> Set in order in days past has been Tophteh;
> Surely for the king it has been made ready.
> He hath deepened, he hath widened it:[a]
> The pile thereof, fire and wood, he hath multiplied.
> The breath of Jehovah, like a stream of brimstone,
> Doth set it on fire.

It is to be noticed that the LXX. translate the above passage in a peculiar way: *πρὸ ἡμερῶν ἀπαιτηθήσῃ*, "thou shalt be required from of old," or perhaps "before thy time;" but Jerome translates the LXX. as if their word had been *ἐξαπατάω* (or *ἀθετέω*, as Procopius reads it), and not *ἀπαιτέω*, "tu ante dies *decipieris*," adding this comment: "Dicitur ad illum quod ab initio seipse deceperit, regnum suum arbitrans sempiternum, cum preparata sint Gehenna et eterna supplicia." In that case the Alexandrian translators perhaps took תְּפַתֶּה for the second person singular masculine of the future *Piel* of פָּתָה, to persuade or deceive. It may be noticed that Michaelis renders it thus: "Tophet ejus, q. d. rogus ejus." In Jer. xix. 6, 13, the Sept. translate Tophet by *διάπτωσις, διαπίπτων*, which is not easily explained, except on the supposition of a marginal gloss having crept into the text instead of the proper name (see Jerome; and also Spohn on the Greek version of Jer. *Pref.* p. 18, and *Notes* on chaps. xix. xiii.).

In Jer. (vii. 32, xix. 6) there is an intimation that both Tophet and Gehinnom were to lose their names, and to be called "the valley of slaughter" (גֵּיא הַהֲרֵגָה, *Ge-ha-Hărêgâh*[b]). Without venturing on the conjecture that the modern *Deraj* can be a relic of *Hărêgâh*, we may yet say that this lower part of the Kedron is "the valley of slaughter," whether it ever actually bore this name or not. It was not here, as some have thought, that the Assyrian was slain by the sword of the destroying angel. That slaughter seems to have taken place to the west of the city, probably on the spot afterwards called from the event, "the valley of the dead bodies" (Jer. xxxi. 40). The slaughter from which Tophet was to get its new name was not till afterwards. In all succeeding ages, blood has flowed there in streams; corpses, buried and unburied, have filled up the hollows; and it may be that underneath the modern gardens and terraces there lie not only the débris of the city, but the bones and dust of millions—Romans Persians, Jews, Greeks, Crusaders, Moslems. What future days and events may bring is not for us to say. Perhaps the prophet's words are not yet exhausted.

Strange contrast between Tophet's first and last! Once the choice grove of Jerusalem's choicest valley; then the place of defilement and death and fire; then the "valley of slaughter"! Once the royal music-grove, where Solomon's singers, with voice and instrument, regaled the king, the court, and the city; then the temple of Baal, the high place of Moloch, resounding with the cries of burning infants; then (in symbol) the place where is the wailing and gnashing of teeth. Once prepared for Israel's king, as one of his choicest villas; then degraded and defiled, till it becomes the place prepared for "the King" at the sound of whose fall the nations are to shake (Ez. xxxi. 16); and as Paradise and Eden passed into Babylon, so Tophet and Ben Hinnom pass into Gehenna and the lake of fire. These scenes seem to have taken hold of Milton's mind; for three times over, within fifty lines, he refers to "the opprobrious hill," the "hill of scandal," the "offensive mountain," and speaks of Solomon making his grove in

> "The pleasant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
> And black Gehenna called, the type of hell."

Many of the old travellers (see Felix Fabri, vol. i. p. 391) refer to *Tophet*, or *Toph* as they call it, but they give no information as to the locality. Every vestige of Tophet—name and grove—is gone, and we can only guess at the spot; yet the references of Scripture and the present features of the locality enable us to make the guess with the same tolerable nearness as we do in the case of Gethsemane or Scopus. [H. B.]

TOR'MAH (תִּרְמָה: *ἐν κρυφῇ*; Alex. *μετα δώρων*: *clam*) occurs only in the margin of Judg. ix. 31, as the alternative rendering of the Hebrew word which in the text is given as "privily." By a few commentators it has been conjectured that the word was originally the same with ARUMAH in ver. 41—one or the other having been corrupted by the copyists. This appears to have been first started by Kimchi. It is adopted by Junius and Tremellius; but there is little to be said either for or against it, and it will probably always remain a mere conjecture. [G.]

TORTOISE (צָב, *tsâb*: *ὁ κροκόδειλος ὁ χερσαῖος*: *crocodilus*). The *tsâb* occurs only in Lev. xi. 29, as the name of some unclean animal. Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 463) with much reason refers the Heb. term to the kindred Arabic *dhab* (ضب), "a large kind of lizard," which, from the description of it as given by Damir, appears to be the *Psammosaurus Scincus*, or *Monitor terrestris* of Cuvier (*R. A.* ii 26). This lizard is the *waran el-hard* of the Arabs *i. e.* the land-waran, in contradistinction to the *waran el-bahr*, *i. e.* the water-lizard (*Monitor Niloticus*). It is common enough in the deserts of Palestine and N. Africa. It is no doubt the *κροκόδειλος χερσαῖος* of Herodotus (iv. 192). See also Dioscorides (ii. 71), who mentions it, or perhaps

[a] Of the literal Tophet it is said, "They shall bury in Tophet, *till there be no place*" (Jer. vii. 32). Of the symbolical Tophet it is said above "He hath *deepened and widened it*."

[b] Can the *Eroge* of Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 10, §4) have any connexion with the *Hărêgâh* of Jeremiah?

the *Scincus officinalis*, under the name of σκίγκος. Gesenius derives the Heb. word from צָבַב, "to move slowly." [W. H.]

Psammosaurus Scincus.

TO'Ü (תֹּעוּ: Θωά; Alex. Θωού: *Thoü*). Toi, king of Hamath (1 Chr. xviii. 9, 10).

TOWER.[a] For towers as parts of city-walls, or as strongholds or refuge for villages, see Fenced Cities, Jerusalem, i. 1021-1027, and Hananeel. Watch-towers or fortified posts in frontier or exposed situations are mentioned in Scripture, as the tower of Edar, &c. (Gen. xxxv. 21; Mic. iv. 8; Is. xxi. 5, 8, 11; Hab. ii. 1; Jer. vi. 27; Cant. vii. 4); the tower of Lebanon, perhaps one of David's "garrisons," *nĕtsîb* (2 Sam. viii. 6; Raümer, *Pal.* p. 29). Such towers or outposts for the defence of wells, and the protection of flocks and of commerce, were built by Uzziah in the pasture-grounds (*Midbar*) [Desert], and by his son Jotham in the forests (*Choreshim*) of Judah (2 Chr. xxvi. 10, xxvii. 4). Remains of such fortifications may still be seen, which, though not perhaps themselves of remote antiquity, yet very probably have succeeded to more ancient structures built in the same places for like purposes (Robinson, ii. 81, 85, 180; Roberts, *Sketches*, pl. 93). Besides these military structures, we read in Scripture of towers built in vineyards as an almost necessary appendage to them (Is. v. 2; Matt. xxi. 33; Mark xii. 1). Such towers are still in use in Palestine in vineyards, especially near Hebron, and are used as lodges for the keepers of the vineyards. During the vintage they are filled with the persons employed in the work of gathering the grapes (Robinson, i. 213, ii. 81; Martineau, *East. Life*, p. 434; De Saulcy, *Trav.* i. 546). [H. W. P.]

TOWN-CLERK (γραμματεύς: *scriba*). The title ascribed in our Version to the magistrate at Ephesus who appeased the mob in the theatre at the time of the tumult excited by Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen (Acts xix. 35). The other primary English versions translate in the same way, except those from the Vulgate (Wiclif, the Rhemish), which render "scribe." A digest of Boeckh's views, in his *Staatshaushaltung*, respecting the functions of this officer at Athens (there were three grades of the order there), will be found in *Dict. of Ant.* p. 459 sq. The γραμματεύς or "town-clerk" at Ephesus was no doubt a more important person in that city than any of the public officers designated by that term in Greece (see Greswell's *Dissertations*, iv. 152). The title is preserved on various ancient coins (Wetstein, *Nov. Test.* ii. 586; Akermann's *Numismatic Illustrations*, p. 53), which illustrate fully the rank and dignity of the office. It would appear that what may have been the original service of this class of men, viz. to record the laws and decrees of the state, and to read them in public, embraced at length, especially under the ascendency of the Romans in Asia Minor, a much wider sphere of duty, so as to make them, in some instances, in effect the heads or chiefs of the municipal government (Winer, *Realw.* i. 649). They were authorised to preside over the popular assemblies and submit votes to them, and are mentioned on marbles as acting in that capacity. In cases where they were associated with a superior magistrate, they succeeded to his place and discharged his functions when the latter was absent or had died. "On the subjugation of Asia by the Romans," says Baumstark (Pauly's *Encyclopaedie*, iii. 949), "γραμματεῖς were appointed there in the character of governors of single cities and districts, who even placed their names on the coins of their cities, caused the year to be named from them, and sometimes were allowed to assume the dignity, or at least the name, of 'Αρχιερεύς." This writer refers as his authorities to Schwartz, *Dissertatio de γραμματεῦσι, Magistratu Civitatum Asiae Proconsulis* (Altorf, 1735); Van Dale, *Dissertat.* v. 425; Spanheim, *De Usu et Praest. Numm.* i. 704. A good note on this topic will be found in the *New Englander* (U. S. A.), x. 144.

It is evident, therefore, from Luke's account, as illustrated by ancient records, that the Ephesian town-clerk acted a part entirely appropriate to the character in which he appears. The speech delivered by him, it may be remarked, is the model of a popular harangue. He argues that such excitement as the Ephesians evinced was undignified, inasmuch as they stood above all suspicion in religious matters (Acts xix. 35, 36); that it was unjustifiable, since they could establish nothing against the men whom they accused (ver. 37); that it was unnecessary, since other means of redress were open to them (vers. 38, 39); and, finally, it neither pride nor a sense of justice availed anything, fear of the Roman power should restrain them from such illegal proceedings (ver. 40). [H. B. H.]

TRACHONI'TIS (Τραχωνῖτις: *Trachonitis*). This place is mentioned only once in the Bible. In

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[a] 1. בַּחַן, בָּחוֹן, and בָּחֹן; ἔπαλξις; from בָּחַן, "search," "explore," a searcher or watcher; and hence the notion of a watch-tower. In Is. xxxii. 14, the tower of Ophel is probably meant (Neh. iii. 26; Ges. 198).

2. מִגְדָּל, and מִגְדֹּל or מִגְדּוֹל; πύργος; *turris*; from גָּדַל, "become great" (Ges. 265), used sometimes as a proper name. [Migdol.]

3. מְצוֹר; πέτρα; *munitio*; only once "tower," Hab. ii. 1.

4. עֹפֶל; οἶκος; *domus*; only in 2 K. v. 24. [Ophel.]

5. פִּנָּה, usually "corner," twice only "tower," Zeph. i. 16, iii. 6; γωνία; *angulus*.

6. מְצָפָה; σκοπιά; *specula*; "watch-tower." [Mizpah.]

7. מִשְׂגָּב; ὀχύρωμα; *robur*; only in poetry. [Misgab

Luke iii. 1 we read that Philip "was tetrarch of Ituraea, καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας;" and it appears that this "Trachonite region," in addition to the little province of Trachonitis, included parts of Auranitis, Gaulanitis, and Batanaea (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8, §1, and 11, §4)

Trachonitis is, in all probability, the Greek equivalent for the Aramaic *Argob*. The Targumists render the word אַרְגֹּב, in Deut. iii. 14, by טרכונא. According to Gesenius, ארגב signifies "a heap of stones," from the root רגב, "to pile up stones." So Τραχωνῖτις or Τραχών is a "rugged or stony tract." William of Tyre gives a curious etymology of the word Trachonitis:—"Videtur autem nobis a *traconibus* dicta. Tracones enim dicuntur occulti et subterranei meatus, quibus ista regio abundat" (*Gest. Dei per Francos*, p. 895). Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that the whole region abounds in caverns, some of which are of vast extent. Strabo refers to the caves in the mountains beyond Trachon (*Geog.* xvi.), and he affirms that one of them is so large that it would contain 4000 men. The writer has visited some spacious caves in Jebel Hauran, and in the interior of the Lejah.

The situation and boundaries of Trachonitis can be defined with tolerable accuracy from the notices in Josephus, Strabo, and other writers. From Josephus we gather that it lay south of Damascus, and east of Gaulanitis, and that it bordered on Auranitis and Batanaea (*B. J.* iv. 1, §1, i. 20, §4, iii. 10, §7). Strabo says there were δύο Τραχῶνες (*Geog.* xvi.). From Ptolemy we learn that it bordered on Batanaea, near the town of Saccaea (*Geog.* xv.). In the Jerusalem Gemara it is made to extend as far south as Bostra (Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. 473). Eusebius and Jerome, though they err in confounding it with Ituraea, yet the latter rightly defines its position, as lying between Bostra and Damascus (*Onom.* s. v.). Jerome also states that Kenath was one of its chief towns (*Onom.* s. v. "Canath").

From these data we have no difficulty in fixing the position of Trachonitis. It included the whole of the modern province called *el-Lejâh* (اللجاة), with a section of the plain southward, and also a part of the western declivities of Jebel Haurân. This may explain Strabo's two Trachons. The identity of the Lejah and Trachonitis does not rest merely on presumptive evidence. On the northern border of the province are the extensive ruins of *Musmeih*, where, on the door of a beautiful temple, Burckhardt discovered an inscription, from which it appears that this is the old city of *Phocus*, and the capital of Trachonitis (μητροκωμία Τραχῶνος, *Trav. in Syr.* 117). The Lejah is bounded on the east by the mountains of Batanaea (now Jebel Haurân), on whose slopes are the ruins of Saccaea and Kenath; on the south by Auranitis (now Haurân), in which are the extensive ruins of Bostra; on the west by Gaulanitis (now Jaulân); and on the north by Ituraea (now Jedûr) and Damascus. If all other proofs were wanting, a comparison of the features of the Lejah with the graphic description Josephus gives of Trachonitis would be sufficient to establish the identity. The inhabitants, he says, "had neither towns nor fields, but dwelt in caves that served as a refuge both for themselves and their flocks. They had, besides, cisterns of water and well-stored granaries, and were thus able to remain long in obscurity and to defy their enemies. The doors of their caves are so narrow that but one man can enter at a time, while within they are incredibly large. The ground above is almost a plain, but it is covered with rugged rocks, and is difficult of access, except where a guide points out the paths. These paths do not run in a straight course, but have many windings and turns" (*Ant.* xv. 10, §1). A description of the Lejah has been given above [ARGOB], with which this may be compared.

The notices of Trachonitis in history are few and brief. Josephus affirms that it was colonised by Uz the son of Aram (*Ant.* i. 6, §4). His next reference to it is when it was held by Zenodorus, the bandit-chief. Then its inhabitants made frequent raids, as their successors do still, upon the territories of Damascus (*Ant.* xv. 10, §1). Augustus took it from Zenodorus, and gave it to Herod the Great, on condition that he should repress the robbers (*Ant.* xvi. 9, §1). Herod bequeathed it to his son Philip, and his will was confirmed by Caesar (*B. J.* ii. 6, §3). This is the Philip referred to in Luke iii. 1. At a later period it passed into the hands of Herod Agrippa (*B. J.* iii. 3, §5). After the conquest of this part of Syria by Cornelius Palma, in the beginning of the second century, we hear no more of Trachonitis (Burckhardt, *Trav. in Syr.* 110 sq.; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 240-275; *Journ. Geog. Soc.* xxviii. 250-252). [J. L. P.]

TRANCE (ἔκστασις: *excessus*). (1.) In the only passage (Num. xxiv. 4, 16) in which this word occurs in the English of the O. T. there is, as the italics shew, no corresponding word in Hebrew, simply נֹפֵל, "falling," for which the LXX. gives ἐν ὕπνῳ, and the Vulg. more literally *qui cadit*. The Greek ἔκστασις is, however, used as the equivalent for many Hebrew words, signifying dread, fear, astonishment (Trommii *Concordant.*). In the N. T. we meet with the word three times (Acts x. 10, xi. 5, xxii. 17), the Vulgate giving "excessus" in the two former, "stupor mentis" in the latter. Luther uses "entzückt" in all three cases. The meaning of the Greek and Latin words is obvious enough. The ἔκστασις is the state in which a man has passed out of the usual order of his life, beyond the usual limits of consciousness and volition. "Excessus," in like manner, though in classical Latin chiefly used as an euphemism for death, became, in ecclesiastical writers, a synonyme for the condition of seeming death to the outer world, which we speak of as a trance. "Hanc vim ecstasin dicimus, excessum sensus, et amentiae instar" (Tertull. *de An.* c. 45). The history of the English word presents an interesting parallel. The Latin "transitus" took its place also among the euphemisms for death. In early Italian "essere in transito," was to be as at the point of death, the passage to another world. Passing into French, it also, abbreviated into "transe," was applied, not to death itself, but to that which more or less resembled it (Diez, *Roman. Wörterbuch*, s. v. "transito").

(2.) Used as the word is by Luke,[a] "the physician," and, in this special sense, by him only, in the N. T., it would be interesting to inquire what precise meaning it had in the medical terminology of the time. From the time of Hippocrates, who uses it to describe the loss of conscious perception,[b]

[a] In Mark v. 42 and xvi. 8 it is used simply for astonishment mingled with awe, not for the trance-state.

[b] The distinction drawn by Hippocrates and Galen between ἐκστάσεις σιγώσαι and ἔκστ. μελαγχολικαι

it had probably borne the connotation which it has had, with shades of meaning for good or evil, ever since. Thus, Hesychius gives as the account of a man in an ecstasy, that he is ὁ εἰς ἑαυτὸν μὴ ὤν. Apuleius (*Apologia*), speaks of it as "a change from the earthly mind (ἀπὸ τοῦ γηΐνου φρονήματος) to a divine and spiritual condition both of character and life." Tertullian (*l. c.*) compares it to the dream-state in which the soul acts, but not through its usual instruments. Augustine (*Confess.* ix. 11) describes his mother in this state as "abstracta a praesentibus," and gives a description of like phenomena in the case of a certain Restitutus (*de Civ. Dei*, xiv. 24).

(3.) We may compare with these statements the more precise definitions of modern medical science. There the ecstatic state appears as one form of catalepsy. In catalepsy pure and simple, there is "a sudden suspension of thought, of sensibility, of voluntary motion." "The body continues in any attitude in which it may be placed;" there are no signs of any process of thought; the patient continues silent. In the ecstatic form of catalepsy, on the other hand, "the patient is lost to all external impressions, but wrapt and absorbed in some object of the imagination." The man is "as if out of the body." "Nervous and susceptible persons are apt to be thrown into these trances under the influence of what is called mesmerism. There is, for the most part, a high degree of mental excitement. The patient utters the most enthusiastic and fervid expressions or the most earnest warnings. The character of the whole frame is that of intense contemplative excitement. He believes that he has seen wonderful visions and heard singular revelations" (Watson, *Principles and Practice*, Lect. xxxix.; Copland, *Dict. of Medicine*, *s. v.* "Catalepsy"). The causes of this state are to be traced commonly to strong religious impressions; but some, though, for the most part, not the ecstatic, phenomena of catalepsy are producible by the concentration of thought on one object, or of the vision upon one fixed point (*Quart. Rev.* xciii. pp. 510-522, by Dr. W. B. Carpenter; comp. URIM and THUMMIM), and, in some more exceptional cases, like that mentioned by Augustine (there, however, under the influence of sound, "ad imitatas quasi lamentantis cujuslibet hominis voces"), and that of Jerome Cardan (*Var. Rer.* viii. 43), men have been able to throw themselves into a cataleptic state at will.

(4.) Whatever explanation may be given of it, it is true of many, if not of most, of those who have left the stamp of their own character on the religious history of mankind, that they have been liable to pass at times into this abnormal state. The union of intense feeling, strong volition, long-continued thought (the conditions of all wide and lasting influence), aided in many cases by the withdrawal from the lower life of the support which is needed to maintain a healthy equilibrium, appears to have been more than the "earthen vessel" will bear. The words which speak of "an ecstasy of adoration" are often literally true. The many visions, the journey through the heavens, the so-called epilepsy of Mahomet, were phenomena of this nature. Of three great mediaeval teachers, St Francis of Assisi, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Joannes Scotus, it is recorded that they would fall into the ecstatic state, remain motionless, seem as if dead, sometimes for a whole day, and then, returning to consciousness, speak as if they had drunk deep of divine mysteries (Gualtferius, *Crit. Sac.* on Acts x. 10). The old traditions of Aristeas and Epimenides, the conflicts of Dunstan and Luther with the powers of darkness, the visions of Savonarola, and George Fox, and Swedenborg, and Böhmen, are generically analogous. Where there has been no extraordinary power to influence others, other conditions remaining the same, the phenomena have appeared among whole classes of men and women in proportion as the circumstances of their lives tended to produce an excessive susceptibility to religious or imaginative emotion. The history of monastic orders, of American and Irish revivals, gives countless examples. Still more noticeable is the fact that many of the *improvisatori* of Italy are "only able to exercise their gift when they are in a state of ecstatic trance, and speak of the gift itself as something morbid"[c] (Copland, *l. c.*); while in strange contrast with their earlier history, and pointing perhaps to a national character that has become harder and less emotional, there is the testimony of a German physician (Frank), who had made catalepsy a special study, that he had never met with a single case of it among the Jews (Copland, *l. c.*).[d]

(5.) We are now able to take a true estimate of the trances of Biblical history. As in other things, so also here, the phenomena are common to higher and lower, to true and false systems. The nature of man continuing the same, it could hardly be that the awfulness of the Divine presence, the terrors of Divine judgment, should leave it in the calm equilibrium of its normal state. Whatever made the impress of a truth more indelible, whatever gave him to whom it was revealed more power over the hearts of others, might well take its place in the Divine education of nations and individual men. We may not point to trances and ecstasies as proofs of a true Revelation, but still less may we think of them as at all inconsistent with it. Thus, though we have not the word, we have the thing in the "deep sleep" (ἔκστασις, LXX.), the "horror of great darkness," that fell on Abraham (Gen. xv. 12). Balaam, as if overcome by the constraining power of a Spirit mightier than his own, "sees the vision of God, *falling*, but with opened eyes" (Num. xxiv. 4). Saul, in like manner, when the wild chant of the prophets stirred the old depths of feeling, himself also "prophesied" and "fell down" (most, if not all, of his kingly clothing being thrown off in the ecstasy of the moment), "all that day and all that night" (1 Sam. xix. 24). Something there was in Jeremiah that made men say of him that he was as one that "is mad and maketh himself a prophet" (Jer. xxix. 26). In Ezekiel the phenomena appear in more wonderful and awful forms. He sits motionless for seven days in the stupor of astonishment, till the word of the Lord comes to him (Ez. iii. 15). The "hand of the Lord" falls on him, and he too sees the "visions of

answers obviously to that of later writers between pure and ecstatic catalepsy (comp. Foesius, *Oeconom. Hippocrat.* s. v. ἔκστασις).

[c] Analogous to this is the statement of Aristotle (*Prob.* c. 30) that the μελαγχολικοί speak often in wild bursts of poetry, and as the Sibyls and others who are inspired (ἔνθεοι).

[d] A fuller treatment of the whole subject than can be entered on here may be found in the chapter on *Les Magnétiques* in Maury, *La Magie et l'Astrologie*

God," and hears the voice of the Almighty, is "lifted up between the earth and heaven," and passes from the river of Chebar to the Lord's house in Jerusalem (Ez. viii. 3).

(6.) As other elements and forms of the prophetic work were revived in "the Apostles and Prophets" of the N. T., so also was this. More distinctly even than in the O. T. it becomes the medium through which men rise to see clearly what before was dim and doubtful, in which the mingled hopes and fears and perplexities of the waking state are dissipated at once. Though different in form, it belongs to the same class of phenomena as the GIFT OF TONGUES, and is connected with "visions and revelations of the Lord." In some cases, indeed, it is the chosen channel for such revelations. To the "trance" of Peter in the city, where all outward circumstances tended to bring the thought of an expansion of the Divine kingdom more distinctly before him than it had ever been brought before, we owe the indelible truth stamped upon the heart of Christendom, that God is "no respecter of persons," that we may not call any man "common or unclean" (Acts x., xi.). To the "trance" of Paul, when his work for his own people seemed utterly fruitless, we owe the mission which was the starting-point of the history of the Universal Church, the command which bade him "depart . . . far hence unto the Gentiles" (Acts xxii. 17-21). Wisely for the most part did that Apostle draw a veil over these more mysterious experiences. He would not sacrifice to them, as others have often sacrificed, the higher life of activity, love, prudence. He could not explain them to himself. "In the body or out of the body" he could not tell, but the outer world of perception had passed away, and he had passed in spirit into "paradise," into "the third heaven," and had heard "unspeakable words" (2 Cor. xii. 1-4). Those trances too, we may believe, were not without their share in fashioning his character and life, though no special truth came distinctly out of them. United as they then were, but as they have seldom been since, with clear perceptions of the truth of God, with love wonderful in its depth and tenderness, with energy unresting, and subtle tact almost passing into "guile," they made him what he was, the leader of the Apostolic band, emphatically the "master builder" of the Church of God (comp. Jowett, *Fragment on the Character of St. Paul*). [E. H. P.]

TRESPASS-OFFERING. [SIN-OFFERING.]

TRIAL. Information on the subject of trials under the Jewish law will be found in the articles on JUDGES and SANHEDRIM, and also in JESUS CHRIST. A few remarks, however, may here be added on judicial proceedings mentioned in Scripture, especially such as were conducted before foreigners.

(1.) The trial of our Lord before Pilate was, in a legal sense, a trial for the offence *laesae majestatis*; one which, under the Julian Law, following out that of the Twelve Tables, would be punishable with death (Luke xxiii. 2, 38; John xix. 12, 15; Dig. iv. 1, 3).

(2.) The trials of the Apostles, of St. Stephen, and of St. Paul before the high-priest, were conducted according to Jewish rules (Acts iv., v. 27, vi. 12, xxii. 30, xxiii. 1).

(3.) The trial, if it may be so called, of St. Paul and Silas at Philippi, was held before the duumviri, or, as they are called, στρατηγοί, praetors, on the charge of innovation in religion—a crime punishable with banishment or death (Acts xvi. 19, 22; *Dict. of Antiq.* "Colonia," p. 318; Conybeare and Howson, i. 345, 355, 356).

(4.) The interrupted trial of St. Paul before the pro-consul Gallio, was an attempt made by the Jews to establish a charge of the same kind (Acts xviii. 12-17; Conybeare and Howson, i. 492-496).

(5.) The trials of St. Paul at Caesarea (Acts xxiv., xxv., xxvi.) were conducted according to Roman rules of judicature, of which the procurators Felix and Festus were the recognised administrators. (*a.*) In the first of these, before Felix, we observe the employment, by the plaintiffs, of a Roman advocate to plead in Latin. [ORATOR.] (*b.*) The postponement (ampliatio) of the trial after St. Paul's reply (*Dict. of Antiq.* "Judex," p. 647). (*c.*) The free custody in which the accused was kept, pending the decision of the judge (Acts xxiv. 23-26). The second formal trial, before Festus, was, probably, conducted in the same manner as the former one before Felix (Acts xxv. 7, 8), but it presents two new features: (*a.*) the appeal, *appellatio* or *provocatio*, to Caesar, by St. Paul as a Roman citizen. The right of appeal ad populum, or to the tribunes, became, under the Empire, transferred to the emperor, and, as a citizen, St. Paul availed himself of the right to which he was entitled, even in the case of a provincial governor. The effect of the appeal was to remove the case at once to the jurisdiction of the emperor (Conybeare and Howson, ii. 360; *Dict. of Antiq.* "Appellatio," p. 107; Dig. xlix. 1, 4). (*b.*) The conference of the procurator with "the council" (Acts xxv. 12). This council is usually explained to have consisted of the assessors, who sat on the bench with the praetor as consiliarii (Suet. *Tib.* 33; *Dict. of Antiq.* "Assessor," p. 143; Grotius, *On Acts* xxv.; Conybeare and Howson, ii. 358, 361). But besides the absence of any previous mention of any assessors (see below), the mode of expression συλλαλήσας μετὰ τοῦ συμβουλίου seems to admit the explanation of conference with the deputies from the Sanhedrim (τὸ συμβ.). St. Paul's appeal would probably be in the Latin language, and would require explanation on the part of the judge to the deputation of accusers, before he carried into effect the inevitable result of the appeal, viz. the dismissal of the case so far as they were concerned.

(6.) We have, lastly, the mention (Acts xix. 38) of a judicial assembly which held its session at Ephesus, in which occur the terms ἀγοραῖοι (*i. e.* ἡμέραι) ἄγονται, and ἀνθύπατοι. The former denotes the assembly, then sitting, of provincial citizens forming the conventus, out of which the proconsul, ἀνθύπατος, selected "judices" to sit as his assessors. The ἀνθύπατοι would thus be the judicial tribunal composed of the proconsul and his assessors. In the former case, at Caesarea, it is difficult to imagine that there could be any conventus and any provincial assessors. There the only class of men qualified for such a function would be the Roman officials attached to the procurator; but in Proconsular Asia such assemblies are well known to have existed (*Dict. of Antiq.* "Provincia," pp. 965, 966, 967).

Early Christian practice discouraged resort to heathen tribunals in civil matters (1 Cor. vi. 1). [H. W. P.]

TRIBUTE (τὰ δίδραχμα, *didrachma*, Matt. xvii. 24; κῆνσος, *census*, ib. 25).

(1.) The chief Biblical facts connected with the

payment of tribute have been already given under TAXES. A few remain to be added in connexion with the word which in the above passage is thus rendered, inaccurately enough, in the A. V. The payment of the half-shekel (= half *stater* = two drachmae) was (as has been said) [TAXES], though resting on an ancient precedent (Ex. xxx. 13), yet, in its character as a fixed annual rate, of late origin. It was proclaimed according to Rabbinic rules, on the first of Adar, began to be collected on the 15th, and was due, at latest, on the first of Nisan (Mishna, *Shekalim*, i. f. 7; Surenhusius, pp. 260, 261). It was applied to defray the general expenses of the Temple, the morning and evening sacrifice, the incense, wood, shew-bread, the red heifers, the scape-goat, &c. (*Shekal. l. c.* in Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. xvii. 24). After the destruction of the Temple it was sequestrated by Vespasian and his successors, and transferred to the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter (Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 6, §6).

(2.) The explanation thus given of the "tribute" of Matt. xvii. 24, is beyond all doubt, the true one. To suppose with Chrysostom, Augustine, Maldonatus, and others, that it was the same as the tribute (κῆνσος) paid to the Roman emperor (Matt. xxii. 17), is at variance with the distinct statements of Josephus and the Mishna, and takes away the whole significance of our Lord's words. It may be questioned, however, whether the full significance of those words is adequately brought out in the popular interpretation of them. As explained by most commentators, they are simply an assertion by our Lord of His divine Sonship, an implied rebuke of Peter for forgetting the truth which he had so recently confessed (comp. Wordsworth, Alford, and others): "Then are the children (*viοί*) free;" Thou hast owned me as the Son of the Living God, the Son of the Great King, of the Lord of the Temple, in whose honour men pay the Temple-tribute; why, forgetting this, dost thou so hastily make answer as if I were an alien and a stranger? True as this exegesis is in part, it fails to account for some striking facts. (1.) The plural, not the singular is used—"then are the *children* free." The words imply a class of "sons" as contrasted with a class of aliens. (2.) The words of our Lord here must be interpreted by his language elsewhere. The "sons of the kingdom" are, as in the Hebrew speech of the O. T., those who belong to it, in the Apostolic language "heirs of the kingdom" (Matt. viii. 12, xiii. 38; Jam. ii. 5; Rom. viii. 17), "sons of God," "children of their Father in Heaven." (3.) The words that follow, "Give unto them for me *and thee*," place the disciple as standing, at least in some degree, on the same ground as his Master. The principle involved in the words "then are the children free" extends to him also. Payment is made for both, not on different, but on the same grounds.

(3.) A fuller knowledge of the facts of the case may help us to escape out of the trite routine of commentators, and to rise to the higher and broader truth implied in our Lord's teaching. The Temple-rate, as above stated, was of comparatively late origin. The question whether the costs of the morning and evening sacrifice ought to be defrayed by such a fixed compulsory payment, or left to the free-will offerings of the people, had been a contested point between the Pharisees and Sadducees, and the former had carried the day after a long struggle and debate, lasting from the 1st to the 8th day of Nisan. So great was the triumph in the eyes of the whole party, that they kept the anniversary as a kind of half festival. The Temple-rate question was to them what the Church-rate question has been to later Conservatives (Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, i. 218). We have to remember this when we come to the narrative of St. Matthew. In a hundred different ways, on the questions of the Sabbath, of fasting, of unwashed hands and the like, the teaching of our Lord had been in direct antagonism to that of the Pharisees. The collectors of the rate, probably, from the nature of their functions, adherents of the Pharisee party, now come, half-expecting opposition on this point also. Their words imply that he had not as yet paid the rate for the current year. His life of constant wandering, without a home, might seem like an evasion of it. They ask tauntingly, "Will he side, on this point, with their Sadducee opponents and refuse to pay it altogether?" The answer of Peter is that of a man who looks on the payment as most other Jews looked on it. With no thought of any higher principle, of any deeper truth, he answers at once, "His Master will of course pay what no other religious Israelite would refuse." The words of his Lord led him to the truth of which the Pharisees were losing sight. The offerings of the children of the kingdom should be free, and not compulsory. The Sanhedrim, by making the Temple-offering a fixed annual tax, collecting it as men collected tribute to Caesar, were lowering, not raising the religious condition and character of the people. They were placing every Israelite on the footing of a "stranger," not on that of a "son." The true principle for all such offerings was that which St. Paul afterwards asserted, following in his Master's footsteps, "not grudgingly, or of necessity, for God loveth a cheerful giver." In proportion to the degree in which any man could claim the title of a Son of God, in that proportion was he "free" from this forced exaction. Peter, therefore, ought to have remembered that here at least, was one who, by his own confession as the Son of the Living God, was *ipso facto* exempted

(4.) The interpretation which has now been given leads us to see, in these words, a precept as wide and far-reaching as the yet more memorable one, "Render unto Caesar the things that be Caesar's, and unto God the things that be God's." They condemn, instead of sanctioning, the compulsory payments which human policy has so often substituted for the "cheerful gifts" which alone God loves. But the words which follow condemn also the perversity which leads men to a spurious martyrdom in resisting such payments. "Lest we should offend them . . . give unto them for me and thee." It is better to comply with the payment than to startle the weak brethren, or run counter to feelings that deserve respect, or lay an undue stress on a matter of little moment. In such quarrels, paradoxical as it may seem, both parties are equally in the wrong. If the quarrel is to find a solution, it must be by a mutual acknowledgment that both have been mistaken.

(5.) It is satisfactory to find that some interpreters at least, have drawn near to the true meaning of one of the most characteristic and pregnant sayings in the whole cycle of our Lord's teaching. Augustine (*Quaestiones Evangel.* lxxv.), though missing the main point, saw that what was true of the Lord and of Peter was true of all ("Salvator autem, cum pro se et Petro dari jubet, pro omnibus

excelvisse videtur"). Jerome (*ad loc.*) sees in the words, a principle extending in some form or other, to all believers ("Nos pro illius honore tributa non reddimus, et *quasi filii Regis* a vectigalibus immunes sumus"), though his words claim an exemption which if true at times of the Christian clergy, has never been extended to the body of Christian laity. Calvin, though adhering to the common explanation, is apparently determined chiefly by his dislike of the inferences drawn from the other explanation by Papists on the one side, and Anabaptists on the other, as claiming an exemption from obedience in matters of taxation to the civil magistrate. Luther (*Annot. in Matt.* xvii.) more boldly, while dwelling chiefly on the friendly pleasantry which the story represents as passing between the master and the disciple,[a] seizes, with his usual acuteness, the true point. "Qui fit (this is his paraphrase of the words of Christ) mi Petre, ut a te petant, cum sis Regis filius. . . . Vade et scito *nos esse in alio regno reges et filios regis.* Sinito illis suum regnum, in quo sumus hospites. . . . *Filii regni sumus*, sed non hujus regni mundani." Tindal (*Marg. Note* on Matt. xvii. 26) in like manner, extends the principle, "So is a Christian man free in all things . . . yet payeth he tribute, and submitteth himself to all men for his brother's sake." [E. H. P.]

TRIBUTE-MONEY. [TAXES; TRIBUTE.]

TRIP'OLIS (ἡ Τρίπολις). The Greek name of a city of great commercial importance, which served at one time as a point of federal union for Aradus, Sidon, and Tyre. What its Phoenician name was is unknown; but it seems not impossible that it was Kadytis, and that this was really the place captured by Neco of which Herodotus speaks (ii. 159, iii. 5). Kadytis is the Greek form of the Syrian *Kedutha*, "the holy," a name of which a relic still seems to survive in the *Nahr-Kadish*, a river which runs through *Tarablous*, the modern representative of Tripolis. All ancient federations had for their place of meeting some spot consecrated to a common deity, and just to the south of Tripolis was a promontory which went by the name of Θεοῦ πρόσωπον. [PENIEL, p. 768, *a*.]

It was at Tripolis that, in the year 351 B.C., the plan was concocted for the simultaneous revolt of the Phoenician cities and the Persian dependencies in Cyprus against the Persian king Ochus. Although aided by a league with Nectanebus king of Egypt, this attempt failed, and in the sequel great part of Sidon was burnt and the chief citizens destroyed. Perhaps the importance of Tripolis was increased by this misfortune of its neighbour, for soon after, when Alexander invaded Asia, it appears as a port of the first order. After the battle of Issus some of the Greek officers in Darius's service retreated thither, and not only found ships enough to carry themselves and 8000 soldiers away, but a number over and above, which they burnt in order to preclude the victor from an immediate pursuit of them (Arrian, ii. 13). The destruction of Tyre by Alexander, like that of Sidon by Ochus, would naturally tend rather to increase than diminish the importance of Tripolis as a commercial port. When Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus, succeeded in wresting Syria from the young son of Antiochus (B.C. 161), he landed there and made the place the base of his operations. It is this circumstance to which allusion is made in the only passage in which Tripolis is mentioned in the Bible (2 Macc. xiv. 1). The prosperity of the city, so far as appears, continued down to the middle of the 6th century of the Christian era. Dionysius Periegetes applies to it the epithet λιπαρήν in the 3rd century. In the Peutinger Table (which probably was compiled in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius) it appears on the great road along the coast of Phoenicia; and at Orthosia (the next station to it northwards) the roads which led respectively into Mesopotamia and Cilicia branched off from one another. The possession of a good harbour in so important a point for land-traffic, doubtless combined with the richness of the neighbouring mountains in determining the original choice of the site, which seems to have been a factory for the purposes of trade established by the three great Phoenician cities. Each of these held a portion of Tripolis surrounded by a fortified wall, like the Western nations at the Chinese ports. But in A.D. 543 it was laid in ruins by the terrible earthquake which happened in the month of July of that year, and overthrew Tyre, Sidon, Berytus, and Byblus as well. On this occasion the appearance of the coast was much altered. A large portion of the promontory Theuprosopon (which in the Christian times had its name, from motives of piety, changed to Lithoprosopon) fell into the sea, and, by the natural breakwater it constituted, created a new port, able to contain a considerable number of large vessels. The ancient Tripolis was finally destroyed by the Sultan El Mansour in the year 1289 A.D.; and the modern *Tarablous* is situated a couple of miles distant to the east, and is no longer a port. *El Myna*, which is perhaps on the site of the ancient Tripolis, is a small fishing village. Tarablous contains a population of 15 or 16,000 inhabitants, and is the centre of one of the four pashalics of Syria. It exports silk, tobacco, galls, and oil, grown in the lower parts of the mountain at the foot of which it stands; and performs, on a smaller scale, the part which was formerly taken by Tripolis as the entrepôt for the productions of a most fertile region (Diod. Sic. xvi. 41; Strabo, xvi. c. 2; Vossius ad Melam, i. 12; Theophanes, *Chronographia, sub anno* 6043). [J. W. B.]

TRO'AS (Τρῳάς). The city from which St. Paul first sailed, in consequence of a divine intimation, to carry the Gospel from Asia to Europe (Acts xvi. 8, 11)—where he rested for a short time on the northward road from Ephesus (during the next missionary journey) in the expectation of meeting Titus (2 Cor. ii. 12, 13)—where on the return southwards (during the same missionary journey) he met those who had preceded him from Philippi (Acts xx. 5, 6), and remained a week, the close of which (before the journey to Assos) was marked by the raising of Eutychus from the dead during the protracted midnight discourse—and where, after an interval of many years, the Apostle left (during a journey the details of which are unknown) a cloak and some books and parchments in the house of Carpus (2 Tim. iv. 13)—deserves the careful attention of the student of the New Testament.

The full name of the city was Alexandreia Troas (Liv. xxxv. 42), and sometimes it was called simply Alexandreia, as by Pliny (*H. N.* v. 33) and Strabo (xiii. p. 593), sometimes simply Troas (as in the N. T. and the *Ant. Itin.* See Wesseling, p. 334). The former part of the name indicates the period at which it was founded. It was first built by Antigonus, under the name of Antigoneia Troas

[a] "Es muss ja ein fein, freundlich, lieblich Gesellschaft sein gewest *inter Christum et discipulos suos.*"

and peopled with the inhabitants of some neighbouring cities. Afterwards it was embellished by Lysimachus, and named Alexandreia Troas. Its situation was on the coast of MYSIA, opposite the S.E. extremity of the island of Tenedos.

Under the Romans it was one of the most important towns of the province of ASIA. It was the chief point of arrival and departure for those who went by sea between Macedonia and the western Asiatic districts; and it was connected by good roads with other places on the coast and in the interior. For the latter see the map in Leake's *Asia Minor*. The former cannot be better illustrated than by St. Paul's two voyages between Troas and Philippi (Acts xvi. 11, 12, xx. 6), one of which was accomplished in two days, the other in five. At this time Alexandreia Troas was a *colonia* with the *Jus Italicum*. This strong Roman connexion can be read on its coins. The Romans had a peculiar feeling connected with the place, in consequence of the legend of their origin from Troy. Suetonius tells us that Julius Caesar had a plan of making Troas the seat of empire (*Caes.* 79). It may perhaps be inferred from the words of Horace (*Carm.* iii. 3, 57) that Augustus had some such dreams. And even the modern name *Eski-Stamboul* (or "Old Constantinople") seems to commemorate the thought which was once in Constantine's mind (Zosim. ii. 30; Zonar. xiii. 3), who, to use Gibbon's words, "before he gave a just preference to the situation of Byzantium, had conceived the design of erecting the seat of empire on this celebrated spot, from which the Romans derived their fabulous origin."

The ruins at *Eski-Stamboul* are considerable. The most conspicuous, however, especially the remains of the aqueduct of Herodes Atticus, did not exist when St. Paul was there. The walls, which may represent the extent of the city in the Apostle's time, enclose a rectangular space, extending above a mile from east to west, and nearly a mile from north to south. That which possesses most interest for us is the harbour, which is still distinctly traceable in a basin about 400 feet long and 200 broad. Descriptions in greater or less detail are given by Pococke, Chandler, Hunt (in Walpole's *Memoirs*), Clarke, Prokesch, and Fellows. [J. S. H.]

TROGYL'LIUM [see SAMOS]. Samos is exactly opposite the rocky extremity of the ridge of Mycale, which is called Τρωγύλλιον in the N. T. (Acts xx. 15) and by Ptolemy (v. 2), and Τρωγίλιον by Strabo (xiv. p. 636). The channel is extremely narrow. Strabo (*l. c.*) makes it about a mile broad, and this is confirmed by our Admiralty Charts (1530 and 1555). St. Paul sailed through this channel on his way to Jerusalem at the close of his third missionary journey (Acts, *l. c.*). The navigation of this coast is intricate; and it can be gathered from Acts xx. 6, with subsequent notices of the days spent on the voyage, that it was the time of dark moon. Thus the night was spent at Trogyllium. It is interesting to observe that a little to the east of the extreme point there is an anchorage, which is still called *St. Paul's Port*. [J. S. H.]

TROOP, BAND. These words have a peculiar signification in many passages of the O. T., which is apt to be overlooked, and the knowledge of which throws a brighter light upon them. They are employed to represent the Hebrew word גְּדוּד, *gĕdûd*, which has invariably the force of an irregular body of people, large or small, united not for the purpose of defence or regular aggression, like an army, but with the object of marauding and plunder. [See MOAB, vol. ii. 395, note, where the term *gĕdûd* is examined.] In addition to the instances of its use there named, it may be observed that our translators have in a few cases tried to bring out its meaning more strongly; as in 1 Chr. xii. 21, "band-of-the-rovers;" Hos. vi. 9, and vii. 1, "troop-of-robbers." [G.]

TROPHIMUS (Τρόφιμος). Of the three passages where this companion of St. Paul is mentioned, the first associates him very closely with TYCHICUS (Acts xx. 4), and the last seems in some degree to renew the association, and in reference to the same geographical district (2 Tim. iv. 20; see ver. 12), while the intermediate one separates him entirely from this connexion (Acts xxi. 29).

From the first of these passages we learn that Tychicus, like Trophimus, was a native of ASIA (Ἀσιανοί), and that the two were among those companions who travelled with the Apostle in the course of the third missionary journey, and during part of the route which he took in returning from Macedonia towards Syria. From what we know concerning the collection which was going on at this time for the poor Christians in Judaea, we are disposed to connect these two men with the business of that contribution. This, as we shall see, suggests a probable connexion of Trophimus with another circumstance.

Both he and Tychicus accompanied St. Paul from Macedonia as far as Asia (ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας, *l. c.*), but Tychicus seems to have remained there while Trophimus proceeded with the Apostle to Jerusalem. There he was the innocent cause of the tumult in which St. Paul was apprehended, and from which the voyage to Rome ultimately resulted. Certain Jews from the district of Asia saw the two Christian missionaries together, and *supposed* that Paul had taken Trophimus into the Temple (Acts xxi. 27-29). From this passage we learn two new facts, viz. that Trophimus was a Gentile, and that he was a native, not simply of Asia, but of EPHESUS.

A considerable interval now elapses, during which we have no trace of either Tychicus or Trophimus; but in the last letter written by St. Paul, shortly before his martyrdom, from Rome, he mentions them both (Τυχικὸν ἀπέστειλα εἰς Ἔφεσον, 2 Tim. iv. 12; Τρόφιμον ἀπέλιπον ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἀσθενοῦντα, ib. 20). From the last of the phrases we gather simply that the Apostle had no long time before been in the Levant, that Trophimus had been with him, and that he had been left in infirm health at Miletus. Of the further details we are ignorant; but this we may say here, that while there would be considerable difficulty in accommodating this passage to any part of the recorded narrative previous to the voyage to Rome,[a] all difficulty vanishes on the supposition of two im-

[a] Trophimus was no doubt at Miletus on the occasion recorded in Acts xx. 15-38, but it is most certain that he was not left there. The theory also that he was left there on the voyage to Rome is preposterous; for the wind forced St. Paul's vessel to run direct from the S.W. corner of Asia Minor to the E. end of Crete (Acts xxvii. 7). We may add, that when Trophimus was left in sickness at Miletus, whenever that might be, he was within easy reach of his home-friends at Ephesus, as we see from Acts xx. 17

prisonments, and a journey in the Levant between them.

What was alluded to above as probable, is that Trophimus was one of the two brethren who, with TITUS, conveyed the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians (2 Cor. viii. 16-24). The argument is so well stated by Professor Stanley, that we give it in his words:—"Trophimus was, like Titus, one of the few Gentiles who accompanied the Apostle; an Ephesian, and therefore likely to have been sent by the Apostle from Ephesus with the First Epistle, or to have accompanied him from Ephesus now; he was, as is implied of 'this brother,' whose praise was in all the Churches, well known; so well known that the Jews of Asia [Minor?] at Jerusalem immediately recognised him; he was also especially connected with the Apostle on this very mission of the collection for the poor in Judaea. Thus far would appear from the description of him in Acts xxi. 29. From Acts xx. 4 it also appears that he was with St. Paul on his return from this very visit to Corinth" (Stanley's *Corinthians*, 2nd edit. p. 492).

The story in the Greek Menology that Trophimus was one of the seventy disciples is evidently wrong; the legend that he was beheaded by Nero's orders is possibly true. [J. S. H.]

TRUMPET. [CORNET.]

TRUMPETS, FEAST OF (יוֹם תְּרוּעָה, Num. xxix. 1; *ἡμέρα σημασίας*; *dies clangoris et tubarum*; זִכְרוֹן תְּרוּעָה, Lev. xxiii. 24; *μνημόσυνον σαλπίγγων*; *sabbatum memoriale clangentibus tubis*: in the Mishna, רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה "the beginning of the year"), the feast of the new moon, which fell on the first of Tizri. It differed from the ordinary festivals of the new moon in several important particulars. It was one of the seven days of Holy Convocation. [FEASTS.] Instead of the mere blowing of the trumpets of the Temple at the time of the offering of the sacrifices, it was "a day of blowing of trumpets." In addition to the daily sacrifices and the eleven victims offered on the first of every month [NEW MOON], there were offered a young bullock, a ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with the accustomed meat offerings, and a kid for a sin offering (Num. xxix. 1-6). The regular monthly offering was thus repeated, with the exception of one young bullock.

It is said that both kinds of trumpet were blown in the temple on this day, the straight trumpet (חֲצֹצְרָה) and the cornet (שׁוֹפָר and קֶרֶן), and that elsewhere any one, even a child, might blow a cornet (Reland, iv. 7, 2; Carpzov, p. 425; *Rosh Hash.* i. 2; JUBILEE, p. 1149, note e; CORNET). When the festival fell upon a Sabbath, the trumpets were blown in the Temple, but not out of it (*Rosh Hash.* iv. 1).

It has been conjectured that Ps. lxxxi., one of the songs of Asaph, was composed expressly for the Feast of Trumpets. The Psalm is used in the service for the day by the modern Jews. As the third verse is rendered in the LXX., the Vulgate, and the A.V., this would seem highly probable—"Blow up the trumpet in the new moon, the time appointed, on our solemn feast day." But the best authorities understand the word translated *new moon* (כֶּסֶה) to mean *full moon*. Hence the Psalm would more properly belong to the service for one of the festivals which take place at the full moon, the Passover, or the Feast of Tabernacles (Gesen. *Thes.* s. v.; Rosenmüller and Hengstenberg on Ps. lxxxi.).

Various meanings have been assigned to the Feast of Trumpets. Maimonides considered that its purpose was to awaken the people from their spiritual slumber to prepare for the solemn humiliation of the Day of Atonement, which followed it within ten days. This may receive some countenance from Joel ii. 15, "Blow the trumpet (שׁוֹפָר) in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly." Some have supposed that it was intended to introduce the seventh or Sabbatical month of the year, which was especially holy because it was the seventh, and because it contained the Day of Atonement and the Feast of Tabernacles (Fagius *in Lev.* xxiii. 24; Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* c. xxiv.). Philo and some early Christian writers regarded it as a memorial of the giving of the Law on Sinai (Philo, vol. v. p. 46, ed. Tauch.; Basil, *in Ps.* lxxxi.; Theod. *Quaest.* xxxii. *in Lev.*). But there seems to be no sufficient reason to call in question the common opinion of Jews and Christians, that it was the festival of the New Year's Day of the civil year, the first of Tizri, the month which commenced the Sabbatical year and the year of Jubilee. [JUBILEE, p. 1152.] If the New Moon Festival was taken as the consecration of a natural division of time, the month in which the earth yielded the last ripe produce of the season, and began again to foster seed for the supply of the future, might well be regarded as the first month of the year. The fact that Tizri was the great month for sowing might thus easily have suggested the thought of commemorating on this day the finished work of Creation, when the sons of God shouted for joy (Job xxxviii. 7). The Feast of Trumpets thus came to be regarded as the anniversary of the birthday of the world (Mishna, *Rosh Hash.* i. 1; Hupfeld, *De Fest. Heb.* ii. p. 13; Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* c. xxiv.).

It was an odd fancy of the Rabbis that on this day, every year, God judges all men, and that they pass before Him as a flock of sheep pass before a shepherd (*Rosh Hash.* i. 2). [S. C.]

TRYPHE'NA and TRYPHOSA (*Τρύφαινα καὶ Τρυφῶσα*). Two Christian women at Rome, who, among those that are enumerated in the conclusion of St. Paul's letter to that city, receive a special salutation, and on the special ground that they are engaged there in "labouring in the Lord" (Rom. xvi. 12). They may have been sisters, but it is more likely that they were fellow-deaconesses, and among the predecessors of that large number of official women who ministered in the Church of Rome at a later period (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 43); for it is to be observed that they are spoken of as at that time occupied in Christian service (*τὰς κοπιώσας*), while the salutation to Persis, in the same verse, is connected with past service (*ἥτις ἐκοπίασεν*).

We know nothing more of these two sister-workers of the Apostolic time; but the name of one of them occurs curiously, with other names familiar to us in St. Paul's Epistles, in the Apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. There Tryphena appears as a rich Christian widow of Antioch, who gives Thecla a refuge in her house, and sends money to Paul for the relief of the poor. (See Jones, *On the Canon*, ii. 371, 380.) It is impossible to discern any trace of probability in this part of the legend.

It is an interesting fact that the columbaria of "Caesar's household" in the *Vigna Codini*, near *Porta S. Sebastiano*, contain the name Tryphena, as well as other names mentioned in this chapter, Philologus and Julia (ver. 15), and also Amplias (ver. 8).—Wordsworth's *Tour in Italy* (1862), ii. 173. [J. S. H.]

TRY'PHON (Τρύφων). A usurper of the Syrian throne. His proper name was Diodotus (Strab. xvi. 2, 10; App. *Syr.* 68), and the surname Tryphon was given to him, or, according to Appian, adopted by him, after his accession to power. He was a native of Cariana, a fortified place in the district of Apamea, where he was brought up (Strab. *l. c.*). In the time of Alexander Balas he was attached to the court (App. *l. c.* δοῦλος τῶν βασιλέων; Diod. *fr.* xxi. ap. Müll. *Hist. Gr. fragm.* ii. 17, στρατηγός; 1 Macc. xi. 39, τῶν παρὰ Ἀλεξ.); but towards the close of his reign he seems to have joined in the conspiracy which was set on foot to transfer the crown of Syria to Ptol. Philometor (1 Macc. xi. 13; Diod. *l. c.*). After the death of Alexander Balas he took advantage of the unpopularity of Demetrius II. to put forward the claims of Antiochus VI., the young son of Alexander (1 Macc. xi. 39; B.C. 145). After a time he obtained the support of Jonathan, who had been alienated from Demetrius by his ingratitude, and the young king was crowned (B.C. 144). Tryphon, however, soon revealed his real designs on the kingdom, and, fearing the opposition of Jonathan, he gained possession of his person by treachery (1 Macc. xii. 39-50), and after a short time put him to death (1 Macc. xiii. 23). As the way seemed now clear, he murdered Antiochus and seized the supreme power (1 Macc. xiii. 31, 32), which he exercised, as far as he was able, with violence and rapacity (1 Macc. xiii. 34). His tyranny again encouraged the hopes of Demetrius, who was engaged in preparing an expedition against him (B.C. 141), when he was taken prisoner (1 Macc. xiv. 1-3), and Tryphon retained the throne (Just. xxxvi. 1; Diod. *Leg.* xxxi.) till Antiochus VII., the brother of Demetrius, drove him to Dora, from which he escaped to Orthosia in Phoenicia (1 Macc. xv. 10-14, 37-39; B.C. 139). Not long afterwards, being hard pressed by Antiochus, he committed suicide, or, according to other accounts, was put to death by Antiochus (Strab. xiv. 5, 2; App. *Syr.* 68, Ἀντίοχος—κτείνει . . . σὺν πόνῳ πολλῷ). Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 7, §2) adds that he was killed at Apamea, the place which he made his head-quarters (Strab. xvi. 2, 10). The authority of Tryphon was evidently very partial, as appears from the growth of Jewish independence under Simon Maccabaeus; and Strabo describes him as one of the chief authors of Cilician piracy (xiv. 3, 2). His name occurs on the coins of ANTIOCHUS VI. [vol. i. p. 77], and he also struck coins in his own name. [ANTIOCHUS; DEMETRIUS.] [B. F. W.]

Coin of Tryphon.

TRYPHO'SA. [TRYPHENA and TRYPHOSA.]

TU'BAL (תּוּבַל; תֻּבַל in Gen. x. 2, Ez. xxxii. 26, xxxix. 1: Θοβέλ, except in Ez. xxxix. 1, where Alex. Θοβέρ: *Thubal*, but in Is. lxvi. 19, *Italia*). In the ancient ethnological tables of Genesis and 1 Chr., Tubal is reckoned with Javan and Meshech among the sons of Japheth (Gen. x. 2; 1 Chr. i. 5). The three are again associated in the enumeration of the sources of the wealth of Tyre; Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, brought slaves and copper vessels to the Phoenician markets (Ez. xxvii. 13). Tubal and Javan (Is. lxvi. 19), Meshech and Tubal (Ez. xxxii. 26, xxxviii. 2, 3, xxxix. 1), are nations of the north (Ez. xxxviii. 15, xxxix. 2). Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §1) identifies the descendants of Tubal with the Iberians, that is—not, as Jerome would understand it, Spaniards, but—the inhabitants of a tract of country, between the Caspian and Euxine Seas, which nearly corresponded to the modern Georgia.[a] This approximates to the view of Bochart (*Phaleg*, iii. 12), who makes the Moschi and Tibareni represent Meshech and Tubal. These two Colchian tribes are mentioned together in Herodotus on two occasions; first, as forming part of the 19th satrapy of the Persian empire (iii. 94), and again as being in the army of Xerxes under the command of Ariomardus the son of Darius (vii. 78). The Moschi and Tibareni, moreover, are "constantly associated, under the names of *Muskai* and *Tuplai*, in the Assyrian inscriptions" (Sir H. Rawlinson in Rawlinson's *Her.* i. p. 535). The Tibareni are said by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (ii. 1010) to have been a Scythian tribe, and they as well as the Moschi are probably to be referred to that Turanian people, who in very early times spread themselves over the entire region between the Mediterranean and India, the Persian Gulf and the Caucasus (Rawlinson, *Her.* i. p. 535). In the time of Sargon, according to the inscriptions, Ambris, the son of Khuliya, was hereditary chief of Tubal (the southern slopes of Taurus). He "had cultivated relations with the kings of Musak and Vararat (Meshech and Ararat, or the Moschi and Armenia) who were in revolt against Assyria, and thus drew upon himself the hostility of the great king" (ibid. i. p. 169, note [3]). In former times the Tibareni were probably more important, and the Mocchi and Tibareni, Meshech and Tubal, may have been names by which powerful hordes of Scythians were known to the Hebrews. But in history we only hear of them as pushed to the furthest limits of their ancient settlements, and occupying merely a strip of coast along the Euxine. Their neighbours the Chaldeans were in the same condition. In the time of Herodotus the Moschi and Tibareni were even more closely connected than at a later period, for in Xenophon we find them separated by the Macrones and Mossynoeci (*Anab.* v. 5, §1; Plin. vi. 4, &c.). The limits of the territory of the Tibareni are extremely difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy. After a part of the 10,000 Greeks on their retreat with Xenophon had embarked at Cerasus (perhaps near the modern *Kerasoun Dere Sú*), the rest marched along the coast, and soon came to the boundaries of the Mossynoeci (*Anab.* v. 4, §2). They traversed the country occupied by this people in eight days and then came to the Chalybes, and after them to

[a] Knobel connects these Iberians of the East and West, and considers the Tibareni to have been a branch of this widely-spread Turanian family, known to the Hebrews as Tubal (*Völkertafel d. Gen.* §13).

the Tibareni. The eastern limit of the Tibareni was therefore about 80 or 90 miles along the coast W. of Cerasus. Two days' march through Tibarene brought the Greeks to Cotyora (*Anab.* v. 5, §3), and they were altogether three days in passing through the country (Diod. Sic. xiv. 30). Now from C. Jasonium to Boon, according to Arrian (*Peri*[pl.] 16), the distance was 90 stadia, 90 more to Cotyora, and 60 from Cotyora to the river Melanthius, making in all a coast line of 240 stadia, or three days' march. Professor Rawlinson (*Her.* iv. 181) conjectures that the Tibareni occupied the coast between Cape *Yasoun* (Jasonium) and the River Melanthius (*Melet Irmak*), but if we follow Xenophon, we must place Boon as their western boundary, one day's march from Cotyora, and their eastern limit must be sought some 10 miles east of the *Melet Irmak*, perhaps not far from the modern *Aptar*, which is 3½ hours from that river. The anonymous author of the Periplus of the Euxine says (33) that the Tibareni formerly dwelt west of Cotyora as far as Polemonium, at the mouth of the *Pouleman chai*, 1½ mile east of *Fitsáh*.

In the time of Xenophon the Tibareni were an independent tribe (*Anab.* vii. 8, §25). Long before this they were subject to a number of petty chiefs, which was a principal element of their weakness, and rendered their subjugation by Assyria more easy. Dr. Hincks (quoted by Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 380, note [1]) has found as many as twenty-four kings of the *Tuplai* mentioned in the inscriptions. They are said by Apollonius Rhodius to have been rich in flocks (*Arg.* ii. 377). The traffic in slaves and vessels of copper with which the people of Tubal supplied the markets of Tyre (Ez. xxvii. 13) still further connects them with the Tibareni. It is well known that the regions bordering on the Pontus Euxinus furnished the most beautiful slaves, and that the slave traffic was an extensive branch of trade among the Cappadocians (Polyb. iv. 38, §4; Hor. *Ep.* i. 6, 39; Pers. *Sat.* vi. 77; Mart. *Ep.* vi. 77, x. 76, &c.). The copper of the Mossynoeci, the neighbours of the Tibareni, was celebrated as being extremely bright, and without any admixture of tin (Arist. *De Mir. Auscult.* 62); and the Chalybes, who lived between these tribes, were long famous for their craft as metal-smiths. We must not forget, too, the copper-mines of Chalvar in Armenia (Hamilton, *As. Min.* i. 173).

The Arabic Version of Gen. x. 2 gives Chorasan and China for Meshech and Tubal; in Eusebius (see Bochart) they are Illyria and Thessaly. The Talmudists (*Yoma*, fol. 10, 2), according to Bochart, define Tubal as "the home of the *Uniaci* (אוניקי)," whom he is inclined to identify with the Huns (*Phaleg*, iii. 12). They may perhaps take their name from Oenoe, the modern *Unieh*, a town on the south coast of the Black Sea, not far from Cape Yasoun (Jasonium), and so in the immediate neighbourhood of the Tibareni. In the Targum of R. Joseph on 1 Chr. (ed. Wilkins) יתיניא is given as the equivalent of Tubal, and Wilkins renders it by Bithynia. But the reading in this passage, as well as in the Targums of Jerusalem and of Jonathan on Gen. x. is too doubtful to be followed as even a traditional authority.

[W. A. W.]

TU'BAL-CA'IN (תּוּבַל קַיִן: ὁ Θόβελ: *Tubalcain*). The son of Lamech the Cainite by his wife Zillah (Gen. iv. 22). He is called "a furbisher of every cutting instrument of copper and iron." The Jewish legend of later times associates him with his father's song. "Lamech was blind," says the story as told by Rashi, "and Tubal-Cain was leading him; and he saw Cain, and he appeared to him like a wild beast, so he told his father to draw his bow, and he slew him. And when he knew that it was Cain his ancestor he smote his hands together and struck his son between them. So he slew him, and his wives withdraw from him, and he conciliates them." In this story Tubal-Cain is the "young man" of the song. Rashi apparently considers the name of Tubal-Cain as an appellative, for he makes him director of the works of Cain for making weapons of war, and connects "Tubal" with תָּבַל, *tabbêl*, to season, and so to prepare skilfully. He appears moreover to have pointed it תּוֹבֵל, *tôbêl*, which seems to have been the reading of the LXX. and Josephus. According to the writer last mentioned (*Ant.* i. 2, §2), Tubal-Cain was distinguished for his prodigious strength and his success in war.

The derivation of the name is extremely obscure. Hasse (*Entdeckungen*, ii. 37, quoted by Knobel on Gen. iv. 22) identifies Tubal-Cain with Vulcan; and Buttmann (*Mythol.* i. 164) not only compares these names, but adds to the comparison the Τελχῖνες of Rhodes, the first workers in copper and iron (Strabo, xiv. 654), and Dwalinn, the demon smith of the Scandinavian mythology. Gesenius proposed to consider it a hybrid word, compounded of the Pers. توپال, *túpal*, iron slag, or scoria, and the Arab. قين, *kain*, a smith; but this etymology is more than doubtful. The Scythian race TUBAL, who were coppersmiths (Ez. xxvii. 13), naturally suggest themselves in connexion with Tubal-Cain. [W. A. W.]

TUBIE'NI (Τουβιήνοι; Alex. Τουβεινοι: *Tubianaei*). The "Jews called Tubieni" lived about Charax, 750 stadia from a strongly-fortified city called Caspis (2 Macc. xii. 17). They were doubtless the same who are elsewhere mentioned as living in the towns of Toubion (A. V. TOBIE), which again is probably the same with the TOB of the Old Testament. [G.]

TURPENTINE-TREE (τερέμινθος, τερέβινθος: *terebinthus*) occurs only once, viz. in the Apocrypha (Ecclus. xxiv. 16), where wisdom is compared with the "turpentine-tree that stretcheth forth her branches." The τερέβινθος or τέρμινθος of the Greeks is the *Pistacia terebinthus*, terebinth tree, common in Palestine and the East, supposed by some writers to represent the *êlâh* (אֵלָה) of the Hebrew Bible. [OAK.] The terebinth, though not generally so conspicuous a tree in Palestine as some of the oaks, occasionally grows to a large size. See Robinson (*B. B.* ii. 222, 3), who thus speaks of it. "The Butm" (the Arabic name of the terebinth) "is not an evergreen, as often represented, but its small lancet-shaped leaves fall in the autumn, and are renewed in the spring. The flowers are small, and followed by small oval berries, hanging in clusters from two to five inches long, resembling much those of the vine when the grapes are just set. From incisions in the trunk there is said to flow a sort of transparent balsam, constituting a very pure and fine species of turpentine, with an agreeable odour like citron or jessamine, and a mild

taste, and hardening gradually into a transparent gum. In Palestine nothing seems to be known of this product of the butm !" The terebinth belongs to the Nat. Order *Anacardiaceae*, the plants of which order generally contain resinous secretions.

[W. H.]

Pistacia terebinthus.

TURTLE, TURTLE-DOVE (תּוֹר, *tôr*: τρυγών: *turtur*: generally in connexion with יוֹנָה, *yônâh*, "dove"). [DOVE.] The name is phonetic, evidently derived from the plaintive cooing of the bird. The turtle-dove occurs first in Scripture in Gen. xv. 9, where Abram is commanded to offer it along with other sacrifices, and with a young pigeon (גּוֹזָל, *gôzâl*). In the Levitical law a pair of turtle-doves, or of young pigeons, are constantly prescribed as a substitute for those who were too poor to provide a lamb or a kid, and these birds were admissible either as trespass, sin, or burnt-offering. In one instance, the case of a Nazarite having been accidentally defiled by a dead body, a pair of turtle-doves or young pigeons were specially enjoined (Num. vi. 10). It was in accordance with the provision in Lev. xii. 6 that the mother of our Lord made the offering for her purification (Luke ii. 24). During the early period of Jewish history, there is no evidence of any other bird except the pigeon having been domesticated, and up to the time of Solomon, who may, with the peacock, have introduced other gallinaceous birds from India, it was probably the only poultry known to the Israelites. To this day enormous quantities of pigeons are kept in dove-cots in all the towns and villages of Palestine, and several of the fancy races so familiar in this country have been traced to be of Syrian origin. The offering of two young pigeons must have been one easily within the reach of the poorest, and the offerer was accepted according to that he had, and not according to that he had not. The admission of a pair of turtle-doves was perhaps a yet further concession to extreme poverty; for, unlike the pigeon, the turtle from its migratory nature and timid disposition, has never yet been kept in a state of free domestication; but being extremely numerous, and resorting especially to gardens for edification, its young might easily be found and captured by those who did not even possess pigeons.

It is not improbable that the palm-dove (*Turtur aegyptiacus*, Temm.) may in some measure have supplied the sacrifices in the wilderness, for it is found in amazing numbers wherever the palm-tree occurs, whether wild or cultivated. In most of the oases of North Africa and Arabia every tree is the home of two or three pairs of these tame and elegant birds. In the crown of many of the date-trees five or six nests are placed together; and the writer has frequently, in a palm-grove, brought down ten brace or more without moving from his post. In such camps as Elim a considerable supply of these doves may have been obtained.

From its habit of pairing for life, and its fidelity for its mate, it was a symbol of purity and an appropriate offering (comp. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* x. 52). The regular migration of the turtle-dove and its return in spring are alluded to in Jer. viii. 7, "The turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming;" and Cant. ii. 11, 12, "The winter is past . . . and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land." So Pliny, "Hyeme mutis, a vere vocalibus;" and Arist. *Hist. An.* ix. 8, "Turtle-doves spend the summer in cold countries, the winter in warm ones." Although elsewhere (viii. 5) he makes it hybernate (φωλεῖ). There is, indeed, no more grateful proof of the return of spring in Mediterranean countries than the voice of the turtle. One of the first birds to migrate northwards, the turtle, while other songsters are heard chiefly in the morning, or only at intervals, immediately on its arrival pours forth from every garden, grove, and wooded hill its melancholy yet soothing ditty, unceasingly from early dawn till sunset. It is from its plaintive note doubtless that David in Ps. lxxiv. 19, pouring forth his lament to God, compares himself to a turtle-dove.

From the abundance of the dove tribe and their importance as an article of food the ancients discriminated the species of *Columbidae*, more accurately than of many others. Aristotle enumerates five species, which are not all easy of identification, as but four species are now known *commonly* to inhabit Greece. In Palestine the number of species is probably greater. Besides the rock-dove (*Columba livia*, L.), very common on all the rocky parts of the coast and in the inland ravines, where it remains throughout the year, and from which all the varieties of the domestic pigeon are derived, the ringdove (*Columba palumbus*, L.) frequents all the wooded districts of the country. The stock-dove (*Columba aenas*, L.) is as generally, but more sparingly distributed. Another species, allied either to this or to *Columba livia*, has been observed in the valley of the Jordan, perhaps *Col. leuconota*, Vig. See *Ibis*, vol. i. p. 35. The turtle-dove (*Turtur auritus*, L.) is, as has been stated, most abundant, and in the valley of the Jordan, an allied species, the palm-dove, or Egyptian turtle (*Turtur aegyptiacus*, Temm.), is by no means uncommon. This bird, most abundant among the palm-trees in Egypt and North Africa, is distinguished from the common turtle-dove by its ruddy chesnut colour, its long tail, smaller size, and the absence of the collar on the neck. It does not migrate, but from the similarity of its note and habits, it is not probable that it was distinguished by the ancients

The large Indian turtle (*Turtur gelastes*, Temm.) has also been stated, though without authority, to occur in Palestine. Other species, as the well-known collared dove (*Turtur risoria*, L.) have been incorrectly included as natives of Syria. [H. B. T.]

Turtur aegyptiacus.

TY'CHICUS (Τύχικος). A companion of St. Paul on some of his journeys, and one of his fellow-labourers in the work of the Gospel. He is mentioned in five separate books of the New Testament, and in four cases explicitly, in the fifth very probably, he is connected with the district of Asia. (1) In Acts xx. 4, he appears as one of those who accompanied the Apostle through a longer or shorter portion of his return-journey from the third missionary circuit. Here he is expressly called (with Trophimus) Ἀσιανός: but while Trophimus went with St. Paul to Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 29), Tychicus was left behind in Asia, probably at Miletus (Acts xx. 15, 38). (2) How Tychicus was employed in the interval before St. Paul's first imprisonment we cannot tell: but in that imprisonment he was with the Apostle again, as we see from Col. iv. 7, 8. Here he is spoken of, not only as "a beloved brother," but as "a faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord;" and he is to make known to the Colossians the present circumstances of the Apostle (*τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα γνωρίσει*), and to bring comfort to the Colossians themselves (*ἵνα παρακαλέσῃ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν*). From this we gather that diligent service and warm Christian sympathy were two features of the life and character of Tychicus. Colossæ was in Asia; but from the fact that of Onesimus, who is mentioned immediately afterwards, it is said, *ὅς ἐστιν ἐξ ὑμῶν*, whereas Tychicus is not so styled, we naturally infer that the latter was not a native of that city. These two men were doubtless the bearers both of this letter and the following, as well as that to Philemon. (3) The language concerning Tychicus in Eph. vi. 21, 22, is very similar, though not exactly in the same words. And it is the more important to notice this passage carefully, because it is the only personal allusion in the Epistle, and is of some considerable value as a subsidiary argument for its authenticity. If this was a circular letter, Tychicus, who bore a commission to Colossæ, and who was probably well known in various parts of the province of Asia, would be a very proper person to see the letter duly delivered and read. (4) The next references are in the Pastoral Epistles, the first in chronological order being Tit. iii. 12. Here St. Paul (writing possibly from Ephesus) says that it is probable he may send Tychicus to Crete, about the time when he himself goes to Nicopolis. (5) In 2 Tim. iv. 12 (written at Rome during the second imprisonment) he says, "I am herewith sending Tychicus to Ephesus." At least it seems natural, with Dr. Wordsworth, so to render *ἀπέστειλα*, though Bp. Ellicott's suggestion is also worth considering, that this mission may have been connected with the carrying of the *first* Epistle. (See their notes on the passage.) However this may be, we see this disciple at the end, as we saw him at the beginning, connected locally with Asia, while also co-operating with St. Paul. We have no authentic information concerning Tychicus in any period previous to or subsequent to these five Scriptural notices. The tradition which places him afterwards as bishop of Chalcedon in Bithynia is apparently of no value. But there is much probability in the conjecture (Stanley's *Corinthians*, 2nd ed. p. 493) that Tychicus was one of the two "brethren" (Trophimus being the other) who were associated with Titus (2 Cor. viii. 16-24) in conducting the business of the collection for the poor Christians in Judæa. As arguments for this view we may mention the association with Trophimus, the probability that both were Ephesians, the occurrence of both names in the second Epistle to Timothy (see 2 Tim. iv. 20), the chronological and geographical agreement with the circumstances of the third missionary journey, and the general language used concerning Tychicus in Colossians and Ephesians. [ASIA; EPHESUS; TROPHIMUS.] [J. S. H.]

TYRAN'NUS (Τύραννος). The name of a man in whose school or place of audience Paul taught the Gospel for two years, during his sojourn at Ephesus (see Acts xix. 9). The halls or rooms of the philosophers were called *σχολαί* among the later Greeks (Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*); and as Luke applies that term to the *auditorium* in this instance, the presumption is that Tyrannus himself was a Greek, and a public teacher of philosophy or rhetoric. He and Paul must have occupied the room at different hours; whether he hired it out to the Christians or gave to them the use of it (in either case he must have been friendly to them) is left uncertain. Meyer is disposed to consider that Tyrannus was a Jewish rabbi, and the owner of a private synagogue or house for teaching (בֵּית מִדְרָשׁ). But, in the first place, his Greek name, and the fact that he is not mentioned as a Jew or proselyte, disagree with that supposition; and, in the second place, as Paul repaired to this man's school after having been compelled to leave the Jewish synagogue (Acts xix. 9), it is evident that he took this course as a means of gaining access to the heathen; an object which he would naturally seek through the co-operation of one of their own number, and not by associating himself with a Jew or a Gentile adherent of the Jewish faith. In speaking of him merely as a certain Tyrannus (*Τυράννου τινός*), Luke indicates certainly that he was not a believer at first; though it is natural

enough to think that he may have become such as the result of his acquaintance with the Apostle. Hemsen (*Der Apostel Paulus*, p. 218) throws out the idea that the hall may have belonged to the authorities of the city, and have derived its name from the original proprietor. [H. B. H.]

TYRE (צוֹר, צֹר, i.e. *Tzôr*: Τύρος: *Tyrus*: Josh. xix. 29; 2 Sam. xxi. 7; Is. xxiii. 1; Ez. xxvi. 15, xxvii. 2, &c.). A celebrated commercial city of antiquity, situated in Phoenicia, on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, in latitude 33° 17′ N. (Admiral Smythe's *Mediterranean*, p. 469). Its Hebrew name "Tzôr" signifies a rock; which well agrees with the site of *Sûr*, the modern town, on a rocky peninsula, formerly an island. From the word "Tzôr" were derived two names of the city, in which the first letters differed from each other, though both had a feature of their common parent: 1st, the Aramaic word Tura, whence the Greek word Turos, probably pronounced Tyros, which finally prevailed in Latin, and, with slight changes, in the modern languages of the West; and, 2ndly, Sara, or Sarra, which occurs in Plautus (*Truc.* ii. 6, 58, "purpuram ex Sarâ tibi attuli"), and which is familiar to scholars through the well-known line of Virgil, "Ut gemmâ bibat, et Sarrano dormiat ostro" (*Georg.* ii. 506; comp. Aul. Gell. xiv. 6; Silius Italicus, xv. 203; Juvenal, x. 30). According to a passage of Probus (ad Virg. *Georg.* ii. 115), as quoted by Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, iii. 353), the form "Sara" would seem to have occurred in one of the Greek epics now lost, which passed under the name of Homer. Certainly, this form accords best with the modern Arabic name of *Sûr*.

PALAETYRUS, or Old Tyre. There is no doubt that, previous to the siege of the city by Alexander the Great, Tyre was situated on an island; but, according to the tradition of the inhabitants, if we may believe Justin (xi. 10), there was a city on the mainland before there was a city on the island; and the tradition receives some colour from the name of Palaetyrus, or Old Tyre, which was borne in Greek times by a city on the continent, 30 stadia to the south (Strabo, xii. 11, 24). But a difficulty arises in supposing that Palaetyrus was built before Tyre, as the word Tyre evidently means "a rock," and few persons who have visited the site of Palaetyrus can seriously suppose that any rock on the surface there can have given rise to the name. To escape this difficulty, Hengstenberg makes the suggestion that Palaetyrus meant Tyre that formerly existed; "quae quondam fuit;" and that the name was introduced after the destruction of the greater part of it by Nebuchadnezzar, to distinguish it from that part of Tyre which continued to be in existence (*De rebus Tyriorum*, p. 26). Movers, justly deeming this explanation unlikely, suggests that the original inhabitants of the city on the mainland possessed the island as part of their territory, and named their city from the characteristic features of the island, though the island itself was not then inhabited (*Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 173). This explanation is possible; but other explanations are equally possible. For example, the Phoenician name of it may have been the Old City; and this may have been translated "Palaetyrus" in Greek. Or, if the inhabitants of the mainland migrated to the island, they may afterwards, at some time or other, have given to the city which they left the name of Old Tyre, without its being necessarily implied that the city had ever borne simply the name of Tyre. Or some accidental circumstance, now beyond the reach of conjecture, may have led to the name; just as for some unaccountable reason Roma Vecchia, or Old Rome, is the name given in the Roman Campagna (as is stated on the high authority of Mr. H. E. Bunbury) to ruins of the age of Caracalla situated between the roads leading to Frascati and Albano, although there are no traces there of any Old Town, and there is not the slightest reason to suppose that there is any historical foundation whatever for the name. And this again would tally with Mr. Grote's remark, who observes (*l. c.*) that perhaps the Phoenician name which the city on the mainland bore may have been something resembling Palae-Tyrus in sound but not coincident in meaning. It is important, however, to bear in mind that this question regarding Palaetyrus is merely archaeological, and that nothing in Biblical history is affected by it. Nebuchadnezzar necessarily besieged the portion of the city on the mainland, as he had no vessels with which to attack the island; but it is reasonably certain that, in the time of Isaiah and Ezekiel, the heart or core of the city was on the island. The city of Tyre was consecrated to Hercules (Melkarth) who was the principal object of worship to the inhabitants (Quintus Curtius, iv. 2; Strabo, xvi. p. 757); and Arrian in his History says that the temple on the island was the most ancient of all temples within the memory of mankind (ii. 16). It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the island had long been inhabited. And with this agree the expressions as to Tyre being "in the midst of the seas" (Ezek. xxvii. 25, 26); and even the threat against it that it should be made like the top of a rock to spread nets upon (see Des Vignoles' *Chronologie de l'Histoire Sainte*, Berlin, 1738, vol. ii. p. 25). As, however, the space on the island was limited, it is very possible that the population on the mainland may have exceeded the population on the island (see Movers, *l. c.* p. 81).

Whether built before or later than Palaetyrus, the renowned city of Tyre, though it laid claims to a very high antiquity[a] (Is. xxiii. 7; Herodot. ii. 14; Quintus Curtius, iv. 4), is not mentioned either in the Iliad or in the Odyssey; but no inference can be legitimately drawn from this fact as to the existence or non-existence of the city at the time when those poems were composed. The tribe of Canaanites which inhabited the small tract of country which may be called Phoenicia Proper [PHOENICIA] was known by the generic name of Sidonians (Judg. xviii. 7; Is. xxiii. 2, 4, 12; Josh. xiii. 6; Ez. xxxii. 30); and this name undoubtedly included Tyrians, the inhabitants being of the same race, and the two cities being less than 20 English miles distant from each other. Hence when Solomon sent to Hiram king of Tyre for cedar-trees out

[a] According to Herodotus, the priests at Tyre told him that their city had been founded 2300 years before his visit. Supposing he was at Tyre in 450 B.C., this would make the date of its foundation 2750 B.C. Josephus makes the more sober statement, probably founded on Menander's history, that it was founded 230 years before the commencement of the building of Solomon's temple. Under any circumstances, Josephus could not, with his ideas and chronology, have accepted the date of the Tyrian priests; for then Tyre would have been founded before the era of the Deluge. See an instructive passage as to the chronology of Josephus in *Ant.* viii. 3, §1.

of Lebano. to be hewn by Hiram's subjects, he reminds Hiram that "there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like the Sidonians" (1 K. v. 6). Hence Virgil, who, in his very first mention of Carthage, expressly states that it was founded by colonists from Tyre (*Aen.* i. 12), afterwards, with perfect propriety and consistency, calls it the Sidonian city (*Aen.* i. 677, 678, iv. 545. See Des Vignoles, *l. c.* p. 25.) And in like manner, when Sidonians are spoken of in the Homeric Poems (*Il.* vi. 290, xxiii. 743; *Od.* iv. 84, xvii. 424), this might comprehend Tyrians; and the mention of the city Sidon, while there is no similar mention of Tyre, would be fully accounted for—if it were necessary to account for such a circumstance at all in a poem—by Sidon's having been in early times more flourishing than Tyre. It is worthy, likewise, of being noted, that Tyre is not mentioned in the Pentateuch; but here, again, though an inference may be drawn against the importance, no inference can be legitimately drawn against the existence, of Tyre in the times to which the Pentateuch refers.

In the Bible, Tyre is named for the first time in the Book of Joshua (xix. 29), where it is adverted to as a fortified city (in the A. V. "the strong city"), in reference to the boundaries of the tribe of Asher. Nothing historical, however, turns upon this mention of Tyre; for it is indisputable that the tribe of Asher never possessed the Tyrian territory. According to the injunctions of the Pentateuch, indeed, all the Canaanitish nations ought to have been exterminated; but, instead of this, the Israelites dwelt among the Sidonians or Phoenicians, who were inhabitants of the land (Judg. i. 31, 32), and never seem to have had any war with that intelligent race. Subsequently, in a passage of Samuel (2 Sam. xxiv. 7), it is stated that the enumerators of the census in the reign of David went in pursuance of their mission to Tyre, amongst other cities, which must be understood as implying, not that Tyre was subject to David's authority, but merely that a census was thus taken of the Jews resident there. But the first passages in the Hebrew historical writings, or in ancient history generally, which afford glimpses of the actual condition of Tyre, are in the Book of Samuel (2 Sam. v. 11), in connection with Hiram king of Tyre sending cedar-wood and workmen to David, for building him a palace; and subsequently in the Book of Kings, in connection with the building of Solomon's temple. One point at this period is particularly worthy of attention. In contradistinction from all the other most celebrated independent commercial cities out of Phoenicia in the ancient and modern world, Tyre was a monarchy and not a republic; and, notwithstanding its merchant princes, who might have been deemed likely to favour the establishment of an aristocratical commonwealth, it continued to preserve the monarchical form of government until its final loss of independence. Another point is the skill in the mechanical arts which seems to have been already attained by the Tyrians. Under this head, allusion is not specially made to the excellence of the Tyrians in felling trees; for, through vicinity to the forests of Lebanon, they would as naturally have become skilled in that art as the backwoodsmen of America. But what is peculiarly noteworthy is that Tyrians had become workers in brass or copper to an extent which implies considerable advancement in art. In the enumeration of the various works in brass executed by the Tyrian artists whom Solomon sent for, there are lilies, palm-trees, oxen, lions, and cherubim (1 K. vii. 13-45). The manner in which the cedar-wood and fir-wood was conveyed to Jerusalem is likewise interesting, partly from the similarity of the sea voyage to what may commonly be seen on the Rhine at the present day, and partly as giving a vivid idea of the really short distance between Tyre and Jerusalem. The wood was taken in floats to Joppa (2 Chr. ii. 16; 1 K. v. 9), a distance of less than 74 geographical miles. In the Mediterranean during summer there are times when this voyage along the coast would have been perfectly safe, and when the Tyrians might have reckoned confidently, especially at night, on light winds to fill the sails which were probably used on such occasions. From Joppa to Jerusalem the distance was about 32 miles; and it is certain that by this route the whole distance between the two celebrated cities of Jerusalem and Tyre was not more than 106[b] geographical, or about 122 English, miles. Within such a comparatively short distance (which by land, in a straight line, was about 20 miles shorter) it would be easy for two sovereigns to establish personal relations with each other; more especially as the northern boundary of Solomon's kingdom, in one direction, was the southern boundary of Phoenicia. Solomon and Hiram may frequently have met, and thus laid the foundations of a political alliance in personal friendship. If by messengers they sent riddles and problems for each other to solve (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 5, §3; *c. Apion.* i. 17), they may previously have had, on several occasions, a keen encounter of wits in convivial intercourse. In this way, likewise, Solomon may have become acquainted with the Sidonian women who, with those of other nations, seduced him to Polytheism and the worship of Astarte in his old age. Similar remarks apply to the circumstances which may have occasioned previously the strong affection of Hiram for David (1 K. v. 1).

However this may be, it is evident that under Solomon there was a close alliance between the Hebrews and the Tyrians. Hiram supplied Solomon with cedar wood, precious metals, and workmen, and gave him sailors for the voyage to Ophir and India, while on the other hand Solomon gave Hiram supplies of corn and oil, ceded to him some cities, and permitted him to make use of some havens on the Red Sea (1 K. ix. 11-14, 26-28, x. 22). These friendly relations survived for a time the disastrous secession of the Ten Tribes, and a century later Ahab married a daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians (1 K. xvi. 31), who, according to Menander (Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 13, §2), was daughter of Ithobal, king of Tyre. As she was zealous for her national religion, she seems to have been regarded as an abomination by the pious worshippers of Jehovah; but this led to no special prophetical denunciations against Tyre. The case became different, however, when mercan-

[b] It may be interesting to compare the distance from which the limestone was brought with which St. Paul's Cathedral was built. It was hewn from quarries in the Isle of Portland, and was sent to London round the North Foreland up the river Thames. The distance to London in a straight line from the North Foreland alone is of itself about twelve miles greater than from Tyre to Joppa; while the distance from the Isle of Portland to the North Foreland is actually three times as great.

tile cupidity induced the Tyrians and the neighbouring Phoenicians to buy Hebrew captives from their enemies and to sell them as slaves to the Greeks [PHOENICIA, p. 1001] and Edomites. From this time commenced denunciations, and, at first, threats of retaliation (Joel iii. 4-8; Amos i. 9, 10): and indeed, though there might be peace, there could not be sincere friendship between the two nations. But the likelihood of the denunciations being fulfilled first arose from the progressive conquests of the Assyrian monarchs. It was not probable that a powerful, victorious, and ambitious neighbour could resist the temptation of endeavouring to subjugate the small strip of land between the Lebanon and the sea, so insignificant in extent, but overflowing with so much wealth, which by the Greeks was called Phoenicia. [PHOENICIA.] Accordingly, when Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, had taken the city of Samaria, had conquered the kingdom of Israel and carried its inhabitants into captivity, he turned his arms against the Phoenician cities. At this time, Tyre had reached a high point of prosperity. Since the reign of Hiram, it had planted the splendid colony of Carthage (143 years and eight months, Josephus says, after the building of Solomon's temple, *c. Apion.* i. 18); it possessed the island of Cyprus, with the valuable mines of the metal "copper" (so named from the island); and, apparently, the city of Sidon was subject to its sway. But Shalmaneser seems to have taken advantage of a revolt of the Cyprians; and what ensued is thus related by Menander, who translated the archives of Tyre into the Greek language (see Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 14, §2): "Elulaeus reigned 36 years (over Tyre). This king, upon the revolt of the Kittaeans (Cyprians), sailed with a fleet against them, and reduced them to submission. On the other hand, the king of the Assyrians attacked in war the whole of Phoenicia, but soon made peace with all, and turned back. On this, Sidon and Ace (*i.e.* Akkô or Acre) and Palaetyrus revolted from the Tyrians, with many other cities which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned and fell upon them again, the Phoenicians having furnished him with 60 ships and 800 rowers. Against these the Tyrians sailed with 12 ships, and, dispersing the fleet opposed to them, they took five hundred men prisoners. The reputation of all the citizens in Tyre was hence increased. Upon this the king of the Assyrians, moving off his army, placed guards at their river and aqueducts to prevent the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years, and still the Tyrians held out, supplying themselves with water from wells." It is in reference to this siege that the prophecy against Tyre in the writings entitled Isaiah, chap. xiii., was uttered, if it proceeded from the Prophet Isaiah himself: but this point will be again noticed.

After the siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser (which must have taken place not long after 721 B.C.), Tyre remained a powerful state with its own kings (Jer. xxv. 22, xxvii. 3; Ez. xxviii. 2-12), remarkable for its wealth, with territory on the mainland, and protected by strong fortifications (Ez. xxviii. 5, xxvi. 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, xxvii. 11; Zech. ix. 3). Our knowledge of its condition thenceforward until the siege by Nebuchadnezzar depends entirely on various notices of it by the Hebrew prophets; but some of these notices are singularly full, and especially, the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel furnishes us, on some points, with details such as have scarcely come down to us respecting any one city of antiquity, excepting Rome and Athens. One point especially arrests the attention, that Tyre, like its splendid daughter Carthage, employed mercenary soldiers (Ez. xxvii. 10, 11). This has been the general tendency in commercial cities on account of the high wages which may be obtained by artisans in a thriving community, compared with the ordinary pay of a soldier; and Tyre had been unable to resist the demoralizing temptation. In its service there were Phoenicians from Arvad, Aethiopians obtained through the commerce of Egypt, and hardy mountaineers from Persia. This is the first time that the name of Persia occurs in the remains of ancient literature, before its sons founded a great monarchy on the ruins of the Chaldaean empire. We may conceive them like the Swiss, who, poor, faithful, and brave, have during many centuries, until the last few years, deemed enlistment in foreign service a legitimate source of gain. Independently, however, of this fact respecting Tyrian mercenary soldiers, Ezekiel gives interesting details respecting the trade of Tyre. On this head, without attempting to exhaust the subject, a few leading points may be noticed. The first question is as to the countries from which Tyre obtained the precious metals; and it appears that its gold came from Arabia by the Persian Gulf (v. 22), just as in the time of Solomon it came from Arabia by the Red Sea [OPHIR]. Whether the Arabian merchants, whose wealth was proverbial in Roman classical times (Horace, *Od.* i. 29, 1), obtained their gold by traffic with Africa or India, or whether it was the product of their own country, is uncertain; but as far as the latter alternative is concerned, the point will probably be cleared up in the progress of geological knowledge. On the other hand, the silver, iron, lead, and tin of Tyre came from a very different quarter of the world, viz. from the South of Spain, where the Phoenicians had established their settlement of Tarshish, or Tartessus. As to copper, we should have presumed that it was obtained from the valuable mines in Cyprus; but it is mentioned here in conjunction with Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, which points to the districts on the south of the Black Sea, in the neighbourhood of Armenia, in the southern line of the Caucasus, between the Black Sea and the Caspian. The country whence Tyre was supplied with wheat was Palestine. This point has been already noticed elsewhere [PHOENICIANS, p. 1002] as helping to explain why there is no instance on record of war between Tyre and the Israelites. It may be added that the value of Palestine as a wheat-country to Tyre was greatly enhanced by its proximity, as there was scarcely a part of the kingdom of Israel on the west of the River Jordan which was distant more than a hundred miles from that great commercial city. The extreme points in the kingdom of Judah would be somewhat more distant; but the wheat probably came from the northern part of Palestine. Tyre likewise obtained from Palestine oil, honey, and balm, but not wine apparently, notwithstanding the abundance of grapes and wine in Judah (Gen. xlix. 11). The wine was imported from Damascus, and was called wine of Helbon, which was probably not the product of the country adjoining the celebrated city of that name, but came from the neighbourhood of Damascus itself (see Porter's *Handbook for Syria*, vol. ii. p. 495: compare Athenaeus, i. 51). The Bedawin Arabs

supplied Tyre with lambs and rams and goats, for the rearing of which their mode of life was so well adapted. Egypt furnished linen for sails, and doubtless for other purposes, and the dyes from shell-fish, which afterwards became such a source of profit to the Tyrians, were imported from the Peloponnesus (compare the "Laconicas purpuras" of Horace, *Od.* ii. 18, 7, and Pliny ix. 40). Lastly, from Dedan in the Persian Gulf, an island occupied possibly by a Phoenician colony, horns of ivory and ebony were imported, which must originally have been obtained from India (Ez. xxvii. 10, 11, 22, 12, 13, 17, 18, 21, 7, 15).

In the midst of great prosperity and wealth, which was the natural result of such an extensive trade (Ez. xxviii. 4), Nebuchadnezzar, at the head of an army of the Chaldees, invaded Judaea, and captured Jerusalem. As Tyre was so near to Jerusalem, and as the conquerors were a fierce and formidable race (Hab. i. 6), led by a general of undoubted capacity, who had not long before humbled the power of the Egyptians, it would naturally be supposed that this event would have excited alarm and terror amongst the Tyrians. Instead of this, we may infer from Ezekiel's statement (xxvi. 2) that their predominant feeling was one of exultation. At first sight this appears strange and almost inconceivable; but it is rendered intelligible by some previous events in Jewish history. Only 34 years before the destruction of Jerusalem, commenced the celebrated Reformation of Josiah, B.C. 622. This momentous religious revolution, of which a detailed account is given in two chapters of the Book of Kings (2 K. xxii. xxiii.), and which cannot be too closely studied by any one who wishes to understand the Jewish Annals, fully explains the exultation and malevolence of the Tyrians. In that Reformation, Josiah had heaped insults on the gods who were the objects of Tyrian veneration and love, he had consumed with fire the sacred vessels used in their worship, he had burnt their images and defiled their high places—not excepting even the high place near Jerusalem, which Solomon the friend of Hiram had built to Ashtoreth the Queen of Heaven, and which for more than 350 years had been a striking memorial of the reciprocal good-will which once united the two monarchs and the two nations. Indeed, he seemed to have endeavoured to exterminate their religion, for in Samaria (2 K. xxiii. 20) he had slain upon the altars of the high places all their priests. These acts, although in their ultimate results they may have contributed powerfully to the[c] diffusion of the Jewish religion, must have been regarded by the Tyrians as a series of sacrilegious and abominable outrages; and we can scarcely doubt that the death in battle of Josiah at Megiddo, and the subsequent destruction of the city and Temple of Jerusalem were hailed by them with triumphant joy as instances of divine retribution in human affairs.

This joy, however, must soon have given way to other feelings, when Nebuchadnezzar invaded Phoenicia, and laid siege to Tyre. That siege lasted thirteen years (Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 21), and it is still a disputed point, which will be noticed separately in this article, whether Tyre was actually taken by Nebuchadnezzar on this occasion. However this may be, it is probable that, on some terms or other, Tyre submitted to the Chaldees. This would explain, amongst other points, an expedition of Apries, the Pharaoh-Hophra of Scripture, against Tyre, which probably happened not long after, and which may have been dictated by obvious motives of self-defence in order to prevent the naval power of Tyre becoming a powerful instrument of attacking Egypt in the hands of the Chaldees. In this expedition Apries besieged Sidon, fought a naval battle with Tyre, and reduced the whole of the coast of Phoenicia, though this could not have had lasting effects (Herod. ii. 161; Diod. i. 68; Movers, *Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. p. 451). The rule of Nebuchadnezzar over Tyre, though real, may have been light, and in the nature of an alliance; and it may have been in this sense that Merbal, a subsequent Tyrian king, was sent for to Babylon (Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 21). During the Persian domination the Tyrians were subject in name to the Persian king, and may have given him tribute. With the rest of Phoenicia, they had submitted to the Persians, without striking a blow; perhaps, through hatred of the Chaldees; perhaps, solely from prudential motives. But their connexion with the Persian king was not slavish. Thus, when Cambyses ordered them to join in an expedition against Carthage, they refused compliance, on account of their solemn engagements and parental relation to that colony: and Cambyses did not deem it right to use force towards them (Herod. iii. 19). Afterwards they fought with Persia against Greece, and furnished vessels of war in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece (Herod. vii. 98); and Mapên, the son of Sirom the Tyrian, is mentioned amongst those who, next to the commanders, were the most renowned in the fleet. It is worthy of notice that at this time Tyre seems to have been inferior in power to Sidon. These two cities were less than twenty English miles distant from each other; and it is easy to conceive that in the course of centuries their relative importance might fluctuate, as would be very possible in our own country with two neighbouring cities, such, for example, as Liverpool and Manchester. It is possible also that Tyre may have been seriously weakened by its long struggle against Nebuchadnezzar. Under the Persian dominion, Tyre and Sidon supplied cedar wood again to the Jews for the building of the second Temple; and this wood was sent by sea to Joppa, and thence to Jerusalem, as had been the case with the materials for the first Temple in the time of Solomon (Ezra, iii. 7). Under the Persians likewise Tyre was visited by an historian, from whom we might have derived valuable information respecting its condition (Herod. ii. 44). But the information actually supplied by him is scanty, as the motive of his voyage seems to have been solely to visit the celebrated temple of Melkarth (the Phoenician Hercules), which was situated in the island, and was highly venerated. He gives no details as to the city, and merely specifies two columns which he observed in the temple, one of gold, and the other of emerald; or rather, as is reasonably conjectured by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, of green glass (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. 81, 82). Towards the close of the following century, B.C. 332, Tyre was assailed for the third time by a great

[c] It was owing to this Reformation of Josiah that when the Jews were carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar a generation had arisen untainted by idolatry, and yet many of them probably free from the intense scrupulousness in ceremonial observances which prevailed subsequently.

conqueror: and if some uncertainty hangs over the siege by Nebuchadnezzar, the results of the siege by Alexander were clear and undeniable. It was essential to the success of his military plans that the Phoenician fleet should be at his command, and that he should not be liable through their hostility to have his communications by sea with Greece and Macedonia suddenly cut off; and he accordingly summoned all the Phoenician cities to submit to his rule. All the rest of them, including Aradus, Byblus and Sidon, complied with his demands, and the seamen of those cities in the Persian fleet brought away their ships to join him. Tyre alone, calculating probably at first on the support of those seamen, refused to admit him within its walls—and then ensued a memorable siege which lasted seven months, and the success of which was the greatest of all the achievements which Alexander up to that time had attempted. It is not necessary to give here the details of that siege, which may be found in Arrian and Quintus Curtius, and in all good Grecian histories, such as those of Bishop Thirlwall and Mr. Grote. It may be sufficient to say, that at that time Tyre was situated on an island nearly half a mile from the mainland—that "it was completely surrounded by prodigious walls, the loftiest portion of which on the side fronting the mainland reached a height not less than 150 feet;" and that notwithstanding his persevering efforts, he could not have succeeded in his attempt, if the harbour of Tyre to the north had not been blockaded by the Cyprians, and that to the south by the Phoenicians, thus affording an opportunity to Alexander for uniting the island to the mainland by an enormous artificial[d] mole. Moreover, owing to internal disturbances, Carthage was unable to afford any assistance to its parent state.

The immediate results of the capture by Alexander were most disastrous to it, as its brave defenders were put to death; and, in accordance with the barbarous policy of ancient times, 30,000 of its inhabitants, including slaves, free females and free children were sold as slaves (Arrian, iv. 24, §9; Diodorus, xvii. 46). It gradually, however, recovered its prosperity through the immigration of fresh settlers, though its trade is said to have suffered by the vicinity and rivalry of Alexandria. Under the Macedonian successors of Alexander, it shared the fortunes of the Seleucidae, who bestowed on it many privileges; and there are still in existence coins of that epoch with a Phoenician and Greek inscription (Eckhel, *Doctr. Nummorum Vet.* vol. iii. p. 379, &c.; Gesenius, *Monumenta Phoeniciae*, pp. 262-264, and Tab. 34). Under the Romans, at first it continued to enjoy a kind of freedom; for Josephus mentions that when Cleopatra pressed Antony to include Tyre and Sidon in a gift of Phoenician and Jewish territory which he made to her, he steadily refused, knowing them to have been "free cities from their ancestors" (*Ant.* xv. 4, §1). Subsequently, however, on the arrival of Augustus in the East, he is said to have deprived the two cities of their liberties for seditious conduct (ἐδουλώσατο, Dion Cassius, lxiv. 7). Still the prosperity of Tyre in the time of Augustus was undeniably great. Strabo gives an account of it at that period (xvi. 2, 23), and speaks of the great wealth which it derived from the dyes of the celebrated Tyrian purple, which, as is well known, were extracted from shell-fish found on the coast, belonging to a species of the genus Murex. In the days of Ezekiel, the Tyrians had imported purple from the Peloponnesus; but they had since learned to extract the dye for themselves; and they had the advantage of having shell-fish on their coast better adapted for this purpose even than those on the Lacedaemonian coast (Pausanias, iii. 21, §6). Strabo adds, that the great number of dyeing works rendered the city unpleasant as a place of residence.[e] He further speaks of the houses as consisting of many stories, even of more than in the houses at Rome—which is precisely what might be expected in a prosperous fortified city of limited area, in which ground-rent would be high. Pliny the Elder gives additional information respecting the city, for in describing it he says that the circumference of the city proper (*i. e.* the city on the peninsula) was 22 stadia, while that of the whole city, including Palaetyrus, was 19 Roman miles (*Nat. Hist.* v. 17). The accounts of Strabo and Pliny have a peculiar interest in this respect, that they tend to convey an idea of what the city must have been, when visited by Christ (Matt. xv. 21; Mark vii. 24). It was perhaps more populous than Jerusalem [JERUSALEM, p. 1025], and if so, it was undoubtedly the largest city which he is known to have visited. It was not much more than thirty miles distant from Nazareth, where Christ mainly lived as a carpenter's son during the greater part of his life (Matt. ii. 23, iv. 12, 13, 18; Mark vi. 3). We may readily conceive that He may often have gone to Tyre, while yet unknown to the world; and whatever uncertainty there may be as to the extent to which the Greek language was likely to be spoken at Nazareth, at Tyre and in its neighbourhood there must have been excellent opportunities for conversation in that language, with which He seems to have been acquainted (Mark vii. 26). From the time of Christ to the beginning of the 5th century, there is no reason to doubt that, as far as was compatible with the irreparable loss of independence, Tyre continued in uninterrupted prosperity; and about that period Jerome has on record very striking testimony on the subject, which has been often quoted, and is a landmark in Tyrian history (see Gesenius's *Jesaia*, vol. i. p. 714). Jerome, in his Commentaries on Ezekiel, comes to the passage in which the prophet threatens Tyre with the approach of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (Ez. xxvi. 7); and he then, amongst other points, refers to the verse in which the prophet predicts of Tyre, "Thou shalt be built no more," saying that this raises a

[d] That Tyre was on an island, previous to its siege by Alexander, is one of the most certain facts of history; but on examining the locality at the present day few persons would suspect from existing appearances that there was anything artificial in the formation of the present peninsula.

[e] Pliny the elder gives an account of the Phoenician shell-fish (ix. 60, 61), and states that from the larger ones the dye was extracted, after taking off the shell: but that the small fish were crushed alive together with the shells. Mr Wilde, an intelligent modern traveller, observed at Tyre numerous round holes cut in the solid sandstone rock, in which shells seem to have been crushed. They were perfectly smooth on the inside; and many of them were shaped exactly like a modern iron pot, broad and flat at the bottom, and narrowing toward the top. Many of these were filled with a breccia of shells; in other places this breccia lay in heaps in the neighbourhood. All the shells were of one species, and were undoubtedly the *Murex Trunculus*. See *Narrative of a Voyage to Madeira, Teneriffe, and along the Shores of the Mediterranean* Dublin, 1844.

question as to how a city can be said not to be built any more, which we see at the present day the most noble and the most beautiful city of Phoenicia. "Quodque sequitur: nec aedificaberis ultra, videtur facere quaestionem quomodo non sit aedificata, *quam hodie cernimus Phoenices nobilissimam et pulcherrimam civitatem.*" He afterwards, in his remarks on the 3rd verse of the 27th chapter, in which Tyre is called, "a merchant of the people for many isles," says that this continues down to his time, so that commercial dealings of almost all nations are carried on in that city—"*quod quidem usque hodie perseverat, ut omnium propemodo gentium in illâ exerceantur commercia.*" Jerome's Commentaries on Ezekiel are supposed to have been written about the years 411-414 A.D. (see Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, vol. ii. p. 465), so that his testimony respecting the prosperity of Tyre bears date almost precisely a thousand years after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 588. As to the passage in which Ezekiel states that Tyre shall be built no more, Jerome says the meaning is, that "Tyre will be no more the Queen of Nations, having its own king, as was the case under Hiram and other kings, but that it was destined to be always subject, either to the Chaldeans, or to the Macedonians, or to the Ptolemies, or at last to the Romans." At the same time Jerome notices a meaning given to the passage by some interpreters, that Tyre would not be built *in the last days*; but he asks of such interpreters, "How they will be able to preserve the part attributed to Nebuchadnezzar, especially as we read in what follows, that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre, but had no reward of his labour (xxix. 18), and that Egypt was given over to him because in besieging Tyre he had served the purpose of God."

When Jerome spoke of Tyre's subjection to the Romans, which had then lasted more than four hundred years, he could scarcely have anticipated that another subjugation of the country was reserved for it from a new conquering power, coming not from the North, but from the South. In the 7th century A.D. took place the extraordinary Arabian revolution under Mahomet, which has given a new religion to so many millions of mankind. In the years 633-638 A.D. all Syria and Palestine, from the Dead Sea to Antioch, was conquered by the Khalif Omar. This conquest was so complete, that in both those countries the language of Mahomet has almost totally supplanted the language of Christ. In Syria, there are only three villages where Syriac (or Aramaic) is the vernacular language. In Palestine, it is not the language of a single native: and in Jerusalem, to a stranger who understands what is involved in this momentous revolution, it is one of the most suggestive of all sounds to hear the Muezzin daily call Mahometans to prayers in the Arabic language of Mahomet, within the sacred precincts where once stood the Temple, in which Christ worshipped in Hebrew, or in Aramaic. (As to the Syriac language, see Porter's *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, vol. ii. p. 551.) But even this conquest did not cause the overthrow of Tyre. The most essential conditions on which peace was granted to Tyre, as to other Syrian cities, were the payment of a poll-tax, the obligation to give board and lodging for three days to every Muslem traveller, the wearing a peculiar dress, the admission of Muslems into the churches, the doing away with all crosses and all sounds of bells, the avoiding of all insulting expressions towards the Mahometan religion, and the prohibition to ride on horseback or to build new churches. (See Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifer*, bd. i. 81-82.) Some of these conditions were humiliating, and nearly heart-breaking; but if submitted to, the lives and private property of the inhabitants remained untouched. Accordingly, at the time of the Crusades Tyre was still a flourishing city, when it surrendered to the Christians on the 27th of June, 1124. It had early been the seat of a Christian bishopric, and Cassius, bishop of Tyre, is named as having been present at the Council of Caesarea towards the close of the 2nd century (Reland, *Palestine*, 1054); and now, in the year after its capture by the Crusaders, William, a Frenchman, was made its archbishop. This archbishop has left on record an account of the city, which gives a high idea of its wealth and great military strength. (See *Wilhelmi Tyrensis Historia*, lib. xiii. cap. 5.) And his statements are confirmed by Benjamin of Tudela, who visited it in the same century. (See Purchas's *Pilgrims*, ii. 1443.) The latter writer, who died in 1173, says: "Nor do I think any haven in the world to be like unto this. The city itself, as I have said, is goodly, and in it there are about four hundred Jews, among whom some are very skilful in disciplinary readings, and especially Ephraim the Egyptian judge, and Mair, and Carchesona, and Abraham, the head of the university. Some of the Jews there have ships at sea for the cause of gain. There are artificial workmen in glass there, who make glass, called Tyrian glass, the most excellent, and of the greatest estimation in all countries. The best and most approved sugar is also found there." In fact, at this period, and down to the close of the 13th century, there was perhaps no city in the known world which had stronger claims than Tyre to the title of the "Eternal City," if experience had not shewn that cities as well as individuals were subject to decay and dissolution. Tyre had been the parent of colonies, which at a distant period had enjoyed a long life and had died; and it had survived more than fifteen hundred years its greatest colony, Carthage. It had outlived Aegyptian Thebes, and Babylon, and ancient Jerusalem. It had seen Grecian cities rise and fall; and although older than them all, it was in a state of great prosperity when an illustrious Roman, who had been sailing from Aegina to Megara, told Cicero, in imperishable words, of the corpses or carcases of cities, the *oppidorum cadavera*, by which in that voyage he had been in every direction encompassed (*Ep. ad Familiar.* iv. 5). Rome, it is true, was still in existence in the 13th century; but, in comparison with Tyre, Rome itself was of recent date, its now twice consecrated soil having been merely the haunt of shepherds or robbers for some hundred years after Tyre was wealthy and strong. At length, however, the evil day of Tyre undoubtedly arrived. It had been more than a century and a half in the hands of Christians, when in March, A.D. 1291, the Sultan of Egypt and Damascus invested Acre, then known to Europe by the name of Ptolemais, and took it by storm after a siege of two months. The result was told in the beginning of the next century by Marinus Sanutus, a Venetian, in the following words: "On the same day on which Ptolemais was taken, the Tyrians, at vespers, leaving the city empty, without the stroke of a sword, without the tumult of war, embarked on board their vessels, and abandoned the city to be occupied freely by their conquerors. On the morrow the Saracens entered, no one attempting to prevent them, and

they did what they pleased." (*Liber Secretorum fidelium Crucis*, lib. iii. cap. 22.)[f]

This was the turning-point in the history of Tyre, 1879 years after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; and Tyre has not yet recovered from the blow. In the first half of the 14th century it was visited by Sir John Maundeville, who says, speaking of "Tyre, which is now called Sûr, here was once a great and goodly city of the Christians: but the Saracens have destroyed it in great part; and they guard that haven carefully for fear of the Christians" (Wright's *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 141). About A.D. 1610-11 it was visited by Sandys, who said of it: "But this once famous Tyre is now no other than a heap of ruins; yet have they a reverent aspect, and do instruct the pensive beholder with their exemplary frailty. It hath two harbours, that on the north side the fairest and best throughout all the Levant (which the cursours enter at their pleasure); the other choked with the decayes of the city." (Purchas's *Pilgrims*, ii. 1393.) Towards the close of the same century, in 1697 A.D., Maundrell says of it, "On the north side it has an old Turkish castle, besides which there is nothing here but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c., there being not so much as an entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches that harbour in vaults and subsist upon fishing." (See Harris, *Voyages and Travels*, ii. 846.) Lastly, without quoting at length Dr. Richard Pococke, who in 1737-40 A.D. stated (see vol. x. of Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, p. 470) that, except some janizaries, there were few other inhabitants in the city than two or three Christian families, the words of Hasselquist, the Swedish naturalist, may be recorded, as they mark the lowest point of depression which Tyre seems to have reached. He was there in May 1751 A.D., and he thus speaks of his visit: "We followed the sea shore . . . . . and came to Tyre, now called Zur, where we lay all night. None of these cities, which formerly were famous, are so totally ruined as this except Troy. Zur now scarcely can be called a miserable village, though it was formerly Tyre, the queen of the sea. *Here are about ten inhabitants, Turks and Christians, who live by fishing.*" (See Hasselquist, *Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, London, 1766.) A slight change for the better began soon after. Volney states that in 1766 A.D. the Metâwileh took possession of the place, and built a wall round it twenty feet high, which existed when he visited Tyre nearly twenty years afterwards. At that time Volney estimated the population at fifty or sixty poor families. Since the beginning of the present century there has been a partial revival of prosperity. But it has been visited at different times during the last thirty years by biblical scholars, such as Professor Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 463-471), Canon Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*, 270), and M. Ernest Renan[g] (*Letter in the Moniteur*, July 11, 1861), who all concur in the account of its general aspect of desolation. Mr. Porter, who resided several years at Damascus, and had means of obtaining correct information, states in 1858 that "the modern town, or rather village, contains from 3000 to 4000 inhabitants, about one-half being Metâwileh, and the other Christians" (*Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine*, p. 391). Its great inferiority to Beyrout for receiving vessels suited to the requirements of modern navigation will always prevent Tyre from becoming again the most important commercial city on the Syrian coast. It is reserved to the future to determine whether with a good government, and with peace in the Lebanon, it may not increase in population, and become again comparatively wealthy.

In conclusion, it is proper to consider two questions of much interest to the Biblical student, which have been already noticed in this article, but which could not then be conveniently discussed fully. 1st. The date and authorship of the prophecy against Tyre in Isaiah, chap. xxiii.; and 2ndly, the question of whether Nebuchadnezzar, after his long siege of Tyre, may be supposed to have actually taken it.

On the first point it is to be observed, that as there were two sieges of Tyre contemporaneous with events mentioned in the Old Testament, viz. that by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, in the reign of Hezekiah, and the siege by Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Chaldees, after the capture of Jerusalem in 588 B.C., and as Isaiah was living during the former siege, but must have been dead considerably more than a hundred years at the time of the latter siege, it is probable, without denying predictive prophecy, that the prophecy relates to the first siege, if it was written by Isaiah. As the prophecy is in the collection of writings entitled "Isaiah," there would formerly not have been any doubt that it was written by that prophet. But it has been maintained by eminent Biblical critics that many of the writings under the title of his name were written at the time of the Babylonian Captivity. This seems to be the least open to dispute in reference to the prophecies commencing with "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people," in the 1st verse of the 40th chapter, concerning which the following facts seem to the writer of the present article to be well established.[h] 1st. These prophecies are different in style from the undisputed writings of Isaiah. 2ndly. They do not *predict* that the Jews will be carried away into captivity at Babylon, but they *presuppose* that the Jews are already in captivity there at the time when the prophecies are uttered; that Jerusalem is desolate, and that the Temple is burnt (Is. lxiv. 10, 11, xliv. 26, 28, xlv. 13, xlvii. 5, 6, lii. 2, 9, li. 3, 11, 17-23). 3rdly. The name of Cyrus, who conquered Babylon probably at least a hundred and fifty years after the death of Isaiah is mentioned in them twice (xliv. 28, xlv. 1): and 4thly, there is

[f] A copy of this work is in *Gesta Dei per Francos*. Hanoviae, 1611.

[g] M. Ernest Renan says there has been *no subsidence* of the land, owing to earthquakes or other causes; and that the west of the island has the same level as in ancient times. Mr. Wilde had spoken with great caution on this point, pp. 383-385. It is still very desirable that the peninsula and the adjoining coast should be minutely examined by an experienced practical geologist. There seems to be no doubt that the city has suffered from earthquakes. See Porter, *l.c.*; and compare Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* vi. 1-11, Strabo xv. p. 757, and Justin, xl. 2, 1.

[h] Doubts as to the authorship of these chapters were first suggested by Döderlein in 1781, in a review of Kopp's translation of Lowth's Isaiah. Since 1781 their later date has been accepted by Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Gesenius, Winer, Ewald, Hitzig, Knobel, Hertzfeld, Bleek, Geiger, and Davidson, and by numerous other Hebrew scholars. The evidence has been nowhere stated more clearly than by Gesenius in his *Jesaia* (part ii. pp. 18-35, Leipzig, 1821). [On the other hand, the writer of the article ISAIAH in the present Work maintains the unity of the book.—ED.]

of external contemporary evidence between the time of Isaiah and the time of Cyrus to prove that these prophecies were then in existence. But although in this way the evidence of a later date is peculiarly cogent in reference to the 40th and following chapters, there is also reasonable evidence of the later date of several other chapters, such, for example, as the 13th and 14th (on which observe particularly the four first verses of the 14th chapter) and chapters xxiv.–xxvii. Hence there is no *à priori* difficulty in admitting that the 23rd chapter, respecting Tyre, may likewise have been written at the time of the Chaldean invasion. Yet this is not to be assumed without something in the nature of probable proof, and the real point is whether any such proof can be adduced on this subject. Now although Hitzig (*Der Prophet Jesaja*, Heidelberg, 1833, p. 272) undertakes to show that there is a difference of language between Isaiah's genuine prophecies and the 23rd chapter, and although Ewald (*Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, vol. i. p. 238), who refers it to the siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser, believes the 23rd chapter, on the grounds of style and language, to have been written by a younger contemporary and scholar of Isaiah, not by Isaiah himself, it is probable that the majority of scholars will be mainly influenced in their opinions as to the date of that chapter by their view of the meaning of the 13th verse. In the A. V. the beginning of the verse is translated thus: "Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness"—and this has been supposed by some able commentators, such as Rosenmüller and Hitzig (*ad loc.*), to imply that the enemies with which the Tyrians were threatened were the Chaldees under Nebuchadnezzar, and not the Assyrians under Shalmaneser. If this is the meaning, very few critics would now doubt that the prophecy was composed in the time of Nebuchadnezzar; and there is certainly something remarkable in a supposed mention of the Chaldees by such an early writer as Isaiah, inasmuch as, with the possible exceptions in the mention of Abraham and Abraham's family as having belonged to "Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen. xi. 28, 31, xv. 7), the mention of the Chaldees by Isaiah would be the earliest in the Bible. The only other passage respecting which a doubt might be raised is in the Book of Job (i. 17)—a work, however, which seems to the author of this article to have been probably written later than Isaiah.[1] But the 13th verse of the chapter attributed to Isaiah by no means necessarily implies that the Chaldees under Nebuchadnezzar were attacking Tyre, or were about to attack it. Accepting the ordinary version, it would be amply sufficient that Chaldees should be formidable mercenaries in the Assyrian army. This is the interpretation of Gesenius (*Commentar über den Jesaia*, ad loc.), who goes still farther. Founding his reasoning on the frequent mention by Xenophon of Chaldees, as a bold, warlike, and predatory tribe in the neighbourhood of Armenia, and collecting scattered notices round this fundamental fact, he conjectures that bands of them, having served either as mercenaries or as volunteers in the Assyrian army, had received lands for their permanent settlement on the banks of the Euphrates not long before the invasion of Shalmaneser (see Xenophon, *Cyropaed.* iii. 2, §§7, 12; *Anab.* iv. 3, §4, v. 5, §9, vii. 8, §14). So great is our ignorance of the Chaldees previous to their mention in the Bible, that this conjecture of Gesenius cannot be disproved. There is not indeed sufficient positive evidence for it to justify its adoption by an historian of the Chaldees; but the possibility of its being true should make us hesitate to assume that the 13th verse is incompatible with the date ordinarily assigned to the prophecy in which it occurs. But, independently of these considerations, the beginning of the 13th verse is capable of a totally different translation from that in the Authorized Version. It may be translated thus: "Behold the land of the Chaldees, the people is no more, Assyria has given it [the land] to the dwellers in the wilderness." This is partly in accordance with Ewald's translation, not following him in the substitution of "Canaanites" (which he deems the correct reading) for "Chaldees"—and then the passage might refer to an unsuccessful rebellion of the Chaldees against Assyria, and to a consequent desolation of the land of the Chaldees by their victorious rulers. One point may be mentioned in favour of this view, that the Tyrians are not warned to look at the Chaldees in the way that Habakkuk threatens his contemporaries with the hostility of that "terrible and dreadful nation," but the Tyrians are warned to look at the *land* of the Chaldees. Here, again, we know so little of the history of the Chaldees, that this interpretation, likewise, cannot be disproved. And, on the whole, as the burden of proof rests with any one who denies Isaiah to have been the author of the 23rd chapter, as the 13th verse is a very obscure passage, and as it cannot be proved incompatible with Isaiah's authorship, it is permissible to acquiesce in the Jewish tradition on the subject.

2ndly. The question of whether Tyre was actually taken by Nebuchadnezzar after his thirteen years' siege has been keenly discussed. Gesenius, Winer, and Hitzig decide it in the negative, while Hengstenberg has argued most fully on the other side. Without attempting to exhaust the subject, and assuming, in accordance with Movers, that Tyre, as well as the rest of Phoenicia, submitted at last to Nebuchadnezzar, the following points may be observed respecting the supposed capture:—1st. The evidence of Ezekiel, a contemporary, seems to be against it. He says (xxix. 18) that "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyre;" that "every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled, yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus, for the service that he served against it;" and the obvious inference is that, however great the exertions of the army may have been in digging entrenchments or in casting up earthworks, the siege was unsuccessful. This is confirmed by the following verses (19, 20), in which it is stated that the land of Egypt will be given to Nebuchadnezzar as a compensation, or wages, to him and his army for their having served against Tyre. Movers, indeed, asserts that the only mean-

[1] In the total absence of external evidence nothing in favour of an earlier date can be adduced to outweigh one circumstance long since noticed among numerous others by Gesenius (*Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*), that the Aramaic plural כַּלְדָּיִן occurs twelve times in the book (iv. 2; xii. 11; xv. 13; xviii. 2; xxvi. 4; xxxii. 11, 14; xxxiii. 8, 32; xxxiv. 3; xxxv. 16; xxxviii. 2). [But there are strong reasons for assigning an earlier date to the book: see Job, p. 1095.—Ed.]

ing of the expression that Nebuchadnezzar and his army had no wages for their service against Tyre is, that they did not plunder the city. But to a virtuous commander the best reward of besieging a city is to capture it; and it is a strange sentiment to attribute to the Supreme Being, or to a prophet, that a general and his army received no wages for capturing a city, because they did not plunder it. 2ndly. Josephus, who had access to historical writings on this subject which have not reached our times although he quotes Phoenician writers who show that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre (*Ant.* x. 11, §1; *c. Apion.* 23), neither states on his own authority, nor quotes any one else as stating, that Nebuchadnezzar took it. 3rdly. The capture of Tyre on this occasion is not mentioned by any Greek or Roman author whose writings are now in existence. 4thly. In the time of Jerome it was distinctly stated by some of his contemporaries that they had read, amongst other histories on this point, histories of Greeks and Phoenicians, and especially of Nicolaus Damascenus, in which nothing was said of the siege of Tyre by the Chaldees: and Jerome, in noticing this fact, does not quote any authority of any kind for a counter-statement, but contents himself with a general allegation that many facts are related in the Scriptures which are not found in Greek works, and that "we ought not to acquiesce in the authority of those whose perfidy and falsehood we detest" (see *Comment. ad Ezechielem*, xxvi. 7). On this view of the question there would seem to be small reason for believing that the city was actually captured, were it not for another passage of Jerome in his Commentaries on the passage of Ezekiel already quoted (xxix. 18), in which he explains that the meaning of Nebuchadnezzar's having received no wages for his warfare against Tyre is, not that he failed to take the city, but that the Tyrians had previously removed everything precious from it in ships, so that when Nebuchadnezzar entered the city he found nothing there. This interpretation has been admitted by one of the most distinguished critics of our own day (Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, ad loc.) who, deeming it probable that Jerome had obtained the information from some historian whose name is not given, accepts as historical this account of the termination of the siege. This account therefore, as far as inquirers of the present day are concerned, rests solely on the authority of Jerome; and it thus becomes important to ascertain the principles and method which Jerome adopted in writing his Commentaries. It is peculiarly fortunate that Jerome himself has left on record some valuable information on this point in a letter to Augustine, for the understanding of which the following brief preliminary explanation will be sufficient:—In Jerome's Commentaries on the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, when adverting to the passage (vers. 11-14) in which St. Paul states that he had withstood Peter to the face, "because he was to be blamed" for requiring Christians to comply with the observances of the Jewish ritual law, Jerome denies that there was any real difference of opinion between the two Apostles, and asserts that they had merely made a preconcerted arrangement of *apparent* difference, in order that those who approved of circumcision might plead the example of Peter, and that those who were unwilling to be circumcised might extol the religious liberty of Paul. Jerome then goes on to say that "the fact of simulation being useful, and occasionally permissible, is taught by the example of Jehu king of Israel, who never would have been able to put the priests of Baal to death unless he had feigned willingness to worship an idol, saying, 'Ahab served Baal a little, but Jehu shall serve him much.'" On this Augustine strongly remonstrated with Jerome in two letters which are marked 56 and 67 in Jerome's Correspondence. To these Jerome returned an answer in a letter marked 112, in which he repudiates the idea that he is to be held responsible for all that is contained in his Commentaries, and then frankly confesses how he composed them. Beginning with Origen, he enumerates several writers whose Commentaries he had read, specifying, amongst others, Laodicenus, who had lately left the Church, and Alexander, an old heretic. He then avows that having read them all he sent for an amanuensis, to whom he dictated sometimes his own remarks, sometimes those of others, without paying strict attention either to the order or the words, and sometimes not even to the meaning. "Itaque ut simpliciter fatear, legi haec omnia, et in mente meâ plurima coacervans, accito notario, vel mea, vel aliena dictavi, nec ordinis, nec verborum, interdum nec sensuum memor" (see Migne's Edition of Jerome, vol. i. p. 918). Now if the bearing of the remarks concerning simulation for a pious purpose, and of the method which Jerome followed in the composition of his Commentaries is seriously considered, it cannot but throw doubt on his uncorroborated statements in any case wherein a religious or theological interest may have appeared to him to be at stake.

Jerome was a very learned man, perhaps the most learned of all the Fathers. He was also one of the very few among them who made themselves acquainted with the Hebrew language, and in this, as well as in other points, he deserves gratitude for the services which he has rendered to Biblical literature. He is, moreover, a valuable witness to facts, when he can be suspected of no bias concerning them, and especially when they seem contrary to his religious prepossessions. But it is evident, from the passages in his writings above quoted, that he had not a critical mind, and that he can scarcely be regarded as one of those noble spirits who prefer truth to supposed pious ends which may be attained by its violation. Hence, contrary to the most natural meaning of the prophet Ezekiel's words (xxix. 18), it would be unsafe to rely on Jerome's sole authority for the statement that Nebuchadnezzar and his army eventually captured Tyre.

Literature.—For information on this head, see PHOENICIANS, p. 1006. In addition to the works there mentioned, see Robinson's *Bibl. Res.* ii. 461-471; Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, 264-268; Porter's *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, pp. 390-396; Hengstenberg, *De Rebus Tyriorum*, Berlin, 1832; and Ritter's *Erdkunde*, vol. xvii. 1st part, 3rd book, pp. 320-379. Professor Robinson, in addition to his instructive history of Tyre, has pub-

[1] Hengstenberg (*De Rebus Tyriorum*, p. 75) says that this silence of the Greek and Phoenician historians proves too much, as there is no doubt that the city was *besieged* by Nebuchadnezzar. To this Hitzig replies, that the historians could only have omitted to mention the siege, because the siege had not been followed by the capture of the city (*Der Prophet Jesaja*, p. 278).

lished, in the Appendix to his third volume, a detailed list, which is useful for the knowledge of Tyre, of works by authors who had themselves travelled or resided in Palestine. See likewise an excellent account of Tyre by Gesenius in his *Jesaia*, i. 707-719, and by Winer, *s. v.*, in his *Bibl. Realwört.* [E. T.]

Coin of Tyre.

TY'RUS. This form is employed in the A. V. of the Books of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea (Joel has "Tyre"), Amos, Zechariah, 2 Esdras, Judith, and the Maccabees, as follows: Jer. xxv. 22, xxvii. 3, xlvii. 4; Ezek. xxvi. 2, 3, 4, 7, 15, xxvii. 2, 3, 8, 32, xxviii. 2, 12, xxix. 18; Hos. ix. 13; Am. i. 9, 10; Zech. ix. 2, 3; 2 Esd. i. 11; Jud. ii. 28; 1 Macc v. 15; 2 Macc. iv. 18, 32, 44, 49.

U

U'CAL (אֻכָל, and in some copies אֻכַל). According to the received text of Prov. xxx. 1, Ithiel and Ucal must be regarded as proper names, and if so, they must be the names of disciples or sons of Agur the son of Jakeh, an unknown sage among the Hebrews. But there is great obscurity about the passage. The LXX. translate *τοῖς πιστεύουσι θεῷ καὶ παύομαι*: the Vulgate, *cum quo est Deus, et qui Deo secum morante confortatus.* The Arabic follows the LXX. to some extent; the Targum reproduces Ithiel and Ucal as proper names, and the Syriac is corrupt, Ucal being omitted altogether. Luther represents the names as *Leithiel* and *Uchal.* De Wette regards them as proper names, as do most translators and commentators. Junius explains both as referring to Christ. The LXX. probably read לְאֵמוּנִי אֵל וְאֵכֶל. The Veneto-Greek has *καὶ συνήσομαι* = וְאָבִין. Cocceius must have pointed the words thus, לְאִיתִי אֵל וְאֻכַל, "I have laboured for God and have obtained," and this, with regard to the first two words must have been the reading of J. D. Michaelis, who renders, "I have wearied myself for God, and have given up the investigation," applying the words to a man who had bewildered himself with philosophical speculations about the Deity, and had been compelled to give up the search. Bertheau also (*Die Sprüche Sal.* Einl. xvii.) sees in the words, "I have wearied myself for God, I have wearied myself for God, and have fainted" (וְאֻכָל), an appropriate commencement to the series of proverbs which follow. Hitzig's view is substantially the same, except that he points the last word וְאֻכַל and renders, "and I became dull;" applying it to the dimness which the investigation produced upon the eye of the mind (*Die Spr. Sal.* p. 316). Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, i. p. clxxx.) follows Bertheau's punctuation, but regards לְאִיתִי אֵל or its first occurrence as a symbolical name of the speaker. "The saying of the man 'I-have-wearied-myself-for-God;' I have wearied myself for God, and have fainted away." There is, however, one fatal objection to this view, if there were no others, and that is, that the verb לאה, "to be wearied," nowhere takes after it the accusative of the object of weariness. On this account alone, therefore, we must reject all the above explanations. If Bertheau's pointing be adopted, the only legitimate translation of the words is that given by Dr. Davidson (*Introd.* ii. 338), "I am weary, O God, I am weary, O God, and am become weak." Ewald considers both Ithiel and Ucal as symbolical names, employed by the poet to designate two classes of thinkers to whom he addresses himself, or rather he combines both names in one, "God-with-me-and-I-am-strong," and bestows it upon an imaginary character, whom he introduces to take part in the dialogue. The name 'God-with-me,' says Keil (Hävernick, *Einl.* iii. p. 412), "denotes such as gloried in a more intimate communion with God, and a higher insight and wisdom obtained thereby," while 'I-am-strong' indicates "the so-called strong spirits who boast of their wisdom and might, and deny the holy God, so that both names most probably represent a class of freethinkers, who thought themselves superior to the revealed law, and in practical atheism indulged the lusts of the flesh." It is to be wished that in this case, as in many others, commentators had observed the precept of the Talmud, "Teach thy tongue to say, 'I do not know.'" [W. A. W.]

U'EL (אוּאֵל: Οὐήλ: *Vel*). One of the family of Bani, who during the Captivity had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 34). Called JUEL in 1 Esd. ix. 34.

U'KNAZ (וּקְנַז: Κενέζ: *Cenez*). In the margin of 1 Chr. iv. 15 the words "even Kenaz" in the text are rendered "Uknaz," as a proper name. Apparently some name has been omitted before Kenaz, for the clause begins "and the *sons* of Elah," and then only Kenaz is given. Both the LXX. and Vulg. omit the conjunction. In the Peshito Syriac, which is evidently corrupt, Kenaz is the third son of Caleb the son of Jephunneh.

ULA'I (אוּלַי: Οὐβάλ: *Ulai*) is mentioned by Daniel (viii. 2, 16) as a river near to Susa, where he saw his vision of the ram and the he-goat. It has been generally identified with the Eulaeus of the Greek and Roman geographers (Marc. Heracl. p. 18 Arr. *Exp. Al.* vii. 7; Strab. xv. 3, §22; Ptol. vi. 3; Pliny, *H. N.* vi. 31), a large stream in the immediate neighbourhood of that city. This identification may be safely allowed, resting as it does on the double ground of close verbal resemblance in the two names, and complete agreement as to the situation.

Can we, then, identify the Eulaeus with any existing stream? Not without opening a controversy, since there is no point more disputed among comparative geographers. The Eulaeus has been by many identified with the Choaspes, which is undoubtedly the modern *Kerkhah*, an affluent of the Tigris, flowing into it a little below *Kurnah*. By others it has been regarded as the *Kuran*, a large river, considerably further to the eastward, which enters the *Khor Bamishir* near *Mohammerah*. Some have even suggested that it may have been

the *Shapur* or *Sha'ur*, a small stream which rises a few miles N. W. of Susa, and flows by the ruins into the *Dizful* stream, an affluent of the *Kuran*.

The general grounds on which the Eulaeus has been identified with the Choaspes, and so with the *Kerkhah* (Salmasius, Rosenmüller, Wahl, Kitto, &c.) are, the mention of each separately by ancient writers as "the river of Susa," and (more especially) the statements made by some (Strabo, Plin.) that the water of the Eulaeus, by others (Herod., Athen., Plut., Q. Curtius), that that of the Choaspes was the only water tasted by the Persian kings. Against the identification it must be noticed that Strabo, Pliny, Solinus, and Polyclitus (ap. Strab. xv. 3, §4) regard the rivers as distinct, and that the lower course of the Eulaeus, as described by Arrian (*Exp. Al.* vii. 7) and Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 26), is such as cannot possibly be reconciled with that of the *Kerkhah* river.

The grounds for regarding the Eulaeus as the *Kuran* are decidedly stronger than those for identifying it with the *Kerkhah* or Choaspes. No one can compare the voyage of Nearchus in Arrian's *Indica* with Arrian's own account of Alexander's descent of the Eulaeus (vii. 7) without seeing that the Eulaeus of the one narrative is the Pasitigris of the other; and that the Pasitigris is the *Kuran* is almost universally admitted. Indeed, it may be said that all accounts of the *lower* Eulaeus—those of Arrian, Pliny, Polyclitus, and Ptolemy—identify it, beyond the possibility of mistake, with the *lower* Kuran, and that so far there ought to be no controversy. The difficulty is with respect to the *upper* Eulaeus. The Eulaeus, according to Pliny, surrounded the citadel of Susa (vi. 27), whereas even the *Dizful* branch of the Kuran does not come within six miles of the ruins. It lay to the west, not only of the Pasitigris (*Kuran*), but also of the Coprates (river of *Dizful*), according to Diodorus (xix. 18, 19). So far, it might be the *Shapur*, but for two objections. The *Shapur* is too small a stream to have attracted the general notice of geographers, and its water is of so bad a character that it can never have been chosen for the royal table (*Geograph. Journ.* ix. p. 70). There is also an important notice in Pliny entirely incompatible with the notion that the short stream of the *Shapur*, which rises in the plain about five miles to the N. N. W. of Susa, can be the true Eulaeus. Pliny says (vi. 31) the Eulaeus rose in *Media*, and flowed through Mesobatene. Now this is exactly true of the upper *Kerkhah*, which rises near *Hamadan* (Ecbatana), and flows down the district of *Mahsabadan* (Mesobatene).

The result is that the various notices of ancient writers appear to identify the upper Eulaeus with the upper *Kerkhah*, and the lower Eulaeus (quite unmistakeably) with the lower *Kuran*. Does this apparent confusion and contradiction admit of explanation and reconcilement?

A recent survey of the ground has suggested a satisfactory explanation. It appears that the *Kerkhah* once bifurcated at *Pai Pul*, about 20 miles N. W. of Susa, sending out a branch which passed east of the ruins, absorbing into it the *Shapur*, and flowing on across the plain in a S. S. E. direction till it fell into the *Kuran* at *Ahwaz* (Loftus, *Chaldaea and Susiana*, pp. 424, 425). Thus, the upper *Kerkhah* and the lower *Kuran* were in old times united, and might be viewed as forming a single stream. The name Eulaeus (*Ulai*) seems to have applied most properly to the eastern branch stream from *Pai Pul* to *Ahwaz*; the stream above *Pai Pul* was sometimes called the Eulaeus, but was more properly the Choaspes, which was also the sole name of the western branch (or present course) of the *Kerkhah* from *Pai Pul* to the Tigris. The name Pasitigris was proper to the upper *Kuran* from its source to its junction with the Eulaeus, after which the two names were equally applied to the lower river. The *Dizful* stream, which was not very generally known, was called the Coprates. It is believed that this view of the river names will reconcile and make intelligible all the notices of them contained in the ancient writers.

It follows from this that the water which the Persian kings drank, both at the court, and when they travelled abroad, was that of the *Kerkhah*, taken probably from the eastern branch, or proper Eulaeus, which washed the walls of Susa, and (according to Pliny) was used to strengthen its defences. This water was, and still is, believed to possess peculiar *lightness* (Strab. xv. 3, §22; *Geograph. Journ.* ix. p. 70), and is thought to be at once more wholesome and more pleasant to the taste than almost any other. (On the controversy concerning this stream the reader may consult Kinneir, *Persian Empire*, pp. 100-106; Sir H. Rawlinson, in *Geograph. Journ.* ix. pp. 84-93; Layard, in the same, xvi. pp. 91-94; and Loftus, *Chaldaea and Susiana*, pp. 424-431.) [G. R.]

ULAM (אוּלָם: Οὐλάμ: *Ulam*). **1.** A descendant of Gilead the grandson of Manasseh, and father of Bedan (1 Chr. vii. 17).

2. (Αἰλάμ; Alex. Οὐλάμ.) The first-born of Eshek, the brother of Azel, a descendant of the house of Saul. His sons were among the famous archers of Benjamin, and with their sons and grandsons made up the goodly family of 150 (1 Chr. viii. 39, 40).

ULLA (עֻלָּא: Ὀλά; Alex. Ὠλά: *Olla*). An Asherite, head of a family in his tribe, a mighty man of valour, but how descended does not appear (1 Chr. vii. 39). Perhaps, as Junius suggests, he may be a son of Ithran or Jether; and we may further conjecture that his name may be a corruption of Ara.

UMMAH (עַמָּה; Ἀρχώβ[a]; Ἀμμα: *Amma*). One of the cities of the allotment of Asher (Josh. xix. 30 only). It occurs in company with Aphek and Rehob; but as neither of these have been identified, no clue to the situation of Ummah is gained thereby. Dr. Thomson (*Bibl. Sacra*, 1855, p. 822, quoted by Van de Velde) was shown a place called *'Alma* in the highlands on the coast, about five miles E.N.E. of *Ras en-Nakhûra*, which is not dissimilar in name, and which he conjectures may be identical with Ummah. But it is quite uncertain. *'Alma* is described in *The Land and the Book*, chap. xx. [G.]

UNCLEAN MEATS. These were things strangled, or dead of themselves, or through beasts or birds of prey; whatever beast did not both part the hoof and chew the cud; and certain other smaller animals rated as "creeping things"[b] (שֶׁרֶץ); certain

[a] This looks at first sight like a misplacement of the name Rechob from its proper position further on in the verse. Rechob, however, is usually Ῥααβ.

[b] Lev. xi. 29-30 forbids eating the weasel, the mouse, the tortoise, the ferret, the chameleon, the lizard, the snail, and the mole. The LXX. has in place of the tor-

classes of birds[c] mentioned in Lev. xi. and Deut. xiv. twenty or twenty-one in all; whatever in the waters had not both fins and scales; whatever winged insect had not besides four legs the two hind-legs for leaping;[d] besides things offered in sacrifice to idols; and all blood or whatever contained it (save perhaps the blood of fish, as would appear from that only of beast and bird being forbidden, Lev. vii. 26), and therefore flesh cut from the live animal; as also all fat, at any rate that disposed in masses among the intestines, and probably wherever discernible and separable among the flesh (Lev. iii. 14-17, vii. 23). The eating of blood was prohibited even to "the stranger that sojourneth among you" (Lev. xvii. 10, 12, 13, 14), an extension which we do not trace in other dietary precepts; *e.g.* the thing which died of itself was to be given "unto the stranger that is in thy gates," Deut. xiv. 21. As regards blood, the prohibition indeed dates from the declaration to Noah against "flesh with the life thereof which is the blood thereof," in Gen. ix. 4, which was perhaps regarded by Moses as still binding upon all Noah's descendants. The grounds, however, on which the similar precept of the Apostolic Council, in Acts xv. 20, 21, appears based, relate not to any obligation resting still unbroken on the Gentile world, but to the risk of promiscuous offence to the Jews and Jewish Christians, "*for* Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him." Hence this abstinence is reckoned amongst "necessary things" (τὰ ἐπάναγκες), and "things offered to idols," although not solely, it may be presumed, on the same grounds, are placed in the same class with "blood and things strangled" (ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων καὶ αἵματος καὶ πνικτοῦ, vv. 28, 29). Besides these, we find the prohibition twice recurring against "seething a kid in its mother's milk." It is added, as a final injunction to the code of dietary precepts in Deut. xiv., after the crowning declaration of ver. 21, "*for* thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God;" but in Exod. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26, the context relates to the bringing firstfruits to the altar, and to the "Angel" who was to "go before" the people. To this precept we shall have occasion further to return.

The general distinction of clean and unclean is rightly observed by Michaelis (*Smith's Translation*, Art. ccii. &c.) to have its parallel amongst all nations, there being universally certain creatures regarded as clean, *i.e.* fit for food, and the rest as the opposite (comp. Lev. xi. 47). With the greater number of nations, however, this is only a traditional usage based merely perhaps either on an instinct relating to health, or on a repugnance which is to be regarded as an ultimate fact in itself, and of which no further account is to be given. Thus Michaelis (as above) remarks that in a certain part of Germany rabbits are viewed as unclean, *i.e.* are advisedly excluded from diet. Our feelings as regards the frog and the snail, contrasted with those of continentals, supply another close parallel. Now, it is not unlikely that nothing more than this is intended in the distinction between "clean" and "unclean" in the directions given to Noah. The intention seems to have been that creatures recognized, on whatever ground, as unfit for human food, should not be preserved in so large a proportion as those whose number might be diminished by that consumption. The dietary code of the Egyptians, and the traditions which have descended amongst the Arabs, unfortified, certainly down to the time of Mahomet, and in some cases later, by any legislation whatever, so far as we know, may illustrate the probable state of the Israelites. If the Law seized upon such habits as were current among the people, perhaps enlarging their scope and range, the whole scheme of tradition, instinct, and usage so enlarged might become a ceremonial barrier, having a relation at once to the theocratic idea, to the general health of the people, and to their separateness as a nation.

The same personal interest taken by Jehovah in his subjects, which is expressed by the demand for a ceremonially pure state on the part of every Israelite as in covenant with Him, regarded also this particular detail of that purity, viz. diet. Thus the prophet (Is. lxvi. 17), speaking in His name, denounces those that "sanctify themselves (consecrate themselves to idolatry), eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse," and those "which remain among the graves and lodge in the monuments, which eat swine's flesh, and broth of abominable things is in their vessels" (lxv. 4). It remained for a higher Lawgiver to announce that "there is nothing from without a man that enter-

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toise, the κροκόδειλος ο χερσαῖος, and instead of the snail (put before the lizard, σαῦρα), the χαλαβώτης.

[c] In the LXX. of Lev. xi. 14, two birds only are mentioned, τὸν γύπα καὶ τὸν ἴκτινον, and in the parallel passage of Deut. xiv. 13 the same two; but in the Heb. of the latter passage only our present text has *three* birds' names. It is therefore probable that one of these, רָאָה, rendered "glede" by the A.V., is a mere corruption of דָּאָה, found both in Deut. and in Lev., for which the LXX. gives γύψ, and the Vulgate *Milvius*. So Maimon. took it (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 33, 353). Thus we have twenty birds named as unclean, alike in the Heb. and in the LXX. of Lev. xi. 13-19, and of many of these the identification is very doubtful. Bochart says (p. 354), "nomina avium immundarum recenset Maimon., interpretari ne conatus quidem est." In the Heb. of Deut. xiv. we have, allowing for the probable corruption of one name, the same twenty, but in the LXX. only nineteen; "every raven after his kind" (πάντα κόρακα καὶ τὰ ὅμοια αὐτῷ), of Lev. being omitted, and the other names, although the same as those of Lev., yet having a different order and grouping after the first eight. Thus Lev. xi. 17, consists of the three, καὶ νυκτικόρακα, καὶ καταράκτην, καὶ ἶβιν; whereas Deut. xiv. 16, which should correspond, contains καὶ ἐρωδιὸν, καὶ κύκνον, καὶ ἶβιν. Also the ἔποψ, "hoopoe," and the πορφυρίων, "coot," figure in both the LXX. lists.

[d] In Lev. xi. 21 the *keri* has אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ against the אֲשֶׁר־לֹא of the *cethîb*. It is best to adopt the former, and view the last part of the verse as constituting a class that may be eaten from among a larger doubtful class of "flying creeping-things," the *differentia* consisting in their having four feet, and a pair of hind-legs to spring with. The A.V. is here obscure. "All fowls that creep," and "every flying creeping thing," standing in Lev. xi. 20, 21 for precisely the same Heb. phrase, rendered by the LXX. τὰ ἑρπετὰ τῶν πετεινῶν; and "legs *above* their feet to leap," not showing that the *distinct* larger springing legs of the locust or *cicada* are meant; where the Heb. מִמַּעַל, and LXX. ἀνώτερον seem to express the upward projection of these legs above the creature's back. So Bochart takes it (p. 452), who also prefers לוֹ in the reading above given; "ita enim Hebraei omnes;" and so, he adds, the Samar. Pent. He states that locusts are salted for food in Egypt (iv. 7, 491-2; comp. Hasselquist, 231-233). The edible class is enumerated in four species. No precept is found in Deut relating to these.

ing into him can defile him" (Mark vii. 15). The fat was claimed as a burnt offering and the blood enjoyed the highest sacrificial esteem. In the two combined the entire victim was by representation offered, and to transfer either to human use was to deal presumptuously with the most holy things. But besides this, the blood was esteemed as "the life" of the creature, and a mysterious sanctity beyond the sacrificial relation thereby attached to it. Hence we read, "whatsoever soul it be that eateth any manner of blood, even that soul shall be cut off from his people" (Lev. vii. 27, comp. xvii. 10, 14). Whereas the offender in other dietary respects was merely "unclean until even" (xi. 40, xvii. 15).

Blood was certainly drunk in certain heathen rituals, especially those which related to the solemnization of a covenant, but also as a pledge of idolatrous worship (Ps. xvi. 4; Ezek. xxxiii. 25). Still there is no reason to think that blood has ever been a common article of food, and any lawgiver might probably reckon on a natural aversion effectually fortifying his prohibition in this respect, unless under some bewildering influence of superstition. Whether animal qualities, grosser appetites, and inhuman tendencies might be supposed by the Hebrews transmitted into the partaker of the blood of animals, we have nothing to show: see, however, Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 11, §2.

It is noteworthy that the practical effect of the rule laid down is to exclude all the *carnivora* among quadrupeds, and, so far as we can interpret the nomenclature, the *raptores* among birds. This suggests the question whether they were excluded as being not averse to human carcases, and in most Eastern countries acting as the servitors of the battle-field and the gibbet. Even swine have been known so to feed; and, further, by their constant runcation among whatever lies on the ground, suggest impurity, even if they were not generally foul feeders. Amongst fish those which were allowed contain unquestionably the most wholesome varieties, save that they exclude the oyster. Probably, however, sea-fishing was little practised by the Israelites; and the Levitical rules must be understood as referring backwards to their experience of the produce of the Nile, and forwards to their enjoyment of the Jordan and its upper lakes. The exclusion of the camel and the hare from allowable meats is less easy to account for, save that the former never was in common use, and is generally spoken of in reference to the semi-barbarous desert tribes on the eastern or southern border land, some of whom certainly had no insuperable repugnance to his flesh;[e] although it is so impossible to substitute any other creature for the camel as the "ship of the desert," that to eat him, especially where so many other creatures give meat so much preferable, would be the worst economy possible in an Eastern commissariat—that of destroying the best, or rather the only conveyance, in order to obtain the most indifferent food. The hare[f] was long supposed, even by eminent naturalists,[g] to ruminate, and certainly was eaten by the Egyptians. The horse and ass would be generally spared from similar reasons to those which exempted the camel. As regards other cattle the young males would be those universally preferred for food, no more of that sex reaching maturity than were needful for breeding, whilst the supply of milk suggested the copious preservation of the female. The duties of draught would require another rule in rearing neat-cattle. The labouring steer, man's fellow in the field, had a life somewhat ennobled and sanctified by that comradeship. Thus it seems to have been quite unusual to slay for sacrifice or food, as in 1 K. xix. 21, the ox accustomed to the yoke. And perhaps in this case, as being tougher, the flesh was not roasted but boiled. The case of Araunah's oxen is not similar, as cattle of all ages were useful in the threshing floor (2 Sam. xxiv. 22). Many of these restrictions must be esteemed as merely based on usage, or arbitrary. Practically the law left among the allowed meats an ample variety, and no inconvenience was likely to arise from a prohibition to eat camels, horses, and asses. Swine, hares, &c. would probably as nearly as possible be exterminated in proportion as the law was observed, and their economic room filled by other creatures. Wunderbar (*Biblisch-Talm. Medicin*, part ii. p. 50) refers to a notion that "the animal element might only with great circumspection and discretion be taken up into the life of man, in order to avoid debasing that human life by assimilation to a brutal level, so that thereby the soul might become degraded, profaned, filled with animal affections, and disqualified for drawing near to God." He thinks also that we may notice a meaning in "the distinction between creatures of a higher, nobler, and less intensely animal organization as clean, and those of a lower and incomplete organization as unclean," and that the insects provided with four legs and two others for leaping are of a higher or more complete type than others, and relatively nearer to man. This seems fanciful, but may nevertheless have been a view current among Rabbinical authorities. As regards birds, the *raptores* have commonly tough and indigestible flesh, and some of them are in all warm countries the natural scavengers of all sorts of carrion and offal. This alone begets an instinctive repugnance towards them, and associates them with what was beforehand a defilement. Thus to kill them for food would tend to multiply various sources of uncleanness.[h] Porphyry (*Abstin.* iv. 7, quoted by Winer) says that the Egyptian priests abstained from all fish, from all quadrupeds with solid hoofs, or having claws, or which were not horned, and from all carnivorous birds. Other curious parallels have been found amongst more distant nations.[i]

[e] The camel, it may be observed, is the creature most near the line of separation, for the foot is partially cloven but incompletely so, and he is also a ruminant.

[f] The שָׁפָן, "coney," A.V., Lev. xi. 5, Deut. xiv. 7, Ps. civ. 18, Prov. xxx. 26, is probably the jerboa.

[g] See a correspondence on the question in *The Standard* and most other London newspapers, April 2nd, 1863.

[h] Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 33, 355, l. 43) mentions various symbolical meanings as conveyed by the precepts regarding birds: "Aves rapaces prohibuit ut a rapinâ averteret, nocturnas, ut abjicerent opera tenebrarum et se proderent lucis filios, lacustres et riparias, quarum victus est impurissimus, ut ab omni immundâ cor arceret. Struthionem denique, qui e terrâ non attollitur, ut terrenis relictis ad ea tenderent quae sursum sunt. Quae interpretatio non nostra est sed veterum." He refers to Barnabas, *Epist.* x.; Clemens Alex. *Strom.* v.; Origen, *Homil. in Levit.*; Novatian, *De Cibis Judaic.* cap. iii.; Cyril, *contra Julian.* lib. ix.

[i] Winer refers to Von Bohlen (*Genesis*, 88) as finding the origin of the clean and unclean animals in the Zendavesta, in that the latter are the creation of Ahriman, whereas man is ascribed to that of Ormuzd. He rejects, however, and quite rightly, the notion that Persian institutions exercised any influence over Hebrew ones.

But as Orientals have minds sensitive to teaching by types, there can be little doubt that such ceremonial distinctions not only tended to keep Jew and Gentile apart, but were a perpetual reminder to the former that he and the latter were not on one level before God. Hence, when that economy was changed, we find that this was the very symbol selected to instruct St. Peter in the truth that God was not a "respecter of persons." The vessel filled with "fourfooted beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air," was expressive of the Gentile world, to be put now on a level with the Israelite, through God's "purifying their hearts by faith." A sense of this their prerogative, however dimly held, may have fortified the members of the privileged nation in their struggle with the persecutions of the Gentiles on this very point. It was no mere question of which among several means of supporting life a man chose to adopt, when the persecutor dictated the alternative of swine's flesh or the loss of life itself, but whether he should surrender the badge and type of that privilege by which Israel stood as the favoured nation before God (1 Macc. i. 63, 64; 2 Macc. vi. 18, vii. 1). The same feeling led to the exaggeration of the Mosaic regulations, until it was 'unlawful for a man that was a Jew to keep company with or come unto one of another nation" (Acts x. 28); and with such intensity were badges of distinction cherished, that the wine, bread, oil, cheese, or anything cooked by a heathen,[k] were declared unlawful for a Jew to eat. Nor was this strictness, however it might at times be pushed to an absurdity, without foundation in the nature of the case. The Jews, as, during and after the return from captivity, they found the avenues of the world opening around them, would find their intercourse with Gentiles unavoidably increased, and their only way to avoid an utter relaxation of their code would lie in somewhat overstraining the precepts of prohibition. Nor should we omit the tendency of those who have no scruples to "despise" those who have, and to parade their liberty at the expense of these latter, and give piquancy to the contrast by wanton tricks, designed to beguile the Jew from his strictness of observance, and make him unguardedly partake of what he abhorred, in order to heighten his confusion by derision. One or two instances of such amusement at the Jew's expense would drive the latter within the entrenchments of an universal repugnance and avoidance, and make him seek the safe side at the cost of being counted a churl and a bigot. Thus we may account for the refusal of the "king's meat" by the religious captives (Dan. i. 8), and for the similar conduct recorded of Judith (xii. 2) and Tobit (Tob. i. 11); and in a similar spirit Shakspeare makes Shylock say, "I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you" (*Merchant of Venice*, Act I. Sc. iii.). As regards things offered to idols, all who own one God meet on common ground; but the Jew viewed the precept as demanding a literal objective obedience, and had a holy horror of even an unconscious infraction of the law: hence, as he could never know what had received idolatrous consecration, his only safety lay in total abstinence; whereas St. Paul admonishes the Christian to abstain, "for his sake that showed it and for conscience sake," from a thing said to have been consecrated to a false god, but not to parade his conscientious scruples by interrogating the butcher at his stall or the host in his guest-chamber (1 Cor. x. 25-29), and to give opposite injunctions would doubtless in his view have been "compelling the Gentiles to live as did the Jews" (*ἰουδαΐζειν*, Gal. ii. 14).

The prohibition to "seethe a kid in his mother's milk" has caused considerable difference of opinion amongst commentators. Michaelis (Art. ccx.) thought it was meant merely to encourage the use of olive oil instead of the milk or butter of an animal, which we commonly use in cookery, where the Orientals use the former. This will not satisfy any mind by which the clue of symbolism, so blindly held by the Eastern devotee, and so deeply interwoven in Jewish ritual, has been once duly seized. Mercy to the beasts is one of the under-currents which permeate that law. To soften the feelings and humanise the character was the higher and more general aim. When St. Paul, commenting on a somewhat similar precept, says, "Doth God care for oxen, or saith He it altogether for *our* sakes?" he does not mean to deny God's care for oxen, but to insist the rather on the more elevated and more human lesson. The milk was the destined support of the young creature: viewed in reference to it, the milk was its "life," and had a relative sanctity resembling that of the forbidden blood (comp. Juv. xi. 68, "qui plus lactis habet quam sanguinis," speaking of a kid destined for the knife). No doubt the abstinence from the forbidden action, in the case of a young creature already dead, and a dam unconscious probably of its loss, or whose consciousness such an use of her milk could in nowise quicken, was based on a sentiment merely. But the practical consequence, that milk must be foregone or elsewhere obtained, would prevent the sympathy from being an empty one. It could not be the passive emotion which becomes weaker by repetition, for want of an active habit with which to ally itself. And thus its operation would lie in indirectly quickening sympathies for the brute creation at all other times. The Talmudists took an extreme view of the precept, as forbidding generally the cooking of flesh in milk (Mishna, *Chollin*, viii.; Hottinger, *Leg. Hebr.* 117, 141, quoted by Winer).

It remains to mention the sanitary aspect of the case. Swine are said to be peculiarly liable to disease in their own bodies. This probably means that they are more easily led than other creatures to the foul feeding which produces it; and where the average heat is great, decomposition rapid, and malaria easily excited, this tendency in the animal is more mischievous than elsewhere. A *meazel* or *mezel*, from whence we have "measled pork," is the old English word for a "leper," and it is asserted that eating swine's flesh in Syria and Egypt tends to produce that disorder (Bartholini, *De Morbis Bibl.* viii.; Wunderbar, p. 51). But there is an indefiniteness about these assertions which prevents our dealing with them scientifically. *Meazel* or *mezel* may well indeed represent "leper," but which of all the morbid symptoms classed under that head it is to stand for, and whether it means the same, or at least a parallel disorder, in man and in pig, are indeterminate questions. [LEPER.] The prohibition on eating fat was salubrious in a region

at the earliest period of the latter, and connects it with the efforts of some "den Pentateuch recht jung und die Ideen der Zendavesta recht alt zu machen." See UNCLEANNESS for other resemblances between Persian and Hebrew ritual

[k] Winer also refers to *Abodâ Zara*, ii. 2-6, v. 2, Hottinger, *Leg. Hebr.*, 117, 141.

where skin diseases are frequent and virulent, and that on blood had, no doubt, a similar tendency. The case of animals dying of themselves needs no remark: the mere wish to ensure avoiding disease, in case they had died in such a state, would dictate the rule. Yet the beneficial tendency is veiled under a ceremonial difference, for the "stranger" dwelling by the Israelite was allowed it, although the latter was forbidden. Thus is their distinctness before God, as a nation, ever put prominently forward, even where more common motives appear to have their turn. As regards the animals allowed for food, comparing them with those forbidden, there can be no doubt on which side the balance of wholesomeness lies. Nor would any dietetic economist fail to pronounce in favour of the Levitical dietary code as a whole, as ensuring the maximum of public health, and yet of national distinctness, procured, however, by a minimum of the inconvenience arising from restriction.

Bochart's *Hierozoicon*; Forskal's *Descriptiones Animalium, etc., quae in Itinere Orientali Observavit*, with his *Icones Rerum Naturalium*, and Rosenmüller's *Handbuch der Bibl. Alterthumskunde*, vol. iv., *Natural History*, may be consulted on some of the questions connected with this subject; also more generally, Moses Maimonides, *De Cibis Vetitis*; Reinhard, *De Cibis Hebraeorum Prohibitis*. [H. H.]

UNCLEANNESS. The distinctive idea attached to ceremonial uncleanness among the Hebrews was, that it cut a person off for the time from social privileges, and left his citizenship among God's people for the while in abeyance. It did not merely require by law a certain ritual of purification, in order to enhance the importance of the priesthood, but it placed him who had contracted an uncleanness in a position of disadvantage, from which certain ritualistic acts alone could free him. These ritualistic acts were primarily the means of recalling the people to a sense of the personality of God, and of the reality of the bond in which the Covenant had placed them with him. As regards the nature of the acts themselves, they were in part purely ceremonial, and in part had a sanitary tendency; as also had the personal isolation in which the unclean were placed, acting to some extent as a quarantine, under circumstances where infection was possible or supposable. It is remarkable that, although many acts having no connexion specially with cleansing entered into the ritual, the most frequently enjoined method of removing ceremonial pollution was that same washing which produces physical cleanliness. Nor can we adequately comprehend the purport and spirit of the Lawgiver, unless we recognize on either side of the merely ceremonial acts, often apparently enjoined for the sake of solemnity alone, the spiritual and moral benefits on the one side, of which they spake in shadow only, and the physical correctives or preventives on the other, which they often in substance conveyed. Maimonides and some other expositors, whilst they apparently forbid, in reality practise the rationalizing of many ceremonial precepts (Wunderbar, *Biblisch-Talmudische Medicin*, 2ter Heft, 4).

There is an intense reality in the fact of the Divine Law taking hold of a man by the ordinary infirmities of flesh, and setting its stamp, as it were, in the lowest clay of which he is moulded. And indeed, things which would be unsuited to the spiritual dispensation of the New Testament, and which might even sink into the ridiculous by too close a contact with its sublimity, have their proper place in a law of temporal sanctions, directly affecting man's life in this world chiefly or solely. The sacredness attached to the human body is parallel to that which invested the Ark of the Covenant itself. It is as though Jehovah thereby would teach them that the "very hairs of their head were all numbered" before Him, and that "in His book were all their members written." Thus was inculcated, so to speak, a bodily holiness.[a] And it is remarkable indeed, that the solemn precept, "Ye shall be holy; for I am holy," is used not only where moral duties are enjoined, as in Lev. xix. 2, but equally so where purely ceremonial precepts are delivered, as in xi. 44, 45. So the emphatic and recurring period, "I am the Lord your God," is found added to the clauses of positive observance as well as to those relating to the grandest ethical barriers of duty. The same weight of veto or injunction seems laid on all alike: *e. g.* "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you: I am the Lord," and "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man, and fear thy God: I am the Lord" (xix. 28, 32). They had His mark set in their flesh, and all flesh on which that had passed had received, as it were, the broad arrow of the king, and was really owned by him. They were preoccupied by that mark of ownership in all the leading relations of life, so as to exclude the admission of any rival badge.

Nor were they to be only "separated from other people," but they were to be "holy *unto God*" (xx. 24, 26), "a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation." Hence a number of such ordinances regarding outward purity, which in Egypt they had seen used only by the priests, were made publicly obligatory on the Hebrew nation.

The importance to physical well-being of the injunctions which required frequent ablution, under whatever special pretexts, can be but feebly appreciated in our cooler and damper climate, where there seems to be a less rapid action of the atmosphere, as well as a state of the frame less disposed towards the generation of contagion, and towards morbid action generally. Hence the obvious utility of reinforcing, by the sanction of religion, observances tending in the main to that healthy state which is the only solid basis of comfort, even though in certain points of detail they were burdensome. The custom of using the bath also on occasions of ceremonious introduction to persons of rank or importance (Ruth iii. 3; Judith x. 3), well explains the special use of it on occasions of religious ministration, viewed as a personal appearing before God; whence we understand the office of the lavers among the arrangements of the Sanctuary (Ex. xxx. 18-21; 1 K. vii. 38, 39; comp. Ex. xix. 10, 14; 1 Sam. xvi. 5; Josh. iii. 5; 2 Chr. xxx. 17). The examples of parallel observances among the nations of antiquity, will suggest themselves easily to the classical student without special references. The closest approximation, however, to the Mosaic ritual in this respect, is said to be found in the code of Menu (Winer, "Reinigkeit," 313, note).

[a] Compare the view of the modern Persians in this respect. *Chardin's Voyages*, vol. II. 343, chap. iv. "Le corps se présente devant Dieu comme l'âme; il faut donc qu'il soit pur, tant pour parler à Dieu que pour entrer dans le lieu consacré à son culte."

To the priests was ordinarily referred the exposition of the law of uncleanness, as may be gathered from Hagg. ii. 11. Uncleanness, as referred to man, may be arranged in three degrees; (1) that which defiled merely "until even," and was removed by bathing and washing the clothes at the end of it—such were all contacts with dead animals; (2) that graver sort which defiled for seven days, and was removed by the use of the "water of separation"—such were all defilements connected with the human corpse; (3) uncleanness from the morbid, puerperal, or menstrual state, lasting as long as that morbid state lasted—but see further below; and in the case of leprosy lasting often for life.

It suffices barely to notice the spiritual significance which the law of carnal ordinances veiled. This seems sometimes apparent, as in Deut. xxi. 6-8 (comp. Ps. xxvi. 6, lxxiii. 13), yet calling for a spiritual discernment in the student; and this is the point of relation between these "divers washings" and Christian Baptism (1 Pet. iii. 21). Those who lacked that gift were likely to confound the inward with the outward purification, or to fix their regards exclusively on the latter.

As the human person was itself the seat of a covenant-token, so male and female had each their ceremonial obligations in proportion to their sexual differences. Further than this the increase of the nation was a special point of the promise to Abraham and Jacob, and therefore their fecundity as parents was under the Divine tutelage, beyond the general notion of a curse, or at least of God's disfavour, as implied in barrenness. The "blessings of the breasts and of the womb" were His (Gen. xlix. 25), and the law takes accordingly grave and, as it were, paternal cognizance of the organic functions connected with propagation. Thus David could feel, "Thou hast possessed my reins: thou hast covered me in my mother's womb" (Ps. cxxxix. 13); and St. Paul found a spiritual analogy in the fact that "God had tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked" (1 Cor. xii. 24). The changes of habit incident to the female, and certain abnormal states of either sex in regard to such functions, are touched on reverently, and with none of the Aesculapian coldness of science—for the point of view is throughout from the Sanctuary (Lev. xv. 31); and the purity of the individual, both moral and physical, as well as the preservation of the race, seems included in it. There is an emphatic reminder of human weakness in the fact of birth and death—man's passage alike into and out of his mortal state—being marked with a stated pollution. Thus the birth of the infant brought defilement on its mother, which she, except so far as necessarily isolated by the nature of the circumstances, propagated around her. Nay, the conjugal act itself[b] or any act resembling it, though done involuntarily (vv. 16-18), entailed uncleanness for a day. The corpse, on the other hand, bequeathed a defilement of seven days to all who handled it, to the "tent" or chamber of death, and to sundry things within it. Nay, contact with one slain in the field of battle, or with even a human bone or grave, was no less effectual to pollute, than that with a corpse dead by the course of nature (Num. xix. 11-18). This shows that the source of pollution lay in the mere fact of death, and seems to mark an anxiety to fix a sense of the connexion of death, even as of birth, with sin, deep in the heart of the nation, by a wide pathology, if we may so call it, of defilement. It is as though the pool of human corruption was stirred anew by whatever passed into or out of it. For the special cases of male, female, and intersexual defilement, see Lev. xii., xv. Wunderbar, *Biblisch-Talmudische Medicin*, pt. iii. 19-20, refers to Mishna, *Zabim*, ii. 2, *Nasir*, ix. 4, as understanding by the symptoms mentioned in Lev. xv. 2-8 the *gonorrhoea benigna*. The same authority thinks that the plague "for Peor's sake" (Num. xxv. 1, 8, 9; Deut. iv. 3; Josh. xxii. 17), was possibly a syphilitic affection derived from the Moabites. [ISSUE; MEDICINE.]

The duration of defilement caused by the birth of a female infant, being double that due to a male, extending respectively to eighty[c] and forty days in all (Lev. xii. 2-5), may perhaps represent the woman's heavier share in the first sin and first curse (Gen. iii. 16; 1 Tim. ii. 14). For a man's "issue," besides the uncleanness while it lasted, a probation of seven days, including a washing on the third day, is prescribed. Similar was the period in the case of the woman, and in that of intercourse with a woman so affected (Lev. xv. 13, 28, 24). Such an act during her menstrual separation[d] was regarded as incurring, beyond uncleanness, the penalty of both the persons being cut off from among their people (xx. 18). We may gather from Gen. xxxi. 35, that such injunctions were agreeable to established traditional notions. The propagation of uncleanness from the person to the bed, saddle, clothes, &c., and through them to other persons, is apt to impress the imagination with an idea of the loathsomeness of such a state or the heinousness of such acts, more forcibly by far than if the defilement clove to the first person merely (Lev. xv. 5, 6, 9, 12, 17, 20, 22-24, 26, 27). It threw a broad margin around them, and warned all off by amply defined boundaries. One expression in ver. 8. seems to

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[b] Comp. Herod. ii. 64, where it appears that after such intercourse an Egyptian could not enter a sanctuary without first bathing.

[c] Ancient Greek physicians assert that, in southern countries, the symptoms of the puerperal state continue longer when a woman has borne a daughter than when a son. Michaelis (*Smith's Translation*), Art. 214.

[d] Winer quotes a remarkable passage from Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 13, specifying the mysteriously mischievous properties ascribed in popular superstition to the menstrual flux; *e. g.*, buds and fruits being blighted, steel blunted, dogs driven mad by it, and the like. But Pliny has evidently raked together all sorts of "old wives' fables," without any attempt at testing their truth, and is therefore utterly untrustworthy. More to the purpose is his quotation of Haller, *Elem. Physiol.* vii. 148, to the effect that this opinion of the virulent and baneful effects of this secretion proceeded from Asia, and was imported into Europe by the Arabians; which, however, lacks due foundation, and which Pliny's language so far contradicts. The laws of Menu are said to be more stringent on this head than the Mosaic. The menstrual affection begins at an earlier age, and has periods of longer duration with oriental women than with those of our own climate. That Greek religion recognized some of the Levitical pollutions is plain from Eurip. *Iphig. Taur.* 380 foll., where we read of a goddess—ἥτις, βροτῶν μὲν ἦν τις ἅψηται φόνου, ἢ καὶ λοχείας, ἢ νεκροῦ θίγῃ χεροῖν, βωμῶν ἀπείργει, μυσαρὸν ὡς ἠγουμένη. A fragment of the same poet, adduced by Mr. Paley *ad loc. cit.*, is even more closely in point. It is, πάλλευκα δ' ἔχων εἵματα φεύγω γένεσίν τε βροτῶν καὶ νεκροθήκης ὦ χριμπτόμενος, τὴν τ'ἐμψύχων βρῶσιν ἐδεστῶν πεφύλαγμαι. Comp. also Theophr. *Char.* 17.

have misled Winer into supposing that an issue of rheum (*Schleimfluss*) was perhaps intended. That "spitting," in some cases where there was no disease in question, conveyed defilement, seems implied in Num. xii. 14, and much more might such an act so operate, from one whose malady made him a source of pollution even to the touch.

As regards the propagation of uncleanness the Law of Moses is not quite clear. We read (Num. xix. 22), "Whatsoever the unclean person toucheth shall be unclean;" but there uncleanness from contact with the corpse, grave, &c., is the subject of the chapter which the injunction closes; and this is confirmed by Hagg. ii. 13, where "one that is unclean *by a dead body*" is similarly expressly mentioned. Also from the command (Num. v. 2-4) to "put the unclean out of the camp;" where the "leper," the one "that hath an issue," and the one "defiled by the dead," are particularized, we may assume that the minor pollution for one day only was not communicable, and so needed not to be "put forth." It is observable also that the *major* pollution of the "issue" communicated by contact the *minor* pollution only (Lev. xv. 5-11). Hence may perhaps be deduced a tendency in the contagiousness to exhaust itself; the minor pollution, whether engendered by the major or arising directly, being non-communicable. Thus the major itself would expire after one remove from its original subject. To this pertains the distinction mentioned by Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr.* on Matt. xv. 2), viz. that between טמא "unclean," and פסול "profane" or "polluted," in that the latter does not pollute another beside itself nor propagate pollution. In the ancient commentary on Num. known as "Siphri"* (*ap.* Ugol. *Thes.* xv. 346), a greater transmissibility of polluting power seems assumed, the defilement being there traced through *three* removes from the original subject of it; but this is no doubt a Rabbinical extension of the original Levitical view.

Michaelis notices a medical tendency in the restriction laid on coition, whereby both parties were unclean until even; he thinks, and with some reason, that the law would operate to discourage polygamy, and, in monogamy, would tend to preserve the health of the parents and to provide for the healthiness of the offspring. The uncleanness similarly imposed upon self-pollution (Lev. xv. 16; Deut. xxiii. 10), even if involuntary, would equally exercise a restraint both moral and salutary to health, and suggest to parents the duty of vigilance over their male children (Michaelis, Art. ccxiv.-ccxvii.).

With regard to uncleanness arising from the lower animals, Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr.* on Lev. xi.–xv.) remarks, that all which were unclean to touch when dead were unclean to eat, but not conversely; and that all which were unclean to eat were unclean to sacrifice, but not conversely; since "multa edere licet quae non sacrificari, et multa tangere licet quae non edere." For uncleanness in matters of food see UNCLEAN MEATS. All animals, however, if dying of themselves, or eaten with the blood, were unclean to eat. [BLOOD.] The carcase also of any animal unclean as regards diet, however dying, defiled whatever person it, or any part of it, touched. By the same touch any garment, sack, skin, or vessel, together with its contents, became unclean, and was to be purified by washing or scouring; or if an earthen vessel, was to be broken, just as the Brahmins break a vessel out of which a Christian has drunk. Further, the water in which such things had been purified communicated their uncleanness; and even seed for sowing, if wetted with water, became unclean by touch of any carrion, or unclean animal when dead. All these defilements were "until even" only, save the eating "with the blood," the offender in which respect was to "be cut off" (Lev. xi. xvii. 14).

It should further be added, that the same sentence of "cutting off," was denounced against all who should "do presumptuously" in respect even of minor defilements; by which we may understand all contempt of the legal provisions regarding them. The comprehensive term "defilement," also includes the contraction of the unlawful marriages and the indulgence of unlawful lusts, as denounced in Lev. xviii. Even the sowing heterogeneous seeds in the same plot, the mixture of materials in one garment, the sexual admixture of cattle with a diverse kind, and the ploughing with diverse animals in one team, although not formally so classed, yet seem to fall under the same general notion, save in so far as no specified term of defilement or mode of purification is prescribed (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 9-11; comp. Michaelis, as above, ccxx.). In the first of these cases the fruit is pronounced "defiled," which Michaelis interprets as a consecration, *i. e.* confiscation of the crop for the uses of the priests.

The fruit of trees was to be counted "as uncircumcised," *i. e.* unclean for the first three years, in the fourth it was to be set apart as "holy to praise the Lord withal," and eaten commonly not till the fifth. Michaelis traces an economic effect in this regulation, it being best to pluck off the blossom in the early years, and not allow the tree to bear fruit till it had attained to some maturity (*ibid.* ccxxii.).

The directions in Deut. xxiii. 10-13, relate to the avoidance of impurities in the case of a host encamped,† as shown in ver. 9, and from the mention of "enemies" in ver. 14. The health of the army would of course suffer from the neglect of such rules; but they are based on no such ground of expediency, but on the scrupulous ceremonial purity demanded by the God whose presence was in the midst of them. We must suppose that the rule which expelled soldiers under certain circumstances of pollution from the camp for a whole day, was relaxed in the presence of an enemy, as otherwise it would have placed them beyond the protection of their comrades, and at the mercy of the hostile host. As regards the other regulation, it is part of the teaching of nature herself that an assembled community should reject whatever the human body itself expels. And on this ground the Levitical Law seems content to let such a matter rest, for it annexes no stated defilement, nor prescribes any purification.

Amongst causes of defilement should be noticed the fact that the ashes of the red heifer, burnt whole, which were mixed with water and became the standing resource for purifying uncleanness in the second degree, themselves became a source of defilement to all who were *clean*, even as of purification

* The passage in the Latin version is, "Si vasa quae tangunt hominem, qui tangat vasa, quae tangant mortuum, sunt immunda," &c.

† Bishop Colenso appears to have misapplied this, as though it were required of the host of Israel *i. e.* the whole body of the people, throughout the whole of their wandering in the wilderness. *The Pentateuch, &c.* ch. vi. 39

to the unclean, and so the water. Thus the priest and Levite, who administered this purification in their respective degrees, were themselves made unclean thereby, but in the first or lightest degree only (Num. xix. 7, foll.). Somewhat similarly the scape-goat, who bore away the sins of the people, defiled him who led him into the wilderness, and the bringing forth and burning the sacrifice on the Great Day of Atonement had a similar power. This lightest form of uncleanness was expiated by bathing the body and washing the clothes. Besides the water of purification made as aforesaid, men and women in their "issues," were, after seven days, reckoned from the cessation of the disorder, to bring two turtle-doves or young pigeons to be killed by the priests. The purification after child-bed is well known from the N. T.; the law, however, primarily required a lamb and a bird, and allowed the poor to commute for a pair of birds as before. That for the leper declared clean consisted of two stages: the first, not properly sacrificial, though involving the shedding of blood, consisted in bringing two such birds, the one of which the priest killed over spring-water with which its blood was mingled, and the mixture sprinkled seven times on the late leper, with an instrument made of cedar-wood, scarlet wool, and hyssop; the living bird was then dipped in it, and let fly away, symbolizing[g] probably the liberty to which the leper would be entitled when his probation and sacrifice were complete, even as the slaughtered bird signified the discharge of the impurities which his blood had contained during the diseased state. The leper might now bathe, shave himself, and wash his clothes, and come within the town or camp, nor was every place which he entered any longer polluted by him (Mishna, *Negaim*, xiii. 11; *Oholim*, i. 4), he was, however, relegated to his own house or tent for seven days. At the end of that time he was scrupulously to shave his whole body, even to his eyebrows, and wash and bathe as before. The final sacrifice consisted of two lambs, and an ewe sheep of the first year with flour and oil, the poor being allowed to bring one lamb and two birds as before, with smaller quantities of flour and oil. For the detail of the ceremonial, some of the features of which are rather singular, see Lev. xiv. Lepers were allowed to attend the synagogue worship, where separate seats were assigned them (*Negaim*, xiii. 12).

All these kinds of uncleanness disqualified for holy functions: as the layman so affected might not approach the congregation and the sanctuary, so any priest who incurred defilement must abstain from the holy things (Lev. xxii. 2-8). The High-Priest was forbidden the customary signs of mourning for father or mother, "for the crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him" (Lev. xxi. 10-12), and beside his case the same prohibition seems to have been extended to the ordinary priests. At least we have an example of it in the charge given to Eleazar and Ithamar on their brethren's death (Lev. x. 6). From the specification of "father or mother," we may infer that he was permitted to mourn for his wife, and so Maimonides (*de Luctu*, cap. ii., iv., v.) explains the text. Further, from the special prohibition of Ezekiel, who was a priest, to mourn for his wife (Ez. xxiv. 15, foll.), we know that to mourn for a wife was generally permitted to the priests. Among ordinary Israelites, the man or woman who had an issue, or the latter while in the menstrual or puerperal state, might not, according to the Rabbins, enter even the mount on which the Temple stood; nor might the intra-mural space be entered by any Israelite in mourning. In Jerusalem itself, according to the same authorities, a dead body might not be allowed to pass the night, nor even the bones of one be carried through its streets; neither was any cultivation allowed there, for fear of the dung, &c., to which it might give rise (Maimonides, *Constit. de Temp.* cap. vii. xiv.-xvi.). No bodies were to be interred within towns, unless seven chief men, or the public voice, bade the interment there; and every tomb within a town was to be carefully walled in (*ibid.* xiii.). If a man in a state of pollution presumed to enter the sanctuary, he was obliged to offer a sacrifice as well as suffer punishment. The sacrifice was due under the notion that the pollution of the sanctuary needed expiation, and the punishment was either whipping, the "rebel's beating," which meant leaving the offender to the mercies of the mob, "cutting off from the congregation," or death "by the hand of heaven" (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* on Levit. xv.; Ugolini, *Thes.* xvi. 126).

As regards the special case of the leper, see LEPROSY. To the remarks there made, it may be added that the priests, in their contact with the leper to be adjudged, were exempted from the law of defilement; that the garb and treatment of the leper seems to be that of one dead in the eye of the Law, or rather a perpetual mourner for his own estate of death with "clothes rent and head bare," the latter being a token of profound affliction and prostration of spirit among an Oriental people, which no conventional token among ourselves can adequately parallel. The fatal cry, טָמֵא טָמֵא, "unclean, unclean!" was uttered not only by the leper, but by all for whose uncleanness no remedy could be found (*Pesichtha*, §2; Ugol. *Thes.* xvi. 40). When we consider the aversion to leprous contact which prevailed in Jewish society, and that whatever the leper touched was, as if touched by a corpse, defiled seven days, we see the happy significance of our Lord's selecting the touch as his means of healing the leper (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* on Matt. viii. 2); as we also appreciate better the bold faith of the woman, and how daringly she overstepped conventional usage based on the letter of the Law, who having the "issue of blood," hitherto incurable, "came behind him and *touched* the hem of his garment," confident that not pollution to him but cleansing to herself would be the result of that touch (Luke viii. 43, foll.).

As regards the analogies which the ceremonial of other Oriental nations offers, it may be mentioned that amongst the Arabs the touching a corpse still defiles (Burckhardt, 80). Beyond this, M. Chardin in his account of the religion of the Per-

[g] *i. e.* Conveying in symbol only a release from the state to which the leper, whilst such, was sentenced. It is probable, however, that the duality of the symbol arose from the natural impossibility of representing life and death in the same creature, and that both the birds involve a complete representation of the Death, Resurrection, and Ascension which procure the Christian Atonement. This would of course, however, escape the notice of the worshipper. Christ, with His own blood, "entered the holy places not made with hands," as the living bird soared up to the visible firmament with the blood of its fellow. We may compare the two goats completing apparently one similar joint-symbol on the day of Atonement.

mans (*Voyages en Perse*, vol. ii. 348, foll.), enters into particulars which show a singularly close correspondence with the Levitical code. This will be seen by quoting merely the headings of some of his chapters and sections. Thus we find under "chap. iv. 1ere partie, Des purifications qui se font avec d'eau. 2de partie, De l'immondicité; 1ere section, De l'impureté qui se contracte *semine coitus*; 2de section, De l'impureté qui arrive aux femmes par les pertes de sang, De l'impureté des pertes de sang ordinaires, De l'impureté des pertes de sang extraordinaires, De l'impureté des pertes de sang des couches. 3eme partie, De la purification des corps morts." We may compare also with certain Levitical precepts the following: "Si un chien boit dans un vase ou léche quelque plat, il faut écurer le vase avec de la terre nette, et puis le laver deux fois d'eau nette, et il sera net." It is remarkable also that these precepts apply to the people not *quà* they are Mahomedans, but *quà* they are Persians, as they are said to shun even Mahomedans who are not of the same ritual in regard to these observances.

For certain branches of this subject the reader may be referred to the treatises in the Mishna named *Niddah* (*menstruata*), *Parah* (*vacca rufa*), *Tehoroth* (*Puritates*), *Zabbim* (*fluxu laborantes*), *Celim* (*vasa*), *Miscath Arlah* (*arborum praeputia*); also to Maimon. lib. v. *Issure Biah* (*prohibitae coitiones*), *Niddah* (*ut sup.*), *Maccaloth Assuroth* (*cibi prohibiti*). [H. H.]

UNDERGIRDING, Acts xxvii. 17. [SHIP, p. 1283 *a*.]

UNICORN (רְאֵם, *rêêm*; רְאֵמִים, *rêêym*; or רִים, *rêym*: μονοκέρως, ἄδρός: *rhinoceros*, *unicornis*), the unhappy rendering by the A. V., following the LXX., of the Hebrew *Rêêm*, a word which occurs seven times in the O. T. as the name of some large wild animal. More, perhaps, has been written on the subject of the unicorn of the ancients than on any other animal, and various are the opinions which have been given as to the creature intended. The *Rêêm* of the Hebrew Bible, however, has nothing at all to do with the one-horned animal mentioned by Ctesias (*Indica*, iv. 25-27), Aelian (*Nat. Anim.* xvi. 20), Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* ii. 2, §8), Pliny (*N. H.* viii. 21), and other Greek and Roman writers, as is evident from Deut. xxxiii. 17, where, in the blessing of Joseph, it is said, "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of *a unicorn*" (קַרְנֵי רְאֵם), not, as the text of the A. V. renders it, "the horns of *unicorns*." The two horns of the *Rêêm* are "the ten thousands of Ephraim and the thousands of Manasseh"—the two tribes which sprang from *one*, *i. e.* Joseph, as two horns from one head. This text, most appropriately referred to by Schultens (*Comment. in Job.* xxxix. 9), puts a one-horned animal entirely out of the question, and in consequence disposes of the opinion held by Bruce (*Trav.* v. 89) and others, that some species of rhinoceros is denoted, or that maintained by some writers that the *Rêêm* is identical with some one-horned animal *said* to have been seen by travellers in South Africa and in Thibet (see Barrow's *Travels in S. Africa*, i. 312-318, and *Asiatic Journal*, xi. 154), and identical with the veritable unicorn of Greek and Latin writers! Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 335) contends that the Hebrew *Rêêm* is identical with the Arabic *Rîm* (ريم), which is usually referred to the *Oryx leucoryx*, the white antelope of North Africa, and at one time perhaps an inhabitant of Palestine. Bochart has been followed by Rosenmüller, Winer, and others. Arnold Boot (*Animad. Sacr.* iii. 8, Lond. 1644), with much better reason, conjectures that some species of *Urus* or wild-ox is the *Rêêm* of the Hebrew Scriptures. He has been followed by Schultens (*Comment. in Jobum* xxxix. 9, who translates the term by *Bos sylvestris*: this learned writer has a long and most valuable note on this question), by Parkhurst (*Heb. Lex.* s. v. ראם). Maurer (*Comment. in Job.* l. c.), Dr. Harris (*Nat. Hist. of the Bible*), and by Cary (*Notes on Job*, l. c.). Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 412) and Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.) have little doubt that the buffalo (*Bubalus buffalus*) is the *Rêêm* of the Bible. Before we proceed to discuss these several claimants to represent the *Rêêm*, it will be well to note the Scriptural allusions in the passages where the term occurs. The great strength of the *Rêêm* is mentioned in Num. xxiii. 22, Job xxxix. 11; his having two horns in Deut. xxxiii. 17; his fierce nature in Ps. xxii. 21; his indomitable disposition in Job xxxix. 9-11; the active and playful habits of the young animal are alluded to in Ps. xxix. 6; while in Is. xxxiv. 6, 7, where Jehovah is said to be preparing "a sacrifice in Bozrah," it is added, "the *Rêêmîm* shall come down, and the bullocks with the bulls."

The claim of any animal possessed of a single horn to be the *Rêêm* has already been settled, for it is manifestly too much to assume, as some writers have done, that the Hebrew term does not always denote the same animal. Little can be urged in favour of the rhinoceros, for even allowing that the two-horned species of Abyssinia (*R. bicornis*) may have been an inhabitant of the woody districts near the Jordan in Biblical times, this *pachyderm* must be out of the question, as one which would have been forbidden to be sacrificed by the Law of Moses, whereas the *Rêêm* is mentioned by Isaiah as coming down with bullocks and rams to the Lord's sacrifice. "Omnia animalia," says Rosenmüller (*Schol. in Is.* l. c.), "ad sacrificia idonea in unum congregantur." Again, the skipping of the young *Rêêm* (Ps. xxix. 6) is scarcely compatible with the habits of a rhinoceros. Moreover this animal when unmolested is not generally an object of much dread, nor can we believe that it ever existed so plentifully in the Bible lands, or even would have allowed itself to have been sufficiently often seen so as to be the subject of frequent attention, the rhinoceros being an animal of retired habits.

With regard to the claims of the *Oryx leucoryx*, it must be observed that this antelope, like the rest of the family, is harmless unless wounded or hard pressed by the hunter, nor is it remarkable for the possession of any extraordinary strength. Figures of the Oryx occur frequently on the Egyptian sculptures, "being among the animals tamed by the Egyptians and kept in great numbers in their preserves" (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* i. 227, ed. 1854). Certainly this antelope can never be the fierce indomitable *Rêêm* mentioned in the Book of Job.

Considering therefore that the *Rêêm* is spoken of as a two-horned animal of great strength and ferocity, that it was evidently well known and often seen by the Jews, that it is mentioned as an animal fit for sacrificial purposes, and that it is frequently associated with bulls and oxen, we think there can be no doubt that some species of wild-ox is intended. The allusion in Ps. xcii. 10, "But

thou shalt lift up, as a *Rĕêym*, my horn," seems to point to the mode in which the *Bovidae* use their horns, lowering the head and then tossing it up. But it is impossible to determine what particular species of wild-ox is signified. At present there is no existing example of any wild bovine animal found in Palestine; but negative evidence in this respect must not be interpreted as affording testimony against the supposition that wild cattle formerly existed in the Bible lands. The lion, for instance, was once not unfrequently met with in Palestine, as is evident from Biblical allusions, but no traces of living specimens exist now. Dr. Roth found lions' bones in a gravel bed of the Jordan some few years ago, and it is not improbable that some future explorer may succeed in discovering bones and skulls of some huge extinct *Urus*, allied perhaps to that gigantic ox of the Hercynian forests which Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* vi. 20) describes as being of a stature scarcely below that of an elephant, and so fierce as to spare neither man nor beast should it meet with either. "Notwithstanding assertions to the contrary," says Col. Hamilton Smith (Kitto's *Cycl.* art. "Reem"), "the Urus and the Bison were spread anciently from the Rhine to China, and existed in Thrace and Asia Minor; while they, or allied species, are still found in Siberia and the forests both of Northern and Southern Persia. Finally, though the Buffalo was not found anciently farther west than Aracoria, the gigantic *Gaur* (*Bibos gaurus*) and several congeners are spread over all the mountain wildernesses of India and the Sheriff-al-Wady; and a further colossal species roams with other wild bulls in the valleys of Atlas."

Some have conjectured that the *Rĕêm* denotes the wild buffalo. Although the *Chainsa*, or tame buffalo, was not introduced into Western Asia until the Arabian conquest of Persia, it is possible that some wild species, *Bubalus arnee*, or *B. brachycerus*, may have existed formerly in Palestine. We are, however, more in favour of some gigantic *Urus*.[a]

Numerous references as to the μονοκέρως of the ancients will be found in Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. cap. 27), Winer (*Bib. Realw.* "Einhorn";) but no further notice of this point is taken here except to observe that the more we study it the more convinced we are that the animal is fabulous. The supposed unicorns of which some modern travellers speak have never been seen by trustworthy witnesses.[b] [W. H.]

UNNI. 1. (עַנִּי: Ἐλιωήλ, Ἠλωνεί; FA Ανι: *Anni*.) One of the Levite doorkeepers (A. V. "porters") appointed to play the psaltery "on alamoth" in the service of the sacred Tent, as settled by David (1 Chr. xv. 18, 20).

2. (עָנִי, but in *Keri* עַנְנִי: Vat. and Alex. omit; FA Ιαναΐ: *Anni*.) A second Levite (unless the family of the foregoing be intended) concerned in the sacred office after the Return from Babylon (Neh. xii. 9).

UPHAZ (אוּפָז: Μωφάζ, Ὠφάζ: *Ophaz, obryzum*), Jer. x. 9; Dan. x. 5. [OPHIR, p. 637 *b*.]

UR (אוּר: Χώρα: *Ur*) occurs in Genesis only and is there mentioned as the land of Haran's nativity (Gen. xi. 28), the place from which Terah and Abraham started "to go into the land of Canaan" (xi. 31). It is called in Genesis "Ur *of the Chaldaeans*" (אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים), while in the Acts St. Stephen places it, by implication, in Mesopotamia (vii. 2, 4). These are all the indications which Scripture furnishes as to its locality. As they are clearly insufficient to fix its site, the chief traditions and opinions on the subject will be first considered, and then an attempt will be made to decide, by the help of the Scriptural notices, between them.

One tradition identifies Ur with the modern *Orfah*. There is some ground for believing that this city, called by the Greeks Edessa, had also the name of Orrha as early as the time of Isidore (ab. B.C. 150); and the tradition connecting it with Abraham is perhaps not later than St. Ephraem (A.D. 330-370), who makes Nimrod king of Edessa, among other places (*Comment. in Gen.* Op. vol. i. p. 58, B.). According to Pocock (*Description of the East*, vol. i. p. 159), that Ur is Edessa or Orfah is "the *universal* opinion of the Jews;" and it is also the local belief, as is indicated by the title, "Mosque of Abraham," borne by the chief religious edifice of the place, and the designation, "Lake of Abraham the Beloved," attached to the pond in which are kept the sacred fish (Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track*, &c., p. 64; comp. Pocock, i. 159, and Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, p. 330).

A second tradition, which appears in the Talmud, and in some of the early Arabian writers, finds Ur in *Warka*, the Ὀρχόη of the Greeks, and probably the Erech of Holy Scripture (called Ὀρέχ by the LXX.). This place bears the name of *Huruk* in the native inscriptions, and was in the country known to the Jews as "the land of the Chaldaeans."

A third tradition, less distinct than either of these, but entitled to at least equal attention, distinguishes Ur from Warka, while still placing it in the same region (see *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. xii. p. 481, note 2). There can be little doubt that the city whereto this tradition points is that which appears by its bricks to have been called *Hur* by the natives, and which is now represented by the ruins at *Mugheir*, or *Umgheir*, on the right bank of the Euphrates, nearly opposite to its junction with the *Shat-el-Hie*. The oldest Jewish tradition which we possess, that quoted by Eusebius from Eupolemus[c] (*Praep. Ev.* ix. 17), who lived about B.C. 150, may be fairly said to intend this place; for by identifying Ur (Uria) with the Babylonian city, known also as Camarina and Chaldaeopolis, it points to a city of the Moon, which *Hur* was—*Kamar* being "the Moon" in Arabic, and *Khaldi* the same luminary in the Old Armenian.

An opinion, unsupported by any tradition, remains to be noticed. Bochart, Calmet, Bunsen, and others, identify "Ur of the Chaldees" with a place of the name, mentioned by a single late writer—Ammianus Marcellinus—as "a castle" existing in his day in Eastern Mesopotamia, between Hatra (*El Hadhr*) and Nisibis (Amm. Marc.

[a] There appears to be no doubt that the ancient lake-inhabitants of Switzerland towards the close of the stone period succeeded in taming the urus. "In a tame state," says Sir C. Lyell (*Antiquity of Man*, p. 24), "its bones were somewhat less massive and heavy, and its horns were somewhat smaller than in wild individuals."

[b] The reader will find a full discussion of the "Unicorn of the Ancients" in the writer's article in the *Ann. and Mag. of Nat. Hist.* November, 1862.

[c] The words of Eusebius are: Δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ, φησιν [Εὐπόλεμος], ἐν πόλει τῆς Βαβυλωνίας Καμαρίνῃ, ἣν τινες λέγειν πόλιν Οὐρήν, εἶναι δὲ μεθερμηνευομένην Χαλδαίων πόλιν, ἐν τοίνυν δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ γενέσθαι Ἀβραάμ.

xxv. 8). The chief arguments in favour of this site seem to be the identity of name and the position of the place between Arrapachitis, which is thought to have been the dwelling-place of Abraham's ancestors in the time of Arphaxad, and Haran (*Harran*), whither he went from Ur.

It will be seen, that of the four localities thought to have a claim to be regarded as Abraham's city, two are situated in Upper Mesopotamia, between the Mons Masius and the Sinjar range, while the other two are in the alluvial tract near the sea, at least 400 miles further south. Let us endeavour first to decide in which of these two regions Ur is more probably to be sought.

That Chaldaea was, properly speaking, the southern part of Babylonia, the region bordering upon the Gulf, will be admitted by all. Those who maintain the northern emplacement of Ur argue, that with the extension of Chaldaean power the name travelled northward, and became co-extensive with Mesopotamia; but, in the first place, there is no proof that the name Chaldaea was ever extended to the region above the Sinjar; and secondly, if it was, the Jews at any rate mean by Chaldaea exclusively the lower country, and call the upper, Mesopotamia or Padan-Aram (see Job i. 17; Is. xiii. 19, xliii. 14, &c.). Again, there is no reason to believe that Babylonian power was established beyond the Sinjar in these early times. On the contrary, it seems to have been confined to Babylonia Proper, or the alluvial tract below Hit and Tekrit, until the expedition of Chedorlaomer, which was later than the migration of Abraham. The conjectures of Ephraem Syrus and Jerome, who identify the cities of Nimrod with places in the upper Mesopotamian country, deserve no credit. The names all really belong to Chaldaea Proper. Moreover, the best and earliest Jewish authorities place Ur in the low region. Eupolemus has been already quoted to this effect. Josephus, though less distinct upon the point, seems to have held the same view (*Ant.* i. 6). The Talmudists also are on this side of the question; and local traditions, which may be traced back nearly to the Hegira, make the lower country the place of Abraham's birth and early life. If *Orfah* has a Mosque and a Lake of Abraham, Cutha near Babylon goes by Abraham's name, as the traditional scene of all his legendary miracles.

Again, it is really in the lower country only that a name closely corresponding to the Hebrew אוּר is found. The cuneiform *Hur* represents אוּר letter for letter, and only differs from it in the greater strength of the aspirate. Isidore's Orrha (Ὄρρα) differs from 'Ur considerably, and the supposed Ur of Ammianus is probably not Ur, but Adur.[a]

The argument that Ur should be sought in the neighbourhood of Arrapachitis and Seruj, because the names Arphaxad and Serug occur in the genealogy of Abraham (Bunsen, *Egypt's Place* &c., iii. 366, 367), has no weight till it is shown that the human names in question are really connected with the places, which is at present assumed somewhat boldly. Arrapachitis comes probably from *Arapkha*, an old Assyrian town of no great consequence on the left bank of the Tigris, above Nineveh, which has only three letters in common with Arphaxad (אַרְפַּכְשַׁד); and Seruj is a name which does not appear in Mesopotamia till long after the Christian era. It is rarely, if ever, that we can extract geographical information from the names in an historical genealogy; and certainly in the present case nothing seems to have been gained by the attempt to do so.

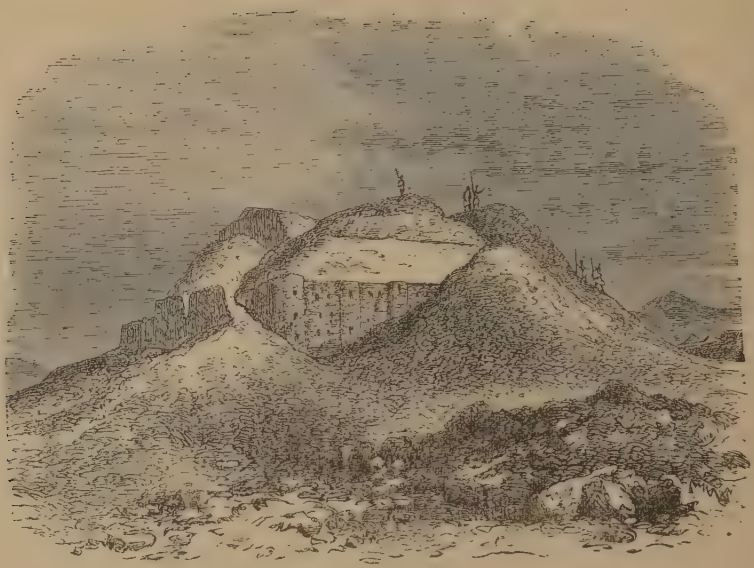
On the whole, therefore, we may regard it as tolerably certain that "Ur of the Chaldees" was a place situated in the real Chaldaea—the low country near the Persian Gulf. The only question that remains in any degree doubtful is, whether Warka or Mugheir is the true locality. These places are not far apart; and either of them is sufficiently suitable. Both are ancient cities, probably long anterior to Abraham. Traditions attach to both, but perhaps more distinctly to Warka. On the other hand, it seems certain that Warka, the native name of which was *Huruk*, represents the Erech of Genesis, which cannot possibly be the Ur of the same Book. Mugheir, therefore, which bore the exact name of *'Ur* or *Hur*, remains with the best claim, and is entitled to be (at least provisionally) regarded as the city of Abraham.

If it be objected to this theory that Abraham, having to go from Mugheir to Palestine, would not be likely to take Haran (*Harran*) on his way, more particularly as he must then have crossed the Euphrates twice, the answer would seem to be, that the movement was not that of an individual but of a tribe, travelling with large flocks and herds, whose line of migration would have to be determined by necessities of pasturage, and by the friendly or hostile disposition, the weakness or strength of the tribes already in possession of the regions which had to be traversed. Fear of Arab plunderers (Job i. 15) may very probably have caused the emigrants to cross the Euphrates before quitting Babylonia, and having done so, they might naturally follow the left bank of the stream to the Belik, up which they might then proceed, attracted by its excellent pastures, till they reached Harran. As a pastoral tribe proceeding from Lower Babylonia to Palestine *must* ascend the Euphrates as high as the latitude of Aleppo, and perhaps would find it best to ascend nearly to *Bir*, Harran was but a little out of the proper route. Besides, the whole tribe which accompanied Abraham was not going to Palestine. Half the tribe were bent on a less distant journey; and with them the question must have been, where could they, on or near the line of route, obtain an unoccupied territory.

If upon the grounds above indicated *Mugheir* may be regarded as the true "Ur of the Chaldees," from which Abraham and his family set out, some account of its situation and history would seem to be appropriate in this place. Its remains have been very carefully examined, both by Mr. Loftus and Mr. Taylor, while its inscriptions have been deciphered and translated by Sir Henry Rawlinson.

'Ur or Hur, now *Mugheir*, or *Um-Mugheir*, "the bitumened," or "the mother of bitumen," is one of the most ancient, if not *the* most ancient, of the Chaldaean sites hitherto discovered. It lies on the right bank of the Euphrates, at the distance of about six miles from the present course of the stream, nearly opposite the point where the Euphrates receives the *Shat-el-Hie* from the Tigris. It is now not less than 125 miles from the sea; but there are grounds for believing that it was anciently a maritime town,

[a] The MS. reading is "Adur venere;" "ad Ur" is an emendation of the commentators. The former is to be preferred, since Ammianus does not use "ad" after "venio."



Ruins of Temple at Mugheir (Loftus).

and that its present inland position has been caused by the rapid growth of the alluvium. The remains of buildings are generally of the most archaic character. They cover an oval space, 1000 yards long by 800 broad, and consist principally of a number of low mounds enclosed within an *enceinte*, which on most sides is nearly perfect. The most remarkable building is near the northern end of the ruins. It is a temple of the true Chaldaean type, built in stages, of which two remain, and composed of brick, partly sun-burnt and partly baked, laid chiefly in a cement of bitumen. The bricks of this building bear the name of a certain *Urukh*, who is regarded as the earliest of the Chaldaean monumental kings, and the name may possibly be the same as that of Orchamus of Ovid (*Metaph.* iv. 212). His supposed date is B.C. 2000, or a little earlier. 'Ur was the capital of this monarch, who had a dominion extending at least as far north as Niffer, and who, by the grandeur of his constructions, is proved to have been a wealthy and powerful prince. The great temple appears to have been founded by this king, who dedicated it to the Moon-god, *Hurki*, from whom the town itself seems to have derived its name. *Ilgi*, son of *Urukh*, completed the temple, as well as certain other of his father's buildings, and the kings who followed upon these continued for several generations to adorn and beautify the city. 'Ur retained its metropolitan character for above two centuries, and even after it became second to Babylon, was a great city, with an especially sacred character. The notions entertained of its superior sanctity led to its being used as a cemetery city, not only during the time of the early Chaldaean supremacy, but throughout the Assyrian and even the later Babylonian period. It is in the main a city of tombs. By far the greater portion of the space within the *enceinte* is occupied by graves of one kind or another, while outside the enclosure, the whole space for a distance of several hundred yards is a thickly-occupied burial-ground. It is believed that 'Ur was for 1800 years a site to which the dead were brought from vast distances, thus resembling such places as *Kerbela* and *Nedjif*, or *Meshed Ali*, at the present day. The latest mention that we find of 'Ur as an existing place is in the passage of Eupolemus already quoted, where we learn that it had changed its name, and was called Camarina. It probably fell into decay under the Persians, and was a mere ruin at the time of Alexander's conquests. Perhaps it was the place to which Alexander's informants alluded when they told him that the tombs of the old Assyrian kings were chiefly in the great marshes of the lower country (Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vii. 22). [G. R.]

URBA'NE (Οὐρβανός: *Urbanus*). It would have been better if the word had been written URBAN in the Authorised Version. For unlearned readers sometimes mistake the sex of this Christian disciple, who is in the long list of those whom St. Paul salutes in writing to Rome (Rom. xvi. 9). We have no means, however, of knowing more about Urbanus, except, indeed, that we may reasonably conjecture from the words that follow (*τὸν συνεργὸν ἡμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ*) that he had been at some time in active religious co-operation with the Apostle. Each of those who are saluted just before and just after is simply called *τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου*. The name is Latin. [J. S. H.]

U'RI (אוּרִי: Οὐρείας, Ex. xxxi. 2; Οὐρίας, Ex. xxxv. 30, 2 Chr. i. 5; Οὐρί, 1 Chr. ii. 20; Alex. Οὐρί, except in 2 Chr.: *Uri*). 1. The father of Bezaleel one of the architects of the tabernacle (Ex. xxxi. 2, xxxv. 30, xxxviii. 22; 1 Chr. ii. 20; 2 Chr. i. 5). He was of the tribe of Judah, and grandson of Caleb ben-Hezron, his father being Hur, who, according to tradition, was the husband of Miriam.

2. (Ἀδαΐ.) The father of Geber, Solomon's commissariat officer in Gilead (1 K. iv. 19).

3. (Ὠδούθ; Alex. Ὠδουέ.) One of the gate-keepers of the temple, who had married a foreign wife in the time of Ezra (Ezr. x. 24).

URI'AH (אוּרִיָּה, "light of Jehovah:" Οὐρίας: *Urias*). 1. One of the thirty commanders of the thirty bands into which the Israelite army of David was divided (1 Chr. xi. 41; 2 Sam. xxiii. 39). Like others of David's officers (Ittai of Gath; Ishbosheth the Canaanite, 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, LXX.; Zelek the Ammonite, 2 Sam. xxiii. 37) he was a foreigner—a Hittite. His name, however, and his manner of speech (2 Sam. xi. 11) indicate that he had adopted the Jewish religion. He married Bathsheba, a woman of extraordinary beauty, the daughter of Eliam—possibly the same as the son of Ahithophel, and one of his brother officers (2 Sam. xxiii. 34); and hence, perhaps, as Professor Blunt conjectures (*Coincidences*, II. x.), Uriah's first acquaintance with Bathsheba. It may be inferred from Nathan's parable (2 Sam. xii. 3) that he was passionately devoted to his wife, and that their union was celebrated in Jerusalem as one of peculiar tenderness. He had a house at Jerusalem underneath the palace (2 Sam. xi. 2). In the first war with Ammon he followed Joab to the siege, and with him remained encamped in the open field (*ib.* 11). He returned to Jerusalem, at an order from the king, on the pretext of asking news of the war,—really in the hope that his return to his wife might cover the shame of his own crime. The king met with an unexpected obstacle in the austere, soldier-like spirit which guided all Uriah's conduct, and which gives us a high notion of the character and discipline of David's officers. He steadily refused to go home, or partake of any of the indulgences of domestic life, whilst the ark and the host were in booths and his comrades lying in the open air. He partook of the royal hospitality, but slept always at the gate of the palace till the last night, when the king at a feast vainly endeavoured to entrap him by intoxication. The soldier was overcome by the debauch, but still retained his sense of duty sufficiently to insist on sleeping at the palace. On the morning of the third day, David sent him back to the camp with a letter (as in the story of Bellerophon), containing the command to Joab to cause his destruction in the battle. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 7, §1) adds, that he gave as a reason an imaginary offence of Uriah. None such appears in the actual letter. Probably to an unscrupulous soldier like Joab the absolute will of the king was sufficient.

The device of Joab was, to observe the part of the wall of Rabbath-Ammon, where the greatest force of the besieged was congregated, and thither, as a kind of forlorn hope, to send Uriah. A sally took place. Uriah and the officers with him advanced as far as the gate of the city, and were there shot down by the archers on the wall. It seems as if it had been an established maxim of Israelitish warfare not to approach the wall of a besieged city; and one instance of the fatal result was always quoted, as if proverbially, against it—the sudden and ignominious death of Abimelech at Thebez, which cut short the hopes of the then rising monarchy. This appears from the fact (as given in the LXX.) that Joab exactly anticipates what the king will say when he hears of the disaster.

Just as Joab had forewarned the messenger, the king broke into a furious passion on hearing of the loss, and cited, almost in the very words which Joab had predicted, the case of Abimelech. (The only variation is the omission of the name of the grandfather of Abimelech, which, in the LXX., is Ner instead of Joash.) The messenger, as instructed by Joab, calmly continued, and ended the story with the words: "Thy servant also, Uriah the Hittite, is dead." In a moment David's anger is appeased. He sends an encouraging message to Joab on the unavoidable chances of war, and urges him to continue the siege. It is one of the touching parts of the story that Uriah falls unconscious of his wife's dishonour. She hears of her husband's death. The narrative gives no hint as to her shame or remorse. She "mourned" with the usual signs of grief as a widow; and then became the wife of David (2 Sam. xi. 27).

Uriah remains to us, preserved by this tragical incident, an example of the chivalrous and devoted characters that were to be found amongst the Canaanites serving in the Hebrew army. [A. P. S.]

2. High-priest in the reign of Ahaz (Is. viii. 2; 2 K. xvi. 10-16). We first hear of him as a witness to Isaiah's prophecy concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz, with Zechariah, the son of Jeberechiah. He is probably the same as Urijah the priest, who built the altar for Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 10). If this be so, the prophet summoned him as a witness probably on account of his position as high-priest, not on account of his personal qualities; though, as the incident occurred at the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, Uriah's irreligious subserviency may not yet have manifested itself. When Ahaz, after his deliverance from Rezin and Pekah by Tiglath-Pileser, went to wait upon his new master at Damascus, he saw there an altar which pleased him, and sent the pattern of it to Uriah at Jerusalem, with orders to have one made like it against the king's return. Uriah zealously executed the idolatrous command, and when Ahaz returned, not only allowed him to offer sacrifices upon it, but basely complied with all his impious directions. The new altar was accordingly set in the court of the temple, to the east of where the brazen altar used to stand; and the daily sacrifices, and the burnt-offerings of the king and people, were offered upon it; while the brazen altar, having been removed from its place, and set to the north of the Syrian altar, was reserved as a private altar for the king to inquire by. It is likely, too, that Uriah's compliances did not end here, but that he was a consenting party to the other idolatrous and sacrilegious acts of Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 17, 18, xxiii. 5, 11, 12; 2 Chr. xxviii. 23-25).

Of the parentage of Uriah we know nothing. He probably succeeded Azariah, who was high-priest in the reign of Uzziah, and was succeeded by that Azariah who was high-priest in the reign of Hezekiah. Hence it is probable that he was son of the former and father of the latter, it being by no means uncommon among the Hebrews, as among the Greeks, for the grandchild to have the grandfather's name. Probably, too, he may have been descended from that Azariah who must have been high-priest in the reign of Asa. But he has no place in the sacerdotal genealogy (1 Chr. vi. 4-15), in which there is a great gap between Amariah in ver. 11, and Shallum the father of Hilkiah in ver. 13. [HIGH-PRIEST, p. 810.] It is perhaps a legitimate inference that Uriah's line terminated in his successor, Azariah, and that Hilkiah was descended through another branch from Amariah, who was priest in Jehoshaphat's reign.

3. A priest of the family of Hakkoz (in A. V. wrongly Koz), the head of the seventh course of priests. (See 1 Chr. xxiv. 10.) It does not appear when this Urijah lived, as he is only named as the father or ancestor of Meremoth in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezr. viii. 33; Neh. iii. 4, 21). In Neh. his name is URIJAH. [A. C. H.]

URI'AS (Οὐρίας: *Urias*). 1. URIAH, the husband of Bathsheba (Matt. i. 6).

2. URIJAH, 3 (1 Esd. ix. 43; comp. Neh viii. 4).

U'RIEL, "the fire of God," an angel named only in 2 Esdr. iv. 1, 36, v. 20, x. 28. In the second of these passages he is called "the archangel."

URIEL (אוּרִיאֵל: Οὐριήλ: *Uriel*). 1. A Kohathite Levite, son of Tahath (1 Chr. vi. 24 [9]). If the genealogies were reckoned in this chapter from father to son, Uriel would be the same as Zephaniah in ver. 36; but there is no reason to suppose that this is the case.

2. Chief of the Kohathites in the reign of David (1 Chr. xv. 5, 11). In this capacity he assisted, together with 120 of his brethren, in bringing up the ark from the house of Obed-edom.

3. Uriel of Gibeah was the father of Maachah, or Michaiah, the favourite wife of Rehoboam, and mother of Abijah (2 Chr. xiii. 2). In 2 Chr. xi. 20 she is called "Maachah the daughter of Absalom;" and Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 10, §1) explains this by saying that her mother was Tamar, Absalom's daughter. Rashi gives a long note to the effect that Michaiah was called Maachah after the name of her daughter-in-law the mother of Asa, who was a woman of renown, and that her father's name was Uriel Abishalom. There is no indication, however, that Absalom, like Solomon, had another name, although in the Targum of R. Joseph on Chronicles it is said that the father of Maachah was called Uriel that the name of Absalom might not be mentioned.

URI'JAH (אוּרִיָּה: Οὐρίας: *Urias*). 1. Urijah the priest in the reign of Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 10), probably the same as URIAH, 2.

2. (Οὐρία.) A priest of the family of Koz, or hak-Koz, the same as URIAH, 3.

3. (Οὐρίας: *Uria.*) One of the priests who stood at Ezra's right-hand when he read the Law to the people (Neh. viii. 4).

4. (אוּרִיָּהוּ: *Urias*). The son of Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim. He prophesied in the days of Jehoiakim concerning the land and the city, just as Jeremiah had done, and the king sought to put him to death; but he escaped, and fled into Egypt. His retreat was soon discovered: Elnathan and his men brought him up out of Egypt, and Jehoiakim slew him with the sword, and cast his body forth among the graves of the common people (Jer. xxvi. 20-23). The story of Shemaiah appears to be quoted by the enemies of Jeremiah as a reason for putting him to death; and, as a reply to the instance of Micah the Morasthite, which Jeremiah's friends gave as a reason why his words should be listened to and his life spared. Such, at least, is the view adopted by Rashi. [W. A. W.]

URIM AND THUMMIM (אוּרִים, תֻּמִּים: δήλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια: *doctrina et veritas*).

I. (1.) When the Jewish exiles were met on their return from Babylon by a question which they had no *data* for answering, they agreed to postpone the settlement of the difficulty till there should rise up "a Priest with Urim and Thummim" (Ezr. ii 63; Neh. vii. 65). The inquiry, what those Urim and Thummim themselves were, seems likely to wait as long for a final and satisfying answer. On every side we meet with confessions of ignorance—"Non constat" (Kimchi), "Nescimus" (Aben-Ezra), "Difficile est invenire" (Augustine), varied only by wild and conflicting conjectures. It would be comparatively an easy task to give a catalogue of these hypotheses, and transcribe to any extent the learning which has gathered round them. To attempt to follow a true historical method, and so to construct a theory which shall, at least, include all the phenomena, is a more arduous, but may be a more profitable task.

(2.) The starting-point of such an inquiry must be from the words which the A. V. has left untranslated. It will be well to deal with each separately.

(A.) In *Urim*, Hebrew scholars, with hardly an exception, have seen the plural of אוֹר (=light, or fire). The LXX. translators, however, appear to have had reasons which led them to another rendering than that of φῶς, or its cognates. They give ἡ δήλωσις (Ex. xxviii. 30; Ecclus. xlv. 10), and δῆλοι (Num. xxvii. 21; Deut. xxxiii. 8; 1 Sam. xxviii. 6), while in Ezr. ii. 63, and Neh. vii. 65, we have respectively plural and singular participles of φωτίζω. In Aquila and Theodotion we find the more literal φωτισμοί. The Vulg., following the lead of the LXX., but going further astray, gives *doctrina* in Ex. xxviii. 30 and Deut. xxxiii. 8, omits the word in Num. xxvii. 21, paraphrases it by "*per sacerdotes*" in 1 Sam. xxviii. 6, and gives "*judicium*" in Ecclus. xlv. 10, as the rendering of δήλωσις. Luther gives *Licht*. The literal English equivalent would of course be "lights;" but the renderings in the LXX. and Vulg. indicate, at least, a traditional belief among the Jews that the plural form, as in Elohim and other like words, did not involve numerical plurality.

(B.) *Thummim*. Here also there is almost a *consensus*[a] as to the derivation from תֹּם (=perfection, completeness); but the LXX., as before, uses the closer Greek equivalent τέλειος but once (Ezr. ii. 63), and adheres elsewhere to ἀλήθεια; and the Vulg., giving "*perfectus*" there, in like manner gives "*veritas*" in all other passages. Aquila more accurately chooses τελειώσεις. Luther, in his first edition, gave *Völligkeit*, but afterwards rested in *Recht*. What has been said as to the plural of Urim applies here also. "Light and Perfection" would probably be the best English equivalent. The assumption of a *hendiadys*, so that the two words = "perfect illumination" (Carpzov, *App. Crit.* i. 5; Bähr, *Symbolik*, ii. p. 135), is unnecessary and, it is believed, unsound. The mere phrase, as such, leaves it therefore uncertain whether each word by itself denoted many things of a given kind, or whether the two taken together might be referred to two distinct objects, or to one and the same object. The presence of the article ה, and yet more of the demonstrative אֵת before each, is rather in favour of distinctness. In Deut. xxxiii. 8, we have separately, "Thy Thummim and thy Urim," the first order being inverted. Urim is found alone in Num. xxvii. 21; 1 Sam. xxviii 6; Thummim

[a] The exceptions to the *consensus* are just worth noticing. (1) Bellarmine wishing to defend the Vulg. translation, suggested the derivation of Urim from יָרָה = 'to teach;' and Thummim from אָמַן, "to be true." (Buxtorf, *Diss. de Ur. et Th.*) (2) Thummim has been derived from תְּאוֹם contr. תֹּם = "a twin," on the theory that the two groups of gems, six on each side the breastplate, were what constituted the Urim and Thummim. (R. Azarias, in Buxtorf, *l* c.)

never by itself, unless with Züllig we find it in Ps. xvi. 5.

II. (1.) *Scriptural Statements.*—The mysterious words meet us for the first time, as if they needed no explanation in the description of the High-Priest's apparel. Over the EPHOD there is to be a "breastplate of judgment" (חֹשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט, λογεῖον κρίσεως,[b] rationale judicii), of gold, scarlet, purple, and fine linen, folded square and doubled, a "span" in length and width. In it are to be set four rows of precious stones, each stone with the name of a tribe of Israel engraved on it, that Aaron may "bear them upon his heart." Then comes a further order. Inside the breastplate, as the Tables of the Covenant were placed inside the Ark (the preposition אֶל is used in both cases, Ex. xxv. 16, xxviii. 30), are to be placed "the Urim and the Thummim," the Light and the Perfection; and they, too, are to be on Aaron's heart, when he goes in before the Lord (Ex. xxviii. 15-30). Not a word describes them. They are mentioned as things already familiar both to Moses and the people, connected naturally with the functions of the High-Priest, as mediating between Jehovah and His people. The command is fulfilled (Lev. viii. 8). They pass from Aaron to Eleazar with the sacred Ephod, and other *pontificalia* (Num. xx. 28). When Joshua is solemnly appointed to succeed the great hero-lawgiver, he is bidden to stand before Eleazar, the priest, "who shall ask counsel for him after the judgment of Urim," and this counsel is to determine the movements of the host of Israel (Num. xxvii. 21). In the blessings of Moses, they appear as the crowning glory of the tribe of Levi ("Thy Thummim and thy Urim are with thy Holy One"), the reward of the zeal which led them to close their eyes to everything but "the Law and the Covenant" (Deut. xxxiii 8, 9). Once, and once only, are they mentioned by name in the history of the Judges and the monarchy. Saul, left to his self-chosen darkness, is answered "neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophet" (1 Sam. xxviii. 6). There is no longer a priest with Urim and Thummim (τοῖς φωτίζουσι καὶ τοῖς τελείοις, Ezr. ii. 63; ὁ φωτίσων, Neh. vii. 65) to answer hard questions. When will one appear again? The Son of Sirach copies the Greek names (δῆλοι, ἀλήθεια) in his description of Aaron's garments, but throws no light upon their meaning or their use (Ecclus. xlv. 10).[c]

(2.) Besides these direct statements, there are others in which we may, without violence, trace a reference, if not to both, at least to the Urim. When questions precisely of the nature of those described in Num. xxvii. 21 are asked by the leader of the people, and answered by Jehovah (Judg. i. 1, xx. 18)—when like questions are asked by Saul of the High-Priest Ahiah, "wearing an ephod" (1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18)—by David, as soon as he has with him the presence of a High-Priest with his ephod (1 Sam. xxiii. 2, 12, xxx. 7, 8)—we may legitimately infer that the treasures which the ephod contained were the conditions and *media* of his answer. The questions are in almost all cases strategical,[d] "Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites first?" (Judg. i. 1, so xx. 18), "Will the men of Keilah deliver me and my men into the hand of Saul?" (1 Sam. xxiii. 12), or, at least, national (2 Sam. xxi. 1). The answer is, in all cases very brief, but more in form than a simple Yes or No. One question only is answered at a time.

(3.) It deserves notice before we pass beyond the range of Scriptural *data*, that in some cases of deflection from the established religious order, we find the ephod connected not with the Urim, but with the TERAPHIM, which, in the days of Laban, if not earlier, had been conspicuous in Aramaic worship. Micah, first consecrating one of his own sons, and then getting a Levite as his priest, makes for him "an ephod and teraphim" (Judg. xvii. 5, xviii. 14, 20). Throughout the history of the northern kingdom their presence at Dan made it a sacred place (Judg. xviii. 30), and apparently determined Jeroboam's choice of it as a sanctuary. When the prophet Hosea foretells the entire sweeping away of the system which the Ten Tribes had cherished, the point of extremest destitution is, that "they shall be many days.. .. without an ephod, and without teraphim" (Hos. iii. 4), deprived of all counterfeit oracles, in order that they may in the end "return and seek the Lord."[e] It seems natural to infer that the teraphim were, in these instances, the unauthorized substitutes for the Urim. The inference is strengthened by the fact that the LXX. uses here, instead of teraphim, the same word (δήλων) which it usually gives for Urim. That the teraphim were thus used through the whole history of Israel may be inferred from their frequent occurrence in conjunction with other forms of divination. Thus we have in 1 Sam. xv. 23, "witchcraft" and "teraphim" (A. V. "idolatry"), in 2 K. xxiii. 24, "familiar spirits," "wizards, and teraphim" (A. V. "images"). The king of Babylon, when he uses divination, consults them (Ez. xxi. 21). They speak vanity (Zech. x. 2).

III. *Theories*—(1.) For the most part we have to deal with independent conjectures rather than with inferences from these *data*. Among the latter, however, may be noticed the notion that, as Moses is not directed to *make* the Urim and Thummim, they must have had a supernatural origin, specially created, unlike anything upon earth (R. ben Nachman and Hottinger in Buxtorf, *Diss. de U. et T.* in Ugolini, xii.). It would be profitless to discuss so arbitrary an hypothesis.

(2.) A favourite view of Jewish and of some Christian writers has been, that the Urim and Thummim were identical with the twelve stones on which the names of the Tribes of Israel were engraved, and the mode in which an oracle was given was by the illumination, simultaneous or

[b] The LXX. rendering, so different from the literal meaning, must have originated either (1) from a false etymology, as if the word was derived from נָחַשׁ = "to divine" (Gen. xliv. 15); or (2) from the oracular use made of the breast-plate; or (3) from other associations connected with both the former (*infra*). The Vulg. simply follows the LXX. Seb. Schmidt gives the more literal "*pectorale*."

[c] Breast-*plate*" is, perhaps, somewhat misleading

[c] The A.V., singularly enough, retranslates the Greek words back into the Hebrew, and gives "Urim and Thummim" as if they were proper names.

[d] On this account, probably, the High-Priest was to go out to battle (Num. xxxi. 6), as, in his absence, there was to be a *Sacerdos Castrensis*. [PRIESTS.]

[e] The writer cannot bring himself with Pusey (*Comm. in loc.*), to refer the things named by the Prophet, partly to the true, partly to the false ritual; still less with Spencer (*Diss. de Ur. et Th.*), to see in all of them things which the Prophet recognises as right and good. It is simpler to take them as describing the *actual* polity and ritual in which the Northern kingdom had gloried, and of which it was to be deprived.

successive, of the letters which were to make up the answer (Jalkut Sifre, Zohar *in Exod.* f. 105; Maimonides, R. ben Nachman, in Buxtorf, *l. c.*; Drusius, in *Crit. Sac.* on Ex. xxviii.; Chrysostom, Grotius, *et al.*). Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, §5) adopts another form of the same story, and, apparently identifying the Urim and Thummim with the sardonyxes on the shoulders of the ephod, says that they were bright before a victory, or when the sacrifice was acceptable, dark when any disaster was impending. Epiphanius (*de* xii. *gemm.*), and the writer quoted by Suidas (*s. v.* Ἐφούδ), present the same thought in yet another form. A single diamond (ἀδάμας) placed in the centre of the breastplate prognosticated peace when it was bright, war when it was red, death when it was dusky. It is conclusive against such views (1) that, without any evidence, without even an analogy, they make unauthorized additions to the miracles of Scripture; (2) that the former identify two things which, in Ex. xxviii., are clearly distinguished; (3) that the latter makes no distinction between the Urim and the Thummim, such as the repeated article leads us to infer.

(3.) A theory, involving fewer gratuitous assumptions, is that in the middle of the ephod, or within its folds, there was a stone or plate of gold on which was engraved the sacred name of Jehovah, the *Shem-hammephorash* of Jewish cabbalists,[f] and that by virtue of this, fixing his gaze on it, or reading an invocation which was also engraved with the name, or standing in his ephod before the mercy-seat, or at least before the veil of the sanctuary, he became capable of prophesying, hearing the Divine voice within, or listening to it as it proceeded, in articulate sounds, from the glory of the Shechinah (Buxtorf, *l. c.* 7: Lightfoot, vi. 278; Braunius, *de Vestitu Hebr.* ii.; Saalschütz, *Archäolog.* ii. 363). Another form of the same thought is found in the statement of Jewish writers, that the Holy Spirit spake sometimes by Urim, sometimes by prophecy, sometimes by the Bath-Kol (Seder Olam, c. xiv. in Braunius, *l. c.*), or that the whole purpose of the unknown symbols was "ad excitandam prophetiam" (R. Levi ben Gershon, in Buxtorf, *l. c.*; Kimchi, in Spencer, *l. c.*). A more eccentric form of the "writing" theory was propounded by the elder Carpzov, who maintained that the Urim and Thummim were two confessions of faith in the Messiah and the Holy Spirit (Carpzov, *App. Crit.* i. 5).

(4.) Spencer (*de U. et T.*) presents a singular union of acuteness and extravagance. He rightly recognises the distinctness of the two things which others had confounded. Whatever the Urim and Thummim were, they were not the twelve stones, and they were distinguishable one from the other. They were placed inside the folds of the doubled *Choshen*. Resting on the facts referred to, he inferred the identity of the Urim and the Teraphim.[g] This was an instance in which the Divine wisdom accommodated itself to man's weakness, and allowed the debased superstitious Israelites to retain a fragment of the idolatrous system of their fathers, in order to wean them gradually from the system as a whole. The obnoxious name of Teraphim was dropped. The thing itself was retained. The very name Urim was, he argued, identical in meaning with Teraphim.[h] It was, therefore, a small image probably in human form. So far the hypothesis has, at least, the merit of being inductive and historical, but when he comes to the question how it was instrumental oracularly, he passes into the most extravagant of all assumptions. The image, when the High-Priest questioned it, spoke by the mediation of an angel, with an articulate human voice, just as the Teraphim spoke, in like manner, by the intervention of a demon! In dealing with the Thummim, which he excludes altogether from the oracular functions of the Urim, Spencer adopts the notion of an Egyptian archetype, which will be noticed further on.

(5.) Michaelis (*Laws of Moses*, v. §52) gives his own opinion that the Urim and Thummim were three stones, on one of which was written Yes, on another No, while the third was left blank or neutral. The three were used as lots, and the High-Priest decided according as the one or the other was drawn out. He does not think it worth while to give one iota of evidence; and the notion does not appear to have been more than a passing caprice. It obviously fails to meet the phenomena. Lots were familiar enough among the Israelites (Num. xxvi. 55; Josh. xiii. 6, *et al.*; 1 Sam. xiv. 41; Prov. xvi. 33), but the Urim was something solemn and peculiar. In the cases where the Urim was consulted, the answers were always more than a mere negative or affirmative.

(6.) The conjecture of Züllig (*Comm. in Apoc. Exc.* ii.) though adopted by Winer (*Rwb.*) can hardly be looked on as more satisfying. With him the Urim are bright, *i. e.* cut and polished, diamonds, in form like dice; the Thummim perfect, *i. e.* whole, rough, uncut ones, each class with inscriptions of some kind engraved on it. He supposes a handful of these to have been carried in the pouch of the High-Priest's *Choshen*, and when he wished for an oracle, to have been taken out by him and thrown on a table or, more probably, on the Ark of the Covenant. As they fell their position, according to traditional rules known only to the high-priestly families, indicated the answer. He compares it with fortune-telling by cards or coffee-grounds. The whole scheme, it need hardly be said, is one of pure invention, at once arbitrary and offensive. It is at least questionable whether the Egyptians had access to diamonds, or knew the art of polishing or engraving them. [DIAMOND.] A handful of diamond cubes, large enough to have words or monograms engraved on them, is a thing which has no parallel in Egyptian archaeology, nor, indeed, any where else.

(7.) The latest Jewish interpreter of eminence (Kalisch, on Ex. xxviii. 31), combining parts of the views (2) and (3), identifies the Urim and Thummim with the twelve tribal gems, looks on the name as one to be explained by a hendiadys (Light and Perfection = Perfect illumination), and believes the High-Priest, by concentrating his thoughts on the attributes they represented, to have divested himself of all selfishness and prejudice, and so to have passed into a true prophetic state. In

[f] A wilder form of this belief is found in the cabbalistic book Zohar. There the Urim is said to have had the Divine name in 42, the Thummim in 72 letters. The notion was probably derived from the Jewish invocations in books like the *Clavicula Salomonis*. [SOLOMON.]

[g] He had been preceded in this view by Joseph Mede (*Diss.* I. c. 35), who pointed out the strong resemblance if not the identity, of the two.

[h] The process of proof is ingenious, but hardly convincing. Urim = "lights, fires;" Seraphim = "the burning, or fiery ones;" and Teraphim is but the same word, with an Aramaic substitution of ת for שׂ.

what he says on this point there is much that is both beautiful and true. Lightfoot, it may be added, had taken the same view (ii. 407, vi. 278), and that given above in (3) converges to the same result.

IV. *One more Theory.*—(1.) It may seem venturesome, after so many wild and conflicting conjectures, to add yet another. If it is believed that the risk of falling into one as wild and baseless need not deter us, it is because there are materials within our reach, drawn from our larger knowledge of antiquity, and not less from our fuller insight into the less common phenomena of consciousness, which were not, to the same extent, within the reach of our fathers.

(2.) The starting-point of our inquiry may be found in adhering to the conclusions to which the Scriptural statements lead us. The Urim were not identical with the Thummim, neither of them identical with the tribal gems. The notion of a *hendiadys* (almost always the weak prop of a weak theory) may be discarded. And, seeing that they are mentioned with no description, we must infer that they and their meaning were already known, if not to the other Israelites, at least to Moses. If we are to look for their origin anywhere, it must be in the customs and the symbolism of Egypt.

(3.) We may start with the Thummim, as presenting the easier problem of the two. Here there is at once a patent and striking analogy. The priestly judges of Egypt, with whose presence and garb Moses must have been familiar, wore, each of them, hanging on his neck, suspended on a golden chain, a figure which Greek writers describe as an image of Truth (Ἀλήθεια, as in the LXX.) often with closed eyes, made sometimes of a sapphire or other precious stones, and, therefore necessarily small. They were to see in this a symbol of the purity of motive, without which they would be unworthy of their office. With it they touched the lips of the litigant as they bade him speak the truth, the whole, the perfect truth (Diod. Sic. i. 48, 75; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiv. 34). That this parallelism commended itself to the most learned of the Alexandrian Jews we may infer (1) from the deliberate but not obvious use by the LXX. of the word ἀλήθεια as the translation of Thummim; (2) from a remarkable passage in Philo (*de Vit. Mos.* iii. 11), in which he says that the breastplate (λόγιον) of the High-Priest was made strong that he might wear as an image (ἵνα ἀγαλματοφορῇ) the two virtues which were so needful for his office. The connexion between the Hebrew and the Egyptian symbol was first noticed, it is believed, by Spencer (*l. c.*). It was met with cries of alarm. No single custom, rite, or symbol, could possibly have been transferred from an idolatrous system into that of Israel. There was no evidence of the antiquity of the Egyptian practice. It was probably copied from the Hebrew (Witsius, *Aegyptiaca*, ii. 10, 11, 12, in Ugolini, i.; Riboudealdus, *de Urim et Th.* in Ugolini, xii.; Patrick, *Comm. in Ex.* xxviii.). The discussion of the principle involved need not be entered on here. Spencer's way of putting the case, assuming that a debased form of religion was given in condescension to the superstitions of a debased people, made it, indeed, needlessly offensive, but it remains true, that a revelation of any kind must, to be intelligible, use pre-existent words, and that those words, whether spoken or symbolic, may therefore be taken from any language with which the recipients of the revelation are familiar.[i] In this instance the prejudice has worn away. The most orthodox of German theologians accept the once startling theory, and find in it a proof of the veracity of the Pentateuch (Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the five Books of Moses*, c. vi.). It is admitted, partially at least, by a devout Jew (Kalisch, on Ex. xxviii. 31).[k] And the missing link of evidence has been found. The custom was not, as had been said, of late origin, but is found on the older monuments of Egypt. There, round the neck of the judge, are seen the two figures of Thmei, the representative of Themis, Truth, Justice (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, v. 28). The coincidence of sound may, it is true, be accidental, but it is at least striking. In the words which tell of the tribe of Levi, in close connexion with the Thummim as its chief glory, that it did the stern task of duty, blind to all that could turn it aside to evil, "saying to his father and his mother, I have not seen him" (Deut. xxxiii. 9), we may perhaps trace a reference to the closed eyes of the Egyptian Thmei.

(4.) The way is now open for a further inquiry. We may legitimately ask whether there was any symbol of Light standing to the Urim in the same relation as the symbolic figure of Truth stood to the Thummim. And the answer to that question is as follows. On the breast of well-nigh every member of the priestly caste of Egypt there hung a pectoral plate, corresponding in position and in size to the *Choshen* of the High-Priest of Israel. And in many of these we find, in the centre of the *pectorale*, right over the heart of the priestly mummy, as the Urim was to be "on the heart" of Aaron, what was a known symbol of Light (see British Museum, *First Egyptian Room, Cases* 67, 69, 70, 88, 89. *Second ditto, Cases* 68, 69, 74). In that symbol were united and embodied the highest religious thoughts to which man had then risen. It represented the Sun and the Universe, Light and Life, Creation and Resurrection. The material of the symbol varied according to the rank of the wearer. It might be of blue porcelain, or jasper, or cornelian, or lapis lazuli, or amethyst. Prior to our knowing what the symbol was, we should probably think it natural and fitting that this, like the other, should have been transferred from the lower worship to the higher, from contact with falsehood to fellowship with truth. Position, size, material, meaning, everything answers the conditions of the problem.

(5.) But the symbol in this case was the mystic Scarabaeus; and it may seem to some startling and incredible to suggest that such an emblem could have been borrowed for such a purpose. It is perhaps quite as difficult for us to understand how it could *ever* have come to be associated with such ideas. We have to throw ourselves back into a

[i] It may be reasonably urged indeed that in such cases the previous connexion with a false system is a reason *for*, and not *against* the use of a symbol in itself expressive. The Priests of Israel were taught that they were not to have lower thoughts of the light and perfection which they needed than the Priests of Ra.

[k] It is right to add that the Egyptian origin is rejected both by Bähr (*Symbolik*, II. p. 164) and Ewald (*Alterthüm.* p. 307-9), but without sufficient grounds. Ewald's treatment of the whole subject is, indeed, at once superficial and inconsistent. In the *Alterthümer* (l. c.) he speaks of the Urim and Thummim as lots, adopting Michaelis's view. In his *Propheten* (i. 15) he speaks of the High-Priest fixing his gaze on them to bring himself into the prophetic state.

stage of human progress, a phase of human thought, the most utterly unlike any that comes within our experience. Out of the mud which the Nile left in its flooding, men saw myriad forms of life issue. That of the Scarabaeus was the most conspicuous. It seemed to them self-generated, called into being by the light, the child only of the sun. Its glossy wing-cases reflecting the bright rays made it seem like the sun in miniature. It became at once the emblem of Ra, the sun, and its creative power (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 4, §21; Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* iii. 4; Brugsch, *Liber Metempsychoseos*, p. 33; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, iv. 295, v. 26, 476). But it came also out of the dark earth, after the flood of waters, and was therefore the symbol of life rising out of death in new forms; of a resurrection and a metempsychosis (Brugsch, *l. c.* and *Aegypt. Alterth.* p. 32). So it was that not in Egypt only, but in Etruria and Assyria and other countries, the same strange emblems reappeared (Dennis, *Cities and Sepulchres of Etruria*, Introd. lxxiii.; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 214). So it was that men, forgetting the actual in the ideal, invested it with the title of Μονογενής (Horapollo, *Hierogl.* l. c. 10), that the more mystic, dreamy, Gnostic sects adopted it into their symbolic language, and that semi-Christian Scarabaei are found with the sacred words Jao, Sabaoth, or the names of angels engraved on them (Bellermann, *Ueber die Scarabäen-Gemmen*, i. 10), just as the mystic *Tau*, or *Crux ansata*, appears, in spite of its original meaning, on the monuments of Christian Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* v. 283). In older Egypt it was, at any rate, connected with the thought of Divine illumination, found in frequent union with the symbolic eye, the emblem of the providence of God, and with the hieroglyphic invocation, "Tu radians das vitam puris hominibus" (Brugsch's translation, *Liber Metemps.* p. 33). It is obvious that in such a case, as with the *Crux ansata*, the Scarabaeus is neither an idol, nor identified with idolatry.[m] It is simply a *word* as much the mere exponent of a thought as if it were spoken with the lips, or written in phonetic characters. There is nothing in its Egyptian origin or its animal form which need startle us any more than the like origin of the Ark or the Thummim, or the like form in the BRAZEN SERPENT, or the fourfold symbolic figures of the Cherubim. It is to be added, that Joseph by his marriage with the daughter of the Priest of On, the priest of the sun-god Ra, and Moses, as having been trained in the learning of the Egyptians, and probably among the priests of the same ritual, and in the same city, were certain to be acquainted with the sculptured *word*, and with its meaning. For the latter, at any rate, it would need no description, no interpretation. Deep set in the *Choshen*, between the gems that represented Israel, it would set forth that Light and Truth were the centre of the nation's life. Belonging to the breastplate of judgment, it would bear witness that the High-Priest, in his oracular acts, needed above all things spotless integrity and Divine illumination. It fulfilled all the conditions and taught all the lessons which Jewish or Christian writers have connected with the Urim.

(6.) (A.) Have we any *data* for determining the material of the symbol? The following tend at least to a definite conclusion: (1) If the stone was to represent light, it would probably be one in which light was, as it were, embodied in its purest form, colourless and clear, diamond or rock-crystal. (2) The traditions quoted above from Suidas and Epiphanius confirm this inference.[n] (3) It is accepted as part of Züllig's theory, by Dean Trench (*Epistles to Seven Churches*, p. 125).[o] The "white stone" of Rev. ii. 17, like the other rewards of him that overcometh, declared the truth of the Universal Priesthood. What had been the peculiar treasure of the house of Aaron should be bestowed freely on all believers.

(B.) Another fact connected with the symbol enables us to include one of the best supported of the Jewish conjectures. As seen on the bodies of Egyptian priests and others it almost always bore an inscription, the name of the god whom the priest served, or, more commonly, an invocation, from the Book of the Dead, or some other Egyptian liturgy (Brugsch, *Lib. Metemps.* l. c.). There would here, also, be an analogy. Upon the old emblem, ceasing, it may be, to bear its old distinctive form,[p] there might be the "new name written," the Tetragrammaton, the *Shem-hammephorash* of later Judaism, directing the thoughts of the priest to the true Lord of Life and Light, of whom, unlike the Lord of Life in the Temples of Egypt, there was no form or similitude, a Spirit, to be worshipped therefore in spirit and in truth.

(7.) We are now able to approach the question, "In what way was the Urim instrumental in enabling the High-Priest to give a true oracular response?" We may dismiss, with the more thoughtful writers already mentioned (Kimchi, on 2 Sam. xxv., may be added), the gratuitous prodigies which have no existence but in the fancies of Jewish or Christian dreamers, the articulate voice and the illumined letters. There remains the conclusion that, in some way, they helped him to rise out of all selfishness and hypocrisy, out of all ceremonial routine, and to pass into a state analogous to that of the later prophets, and so to become capable of a new spiritual illumination. The *modus operandi* in this case may, it is believed, be at least illustrated by some lower analogies in the less common phenomena of consciousness. Among the most remarkable of such phenomena is the change produced by concentrating the thoughts on a single idea, by gazing stedfastly on a

[m] The symbolic language of one nation or age will, of course, often be unintelligible, and even seem ludicrous to another. They will take for granted that men have worshipped what they manifestly respected. Would it be easy to make a Mahometan understand clearly the meaning of the symbols of the four Evangelists as used in the ornamentations of English Churches? Would an English congregation, not archaeologists, bear to be told that they were to engrave on their seals a pelican or a fish, as a type of Christ? (Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* iii. 11, §59.)

[n] The words of Epiphanius are remarkable, ἡ δήλωσις, ὃς ἦν ὁ ἀδάμας.

[o] For the reasons stated above, in discussing Züllig's theory, the writer finds himself unable to agree with Dean Trench as to the diamond being certainly the stone in question. So far as he knows, no diamonds have as yet been found among the jewels of Egypt. Rock-crystal seems therefore the more probable of the two.

[p] Changes in the form of an emblem till it ceases to bear any actual resemblance to its original prototype are familiar to all students of symbolism. The *Crux ansata*, the *Tau*, which was the sign of life, is, perhaps, the most striking instance (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* v. 283). Gesenius, in like manner, in his *Monumenta Phoenicia* ii. 68, 69, 70), gives engravings of Scarabaei in which nothing but the oval form is left.

single fixed point. The brighter and more dazzling the point upon which the eyes are turned the more rapidly is the change produced. The life of perception is interrupted. Sight and hearing fail to fulfil their usual functions. The mind passes into a state of profound abstraction, and loses all distinct personal consciousness. Though not asleep it may see visions and dream dreams. Under the suggestions of a will for the time stronger than itself, it may be played on like "a thinking automaton."[q] When not so played on, its mental state is determined by the "dominant ideas" which were impressed upon it at the moment when, by its own act, it brought about the abnormal change (Dr. W. B. Carpenter in *Quarterly Rev.* xciii. pp. 510, 522).

(8.) We are familiar with these phenomena chiefly as they connect themselves with the lower forms of mysticism, with the tricks of electro-biologists, and other charlatans. Even as such they present points of contact with many facts of interest in Scriptural or Ecclesiastical History. Independent of many facts in monastic legends of which this is the most natural explanation, we may see in the last great controversy of the Greek Church a startling proof how terrible may be the influence of these morbid states when there is no healthy moral or intellectual activity to counteract them. For three hundred years or more the rule of the Abbot Simeon of Xerocercos, prescribing a process precisely analogous to that described above, was adopted by myriads of monks in Mount Athos and elsewhere. The Christianity of the East seemed in danger of giving its sanction to a spiritual suicide like that of a Buddhist seeking, as his highest blessedness, the annihilation of the *Nirvana*. Plunged in profound abstraction, their eyes fixed on the centre of their own bodies, the Quietists of the 14th century (ἡσυχασταί, ὀμφαλοψυχικοί) enjoyed an unspeakable tranquillity, believed themselves to be radiant with a Divine glory, and saw visions of the uncreated light which had shone on Tabor. Degrading as the whole matter seems to us, it was a serious danger then. The mania spread like an epidemic, even among the laity. Husbands, fathers, men of letters, and artisans gave themselves up to it. It was important enough to be the occasion of repeated Synods, in which emperors, patriarchs, bishops were eager to take part, and mostly in favour of the practice, and the corollaries deduced from it (Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* xcv. 9; Gieseler, *Ch. Hist.* §129; Maury, *La Magie et l'Astrologie*, pp. 429-30).

(9.) It is at least conceivable, however, that, within given limits, and in a given stage of human progress, the state which seems so abnormal, might have a use as well as an abuse. In the opinion of one of the foremost among modern physiologists, the processes of hypnotism would have their place in a perfect system of therapeutics (*Quart. Review*, l. c.). It is open to us to believe that they may, in the less perfect stages of the spiritual history of mankind, have helped instead of hindering. In this way only, it may be, the sense-bound spirit could abstract itself from the outer world, and take up the attitude of an expectant tranquillity. The entire suppression of human consciousness, as in the analogous phenomena of an ecstatic state [comp. TRANCE], the surrender of the entire man to be played upon, as the hand plays upon the harp, may, at one time, have been an actual condition of the inspired state, just as even now it is the only conception which some minds are capable of forming of the fact of inspiration in any form or at any time. Bearing this in mind, we may represent to ourselves the process of seeking counsel "by Urim." The question brought was one affecting the well-being of the nation, or its army, or its king. The inquirer spoke in a low whisper, asking one question only at a time (Gem. Bab. *Joma*, in Mede, *l. c.*). The High-Priest, fixing his gaze on the "gems oracular" that lay "on his heart," fixed his thoughts on the Light and the Perfection which they symbolised, on the Holy Name inscribed on them. The act was itself a prayer, and, like other prayers, it might be answered.[r] After a time, he passed into the new, mysterious, half-ecstatic state.[s] All disturbing elements—selfishness, prejudice, the fear of man—were eliminated. He received the insight which he craved. Men trusted in his decisions as with us men trust the judgment which has been purified by prayer for the help of the Eternal Spirit, more than that which grows only out of debate, and policy, and calculation.

(10.) It is at least interesting to think that a like method of passing into this state of insight was practised unblamed in the country to which we have traced the Urim, and among the people for whose education this process was adapted. We need not think of Joseph, the pure, the heaven-taught, the blameless one, as adopting, still less as falsely pretending to adopt, the dark arts of a system of imposture (Gen. xliv. 5, 15). For one into whose character the dream-element of prevision entered so largely, there would be nothing strange in the use of *media* by which he might superinduce at will the dream-state which had come to him in his youth unbidden, with no outward stimulus; and the use of the cup by which Joseph "divined" was precisely analogous to that which has been now described. To fill the cup with water, to fix the eye on a gold or silver coin in it, or, more frequently, on the dazzling reflection of the sun's rays from it, was an essential part of the κυλικομαντεία, the λεκανομαντεία of ancient systems of divination (Maury, *La Magie et l'Astrologie*, pp. 426-28; Kalisch, *Genesis, in loc.*). In the most modern form of it, among the magicians of Cairo, the boy's fixed gaze upon the few drops of ink in the palm of his hand answers the same purpose and produces the same result (Lane, *Mod. Egypt.* I. c. xii). The difference between the true and the false in these cases is however far greater than the superficial resemblance. To enter upon that exceptional state with vague stupid curiosity, may lead to an imbecility which is the sport of every casual suggestion. To pass into it with feelings of hatred, passion, lust, may add to their power a fearful intensity for evil, till the state of the soul is demoniac rather than human. To enter upon it as the High-Priest entered, with the prayer of faith, might in like

[q] The word is used, of course, in its popular sense, as a toy moving by machinery. Strictly speaking, automatic force is just the element which has, for the time, disappeared.

[r] The prayer of Ps. xliii. 3, "Send out thy light and thy truth," though it does not contain the words Urim and Thummim, speaks obviously of that which they symbolised, and may be looked upon as an echo of the High Priest's prayer in a form in which it might be used by any devout worshipper.

[s] The striking exclamation of Saul, "Withdraw thy hand!" when it seemed to him that the Urim was no longer needed, was clearly an interruption of this process (1 Sam. xiv. 19).

manner intensify what was noblest and truest in him, and fit him to be for the time a vessel of the Truth.

(11.) It may startle us at first to think that any physical media should be used in a divine order to bring about a spiritual result, still more that those media should be the same as are found elsewhere in systems in which evil is at least preponderant; yet here too Scripture and History present us with very striking analogies. In other forms of worship, in the mysteries of Isis, in Orphic and Corybantian revels, music was used to work the worshippers into a state of orgiastic frenzy. In the mystic fraternity of Pythagoras it was employed before sleep, that their visions might be serene and pure (Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.* ad fin.). Yet the same instrumentality bringing about a result analogous at least to the latter, probably embracing elements of both, was used from the first in the gatherings of the prophets (1 Sam. x. 5). It soothed the vexed spirit of Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 23); it wrought on him, when it came in its choral power, till he too burst into the ecstatic song (1 Sam. xix. 20-24). With one at least of the greatest of the prophets it was as much the preparation for his receiving light and guidance from above as the gaze at the Urim had been to the High-Priest. "Elisha said . . . 'Now bring me a minstrel.' And it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him" (2 K. iii. 15).[t]

(12.) The facts just noticed point to the right answer to the question which yet remains, as to the duration of the Urim and the Thummim, and the reasons of their withdrawal. The statement of Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, §5-7) that they had continued to shine with supernatural lustre till within two hundred years of his own time is simply a Jewish fable, at variance with the direct confession of their absence on the return from the Captivity (Ezr. ii. 63), and in the time of the Maccabees (1 Macc. iv. 46, xiv. 41). As little reliance is to be placed on the assertion of other Jewish writers, that they continued in activity till the time of the Babylonian Exile (Sota, p. 43; Midrash on *Song of Sol.* in Buxtorf, *l. c.*). It is quite inconceivable, had it been so, that there should have been no single instance of an oracle thus obtained during the whole history of the monarchy of Judah. The facts of the case are few, but they are decisive. Never, after the days of David, is the Ephod, with its appendages, connected with counsel from Jehovah (so Carpzov, *App. Crit.* i. 5). Abiathar is the last priest who habitually uses it for that purpose (1 Sam. xxiii. 6, 9, xxviii. 6; probably also 2 Sam. xxi. 1). His name is identified in a strange tradition embodied in the Talmud (*Sanhedr.* f. 19, 1, in Lightfoot, xi. 386) with the departed glory of the Urim and the Thummim. And the explanation of these facts is not far to seek. Men had been taught by this time another process by which the spiritual might at once assert its independence of the sensuous life, and yet retain its distinct personal consciousness—a process less liable to perversion, leading to higher and more continuous illumination. Through the sense of hearing, now through that of sight, was to be wrought the subtle and mysterious change. Music—in its marvellous variety, its subtle sweetness, its spirit-stirring power—was to be, for all time to come, the lawful help to the ecstasy of praise and prayer, opening heart and soul to new and higher thoughts. The utterances of the prophets, speaking by the word of the Lord, were to supersede the oracles of the Urim. The change which about this period passed over the speech of Israel was a witness of the moral elevation which that other change involved. "He that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a seer" (1 Sam. ix. 9). To be the mouthpiece, the spokesman, of Jehovah was higher than to see visions of the future, however clear, whether of the armies of Israel or the lost asses of Kish.

(13.) The transition was probably not made without a struggle. It was accompanied by, even if it did not in part cause, the transfer of the Pontificate from one branch of the priestly family to another. The strange opposition of Abiathar to the will of David, at the close of his reign, is intelligible on the hypothesis that he, long accustomed, as holding the Ephod and the Urim, to guide the king's councils by his oracular answers, viewed, with some approach to jealousy, the growing influence of the prophets, and the accession of a prince who had grown up under their training. With him at any rate, so far as we have any knowledge, the Urim and the Thummim passed out of sight. It was well, we may believe, that they did so. To have the voices of the prophets in their stead was to gain and not to lose. So the old order changed, giving place to the new. If the fond yearning of the Israelites of the Captivity had been fulfilled, and a priest had once again arisen with Urim and with Thummim, they would but have taken their place among the "weak and beggarly elements" which were to pass away. All attempts, from the *Rule* of Simeon to the *Spiritual Exercises* of Loyola, to invert the Divine order, to purchase spiritual ecstasies by the sacrifice of intellect and of conscience, have been steps backward into darkness, not forward into light. So it was that God, in many different measures and many different fashions (πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως), spake in time past unto the Fathers (Heb. i. 1). So it is, in words that embody the same thought, and draw from it a needful lesson, that

> "God fulfils himself in many ways,
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."[u]

[E. H. P.]

USURY. Information on the subject of lending and borrowing will be found under LOAN. It need only be remarked here that the practice of mortgaging land, sometimes at exorbitant interest, grew up among the Jews during the Captivity, in direct violation of the law (Lev. xxv. 36, 37; Ez. xviii. 8, 13, 17). We find the rate reaching 1 in 100 per month, corresponding to the Roman *centesimae usurae*, or 12 per cent. per annum—a rate which

[t] That "the hand of the Lord" was the recognised expression for this awful consciousness of the Divine presence we find from the visions of Ezekiel (i. 3, iii. 14, et al.), and 1 K. xviii. 46. It helps us obviously to determine the sense of the corresponding phrase, "with the finger of God," in Ex. xxxi. 18. Comp. too, the equivalence, in our Lord's teaching, of the two forms, "If I with the finger of God (Luke xi. 20 = 'by the Spirit of God,' Matt. xii. 28) cast out devils."

[u] In addition to the authorities cited in the text, one has to be named to which the writer has not been able to get access, and which he knows only through the *Thesaurus* of Gesenius. Bellermann, whose treatises on the Scarabaei are quoted above, has also written, *Die Urim und Thummim, die ältesten Gemmen.* He apparently identifies the Urim and Thummim with the gems of the breastplate.

Niebuhr considers to have been borrowed from abroad, and which is, or has been till quite lately, a very usual or even a minimum rate in the East (Nieb. *Hist. of Rome*, iii. 57, Engl. Tr.; Volney, *Trav.* ii. 254, note; Chardin, *Voy.* vi. 122). Yet the law of the Kurán, like the Jewish, forbids all usury (Lane, *M. E.* i. 132; Sale, *Kurán*, c. 30). The laws of Menu allow 18 and even 24 per cent. as an interest rate; but, as was the law in Egypt, accumulated interest was not to exceed twice the original sum lent (*Laws of Menu*, c. viii. 140, 141, 151; Sir W. Jones, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 295; Diod. *i.* 9, 79). This Jewish practice was annulled by Nehemiah, and an oath exacted to ensure its discontinuance (Neh. v. 3-13; Selden, *De Jur. Nat.* vi. 10; Hofmann, *Lexic.* "Usura"). [H. W. P.]

U'TA (Οὐτᾶ: *Utha*) 1 Esdr. v. 30. It appears to be a corruption of AKKUB (Ezr. ii. 45).

U'THAI (עוּתַי: Γνωθί: Alex. Γωθί: *Otheï*). **1.** The son of Ammihud, of the children of Pharez, the son of Judah (1 Chr. ix. 4). He appears to have been one of those who dwelt in Jerusalem after the Captivity. In Neh. xi. 4 he is called "ATHAIAH the son of Uzziah."

2. (Οὐθαΐ: *Uthai.*) One of the sons of Bigvai, who returned in the second caravan with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 14).

U'THI (Οὐθί) 1 Esdr. viii. 40. [UTHAI 2].

UZ (עוּץ; Οὖζ, Ὦς, Ὑς: *Us, Hus*). This name is applied to—**1.** A son of Aram (Gen. x. 23), and consequently a grandson of Shem, to whom he is immediately referred in the more concise genealogy of the Chronicles, the name of Aram being omitted[a] (1 Chr. i. 17). **2.** A son of Nahor by Milcah (Gen. xxii. 21; A. V. HUZ). **3.** A son of Dishan, and grandson of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 28). **4.** The country in which Job lived (Job i. 1). As the genealogical statements of the Book of Genesis are undoubtedly ethnological, and in many instances also geographical, it may be fairly surmised that the coincidence of names in the above cases is not accidental, but points to a fusion of various branches of the Shemitic race in a certain locality. This surmise is confirmed by the circumstance that other connecting links may be discovered between the same branches. For instance, Nos. 1 and 2 have in common the names Aram (comp. Gen. x. 23, xxii. 21) and Maachah as a geographical designation in connexion with the former (1 Chr. xix. 6), and a personal one in connexion with the latter (Gen. xxii. 24). Nos. 2 and 4 have in common the names Buz and Buzite (Gen. xxii. 21; Job xxxii. 2), Chesed and Chasdim (Gen. xxii. 22; Job i. 17, A. V. "Chaldaeans"), Shuah, a nephew of Nahor, and Shuhite (Gen. xxv. 2; Job ii. 11), and Kedem, as the country whither Abraham sent Shuah, together with his other children by Keturah, and also as the country where Job lived (Gen. xxv. 6; Job i. 3). Nos. 3 and 4, again, have in common Eliphaz (Gen. xxxvi. 10; Job ii. 11), and Teman and Temanite (Gen. xxxvi. 11; Job ii. 11). The ethnological fact embodied in the above coincidences of names appears to be as follows:—Certain branches of the Aramaic family, being both more ancient and occupying a more northerly position than the others, coalesced with branches of the later Abrahamids, holding a somewhat central position in Mesopotamia and Palestine, and again with branches of the still later Edomites of the south, after they had become a distinct race from the Abrahamids. This conclusion would receive confirmation if the geographical position of Uz, as described in the Book of Job, harmonized with the probability of such an amalgamation. As far as we can gather, it lay either east or south-east of Palestine (Job i. 3; see BENE-KEDEM); adjacent to the Sabaeans and the Chaldaeans (Job i. 15, 17), consequently northward of the southern Arabians, and westward of the Euphrates; and, lastly, adjacent to the Edomites of Mount Seir, who at one period occupied Uz, probably as conquerors (Lam. iv. 21), and whose troglodyte habits are probably described in Job xxx. 6, 7. The position of the country may further be deduced from the native lands of Job's friends, Eliphaz the Temanite being an Idumean, Elihu the Buzite being probably a neighbour of the Chaldeans, for Buz and Chesed were brothers (Gen. xxii. 21, 22), and Bildad the Shuhite being one of the Bene-Kedem. Whether Zophar the Naamathite is to be connected with Naamah in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 41) may be regarded as problematical: if he were, the conclusion would be further established. From the above data we infer that the land of Uz corresponds to the *Arabia Deserta* of classical geography, at all events to so much of it as lies north of the 30th parallel of latitude. This district has in all ages been occupied by nomadic tribes, who roam from the borders of Palestine to the Euphrates, and northward to the confines of Syria. Whether the name of Uz survived to classical times is uncertain: a tribe named Aesitae (Αἰσῖται) is mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 19, §2): this Bochart identifies with the Uz of Scripture by altering the reading into Αὐσῖται (*Phaleg*, ii. 8); but, with the exception of the rendering in the LXX. (ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Αὐσίτιδι, Job i. 1; comp. xxxii. 2), there is nothing to justify such a change. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1003) is satisfied with the form Aesitae as sufficiently corresponding to Uz. [W. L. B.]

U'ZAI (אוּזַי: Εὐζαΐ; Fa. Εὐεί: *Ozi*). The father of Palal, who assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the city wall (Neh. iii. 25).

U'ZAL (אוּזָל; Samar. אויזל: Αἰζήλ, Αισήλ *Uzal, Huzal*). The sixth son of Joktan (Gen. x. 27; 1 Chr. i. 21), whose settlements are clearly traced in the ancient name of San'à, the capital city of the Yemen, which was originally Awzál, اوزال (Ibn-Khaldoon, ap. Caussin, *Essai*, i. 40, foot-note; *Marásid*, s. v.; Gesen. *Lex.* s. v.; Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, &c.).[b] It has disputed the right to be the chief city of the kingdom of Sheba from the earliest ages of which any traditions have come down to us; the rival cities being SHEBA (the Arabic Sebà), and SEPHAR (or Zafár). Unlike one or both of these cities which passed occasionally into the hands of the people of HAZARMAVETH (Hadramáwt), it seems to have always belonged to the people of Sheba; and from its position in the

[a] The LXX. inserts the words καὶ υἱοὶ Ἀράμ before the notice of Uz and his brothers: but for this there is no authority in the Hebrew. For a parallel instance of conciseness see ver. 4.

[b] The printed edition of the *Marásid* writes the name Oozál, and says, "It is said that its name was Oozál; and when the Abyssinians arrived at it, and saw it to be beautiful, they said 'San'à,' which means beautiful: therefore it was called San'à."

centre of the best portion of that kingdom, it must always have been an important city, though probably of less importance than Seba itself. Niebuhr (*Descr.* 201, *seq.*) says that it is a walled town, situate in an elevated country, in lat. 15° 2′, and with a stream (after heavy rains) running through it (from the mountain of Sawáfee, El-Idreesee, i. 50), and another larger stream a little to the west, with country-houses and villages on its banks. It has a citadel on the site of a famous temple, called Beyt-Ghumdán, said to have been founded by Shoorabeel; which was razed by order of Othman. The houses and palaces of San'à, Niebuhr says, are finer than those of any other town of Arabia; and it possesses many mosques, public baths, and caravanserais. El-Idreesee's account of its situation and flourishing state (i. 50, quoted also by Bochart, *Phaleg*, xxi.) agrees with that of Niebuhr. Yákoot says, "San'à is the greatest city in the Yemen, and the most beautiful of them. It resembles Damascus, on account of the abundance of its trees (or gardens), and the rippling of its waters" (*Mushtarak, s. v.*, comp. Ibn-El-Wardee MS.); and the author of the *Marásid* (said to be Yákoot) says, "It is the capital of the Yemen and the best of its cities; it resembles Damascus, on account of the abundance of its fruits" (*s. v.* San'à).

Uzal, or Awzál, is most probably the same as the Auzara (Αὔζαρα), or Ausara (Αὔσαρα) of the classics, by the common permutation of *l* and *r*. Pliny (*N. H.* xii. 16) speaks of this as belonging to the Gebanitae; and it is curious that the ancient division (or "mikhláf") of the Yemen in which it is situate, and which is called Sinhán, belonged to a very old confederacy of tribes named Jenb, or Genb, whence the Gebanitae of the classics; another division being also called Mikhláf Jenb (*Marásid, s. vv.* mikhláf and jenb, and *Mushtarak, s. v.* jenb). Bochart accepts Ausara as the classical form of Uzal (*Phaleg*, l. c.), but his derivation of the name of the Gebanitae is purely fanciful.

Uzal is perhaps referred to by Ezek. (xxvii. 19), translated in the A.V. "Javan," *going to and fro*, Heb. מְאוּזָל. A city named Yäwan, or Yäwán, in the Yemen, is mentioned in the *Kámoos* (see Gesenius, *Lex.* and Bochart, *l. c.*). Commentators are divided in opinion respecting the correct reading of this passage; but the most part are in favour of the reference to Uzal. See also JAVAN. [E. S. P.]

UZ'ZA (עֻזָּא: Ἀζά: *Oza*). **1.** A Benjamite of the sons of Ehud (1 Chr. viii. 7). The Targum on Esther makes him one of the ancestors of Mordecai.

2. (Ὀζά.) Elsewhere called UZZAH (1 Chr. xiii. 7, 9, 10, 11).

3. (Ἀζώ, Ὀζί; Ἀζά, Ὀζί: *Aza.*) The children of Uzza were a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 49; Neh. vii. 51).

4. (עֻזָּה: Ὀζά; Alex. Ἀζά: *Oza*). Properly "Uzzah." As the text now stands, Uzzah is a descendant of Merari (1 Chr. vi. 29 [14]); but there appears to be a gap in the verse by which the sons of Gershom are omitted, for Libni and Shimei are elsewhere descendants of Gershom, and not of Merari. Perhaps he is the same as Zina (זִינָה), or Zizah (זִיזָה), the son of Shimei (1 Chr. xxiii. 10, 11); for these names evidently denote the same person and, in Hebrew character, are not unlike Uzzah.

UZ'ZA, THE GARDEN OF (גַּן עֻזָּא: κῆπος Ὀζᾶ: *hortus Aza*). The spot in which Manasseh king of Judah, and his son Amon, were both buried (2 K. xxi. 18, 26). It was the garden attached to Manasseh's palace (ver. 18, and 2 Chr. xxxiii. 20), and therefore presumably was in Jerusalem. The fact of its mention shows that it was not where the usual sepulchres of the kings were. No clue, however, is afforded to its position. Josephus (*Ant.* x. 3, §2) simply reiterates the statement of the Bible. It is ingeniously suggested by Cornelius a Lapide, that the garden was so called from being on the spot at which Uzza died during the removal of the Ark from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem, and which is known to have retained his name for long after the event (2 Sam. vi. 8). There are some grounds for placing this in Jerusalem, and possibly at or near the threshing-floor of Araunah. [NACHON, p. 455, and note.]

The scene of Uzza's death was itself a threshing-floor (2 Sam. vi. 6), and the change of the word from this, *goren*, גֹּרֶן, into *gan*, גַּן, garden, would not be difficult or improbable. But nothing certain can be said on the point.

Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, note on 2 K. xxi. 18) on the strength of the mention of "palaces" in the same paragraph with Ophel (A.V. "forts") in a denunciation of Isaiah (xxxii. 14), asserts that a palace was situated in the Tyropoeon valley at the foot of the Temple mount, and that this was in all probability the palace of Manasseh and the site of the Garden of Uzza. Surely a slender foundation for such a superstructure! [G.]

UZ'ZAH (עֻזָּה in 2 Sam. vi. 3, elsewhere עֻזָּא: Ὀζά; Alex. Ἀζά, Ἀζζά: *Oza*). One of the sons of Abinadab, in whose house at Kirjath-jearim the ark rested for 20 years. The eldest son of Abinadab (1 Sam. vii. 1) seems to have been Eleazar, who was consecrated to look after the ark. Uzzah probably was the second, and Ahio[a] the third. They both accompanied its removal, when David first undertook to carry it to Jerusalem. Ahio apparently went before the cart—the new cart (1 Chr. xiii. 7)—on which it was placed, and Uzzah walked by the side of the cart. The procession, with all manner of music, advanced as far as a spot variously called "the threshing-floor" (1 Chr. xiii. 9), "the threshing-floor of Chidon" (ib. *Heb.* LXX.; Jos. *Ant.* vii. 4, §2), "the threshing-floor of Nachor" (2 Sam. vi. 6, LXX.), "the threshing-floor of Nachon" (ib. *Heb.*). At this point—perhaps slipping over the smooth rock—the oxen (or, LXX., "the calf") stumbled (*Heb.*) or "overturned the ark" (LXX.). Uzzah caught it to prevent its falling.

He died immediately, by the side of the ark. His death, by whatever means it was accomplished, was so sudden and awful that, in the sacred language of the Old Testament, it is ascribed directly to the Divine anger. "The anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah, and God smote him there." "For his error," עַל־הַשֵּׁל, adds the present Hebrew text, not the LXX.; "because he put his hand to the ark" (1 Chr. xiii. 10). The error or sin is not explained. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 4, §2) makes it to be because he touched the ark not being a priest. Some have supposed that it was because the ark was in a cart, and not (Ex. xxv. 14) carried on the shoulders of the Levites. But the narrative seems

[a] The LXX. for "Ahio" read "h's brethren."

to imply that it was simply the rough, hasty handling of the sacred coffer. The event produced a deep sensation. David, with a mixture of awe and resentment, was afraid to carry the ark further; and the place, apparently changing its ancient name,[b] was henceforth called "Perez-Uzzah," the "breaking," or "disaster" of Uzzah (2 Sam. vi. 8; 1 Chr. xiii. 11; Jos. *Ant.* vii. 4, §2).

There is no proof for the assertion that Uzzah was a Levite. [A. P. S.]

UZ'ZEN-SHE'RAH (אֻזֵּן שְׁאֵרָה: *καὶ υἱοὶ* Ὀζὰν, Σεηρά: *Ozensara*). A town founded or rebuilt by Sherah, an Ephraimite woman, the daughter either of Ephraim himself or of Beriah. It is named only in 1 Chr. vii. 24, in connexion with the two Beth-horons. These latter still remain probably in precisely their ancient position, and called by almost exactly their ancient names; but no trace of Uzzen-Sherah appears to have been yet discovered, unless it be in *Beit Sira*, which is shown in the maps of Van de Velde and Tobler as on the N. side of the *Wady Suleiman*, about three miles S.W. of *Beitûr et-tahta*. It is mentioned by Robinson (in the lists in Appendix to vol. iii. of *B. R.* 1st edit. p. 120); and also by Tobler (*3tte Wanderung*, 188).

The word *ozen* in Hebrew signifies an "ear;" and assuming that *uzzen* is not merely a modification of some unintelligible Canaanite word, it may point to an earlike projection or other natural feature of the ground. The same may be said of Aznoth-Tabor, in which *aznoth* is perhaps related to the same root.

It has been proposed to identify Uzzen-Sherah with Timnath-Serah; but the resemblance between the two names exists only in English (שארה and סרח), and the identification, tempting as it is from the fact of Sherah being an ancestress of Joshua, cannot be entertained.

It will be observed that the LXX. (in both MSS.) give a different turn to the passage, by the addition of the word ובני before Uzzen. Sherah, in the former part of the verse, is altogether omitted in the Vat. MS. (Mai), and in the Alex. given as Σααρα. [G.]

UZ'ZI (עֻזִּי: Ὀζί: *Ozi*: short for עֻזִּיָּה, "Jehovah is my strength." Compare Uzziah, Uzziel). 1. Son of Bukki, and father of Zerahiah, in the line of the high-priests (1 Chr. vi. 5, 51; Ezr. vii. 4). Though Uzzi was the lineal ancestor of Zadok, it does not appear that he was ever high-priest. Indeed, he is included in those descendants of Phinehas between the high-priest Abishua (Ἰώσηπος) and Zadok, who, according to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 1), were private persons. He must have been contemporary with, but rather earlier than, Eli. In Josephus's list Uzzi is unaccountably transformed into JONATHAN.

2. Son of Tola the son of Issachar, and father of five sons, who were all chief men (1 Chr. vii. 2, 3.)

3. Son of Bela, of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 7).

4. Another, or the same, from whom descended some Benjamite houses, which were settled at Jerusalem after the return from captivity (1 Chr. ix. 8).

5. A Levite, son of Bani, and overseer of the Levites dwelling at Jerusalem, in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. xi. 22).

6. A priest, chief of the father's-house of Jedaiah, in the time of Joiakim the high-priest (Neh. xii. 19).

7. One of the priests who assisted Ezra in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 42) Perhaps the same as the preceding. [A. C. H.]

UZZI'A (עֻזִּיָּא: Ὀζία; Alex. Ὀζεία: *Ozia*). One of David's guard, and apparently, from his appellation "the Ashterathite," a native of Ashtaroth beyond Jordan (1 Chr. xi. 44).

UZZI'AH (עֻזִּיָּה: Ἀζαρίας in Kings, Ὀζίας elsewhere; Alex. Ὀχοζίας in 2 K. xv. 13: *Ozias*, but *Azarias* in 2 K. xv. 13).

1. Uzziah king of Judah. In some passages his name appears in the lengthened form עֻזִּיָּהוּ (2 K. xv. 32, 34; 2 Chr. xxvi. xxvii. 2; Is. i. 1, vi. 1, vii. 1), which Gesenius attributes to an error of the copyists, עזיה and עזריה being nearly identical, or "to an exchange of the names as spoken by the common people, *ss* being pronounced for *sr*." This is possible, but there are other instances of the princes of Judah (not of Israel) changing their names on succeeding to the throne, undoubtedly in the later history, and perhaps in the earlier, as Jehoahaz to Ahaziah (2 Chr. xxi. 17), though this example is not quite certain. [AHAZIAH, No. 2.] After the murder of Amaziah, his son Uzziah was chosen by the people to occupy the vacant throne, at the age of 16; and for the greater part of his long reign of 52 years he lived in the fear of God, and showed himself a wise, active, and pious ruler. He began his reign by a successful expedition against his father's enemies the Edomites, who had revolted from Judah in Jehoram's time, 80 years before, and penetrated as far as the head of the Gulf of 'Akaba, where he took the important place of Elath, fortified it, and probably established it as a mart for foreign commerce, which Jehoshaphat had failed to do. This success is recorded in the 2nd Book of Kings (xiv. 22), but from the 2nd Book of Chronicles (xxvi. 1, &c.) we learn much more. Uzziah waged other victorious wars in the south, especially against the Mehunim, or people of Maân, and the Arabs of Gurbaal. A fortified town named *Maân* still exists in Arabia Petraea, south of the Dead Sea. The situation of Gurbaal is unknown. (For conjectures, more or less probable, see Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 321; MEHUNIM; GURBAAL.) Such enemies would hardly maintain a long resistance after the defeat of so formidable a tribe as the Edomites. Towards the west, Uzziah fought with equal success against the Philistines, levelled to the ground the walls of Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod, and founded new fortified cities in the Philistine territory. Nor was he less vigorous in defensive than offensive operations. He strengthened the walls of Jerusalem at their weakest points, furnished them with formidable engines of war, and equipped an army of 307,500 men with the best inventions of military art. He was also a great patron of agriculture, dug wells, built towers in the wilderness for the protection of the flocks, and cultivated rich vineyards and arable land on his own account. He never deserted the worship of the true God, and was much influenced by Zechariah, a prophet who is only mentioned in connexion with him (2 Chr. xxvi. 5); for, as he must have died before Uzziah, he cannot be the same as the

[b] For the conjecture that this was the GARDEN OF UZZA mentioned in the later history, see the preceding article.

Zechariah of Is viii. 2. So the southern kingdom was raised to a condition of prosperity which it had not known since the death of Solomon; and as the power of Israel was gradually falling away in the latter period of Jehu's dynasty, that of Judah extended itself over the Ammonites and Moabites, and other tribes beyond Jordan, from whom Uzziah exacted tribute. See 2 Chr. xxvi. 8, and Is. xvi. 1-5, from which it would appear that the annual tribute of sheep (2 K. iii. 4) was revived either during this reign or soon after. The end of Uzziah was less prosperous than his beginning. Elated with his splendid career, he determined to burn incense on the altar of God, but was opposed by the nigh-priest Azariah and eighty others. (See Ex. xxx. 7, 8; Num. xvi. 40, xviii. 7.) The king was enraged at their resistance, and, as he pressed forward with his censer, was suddenly smitten with leprosy, a disease which, according to Gerlach (*in loco*), is often brought out by violent excitement. In 2 K. xv. 5 we are merely told that "the Lord smote the king, so that he was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a several house;" but his invasion of the priestly office is not specified. This catastrophe compelled Uzziah to reside outside the city, so that the kingdom was administered till his death by his son Jotham as regent. Uzziah was buried "with his fathers," yet apparently not actually in the royal sepulchres (2 Chr. xxvi. 23). During his reign an earthquake occurred, which, though not mentioned in the historical books, was apparently very serious in its consequences, for it is alluded to as a chronological epoch by Amos (i. 1), and mentioned in Zech. xiv. 5, as a convulsion from which the people "fled." [EARTHQUAKE.] Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 10, §4) connects it with Uzziah's sacrilegious attempt to offer incense, but this is very unlikely, as it cannot have occurred later than the 17th year of his reign [AMOS]. The first six chapters of Isaiah's prophecies belong to this reign, and we are told (2 Chr. xxvi. 22) that a full account of it was written by that prophet. Some notices of the state of Judah at this time may also be obtained from the contemporary prophets Hosea and Amos, though both of these laboured more particularly in Israel. We gather from their writings (Hos. iv. 15, vi. 11; Am. vi. 1), as well as from the early chapters of Isaiah, that though the condition of the southern kingdom was far superior, morally and religiously, to that of the northern, yet that it was by no means free from the vices which are apt to accompany wealth and prosperity. At the same time Hosea conceives bright hopes of the blessings which were to arise from it; and though doubtless these hopes pointed to something far higher than the brilliancy of Uzziah's administration, and though the return of the Israelites to "David their king" can only be adequately explained of Christ's kingdom, yet the prophet, in contemplating the condition of Judah at this time, was plainly cheered by the thought that there God was really honoured, and His worship visibly maintained, and that therefore with it was bound up every hope that His promises to His people would be at last fulfilled (Hos. i. 7, iii. 3). It is to be observed, with reference to the general character of Uzziah's reign, that the writer of the Second Book of Chronicles distinctly states that his lawless attempt to burn incense was the only exception to the excellence of his administration (2 Chr. xxvii. 2). His reign lasted from B.C. 808-9 to 756-7. [G. E. L. C.]

2. (Ὀζία: *Ozias.*) A Kohathite Levite, and ancestor of Samuel (1 Chr. vi. 24 [9]).

3. A priest of the sons of Harim, who had taken a foreign wife in the days of Ezra (Ezr. x. 21).

4. (Ἀζία: *Aziam.*) Father of Athaiah, or Uthai (Neh. xi. 4).

5. (עֻזִּיָּהוּ: Ὀζίας: *Ozias*). Father of Jehonathan, one of David's overseers (1 Chr. xxvii. 25).

UZ'ZIEL (עֻזִּיאֵל: Ὀζιήλ, Ex. vi. 18; elsewhere Ὀζιήλ: *Oziel*: "God is my strength").

1. Fourth son of Kohath, father of Mishael, Elzaphan or Elizaphan, and Zithri, and uncle to Aaron (Ex. vi. 18, 22; Lev. x. 4). The family descended from him were called Uzzielites, and Elizaphan, the chief of this family, was also the chief father of the Kohathites, by Divine direction, in the time of Moses (Num. iii. 19, 27, 30), although he seems to have been the youngest of Kohath's sons (1 Chr. vi. 2, 18). The house of Uzziel numbered 112 adults, under Amminadab their chief, at the time of the bringing up of the ark to Jerusalem by King David (1 Chr. xv. 10).

2. A Simeonite captain, son of Ishi, who, after the successful expedition of his tribe to the valley of Gedor, went with his three brethren, at the head of five hundred men, in the days of Hezekiah, to Mount Seir, and smote the remnant of the Amalekites, who had survived the previous slaughter of Saul and David, and took possession of their country, and dwelt there "unto this day" (1 Chr. iv. 42; see Bertheau).

3. Head of a Benjamite house, of the sons of Bela (1 Chr. vii. 7).

4. A musician, of the sons of Heman, in David's reign (1 Chr. xxv. 4), elsewhere called Azareel (ver. 18). Compare Uzziah and Azariah.

5. A Levite, of the sons of Jeduthun, who in the days of King Hezekiah took an active part in cleansing and sanctifying the Temple, after all the pollutions introduced by Ahaz (2 Chr. xxix. 14, 19).

6. Son of Harhaiah, probably a priest in the days of Nehemiah, who took part in repairing the wall (Neh. iii. 8). He is described as "of the goldsmiths," *i. e.* of those priests whose hereditary office it was to repair or make the sacred vessels, as may be gathered from the analogy of the apothecaries, mentioned in the same verse, who are defined 1 Chr. ix. 30. The goldsmiths are also mentioned Neh. iii. 31, 32. That this Uzziel was a priest is also probable from his name (No. 1), and from the circumstance that Malchiah, the goldsmith's son, was so. [A. C. H.]

UZ'ZIELITES, THE (הָעֻזִּיאֵלִי: ὁ Ὀζιήλ, Ὀζιήλ: *Ozielitae, Uzihelitae*). The descendants of Uzziel, and one of the four great families into which the Kohathites were divided (Num. iii. 27; 1 Chr. xxvi. 23).

V

VAJEZA'THA (וַיְזָתָא: Ζαβουθαῖος; FA. Ζαβουδεθαν: *Jezatha*). One of the ten sons of Haman whom the Jews slew in Shushan (Esth. ix. 9). Gesenius derives his name from the Pers. וַיְזַג, "white," Germ. *weiss*; but Fürst suggests as more probable that it is a compound of the

Zend *vahja*, "better," an epithet of the Ized haoma, and *zata*, "born," and so "born of the Ized haoma." But such etymologies are little to be trusted.

VALE, VALLEY. It is hardly necessary to state that these words signify a hollow sweep of ground between two more or less parallel ridges of high land. Vale is the poetical or provincial form. It is in the nature of the case that the centre of a valley should usually be occupied by the stream which forms the drain of the high land on either side, and from this it commonly receives its name; as, the Valley of the Thames, of the Colne, of the Nile. It is also, though comparatively seldom, called after some town or remarkable object which it contains; as, the Vale of Evesham, the Vale of White-horse.

Valley is distinguished from other terms more or less closely related; on the one hand, from "glen," "ravine," "gorge," or "dell," which all express a depression at once more abrupt and smaller than a valley; on the other hand, from "plain," which, though it may be used of a wide valley, is not ordinarily or necessarily so.

It is to be regretted that with this quasi-precision of meaning the term should not have been employed with more restriction in the Authorised Version of the Bible.

The structure of the greater part of the Holy Land does not lend itself to the formation of valleys in our sense of the word. The abrupt transitions of its crowded rocky hills preclude the existence of any extended sweep of valley; and where one such does occur, as at Hebron, or on the south-east of Gerizim, the irregular and unsymmetrical positions of the enclosing hills rob it of the character of a valley. The nearest approach is found in the space between the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, which contains the town of *Nablûs*, the ancient Shechem. This, however, by a singular chance, is not mentioned in the Bible. Another is the "Valley of Jezreel"—the undulating hollow which intervenes between Gilboa (*Jebel Fukua*), and the so-called Little Hermon (*Jebel Duhy*).

Valley is employed in the Authorised Version to render five distinct Hebrew words.

1. *'Émek* (עֵמֶק: φάραγξ, κοιλάς, also very rarely πεδίον, αὐλών, and Εμεκ or Αμεκ). This appears to approach more nearly to the general sense of the English word than any other, and it is satisfactory to find that our translators have invariably, without a single exception, rendered it by "valley." Its root is said to have the force of deepness or seclusion, which Professor Stanley has ingeniously urged may be accepted in the sense of lateral rather than of vertical extension, as in the modern expression,—a deep house, a deep recess. It is connected with several places; but the only one which can be identified with any certainty is the *Emek* of Jezreel, already mentioned as one of the nearest approaches to an English valley. The other *Emeks* are:—Achor, Ajalon, Baca, Berachah, Bethrehob, Elah, Gibeon, Hebron, Jehoshaphat, Keziz, Rephaim, Shaveh, Siddim, Succoth, and ha-Charuts or "the decision" (Joel iii. 14).

2. *Gaï* or *Gê* (גַּיְא or גֵּיא: φάραγξ). Of this natural feature there is fortunately one example remaining which can be identified with certainty—the deep hollow which encompasses the S.W. and S. of Jerusalem, and which is without doubt identical with the Ge-hinnom or Ge-ben-hinnom of the O. T. This identification appears to establish the *Ge* as a deep and abrupt ravine, with steep sides and narrow bottom. The term is derived by the lexicographers from a root signifying to flow together; but Professor Stanley, influenced probably by the aspect of the ravine of Hinnom, proposes to connect it with a somewhat similar root (גָּיַח), which has the force of rending or bursting, and which perhaps gave rise to the name Gihon, the famous spring at Jerusalem.

Other *Ges* mentioned in the Bible are those of Gedor, Jiphthah-el, Zeboim, Zephathah, that of salt, that of the craftsmen, that on the north side of Ai, and that opposite Beth Peor in Moab.

3. *Nachal* (נַחַל: φάραγξ, χειμάρρους). This is the word which exactly answers to the Arabic *wady*, and has been already alluded to in that connexion. [PALESTINE, p. 676 *a*; RIVER, p. 1045 *b*.] It expresses, as no single English word can, the bed of a stream (often wide and shelving, and like a "valley" in character, which in the rainy season may be nearly filled by a foaming torrent, though for the greater part of the year dry), and the stream itself, which after the subsidence of the rains has shrunk to insignificant dimensions. To autumn travellers in the south of France such appearances are familiar; the wide shallow bed strewed with water-worn stones of all sizes, amongst which shrubs are growing promiscuously, perhaps crossed by a bridge of four or five arches, under the centre one of which brawls along a tiny stream, the sole remnant of the broad and rapid river which a few months before might have carried away the structure of the bridge. Such is the nearest likeness to the wadys of Syria, excepting that—owing to the demolition of the wood which formerly shaded the country, and prevented too rapid evaporation after rain—many of the latter are now entirely and constantly dry. To these last it is obvious that the word "valley" is not inapplicable. It is employed in the A. V. to translate *nachal*, alternating with "brook," "river," and "stream." For a list of the occurrences of each, see *Sinai and Pal.* App. §38.

4. *Bik'âh* (בִּקְעָה: πεδίον). This term appears to mean rather a plain than a valley, wider than the latter, though so far resembling it as to be enclosed by mountains, like the wide district between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, which is still called the *Beka'a*, as it was in the days of Amos. [PLAIN, p. 889 *b*.] It is rendered by "valley" in Deut. xxxiv. 3; Josh. xi. 8, 17, xii. 7; 2 Chr. xxv. 22; Zech. xii. 11.

5. *has-Shĕfêlâh* (הַשְּׁפֵלָה: τὸ πεδίον, ἡ πεδινή). This is the only case in which the employment of the term "valley" is really unfortunate. The district to which alone the name *has-Shĕfêlâh* is applied in the Bible has no resemblance whatever to a valley, but is a broad swelling tract of many hundred miles in area, which sweeps gently down from the mountains of Judah

"To mingle with the bounding main"

of the Mediterranean. [See PALESTINE, p. 672; PLAINS, p. 890 *b*; SEPHELA, p. 1199, &c.] It is rendered "the vale" in Deut. i. 7; Josh. x. 40; 1 K. x. 27; 2 Chr. i. 15; Jer. xxxiii. 13; and "the valley" or "valleys" in Josh. ix. 1, xi. 2, 16, xii. 8, xv. 33; Judg. i. 9; Jer. xxxii. 44. [G.]

VANI'AH (וַנְיָה: Οὐουνία; Alex. Οὐουνί; FA. Οὐιερέ: *Vania*). One of the sons of Bani, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 36).

VASH'NI (וַשְׁנִי: Σανί: *Vasseni*). The first-born of Samuel as the text now stands (1 Chr. vi. 28 [13]). But in 1 Sam. viii. 2 the name of his firstborn is Joel. Most probably in the Chronicles the name of Joel has dropped out, and "Vashni" is a corruption of וְהַשֵּׁנִי, "and (the) second." The Peshito Syriac has amended the text, and rendered "The sons of Samuel, his firstborn Joel, and the name of his second son Abiah." In this it is followed by the Arabic of the London Polyglott.

VASH'TI (וַשְׁתִּי: Ἀστίν; Οὐάστη, Joseph.: *Vashti*: "a beautiful woman," Pers.). The "queen" (הַמַּלְכָּה) of Ahasuerus, who, for refusing to show herself to the king's guests at the royal banquet, when sent for by the king, incurred his wrath, and was repudiated and deposed (Esth. i.); when Esther was substituted in her place. Many attempts have been made to identify her with historical personages; as by Ussher with Atossa, the wife of Darius Hystaspis, and by J. Capellus with Parysatis, the mother of Ochus; but, as was said of Esther (like the "threescore queens" in Cant. vi. 8, 9[a]), it is far more probable that she was only one of the inferior wives, dignified with the title of queen, whose name has utterly disappeared from history. [ESTHER.] This view of Vashti's position seems further to tally exactly with the narrative of Ahasuerus's order, and Vashti's refusal, considered with reference to the national manners of the Persians. For Plutarch (*Conjug. praecept.* c. 16) tells us, in agreement with Herod. v. 18, that the kings of Persia have their legitimate wives to sit at table with them at their banquets, but that, when they choose to riot and drink, they send their wives away and call in the concubines and singing-girls. Hence, when the heart of Ahasuerus "was merry with wine," he sent for Vashti, looking upon her only as a concubine; she, on the other hand, considering herself as one of the *κουριδίαι γυναῖκες*, or legitimate wives, refused to come. See Winer, *Realwb.* Josephus's statement (*Ant.* xi. 6, §1), that it is contrary to the customs of the Persians for their wives to be seen by any men but their own husbands, is evidently inaccurate, being equally contradicted by Herodotus, v. 18,[b] and by the Book of Esther itself (v. 4, 8, 12, &c.). [A. C. H.]

VEIL. Under the head of DRESS we have already disposed of various terms improperly rendered "veil" in the A.V., such as *mitpachath* (Ruth iii. 15), *tsaîph* (Gen. xxiv. 65, xxxviii. 14, 19), and *râdîd* (Cant. v. 7; Is. iii. 23). These have been explained to be rather shawls, or mantles, which might at pleasure be drawn over the face, but which were not designed for the special purpose of veils. It remains for us to notice the following terms which describe the veil proper:—(1.) *Masveh*,[c] used of the veil which Moses assumed when he came down from the mount (Ex. xxxiv. 33-35). A cognate word, *sûth*,[d] occurs in Gen. xlix. 11 as a general term for a man's raiment, leading to the inference that the *masveh* also was an ample outer robe which might be drawn over the face when required. The context, however, in Ex. xxxiv. is conclusive as to the object for which the robe was assumed, and, whatever may have been its size or form, it must have been used as a veil. (2.) *Mispâchôth*,[e] used of the veils which the false prophets placed upon their heads (Ezek. xiii. 18, 21; A. V. "kerchiefs"). The word is understood by Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 965) of cushions or mattresses, but the etymology (*sâphach, to pour*) is equally, if not more favourable, to the sense of a *flowing* veil, and this accords better with the notice that they were to be placed "upon the head of every stature," implying that the length of the veil was proportioned to the height of the wearer (Fürst, *Lex.* s. v.; Hitzig in *Ez.* l. c.). (3.) *Rĕ'âlôth*,[f] used of the light veils worn by females (Is. iii. 19; A. V. "mufflers"), which were so called from their rustling motion. The same term is applied in the Mishna (*Sab.* 6, §6) to the veils worn by Arabian women. (4.) *Tsammâh*,[g] understood by the A.V. of "locks" of hair (Cant. iv. 1, 3, vi. 7; Is. xlvii. 2), and so by Winer (*Rwb.* "Schleier"); but the contents of the passages in which it is used favour the sense of veil, the wearers of the article being in each case highly born and handsomely dressed. A cognate word is used in the Targum (Gen. xxiv. 65) of the robe in which Rebecca enveloped herself.

With regard to the use of the veil, it is important to observe that it was by no means so general in ancient as in modern times. At present, females are rarely seen without it in Oriental countries, so much so that in Egypt it is deemed more requisite to conceal the face, including the top and back of the head, than other parts of the person (Lane, i. 72). Women are even delicate about exposing their heads to a physician for medical treatment (Russell's *Aleppo*, i. 246). In remote districts, and among the lower classes, the practice is not so rigidly enforced (Lane, i. 72). Much of the scrupulousness in respect to the use of the veil dates from the promulgation of the Koran, which forbade women appearing unveiled except in the presence of their nearest relatives (*Kor.* xxxiii. 55, 59). In ancient times, the veil was adopted only in exceptional cases, either as an article of ornamental dress (Cant. iv. 1, 3, vi. 7), or by betrothed maidens in the presence of their future husbands, especially at the time of the wedding (Gen. xxiv. 65, xxix. 25 [MARRIAGE]), or, lastly, by women of loose character for purposes of concealment (Gen. xxxviii. 14). But, generally speaking, women both married and unmarried appeared in public with their faces exposed, both among the Jews (Gen. xii. 14, xxiv. 16, xxix. 10; 1 Sam. i. 12), and among the Egyptians and Assyrians, as proved by the invariable absence of the veil in the sculptures and paintings of these peoples.

Among the Jews of the New Testament age it appears to have been customary for the women to

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[a] *γαμέουσι δ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται* (Herod. 135).

[b] "It is the custom of us Persians, when we make a great feast, to invite both our concubines and our wives to sit down with us."

[c] מַסְוֶה. [d] סוּת. [e] מִסְפָּחוֹת. [f] רְעָלוֹת. [g] צָמָה.

cover their heads (not necessarily their faces) when engaged in public worship. For, St. Paul reprobates the disuse of the veil by the Corinthian women, as implying an assumption or equality with the other sex, and enforces the covering of the head as a sign[h] of subordination to the authority of the men (1 Cor. xi. 5-15). The same passage leads to the conclusion that the use of the *talith*, with which the Jewish males cover their heads in prayer, is a comparatively modern practice; inasmuch as the apostle, putting a hypothetical case, states that every man having anything on his head dishonours his head, *i.e.* Christ, inasmuch as the use of the veil would imply subjection to his fellow-men rather than to the Lord (1 Cor. xi. 4). [W. L. B.]

VEIL OF THE TABERNACLE AND TEMPLE. [TABERNACLE; TEMPLE.]

VERSIONS, ANCIENT, OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. On the ancient versions in general, see Walton's *Prolegomena*; Simon, *Histoire Critique*; Marsh's Michaelis; Eichhorn's *Einleitung*; Hug's *Einleitung*; De Wette's *Einleitung*; Hävernick's *Einleitung*; Davidson's *Introduction*; Reuss, *Geschichte des Neuen Testaments*; Horne's *Introduction* by Ayre (vol. ii.) and Tregelles (vol. iv.); Scrivener's *Plain Introduction*; Bleek's *Einleitung*.

There were two things which, in the early centuries after the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, were closely connected: the preaching of the Gospel, leading to the diffused profession of the Christian faith amongst nations of varied languages; and the formation of versions of the Holy Scriptures for the use of the Churches thus gathered in varied countries. In fact, for many ages the spread of Christianity and the appearance of vernacular translations seem to have gone almost continually hand in hand. The only exceptions, perhaps, were those regions in which the Christian profession did not extend beyond what might be called the civilized portion of the community, and in which also the Greek language, diffused through the conquests of Alexander, or the Latin, the concomitant of the dominion of Rome, had taken a deeply-rooted and widely-extended hold. Before the Christian era, the Greek version of the Old Testament, commonly termed the Septuagint, and the earlier Targums (if, indeed, any were *written* so early) supplied every want of the Jews, so far as we can at all discover. And it cannot be doubted that the Greek translation of the Old Testament had produced some considerable effect beyond the mere Jewish pale: for thus the comparatively large class of proselytes which we find existing in the time of our Lord and his Apostles must apparently have been led to embrace a religion, not then commended by the holiness of its professors or by external advantages, but only accredited by its doctrines, which professed to be given by the Revelation of God (as, indeed, they were); and which, in setting forth the unity of God, and in the condemnation of all idolatry, supplied a need, not furnished by anything which professed to be a system of positive religion as held by the Greek, Latin, or Egyptian priests.

In making inquiry as to the versions formed after the spread of Christianity, we rarely find any indication as to the translators, or the particular circumstances under which they were executed. All we can say is, that those who had learned that the doctrines of the Apostles,—namely, that in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of God there is forgiveness of sins and eternal life through faith in his propitiatory sacrifice,—are indeed the truth of God; and who knew that the New Testament contains the records of this religion, and the Old the preparation of God for its introduction through promises, types, and prophecies, did not long remain without possessing these Scriptures in languages which they understood. The appearance of vernacular translations was a kind of natural consequence of the formation of Churches.

We have also some indications that parts of the New Testament were translated, not by those who received the doctrines, but by those who opposed them; this was probably done in order the more successfully to guard Jews and proselytes to Judaism against the doctrines of the Cross of Christ, "to the Jews a stumbling-block."

Translations of St. John's Gospel and of the Acts of the Apostles into the Hebrew dialect, are mentioned in the very curious narration given by Epiphanius (I. xxx. 3, 12) respecting Joseph of Tiberias; he speaks of their being secretly preserved by the Jewish teachers of that city. But these or any similar versions do not appear to have been examined, much less used, by any Christians. They deserve a mention here, however, as being translations of parts of the New Testament, the former existence of which is recorded.

In treating of the ancient versions that have come down to us, in whole or in part, they will be described in the alphabetical order of the languages. It may be premised that in most of them the Old Test. is not a version from the Hebrew, but merely a secondary translation from the Septuagint in some one of its early forms. The value of these secondary versions is but little, except as bearing on the criticism of the text of the LXX., a department of Biblical learning in which they will be found of much use, whenever a competent scholar shall earnestly engage in the revision of that Greek version of the Old Test., pointing out the corrections introduced through the labours of Origen. [S. P. T.]

AETHIOPIC VERSION.—Christianity was introduced into Aethiopia in the 4th century, through the labours of Frumentius and Aedesius of Tyre, who had been made slaves and sent to the king (Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 23; Socr. i. 19; Sozomen, ii. 24). Hence arose the episcopal see of Axum, to which Frumentius was appointed by Athanasius. The Aethiopic version which we possess is in the ancient dialect of Axum; hence some have ascribed it to the age of the earliest missionaries; but from the general character of the version itself, this is improbable; and the Abyssinians themselves attribute it to a later period; though their testimony is of but little value by itself; for their accounts are very contradictory, and some of them even speak of its having been translated from the Arabic; which is certainly incorrect.

The Old Testament, as well as the New, was executed from the Greek.

In 1513 Potken published the Aethiopic Psalter at Rome: he received this portion of the Scriptures from some Abyssinians with whom he had met-

[h] The term ἐξουσία in 1 Cor. xi. 10 = *sign* of authority, just as βασιλεία in Diod. Sic. i. 47 = *sign* of royalty.

whom, however, he called Chaldaeans, and their language Chaldee.

In 1548-9, the Aethiopic New Test. was also printed at Rome, edited by three Abyssinians: they sadly complained of the difficulties under which they laboured, from the printers having been occupied on what they were unable to read. They speak of having had to fill up a considerable portion of the Book of Acts by translating from the Latin and Greek: in this, however, there seems to be some overstatement. The Roman edition was reprinted in Walton's Polyglott; but (according to Ludolf) all the former errors were retained, and new ones introduced. When Bode in 1753 published a careful Latin translation of the Aethiopic text of Walton, he supplied Biblical scholars in general with the means of forming a judgment as to this version, which had been previously impossible, except to the few who were acquainted with the language.

In 1826-30, a new edition, formed by a collation of MSS., was published under the care of Mr. Thomas Pell Platt (formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge), whose object was not strictly *critical*, but rather to give to the Abyssinians their Scriptures for ecclesiastical use in as good a form as he conveniently could, consistently with MS. authority. From the notes made by Mr. Platt in the course of his collations, it is evident that the translation had been variously revised. The differences of MSS. had appeared so marked to Ludolf that he supposed that there must have been two ancient versions. But Mr. Platt found, in the course of his examination, that where certain MSS. differ widely in their readings, some other copy would introduce both readings either in a conflate form, or simply in the way of repetition. The probability appears to be that there was originally one version of the Gospels; but that this was afterwards revised with Greek MSS. of a different complexion of text; and that succeeding copyists either adopted one or the other form in passages; or else, by omitting nothing from text or margin, they formed a confused combination of readings. It appears probable that all the portion of the New Test. after the Gospels originated from some of the later revisers of the former part; its paraphrastic tone accords with this opinion. We can only form a judgment from the *printed* texts of this version, until a collation of the MSS. now known shall be so executed as to be available for critical use.

As it is, we find in the copies of the version, readings which show an affinity with the older class of Greek MSS., intermingled with others decidedly Byzantine. Some of the copies known show a stronger leaning to the one side or the other; and this gives a considerable degree of certainty to the conclusion on the subject of revision.

An examination of the version proves both that it was executed from the Greek, and also that the translator made such mistakes that he could hardly have been a person to whom Greek was the native tongue. The following instances (mostly taken from C. B. Michaelis) prove this: ὄρια is confounded with ὄρεα (or ὄρη); Matt. iv. 13, "in *monte* Zabulon;" xix. 1, "in *montes* Judaeae trans Jordanem." Acts iii. 20, προκεχειρισμένον is rendered as "quem praeunxit" (προκεχρισμένον); ii. 37, κατενύγησαν "*aperti sunt* quoad cor eorum" (κατηνοίγησαν); xvi. 25, ἐπηκροῶντο αὐτῶν οἱ δέσμιοι, "percussa sunt vincula eorum" (ἐπεκρούοντο αὐτῶν οἱ δεσμοί). Matt. v. 25, νυνοῶν is rendered as *intelligens* (ἐννοῶν); Luke viii. 29, καὶ πέδαις φυλασσόμενος, "a *parvulis* custoditus," as if παιδίοις. Rom. vii. 11, ἐξηπάτησεν, "conculcavit," as if ἐξεπάτησεν. Rev. iv. 3. ἶρις, "sacerdotes," as if ἱερεῖς. The meaning of words alike in spelling is confounded: thus, 1 Cor. xii. 28, "Posuit Dominus *aurem* ecclesiae," from the differing meanings of OTZ. Also wrong renderings sometimes seem to have originated with false etymology: thus, Matt. v. 22, "Qui autem dixerit fratrem suum *pannosum*," ῥακὰ having been connected with ῥάκος.

Bode's Latin version, to which reference has already been made, enabled critical scholars to use the Roman text with much confidence. The late Mr. L. A. Prevost, of the British Museum, executed for Dr. Tregelles a comparison of the text of Mr. Platt with the Roman, as reprinted in Walton, together with a literal rendering of the variations; this gave him the critical use of both texts. The present Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Ellicott, speaking with the personal advantage possessed by a scholar himself able to use both Aethiopic texts of the New Test., draws attention to the superiority of that edited by Mr. Platt: after speaking (*Aids to Faith*, p. 381) of the non-paraphrastic character of the ancient versions of the New Test. in general, Dr. Ellicott adds in a note: "It may be noticed that we have specified the Aethiopic version as that edited by Mr. Pell Platt. The Aethiopic version found in Walton's Polyglott often degenerates into a paraphrase, especially in difficult passages."

The Old Test. of this version, made from the LXX. (as has been already specified), has been subjected apparently (with the exception of the Psalms) to very little critical examination. A complete edition of the Aethiopic Old Test. has been commenced by Dillmann; the first portion of which appeared in 1853.

Literature.—Potken, *Preface to the Aethiopic Psalter*, Rome, 1513; C. B. Michaelis, *Preface to Bode's Collation of St. Matthew*, Halle, 1749; Bode, *Latin Translation of the Aethiopic New Test.* Brunswick, 1753; T. P. Platt, *MS. Notes made in the Collation of Aethiopic MSS., and Private Letters sent to Tregelles*; L. A. Prevost, *MS. Collation of the Text of Platt with the Roman and Translation of Variations, executed for Tregelles*; A. Dillmann, *Aethiopische Bibelübersetzung* in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*. [S. P. T.]

ARABIC VERSIONS.—To give a detailed account of the Arabic versions would be impossible, without devoting a much larger space to the subject than would be altogether in its place in a Dictionary of the Bible: for the versions themselves do not, owing to their comparatively late date, possess any *primary* importance, even for critical studies; and thus many points connected with these translations are rather of literary than strictly Biblical interest. The versions of the Old Test. must be considered separately from those of the New; and those from the Hebrew text must be treated apart from those formed from the LXX.

(I.) *Arabic versions of the Old Test.*

(A.) Made from the Hebrew text.

Rabbi Saadiah Haggaon, the Hebrew commentator of the 10th century, translated portions (some think the whole) of the O. T. into Arabic. His version of the Pentateuch was printed at Constantinople, in 1546. The Paris Polyglott contains the

same version from a MS. differing in many of its readings: this was reprinted by Walton. It seems as if copyists had in parts altered the version considerably. The version of Isaiah by Saadiah was printed by Paulus, at Jena, in 1791, from a Bodleian MS.; the same library contains a MS. of his version of Job and of the Psalms. Kimchi quotes his version of Hosea.

The Book of Joshua in the Paris and Walton's Polyglotts is also from the Hebrew; and this Rödiger states to be the fact in the case of the Polyglott text of 1 K. xii.; 2 K. xii. 16; and of Neh. i.-ix. 27.

Other portions, translated from Hebrew in later times, do not require to be even specified here.

But it was not the Jews only who translated into Arabic from the original. There is also a version of the Pentateuch of the Samaritans, made by Abu Said. He is stated to have clearly had the translation of Saadiah before him, the phraseology of which he often follows, and at times he must have used the Samaritan *version*. It is considered that this work of Abu Said (of which a portion has been printed) is of considerable use in connection with the history of the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch. [See SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, ii. 3.]

(B.) Made from the Peshito Syriac.

This is the base of the Arabic text contained in the Polyglotts of the Books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, and Nehemiah (with the exception mentioned above in these last-named books).

In some MSS. there is contained a translation from the *Hexaplar*-Syriac text, which (though a recent version) is of some importance for the criticism of that translation.

(C.) Made from the LXX.

The version in the Polyglotts of the books not specified above.[a]

Another text of the Psalter in Justiniani Psalterium Octuplum, Genoa, 1516.

The Arabic versions existing in MS. exhibit very various forms: it appears as if alterations had been made in the different countries in which they had been used; hence it is almost an endless task to discriminate amongst them precisely.

(II.) *Arabic versions of the New Test.*

The printed editions of the Arabic New Test. must first be specified before their text can be described.

1. The Roman editio princeps of the four Gospels, 1590-91 (issued both with and without an interlinear Latin version. Reissued, with a new title, p. 1619; and again, with a bibliographical preface, 1774).

2. The Erpenian Arabic. The whole New Test. edited by Erpenius, 1616, at Leyden, from a MS. of the 13th or 14th century.

3. The Arabic of the Paris Polyglott, 1645. In the Gospels this follows mostly the Roman text; in the Epistles a MS. from Aleppo was used. The Arabic in Walton's Polyglott appears to be simply taken from the Paris text.

4. The *Carshuni* Arabic text (*i. e.* in Syriac letters), the Syriac and Arabic New Test., published at Rome, in 1703. For this a MS. brought from Cyprus was used.

Storr proved, that in all these editions the Gospels are really the same translation, however it may have been modified by copyists; especially when the Syriac, or Memphitic, stand by the side.

Juynboll, in his description of an Arabic Codex at Franeker (1838), threw new light on the origin of the Arabic Gospels. He proves that the Franeker Codex coincides in its general text with the Roman editio princeps, and that both follow the Latin Vulgate, so that Raymundi, the Roman editor, must not be accused of having Latinized the text. The greater agreement of the Polyglott text with the Greek he ascribes to the influence of an Aleppo MS., which the Paris editor used. Juynboll then identifies the text of the Franeker MS. (and of the Roman edition) with the version made in the 8th century by John, Bishop of Seville. The question to be considered thus becomes, Was the Latin the basis of the version of the Gospels? and did some afterwards revise it with the Greek? or, was it taken from the Greek? and was the alteration to suit the Latin a later work? If the former supposition be correct, then the version of John of Seville may have been the *first*; if the latter, then all that was done by the Spanish bishop must have been to adapt an existing Arabic version to the Latin.

Gildemeister, in his communications to Tischendorf (Gr. Test. 1859. Prolegg. ccxxxix.), endeavours to prove, that all the supposed connexion of this (or apparently of any) version with John of Seville is a mistake. The words, however, of Mariana, the Spanish historian, are express. He says, under the year 737, "His aequalis Joannes Hispalensis Praesul divinos libros lingua Arabica donabat utriusque nationis saluti consulens; quoniam Arabicae linguae multus usus erat Christianis aeque atque Mauris; Latina passim ignorabatur. Ejus interpretationis exempla ad nostram aetatem (*i. e.* A.D. 1600) conservata sunt, extantque non uno in loco in Hispania."[b] Gildemeister says, indeed, that this was entirely caused from a misunderstanding of what had been stated by Roderic of Toledo, the first who says anything on the subject. He adds that John of Seville lived really in the 10th century, and not in the 8th: if so, he must be a different person apparently from the Bishop, of the same name, about whom Mariana could hardly have been misinformed. It does not appear as if Juynboll's details and arguments were likely to be set aside through the brief fragments of Gildemeister's letters to Tischendorf, which the latter has published.

In the Erpenian Arabic the latter part is a translation from the Peshito-Syriac; the Epistles not found in that version and the Apocalypse are said to be from the Memphitic.

The latter part of the text in the Polyglotts is from the Greek. Various Arabic translations of portions of the New Test. exist in MS.: they do not require any especial enumeration here.

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[a] Cardinal Wiseman (*On the Miracles of the New Test.* Essays i. 172-176, 240-244) gives a curious investigation of the origin and translation of this Arabic Psalter, and of the occasional use of the Hebrew text, and sometimes of the Syriac version.

[b] Adler (*Reise nach Rom*, p. 184) gives a citation from D. Vincenzio Juan de Lastanosa, who says in his *Museo de las Medallas desconocidas*, Huesca, 1645, p. 115, "El santo Arçobispo Don Juan traduxo la sagrada escritura en Arabigo, par cuya intercessiva hizo Dios muchos milagros i los Moros le llamavan *Caid almateran*." Adler conjectures this designation to be قايد المطران or المطارنه.

Literature.—Malanimeus, *Preface to the reissue, in* 1774, *of the Roman edition of the Arabic Gospels*; Storr, *Dissertatio inauguralis critica de Evangeliis Arabicis*, Tübingen, 1775; Juynboll, *Letterkundige Bijdragen* (*Tweede Stukje. Beschrijving van een Arabischen Codex der Franeker Bibliotheek, bevattende de vier Evangelien, gevolgd van eenige opmeringen, welke de letterkundige Geschiedenis van de Arabische Vertalina der Evangelien betreffen*), Leyden, 1838; Wiseman, *On the Miracles of the New Testament.* [S. P. T.]

ARMENIAN VERSION.—Before the 5th century the Armenians are said to have used the Syriac alphabet; but at that time Miesrob is stated to have invented the Armenian letters. Soon after this it is said that translations into the Armenian language commenced, at first from the Syriac. Miesrob, with his companions, Joseph and Eznak, began a version of the Scriptures with the Book of Proverbs, and completed all the Old Test.; and in the New, they used the Syriac as their basis, from their inability to obtain any Greek books. But when, in the year 431, Joseph and Eznak returned from the council of Ephesus, bringing with them a Greek copy of the Scriptures, Isaac, the Armenian Patriarch, and Miesrob, threw aside what they had already done, in order that they might execute a version from the Greek. But now arose the difficulty of their want of a competent acquaintance with that language: to remedy this, Eznak and Joseph were sent with Moses Chorenensis (who is himself the narrator of these details) to study that language at Alexandria. There they made what Moses calls their *third* translation; the first being that from the Syriac, and the second that which had been attempted without sufficient acquaintance with the Greek tongue. The fact seems to be that the former attempts were used as far as they could be, and that the whole was remodelled so as to suit the Greek.

The first printed edition of the Old and New Testaments in Armenian appeared at Amsterdam in 1666, under the care of a person commonly termed Oscan, or Uscan, and described as being an Armenian bishop (Hug, however, denies that Uscan was his name, and Eichhorn denies that he was a bishop). From this *editio princeps* others were printed, in which no attempt was made to do more than to follow its text; although it was more than suspected that Uscan had by no means faithfully adhered to MS. authority. Zohrab, in 1789, published at Venice an improved text of the Armenian New Test.; and in 1805 he and his coadjutors completed an edition of the entire Armenian Scriptures, for which not only MS. authority was used throughout, but also the results of collations of MSS. were subjoined at the foot of the pages. The basis was a MS. written in the 14th century, in Cilicia; the whole number employed is said to have been eight of the entire Bible, twenty of the New Test., with several more of particular portions, such as the Psalms. Tischendorf states that Aucher, of the monastery of St. Lazarus at Venice, informed him that he and some of his fellow-monks had undertaken a new critical edition: this probably would contain a repetition of the various collations of Zohrab, together with those of other MSS.

The critical editors of the New Test. appear all of them to have been unacquainted with the Armenian language; the want of a Latin translation of this version has made it thus impossible for them to use it as a critical authority, except by the aid of others. Some readings were thus communicated to Mill by Louis Piques; Wetstein received still more from La Croze; Griesbach was aided by a collation of the New Test. of 1789, made by Bredenkamp of Hamburg. Scholz speaks of having been furnished with a collation of the text of 1805 but either this was done very partially and incorrectly, or else Scholz made but little use (and that without real accuracy) of the collation. These partial collations, however, were by no means such as to supply what was needed for the real critical use of the version; and as it was known that Uscan's text was thoroughly untrustworthy for critical purposes, an exact collation of the Venice text of 1805 became a desideratum; Dr. Charles Rieu of the British Museum undertook the task for Tregelles, thus supplying him with a valuable portion of the materials for his critical edition of the Greek Testament. By marking the words, and noting the import of the various readings, *and the discrepancies of Uscan's text*, Rieu did all that was practicable to make the whole of the labour of Zohrab available for those not like himself Armenian scholars.

It had been long noticed that in the Armenian New Test. as printed by Uscan 1 John v. 7 is found: those who are only moderately acquainted with criticism would feel assured that this must be an addition, and that it *could* not be part of the original translation. Did Uscan then introduce it from the Vulgate? he seems to have admitted that in some things he supplied defects in his MS. by translations from the Latin. It was, however, said that Haitho king of Armenia (1224-70), had inserted this verse: that he revised the Armenian version by means of the Latin Vulgate, and that he translated the *prefaces* of Jerome (and also those which are spurious) into Armenian. Hence a kind of *suspicion* attached itself to the Armenian version, and its use was accompanied by a kind of doubt whether or not it was a critical authority which could be safely used. The known fact that Zohrab had omitted 1 John v. 7, was felt to be so far satisfactory that it showed that he had not found it in his MSS., which were thus seen to be earlier than the introduction of this corruption. But the collation of Dr. Rieu, and his statement of the Armenian authorities, set forth the character of the version distinctly in this place as well as in the text in general. Dr. Rieu says of 1 John v. 7, that out of eighteen MSS. used by Zohrab, one only, and that written A.D. 1656, has the passage as in the Stephanic Greek text. In one ancient MS. the reading is found from a recent correction. Thus there is no ground for supposing that it was inserted by Haitho, or by any one till the time when Uscan lived. The wording, however, of Uscan in this place, is not in accordance with the MS. of 1656: so that each seems to have been independently borrowed from the Latin. That Uscan did this, there can be no reasonable doubt; for in the immediate context Uscan accords with the Latin in opposition to all collated Armenian MSS.: thus in ver. 6, he follows the Latin "*Christus* est veritas;" in ver. 20 he has, instead of ἐσμεν, the subjunctive answering to *simus*: even in this minute point the Armenian MSS. definitely vary from Uscan. In iii. 11, for ἀγαπῶμεν, Uscan stands alone in agreeing with the Vulgate *diligatis*. These are proofs of the employment of the Vulgate either by Uscan, or by some one else who prepared the MS. from which

be printed. There are many other passages in which alterations or considerable additions (see for instance Matt. xvi. 2, 3, xxiii. 14; John viii. 1-11; Acts xv. 34, xxiii. 24, xxviii. 25), are proofs that Uscan agrees with the Vulgate against all known MSS. (These variations in the two texts of Uscan and Zohrab, as well as the material readings of Armenian MSS. are inserted in Tregelles's Greek Test. on Dr. Rieu's authority.)

But *systematic* revision with the Vulgate is not to be found even in Uscan's text: they differ greatly in characteristic readings; though here and there throughout there is some mark of an influence drawn from the Vulgate. And as to accordances with the Latin, we have no reason to believe that there is any proof of alterations having been made in the days of King Haitho.

Some have spoken of this version as though it had been made from the Peshito Syriac, and not from the Greek; the only grounds for such a notion can be the facts connected with part of the history of its execution. There are, no doubt, a few readings which show that the translators had made some use of the Syriac; but these are only exceptions to the general texture of the version: an addition from John xx. 21, brought into Matt. xxviii. 18, in both the Armenian and the Peshito is probably the most marked.

The collations of MSS. show that some amongst them differ greatly from the rest: it seems as if the variations did not in such cases originate in Armenian, but they must have sprung from some recasting of the text and its revision by Greek copies. There may *perhaps* be proofs of the difference between the MS. brought from Ephesus, and the copies afterwards used at Alexandria; but thus much at least is a certain conclusion, that comparison with Greek copies of different kinds must at some period have taken place. The omission of the last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel in the older Armenian copies, and their insertion in the later, may be taken as a proof of *some* effective revision.

The Armenian version in its general texture is a valuable aid to the criticism of the text of the New Test.: it was a worthy service to rehabilitate it as a critical witness as to the general reading of certain Greek copies existing in the former half of the 5th century.

Literature.—Moses Chorenensis, *Historiae Armenenicae Libri* iii. ed. Guliel. et Georg. Whiston, 1736; Rieu (Dr. Charles), *MS. collation of the Armenian text of Zohrab, and translation of the various readings made for Tregelles.* [S. P. T.]

CHALDEE VERSIONS. [TARGUMS, p. 1637.]

EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.—I. THE MEMPHITIC VERSION.—The version thus designated was for a considerable time the only Egyptian translation known to scholars; *Coptic* was then regarded as a sufficiently accurate and definite appellation. But when the fact was established that there were at least two Egyptian versions, the name Coptic was found to be indefinite, and even unsuitable for the translation then so termed: for in the dialect of Upper Egypt there was another; and it is from the ancient *Coptos* in *Upper* Egypt that the term Coptic is taken. Thus Copto-Memphitic, or more simply Memphitic, is the better name for the version in the dialect of Lower Egypt.

When Egyptian translations were made we do not know: we find, however, that in the middle of the 4th century the Egyptian language was in great use amongst the Christian inhabitants of that country; for the rule of Pachomius for the monks is stated to have been drawn up in Egyptian, and to have been afterwards translated into Greek. It was prescribed that every one of the monks (estimated at seven thousand) for whom this rule in Egyptian was drawn up, was to learn to read (whether so disposed or not), so as to be able at least to read the New Test. and the Psalms. The whole narration presupposes that there was in Upper Egypt a translation.

So, too, also in Lower Egypt in the same century. For Palladius found at Nitria the Abbot John of Lycopolis, who was well acquainted with the New Test., but who was ignorant of Greek; so that he could only converse with him through an interpreter. There seems to be proof of the ecclesiastical use of the Egyptian language even before this time. Those who know what the early Christian worship was, will feel how cogent is the proof that the Scriptures had then been translated.

When the attention of European scholars was directed to the language and races of modern Egypt, it was found that while the native Christians use only Arabic vernacularly, yet in their services and in the public reading of the Scriptures they employ a dialect of the Coptic. This is the version now termed Memphitic. When MSS. had been brought from Egypt, Thomas Marshall, an Englishman, prepared in the latter part of the 16th century an edition of the Gospels; the publication of which was prevented by his death. From some of the readings having been noted by him Mill was able to use them for insertion in his Greek Test.; they often differ (sometimes for the better) from the text published by Wilkins. Wilkins was a Prussian by birth; in 1716 he published at Oxford the first Memphitic New Test., founded on MSS. in the Bodleian, and compared with some at Rome and Paris. That he did not execute the work in a very satisfactory manner would probably now be owned by every one; but it must be remembered that no one else did it at all. Wilkins gave no proper account of the MSS. which he used, nor of the variations which he found in them: his text seems to be in many places a confused combination of what he took from various MSS.; so that the sentences do not properly connect themselves, even (it is said) in grammatical construction. And yet for 130 years this was the *only* Memphitic edition.

In 1846-8, Schwartze published at Berlin an edition of the Memphitic Gospels, in which he employed MSS. in the Royal Library there. These were almost entirely modern transcripts; but with these limited materials he produced a far more satisfactory work than that of Wilkins. At the foot of the page he gave the variations which he found in his copies; and subjoined there was a collation of the Memphitic and Thebaic versions with Lachmann's Greek Test. (1842), and the first of Tischendorf (1841). There are also such references to the Latin version of Wilkins, that it almost seems as if he supposed that all who used his edition would also have that of Wilkins before them.

The death of Schwartze prevented the continuation of his labours. Since then Boetticher's editions, first of the Acts and then of the Epistles, have appeared; these are not in a form which is available for the use of those who are themselves unacquainted with Egyptian: the editor gives as his reason for issuing a bare text, that he intended soon to publish

a work of his own in which he would fully employ the authority of the ancient versions. Several years have since passed, and Boetticher does not seem to give any further prospect of the issue of such volume on the ancient versions.

In 1848-52, a magnificent edition of the Memphitic New Test. was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, under the editorial care of the Rev. R. T. Lieder of Cairo. In its preparation he followed MSS. without depending on the text of Wilkins. There is no statement of the variations of the authorities, which would have hardly been a suitable accompaniment of an edition intended solely for the use of the Coptic churches, and in which, while the Egyptian text which is read aloud is printed in large characters, there is at the side a small column in Arabic in order that the readers may themselves be able to understand something of what they read aloud.

It is thus impossible to give a *history* of this version: we find proof that such a translation existed in early times, we find this now (and from time immemorial) in church use in Egypt; when speaking of its internal character and its value as to textual criticism (after the other Egyptian versions have been described), it will be found that there are many considerations which go far to prove the identity of what we now have, with that which must have existed at an early period.

The Old Testament of this version was made from the LXX. Of this, Wilkins edited the Pentateuch in 1731; the Psalter was published at Rome in 1744. The Rev. Dr. Tattam edited the Minor Prophets in 1836, Job in 1846, and the Major Prophets in 1852. Bardelli published Daniel in 1849.

II. THE THEBAIC VERSION.—The examination of Egyptian MSS. in the last century showed that besides the Memphitic there is also another version in a cognate Egyptian dialect. To this the name *Sahidic* was applied by some, from an Arabic designation for Upper Egypt and its ancient language. It is, however, far better to assign to this version a name not derived from the language of the Arabian occupants of that land: thus Copto-Thebaic (as styled by Giorgi), or simply Thebaic, is far preferable. The first who attended much to the subject of this version was Woide, who collected readings from MSS. which he communicated to Cramer in 1779. In 1785 Mingarelli published a few portions of this version of the New Test. from the Nanian MSS. In 1789 Giorgi edited very valuable Greek and Thebaic fragments of St. John's Gospel, which appear to belong to the *fifth* century. Münter, in 1787, had published a fragment of Daniel in this version; and in 1789 he brought out portions of the Epistles to Timothy, together with readings which he had collected from MSS. in other parts of the New Test. In the following year Mingarelli *printed* Mark xi. 29–xv. 22, from MSS. which had recently been obtained by Nani; but owing to the editor's death the unfinished sheets were never, properly speaking, *published*. A few copies only seem to have been circulated: they are the more valuable from the fact of the MSS. having been destroyed by the persons into whose hands they fell, and from their containing a portion of the New Test. not found, it appears, in any known MS. Woide was now busily engaged in the collection of portions of the Thebaic Scriptures: he had even issued a Prospectus of such an edition in 1778. Woide's death took place before his edition was completed. In 1799, however, it appeared under the editorial care of Ford. In this work all the portions found by Woide himself were given, as well as those published by Mingarelli in his lifetime; but not only were Mingarelli's posthumous sheets passed by, but also all that had been published by Münter and Giorgi, as well as the transcripts of Münter from the Borgian MSS., which Ford might have used for his edition. This collection of fragments contains the greater part of the Thebaic New Test. They might, however, be greatly amplified out of what are mentioned by Zoega, as found in the Borgian MSS. (now in the Propaganda), in his catalogue published in 1810 after his death. It could hardly have been thought that this definite account of existing Thebaic fragments would have remained for more than half a century without some Egyptian scholar having rescued the inedited portions of this version from their obscurity; and surely this would not have been the case if Biblical critics had been found who possess Egyptian learning.

In the Memphitic Gospels of Schwartze there is not only, as has been already mentioned, a collation subjoined of the Thebaic text, but also the criticisms of that learned editor on both Ford and Woide, neither of whom, in his judgment, possessed sufficient editorial competency. In this opinion he was perhaps correct; but still let it be observed, that if it had not been for the labours of Woide (of which Ford was simply the continuer), there is no reason to suppose but that the Thebaic New Test. would remain unprinted still. Had this been the case the loss to textual criticism would have been great.

III. A THIRD EGYPTIAN VERSION.—Some Egyptian fragments were noticed by both Münter and Giorgi amongst the Borgian MSS., which in dialect differ both from the Memphitic and Thebaic. These fragments, of a third Egyptian translation, were edited by both these scholars independently in the same year (1789). In what part of Egypt this third dialect was used, and what should be its distinctive name, has been a good deal discussed. Arabian writers mention a third Egyptian dialect under the name of *Bashmuric*, and this has by some been *assumed* as the appellation for this version Giorgi supposed that this was the dialect of the Ammonian Oasis; in this Münter agreed with him; and thus they called the version the *Ammonian*. There is in fact no certainty on the subject: but as the affinities of the dialect are closely allied to the Thebaic, and as it has been shown that *Bashmur* is the district of *Lower* Egypt to the east of the Delta, it seems by no means likely that it can belong to a region so far from the Thebaid. Indeed it has been reasonably doubted whether the slight differences (mostly those of orthography) entitle this to be considered to be a really different dialect from the Thebaic itself.

After the first portions of this version, others were transcribed independently by Zoega and Engelbreth, and their transcripts appeared respectively in 1810 and 1811. The latter of these scholars accompanied his edition with critical remarks, and the text of the other Egyptian versions on the same page for purposes of comparison.

The Character and critical use of the Egyptian Versions.—It appears that the Thebaic version may reasonably claim a higher antiquity than the Memphitic. The two translations are independent of each other, and both spring from Greek copies. The Thebaic has been considered to be the older of the two, partly from it having been thought that a book in the Thebaic dialect quotes this version, and

from what was judged to be the antiquity of the book so referred to. There are other grounds less precarious. If the Memphitic version exhibits a general agreement with the text current at Alexandria in the third century, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it either belongs to that age, or at least to one not very remote. Now while this is the case it is also to be noticed that the Thebaic seems to have been framed from a text in which there was a much greater admixture, and that not arising from the later revisions which moulded it into the transition text of the fourth century (commencing probably at Antioch), but exactly in the opposite direction: so that the contents of the two versions would seem to show that the antiquity of the Thebaic is most to be regarded, but that the Memphitic is often preferable as to the goodness of its readings, as well as in respect to dialect.

It is probable that the more Hellenized region of Lower Egypt would not require a vernacular version at so early a period as would the more thoroughly Egyptian region of the Thebaid. There are some marks of want of polish in the Thebaic; the Greek words which are introduced are changed into a barbarous form; the habitual introduction of an *aspirate* shows either an ignorance of the true Greek sounds, or else it seems like a want of polish in the dialect itself. That such a mode of expressing Greek words in Egyptian is not needed, we can see from its non-existence in the Memphitic.

The probable conclusions seem to be these:—that the Thebaic version was made in the early part of the third century, for the use of the common people among the Christians in Upper Egypt; that it was formed from MSS. such as were then current in the regions of Egypt which were distant from Alexandria; that afterwards the Memphitic version was executed in what was the more polished dialect, from the Greek copies of Alexandria; and that thus in process of time the Memphitic remained alone in ecclesiastical use. Possibly the disuse of the Thebaic in the Egyptian churches did not take place until Arabic was fast becoming the vernacular tongue of that land. It will be well for those whose studies enable them personally to enter on the domain of Egyptian literature, to communicate to Biblical scholars the results of new researches.

The value of these versions in textual criticism, even though they are known only through defective channels, is very high. In some respect they afford the same kind of evidence relative to the text current in Egypt in the early centuries, as do the Old Latin and the version of Jerome for that in use in the West. [VULGATE.]

A few remarks only need be made respecting the *third* Egyptian version. The fragments of this follow the Thebaic so closely as to have no independent character. This version does however possess critical value, as furnishing evidence in a small portion not known in the Thebaic. The existence of the *third* version is a farther argument as to the early existence and use of the Thebaic, for this seems to be formed from it by moulding it into the colloquial dialect of some locality.

Literature.—Schwartze, *Quatuor Evangelia in Dialecto Linguae Copticae Memphitica*, 1846-7; Woide, *Novi Testamenti Fragmenta Sahidica* (*i. e.* Thebaica), [Appendix ad Cod. Alex.], 1799; Mingarelli, *Aegyptiorum Codicum Reliquiae*, 1785, &c.; Münter, *Commentatio de indole Versionis N. T. Sahidicae*, 1789; Giorgi, *Fragmentum Ev. S. Joan. Graeco-Copto-Thebaicum*, 1789; Zoega, *Catalogus Codicum Copticorum Manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, 1810; Engelbreth, *Fragmenta Basmurico-Coptica Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, 1811. [S. P. T.]

GOTHIC VERSION.—In the year 318 the Gothic bishop and translator of Scripture, Ulphilas, was born. He succeeded Theophilus as bishop of the Goths in 348, when he subscribed a confession rejecting the orthodox creed of Nicaea; through him it is said that the Goths in general adopted Arianism; it may be, however, more correct to consider that Arianism (or Semi-Arianism) had already spread amongst the Goths inhabiting within the Roman Empire, as well as amongst the Greeks and Latins. Theophilus, the predecessor of Ulphilas, had been present at the council of Nicaea, and had subscribed the Homo-ousion confession. The great work of Ulphilas was his version of the Scriptures, a translation in which few traces, if any (except in Phil. ii. 6), can be found of his peculiar and erroneous dogmas. In 388 Ulphilas visited Constantinople to defend his heterodox creed, and while there he died.

In the 5th century the Eastern Goths occupied and governed Italy, while the Western Goths took possession of Spain, where they ruled till the beginning of the 8th century Amongst the Goths in both these countries can the use of this version be traced. It must in fact have at one time been the vernacular translation of a large portion of Europe.

In the latter part of the 16th century the existence of a MS. of this version was known, through Morillon having mentioned that he had observed one in the library of the monastery of Werden on the Ruhr in Westphalia. He transcribed the Lord's Prayer and some other parts, which were afterwards published, as were other verses copied soon after by Arnold Mercator.

In 1648, almost at the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, the Swedes took that part of Prague on the left of the Moldau (Kleine Seite), and amongst the spoils was sent to Stockholm a copy of the Gothic Gospels, known as the *Codex Argenteus*. This MS. is generally supposed to be the same that Morillon had seen at Werden; but whether the same or not, it had been long at Prague when found there by the Swedes, for Strenius, who died in 1601, mentions it as being there. The *Codex Argenteus* was taken by the Swedes to Stockholm; but on the abdication of Queen Christina of Sweden, a few years later, it disappeared. In 1655 it was in the possession of Isaac Vossius in Holland, who had been the queen's librarian; to him therefore it is probable that it had been given, and not to the queen herself, by the general who brought it from Prague. In 1662 it was repurchased for Sweden by Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, who caused it to be splendidly bound, and placed it in the library of the University of Upsal, where it now remains.

While the book was in the hands of Vossius a transcript was made of its text, from which Junius, his uncle, edited the first edition of the Gothic Gospels at Dort in 1665: the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, edited by Marshall, accompanied the Gothic text. The labours of other editors succeeded: Stiernhielm, 1671; Benzel and Lye, 1750; and others comparatively recent. The MS. is written on vellum that was once purple, in silver letters, except those at the beginning of sections, which are golden The

Gospels have many lacunae: it is calculated that when entire it consisted of 320 folios; there are now but 188. The uniformity of the writing is wonderful: so that it has been thought whether each letter was not formed by a hot iron impressing the gold or silver, used just as bookbinders put on the lettering to the back of a book. It is pretty certain that this beautiful and elaborate MS. must have been written in the 6th century, probably in Upper Italy when under the Gothic sovereignty. Some in the last century supposed that the language of this document is not Gothic, but Frankish—an opinion which was set at rest by the discovery in Italy of Ostro-Gothic writings, about which there could be no question raised. Some Visi-Gothic monuments in Spain were evidence on the same side.

Kuittel, in 1762, edited from a Wolfenbüttel palimpsest some portions of the Epistle to the Romans in Gothic, in which the Latin stood by the side of the version of Ulphilas. This discovery first made known the existence of any part of a version of the Epistles. The portions brought to light were soon afterwards used by Ihre in the collection of remarks on Ulphilas edited in 1773 by Busching.

But as it was certain that in obscure places the *Codex Argenteus* had been not very correctly read, Ihre laboured to copy it with exactitude, and to form a Latin version: what he had thus prepared was edited by Zahn in 1805.

New light dawned on Ulphilas and his version in 1817. While the late Cardinal Mai was engaged in the examination of palimpsests in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, of which he was at that time a librarian, he noticed traces of some *Gothic* writing under that of one of the codices. This was found to be part of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. In making further examination, four other palimpsests were found which contained portions of the Gothic Version. Mai deciphered these MSS. in conjunction with Count Carlo Ottavio Castiglione, and their labours resulted in the recovery, besides a few portions of the Old Test., of almost the whole of the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul and some parts of the Gospels.

The edition of Gabelentz and Loebe (1836-45) contains all that has been discovered of the Gothic Version, with a Latin translation, notes, and a Gothic Dictionary and Grammar. These editors were at the pains to re-examine, at Upsal and Milan, the MSS. themselves. They have thus, it appears, succeeded in avoiding the repetition of errors made by their predecessors. The Milan palimpsests were chemically restored when the mode of doing this was not as well known as it is at present; the whole texture of the vellum seems stained and spoiled, and thus it is not an easy task to read the ancient writing correctly. Those who have themselves looked at the Wolfenbüttel palimpsest from which Knittel edited the portions of Romans, and who have also examined the Gothic palimpsests at Milan, will probably agree that it is less difficult to read the unrestored MS. at Wolfenbüttel than the restored MSS. at Milan.[c] This must be borne in mind if we would appreciate the labours of Gabelentz and Loebe.

In 1854 Uppström published an excellent edition of the text of the *Codex Argenteus*, with a beautiful fac-simile. Ten leaves of the MS. were then missing, and Uppström tells a rather ungratifying story that they had been stolen by some English traveller. It is a satisfaction, however, that a few years afterwards the real thief on his death-bed restored the missing leaves; and, though stolen, it was not by anyone out of Sweden. Uppström edited them as a supplement in 1857.

In 1855-6 Massmann issued an excellent small edition of all the Gothic portions of the Scriptures known to be extant. He accompanies the Gothic text with the Greek and the Latin, and there are a Grammar and Vocabulary subjoined. This edition is said to be more correct than that of Gabelentz and Loebe. Another edition of Ulphilas by F. L. Stamm appeared at Paderborn in 1858.

As an ancient monument of the Gothic language the version of Ulphilas possesses great interest; as a version the use of which was once extended widely through Europe, it is a monument of the Christianization of the Goths; and as a version *known* to have been made in the 4th century, and transmitted to us in ancient MSS., it has its value in textual criticism, being thus a witness to readings which were current in that age. In certain passages it has been thought that there is some proof of the influence of the Latin; and this has been regarded as confirmed by the order of the Gospels in the *Codex Argenteus*, being that of some of the Old Latin MSS., Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. But if the peculiarities pointed out were borrowed in the Gothic from the Latin, they must be considered rather as exceptional points, and not such as affect the general texture of the version, for its Greek origin is not to be mistaken. This is certain from the manner in which the Greek constructions and the forms of compound words are imitated. The very mistakes of rendering are proofs of Greek and not Latin origin. The marks of conformity to the Latin may have been introduced into the version in the case of MSS. copied in Italy during the rule in that land of the Gothic sovereigns. The Wolfenbüttel palimpsest has Latin by the side of the Gothic.

The Greek from which the version was made must in many respects have been what has been termed the transition text of the 4th century another witness to which is the revised form of the Old Latin, such as is found in the Codex Brixianus (this revision being in fact the *Itala*). [VULGATE.]

In all cases in which the readings of the Gothic confirm those of the most ancient authorities, the united testimony must be allowed to possess especial weight.

Literature.—Waitz, *Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ulphila*, 1840; Gabelentz and Loebe, *Ulphilas* (*Prolegomena*), 1836-43; Uppström, *Codex Argenteus*, 1854 (*Decem Codicis Argentei rediviva folia*, 1857); Massmann, *Ulfilas*, 1857. [S. P. T.]

GREEK VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. SEPTUAGINT.—In addition to the special article on this version [SEPTUAGINT] a few points may be noted here.

(I.) *Name.*—In all discussions relative to the name of *Septuagint*, so universally appropriated to the Greek version of Alexandria, the scholion discovered by Osann and published by Ritschl ought to be considered. The origin of this Latin scholion

[c] Such is the writer's judgment from his own examination of the palimpsest at Wolfenbüttel, and of those at Milan; but of course he never saw the latter prior to their restoration.

is curious. The substance of it is stated to have been extracted from Callimachus and Eratosthenes, the Alexandrian Librarians, by Tzetzes, and from this *Greek* note an Italian of the 15th century has formed the Latin scholion in question. The writer has been speaking of the collecting of ancient Greek poems carried on at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and then he thus continues: "Nam rex ille philosophis affertissimus (corr. 'differtissimus,' Ritschl, 'affectissimus,' Thiersch) et caeteris omnibus auctoribus claris, disquisitis impensa regiae munificentiae ubique terrarum quantum valuit voluminibus opera Demetrii Phalerei phzxa senum duas bibliothecas fecit, alteram extra regiam alteram autem in regia." The scholion then goes on to speak of books in many languages: "quae summa diligentia rex ille in suam linguam fecit ab optimis interpretibus converti."[d] Bernhardy reads instead of "phzxa senum," "et lxx senum," and this correction is agreed to by Thiersch, as it well may be: some correction is manifestly needed, and *this* appears to be right. This gives us *seventy elders* associated in the formation of the Library. The testimony comes to us from Alexandrian authority; and this, if true (or even if believed to be true), would connect the *Septuagint* with the Library; a designation which might most easily be applied to a version of the Scriptures there deposited; and, let the translation be once known by such a name, then nothing would be more probable than that the designation should be applied to the *translators*. This may be regarded as the first step in the formation of the fables. Let the *Septuagint* be first known as applying to the associates in the collection of the Library, then to the Library itself, and then to that particular book in the Library which to so many had a far greater value than all its other contents. Whether more than the Pentateuch was thus translated and then deposited in the Royal Library is a separate question.

(II.) *The Connexion of the Pentateuch in the LXX. with the Samaritan Text.*—It was long ago remarked that in the Pentateuch the Samaritan copy and the LXX. agree in readings which differ from the Hebrew text of the Jews. This has been pointed out as occurring in perhaps two thousand places. The conclusion to which some thus came was that the LXX. must have been translated from a Samaritan copy.

But, on many grounds, it would be difficult to admit this, even if it were found impossible to explain the coincidences. For (i.) it must be taken into account that if the discrepancies of the Samaritan and Jewish copies be estimated numerically, the LXX. will be found to agree *far more frequently* with the latter than the former. (ii.) In the cases of considerable and marked passages occurring in the Samaritan which are not in the Jewish, the LXX. does not contain them. (iii.) In the passages in which slight variations are found, both in the Samaritan and LXX., from the Jewish text, they often differ amongst themselves, and the amplification of the LXX. is less than that of the Samaritan. (iv.) Some of the small amplifications in which the Samaritan seems to accord with the LXX. are in such incorrect and non-idiomatic Hebrew that it is suggested that these must be *translations*, and, if so, probably from the LXX. (v.) The amplifications of the LXX. and Samaritan often resemble each other greatly in character, as if similar false criticism had been applied to the text in each case. But as, in spite of all similarities such as these, the Pentateuch of the LXX. is more Jewish than Samaritan, we need not adopt the notion of translation from a Samaritan Codex, which would involve the subject in greater difficulties, and leave more points to be explained. (On some of the supposed agreements of the LXX. with the Samaritan, see Bishop Fitzgerald in Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Oct. 1848, pp. 324-332.)

(III.) *The Liturgical Origin of Portions of the LXX.*—This is a subject for inquiry which has received but little attention, not so much, probably, as its importance deserves. It was noticed by Tregelles many years ago that the headings of certain Psalms in the LXX. coincide with the liturgical directions in the Jewish Prayer-Book: the results were at a later period communicated in Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature*, April, 1852, pp. 207-9. The results may be briefly stated:—The 23rd Psalm, LXX. (24th, Hebrew), is headed in the LXX., *τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτου*; so too in Hebrew, in De Sola's *Prayers of the Sephardim*, ליום הראשון: Ps. xlvii., LXX. (Heb. xlviii.), *δευτέρᾳ σαββάτου*, ליום שני: Ps. xciii., LXX. (Heb. xciv.), *τετράδι σαββάτου*, ליום רביעי: Ps. xcii., LXX. (Heb. xciii.), *εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου*, ליום ששי. There appear to be no Greek copies extant which contain similar headings for Psalms lxxxi. and lxxx. (Heb. lxxxii. and lxxxi.), which the Jewish Prayer-Book appropriates to the *third* and *fifth* days; but that such once existed in the case of the latter Psalm seems to be shown from the Latin *Psalterium Vetus* having the prefixed *quinta sabbati*, ליום חמישי. Prof. Delitzsch in his *Commentary on the Psalms* has recently pointed out that the notation of these Psalms in the LXX. is in accordance with certain passages in the Talmud.

It is worthy of inquiry whether variations in other passages of the LXX. from the Hebrew text cannot at times be connected with liturgical use, and whether they do not originate in part from rubrical directions. It seems to be at least plain that the Psalms were translated from a copy prepared for synagogue worship.

2. AQUILA.—It is a remarkable fact that in the second century there were three versions executed of the Old Testament Scriptures into Greek. The first of these was made by Aquila, a native of Sinope in Pontus, who had become a proselyte to Judaism. The Jerusalem Talmud (see Bartolocci, *Bibliotheca Rabb.* iv. 281)[e] describes him as a disciple of Rabbi Akiba; and this would place him in some part of the reign of the Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117-138). It is supposed that the object of his version was to aid the Jews in their controversies with the Christians: and that as the latter were in the habit of employing the LXX., they wished to have a version of their own on which they could rely. It is very probable that the Jews in many Greek-speaking countries were not sufficiently acquainted with Hebrew to refer for themselves to the original, and thus they wished to have such a Greek translation as they might use with confidence in their discus-

[d] See Thiersch, *De Pentateuchi versione Alexandrina*, pp. 8, 9. Erlangen, 1841.

[e] Eichhorn and those who have followed him state this on the authority of Irenaeus, instead of that of the Jerusalem Talmud, a confusion which needs to be explicitly and not merely tacitly corrected.

sions. Such controversies were (it must be remembered) a new thing. Prior to the preaching of the Gospel, there were none besides the Jews who used the Jewish Scriptures as a means of learning God's revealed truth, except those who either partially or wholly became proselytes to Judaism. But now the Jews saw to their grief, that their Scriptures were made the instruments for teaching the principles of a religion which they regarded as nothing less than an apostasy from Moses.

This, then, is a probable account of the origin of this version. Extreme literality and an occasional polemical bias appear to be its chief characteristics. The idiom of the Greek language is very often violated in order to produce what was intended should be a very literal version; and thus, not only sense but grammar even was disregarded: a sufficient instance of this is found in his rendering the Hebrew particle אֵת by *σύν*, as in Gen. i. 1, *σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν*, "quod Graeca et Latina lingua omnino non recipit," as Jerome says. Another instance is furnished by Gen. v. 5, *καὶ ἔζησεν Ἀδὰμ τριάκοντα ἔτος καὶ ἐννακόσια ἔτος*.

It is sufficiently attested that this version was formed for controversial purposes: a proof of which may be found in the rendering of particular passages, such as Is. vii. 14, where עַלְמָה, in the LXX. *παρθένος*, is by Aquila translated *νεᾶνις*; such renderings might be regarded perhaps rather as modes of avoiding an argument than as direct falsification. There certainly was room for a version which should express the Hebrew more accurately than was done by the LXX.; but if this had been thoroughly carried out it would have been found that in many important points of doctrine—such, for instance, as in the Divinity of the Messiah and the rejection of Israel, the true rendering of the Hebrew text would have been in far closer conformity with the teaching of the New Test. than was the LXX. itself. It is probable, therefore, that one polemical object was to make the citations in the New Test. from the Old appear to be inconclusive, by producing other renderings (often probably more *literally* exact) differing from the LXX., or even contradicting it. Thus Christianity might seem to the Jewish mind to rest on a false basis. But in many cases a really critical examiner would have found that in points of important doctrine the New Test. definitely rejects the reading of the LXX. (when utterly unsuited to the matter in hand), and adopts the reading of the Hebrew.

It is mentioned that Aquila put forth a second edition (*i. e.* revision) of his version, in which the Hebrew was yet more servilely followed, but it is not known if this extended to the whole, or only to three books, namely, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, of which there are fragments.

Aquila often appears to have so closely sought to follow the etymology of the Hebrew words, that not only does his version produce no definite idea, but it does not even suggest any meaning at all. If we possessed it perfect it would have been of great value as to the criticism of the Hebrew text, though often it would be of no service as to its real understanding.

That this version was employed for centuries by the Jews themselves is proved indirectly by the 146th Novella of Justinian: *πλὴν οἱ διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνίδος ἀναγινώσκοντες τῇ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα χρήσονται παραδόσει . . . πλὴν ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν μὴ τὰς λοιπὰς αὐτοῖς ἀποκλείειν νομισθείημεν ἑρμηνείας, ἄδειαν δίδομεν καὶ τῇ Ἀκύλου κεχρῆσθαι, κἂν εἰ ἀλλόφυλος ἐκεῖνος καὶ οὐ μετρίαν ἐπί τινῶν λέξεων ἔχῃ πρὸς τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα τὴν διαφωνίαν.*

3. THEODOTION.—The second version, of which we have information as executed in the second century, is that of Theodotion. He is stated to have been an Ephesian, and he seems to be most generally described as an Ebionite: if this is correct, his work was probably intended for those semi-Christians who may have desired to use a version of their own instead of employing the LXX. with the Christians, or that of Aquila with the Jews.

But it may be doubted if the name of *translation* can be rightly applied to the work of Theodotion: it is rather a revision of the LXX. with the Hebrew text, so as to bring some of the copies then in use into more conformity with the original. This he was able to do (with the aid probably of some instructors) so as to eliminate portions which had been introduced into the LXX., without really being an integral part of the version; and also so as to bring much into accordance with the Hebrew in other respects. But his own knowledge of Hebrew was evidently very limited; and thus words and parts of sentences were left untranslated; the Hebrew being merely written with Greek letters.

Theodotion as well as Aquila was quoted by Irenaeus; and against both there is the common charge laid of corrupting texts which relate to the Messiah: some polemical intention in such passages can hardly be doubted. The statement of Epiphanius that he made his translation in the reign of Commodus accords well with its having been quoted by Irenaeus; but it cannot be correct if it is one of the translations referred to by Justin Martyr as giving interpretations contrary to the Christian doctrine of the New Test.

There can be no doubt that this version was much used by Christians: probably many changes in the text of the LXX. were adopted from Theodotion: this may have begun before the Biblical labours of Origen brought the various versions into one conspectus. The translation of the Book of Daniel by Theodotion was substituted for that of the LXX. in ecclesiastical use as early at least as part of the third century. Hence Daniel, as rendered or revised by Theodotion, has so long taken the place of the true LXX., that their version of this book was supposed not to be extant; and it has only been found in one MS. In most editions of the LXX. Theodotion's version of Daniel is still substituted for that which really belongs to that translation.

4. SYMMACHUS is stated by Eusebius and Jerome to have been an Ebionite: so too in the Syrian accounts given by Assemani; Epiphanius, however, and others style him a Samaritan. There may have been Ebionites from amongst the Samaritans, who constituted a kind of separate sect; and these may have desired a version of their own; or it may be that as a Samaritan he made this version for some of that people who employed Greek, and who had learned to receive more than the Pentateuch. But perhaps to such motives was added (if indeed this were not the only cause of the version) a desire for a Greek translation not so unintelligibly bald as that of Aquila, and not displaying such a want of Hebrew learning as that of Theodotion. It is probable that if this translation of Symmachus had appeared prior to the time of Irenaeus, it would have been mentioned by him; and this agrees with what Epi-

phanius says, namely, that he lived under the Emperor Severus.

The translation which he produced was probably better than the others as to sense and general phraseology. When Jerome speaks of a *second edition* he may probably mean some revision, more or less complete, which he executed after his translation was first made: it could hardly be a retranslation, or anything at all tantamount thereto.

5. The Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Versions.—Besides the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, the great critical work of Origen comprised as to portions of the Old Test. three other versions, placed for comparison with the LXX.; which, from their being anonymous, are only known as the fifth, sixth, and seventh; designations taken from the places which they respectively occupied in Origen's columnar arrangement. Ancient writers seem not to have been uniform in the notation which they applied to these versions; and thus what is cited from one by its number of reference is quoted by others under a different numeral.

These three partial translations were discovered by Origen in the course of his travels in connexion with his great work of Biblical criticism. Eusebius says that two of these versions (but without designating precisely which) were found, the one at Jericho, and the other at Nicopolis on the gulf of Actium. Epiphanius says, that what he terms the fifth, was found at Jericho, and the sixth at Nicopolis; while Jerome speaks of the fifth as having been found at the latter place.

The contents of the *fifth version* appear to have been the Pentateuch, Psalms, Canticles, and the minor prophets: it seems also to be referred to in the Syro-Hexaplar text of the second book of Kings: it may be doubted if in all these books it was complete, or at least if so much were adopted by Origen. The existing fragments prove that the translator used the Hebrew original; but it is also certain that he was aided by the work of former translators.

The *sixth version* seems to have been just the same in its contents as the fifth (except 2 Kings): and thus the two may have been confused: this translator also seems to have had the other versions before him. Jerome calls the authors of the fifth and sixth "*Judaicos* translatores;" but the translator of this must have been a Christian when he executed his work, or else the hand of a Christian reviser must have meddled with it before it was employed by Origen; which seems from the small interval of time to be hardly probable. For in Hab. iii. 15 the translation runs, ἐξῆλθες τοῦ σῶσαι τὸν λαόν σου διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ χριστοῦ σου.

Of the *seventh version* very few fragments remain. It seems to have contained the Psalms and minor prophets; and the translator was probably a Jew.

From the references given by Origen, or by those who copied from his columnar arrangement and its results (or who *added* to such extracts), it has been thought that other Greek versions were spoken of. Of these ὁ Ἑβραῖος probably refers to the Hebrew text, or to something drawn from it: ὁ Σύρος to the Old Syriac version: τὸ Σαμαρειτικὸν probably a reference to the Samaritan text, or some Samaritan gloss: ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς, ὁ Ἄλλος, ὁ ἀνεπίγραφος some unspecified version or versions.

The existing fragments of these varied versions are mostly to be found in the editions of the relics of Origen's Hexapla, by Montfaucon and by Bardht.

[For an account of the use made of these versions by Origen, and its results, see Septuagint.]

6. The Veneto-Greek Version.—A MS. of the fourteenth century, in the library of St. Mark at Venice, contains a peculiar version of the Pentateuch, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, and Daniel. All of these books, except the Pentateuch, were published by Villoison at Strasburg in 1784; the Pentateuch was edited by Ammon at Erlangen in 1790-91. The version itself is thought to be four or five hundred years older than the one MS. in which it has been transmitted; this, however, is so thoroughly a matter of opinion, that there seems no absolute reason for determining that this one MS. may not be the original as well as the only one in existence. It is written in one very narrow column on each page; the leaves follow each other in the Hebrew order, so that the book begins at what we should call the end. An examination of the MS. suggested the opinion that it may have been written on the broad inner margin of a Hebrew MS.: and that for some reason the Hebrew portion had been cut away, leaving thus a Greek MS. probably unique as to its form and arrangement. As to the translation itself, it is on any supposition too recent to be of consequence in criticism. It may be said briefly that the translation was made from the Hebrew, although the present punctuation and accentuation is often not followed, and the translator was no doubt acquainted with some other Greek versions. The language of the translation is a most strange mixture of astonishing and cacophonous barbarism with attempts at Attic elegance and refinement. The Doric, which is employed to answer to the Chaldean portions of Daniel, seems to be an indication of remarkable affectation.

The Greek of St. Matthew's Gospel.—Any account of the Greek versions of Holy Scripture would be incomplete without some allusion to the fact, that if early testimonies and ancient opinion unitedly are to have some weight when wholly uncontradicted, then it must be admitted that the original language of the Gospel of St. Matthew was *Hebrew*, and that the text which has been transmitted to us is really a Greek translation.

It may be briefly stated that every early writer who mentions that St. Matthew wrote a Gospel *at all* says that he wrote in Hebrew (that is in the Syro-Chaldaic), and in Palestine in the first century; so that if it be assumed that he did not write in Hebrew but in Greek, then it may well be asked, what ground is there to believe that he wrote any narrative of our Lord's life on earth?

Every early writer that has come down to us uses the *Greek* of St. Matthew, and this with the definite recognition that it is a translation; hence we may be sure that the Greek copy belongs to the Apostolic age, having been thus authoritatively used from and up to that time. Thus the question is not the *authority* of the Greek translation, which comes from the time when the Churches enjoyed apostolic guidance, but whether there was a Hebrew original from which it had been translated.

The witnesses to the Hebrew original were men sufficiently competent to attest so simple a fact, especially seeing that they are relied on in what is far more important,—that St. Matthew wrote a Gospel at all. Papias, in the beginning of the second

century, repeats apparently the words of John the Presbyter, an immediate disciple of our Lord, that "Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew dialect." Irenaeus, in the latter part of the same century, is equally explicit; in connexion with the Indian mission of Pantaenus in the same age, we learn that he found the Gospel of Matthew in the very Hebrew letters. In the next century Origen, the laborious investigator and diligent inquirer, says, that the received account was that St. Matthew had written the first Gospel, and that it was in Hebrew. So too in the next century, Epiphanius and Jerome, both of whom, like Origen, were acquainted with Hebrew. Jerome also mentions the very copies of this Hebrew original which were extant in his time, and which he transcribed. He shows indeed that the copies then circulated amongst the Nazarenes had been variously interpolated: but this would not affect the antecedent fact. So too Epiphanius shows that the document had been variously depraved: but this does not set aside what it originally was.

To follow the unanimous agreement of later writers is needless; but what can be said on the other side? What *evidence* is adduced that St. Matthew wrote in Greek? None whatever: but simply some *à priori* notions that he ought to have done so are advanced: then it is truly stated that the Greek Gospel does not read as though it had about it the constraint of a translation; and then it is said that *perhaps* the witnesses for the Hebrew original were mistaken.[1] "But (says Principal Campbell) is the positive testimony of witnesses, delivered as of a well-known fact, to be overturned by a mere supposition, *a perhaps*? for that the case is really as they suppose no shadow of evidence is pretended" (*Works*, ii. 171).

For another theory, that St. Matthew wrote both in Hebrew and also in Greek, there is no evidence: the notion is even contradicted by the avowed ignorance of the early Christian writers as to whose hand formed the Greek version which they accepted as authoritative. To them there was nothing self-contradictory (as some have said) in the notion of an authoritative translation. As it can be shown that the public use of the *four* Gospels in Greek was universal in the churches from the apostolic age, it proves to us that apostolic sanction must have been the ground of this usage; this surely is sufficient to authorize the Greek Gospel that we have.

Erasmus seems to have been the first to suggest that the Greek is the original of the Apostle: at least no writer earlier than Erasmus has been brought forward as holding the opinion: in this many have followed him on what may be called very subjective grounds. Erasmus also advanced the opinion that Irenaeus *against Heresies* was written by him in Latin. For this he had just as good grounds as for the Greek original of St. Matthew. As to Irenaeus no one appears to follow Erasmus; why should so many adhere to his bold opinion (opposed by so much evidence and supported by none) relative to St. Matthew? On the revival of letters there was much curiosity expressed for the recovery of a copy of St. Matthew's Hebrew original. Pope Nicholas V. is said to have offered five thousand ducats for a copy: this probably suggested the retranslations into Hebrew of this Gospel published in the following century by Sebastian Munster and others. [S. P. T.]

LATIN VERSIONS. [VULGATE.]

SAMARITAN VERSIONS. [SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, p. 1113 *b*.]

SLAVONIC VERSION. In the year 862 there was a desire expressed, or an inquiry made for Christian teachers in Moravia, and in the following year the labours of missionaries began amongst them. We need not consider the Moravia in which these services were commenced to be precisely restricted to or identified with the region which now bears that name, for in the ninth century *Great* Moravia was of far wider extent; and it was amongst the Slavonic people then occupying this whole region, that the effort for Christianization was put forth. But while this farther extent of Moravia is admitted, it is also to be recollected that the province of Moravia, of which Brünn is the metropolis, is not only the nucleus of Moravia, but that also the inhabitants of that country, still retaining as they do their Slavonian tongue, rightly consider themselves as the descendants and successors of those who were then Christianized. Thus, in 1862 they commemorated the thousandth anniversary of their having taken this step, and in 1863 they celebrated the thousandth from the actual arrival of missionaries amongst them. These missionaries were Cyrillus and Methodius, two brothers from Thessalonica: to Cyrillus is ascribed the invention of the Slavonian alphabet, and the commencement of the translation of the Scriptures. Neander truly says that he was honourably distinguished from all other missionaries of that period in not having yielded to the prejudice which represented the languages of rude nations as too profane for sacred uses; and by not having shrunk from any toil which was necessary in order to become accurately acquainted with the language of

[1] The manner in which the testimony of competent witnesses has been not only called in question, but set aside, is such as would cast doubt on any historical fact competently attested; and the terms applied to the witnesses themselves, are such as seem to show that argument being vain, it is needful to have recourse to something else; not mere *assertion* as opposed to the definite evidence, but a mode of speaking of the witnesses themselves and of misrepresenting their words, which would not be ventured on in common matters. Thus a writer who is well and justly esteemed on other subjects, the Rev. Dr. Wm. Lindsay Alexander, sets aside the evidence and the statements of Jerome in this manner —"The one who says he had seen the [Hebrew] gospel is Jerome; but his evidence about it is so conflicting that it is not worth a rush. First he says he has seen it, and is sure that it is the original of the Greek gospel; then he softens down with 'it is *called* by most people Matthew's authentic,' 'as most believe,' and so on. Now he says, 'Who translated it into Greek is unknown;' and presently, with amusing self-complacency and obliviousness, he tells us, 'I myself translated it into Greek and Latin!' Why there is not a small-debt court in the country where such a witness would not be hooted to the door." Would such modes of reasoning be adopted if it were not desired to mystify the subject? Who cannot see that Jerome says that it is unknown who had made the Greek translation then current for centuries? And who imagines that he identified with that version the one which he had recently made from the document found at Beroea? But thus it is that *this* is substituted for argument on this subject. Dr. Land, in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Oct. 1858, boldly asserts, "We may safely say that there is, in probability as well as in direct testimony, a weight as heavy in the scale of the Greek text as in that of the Hebrew, not to go farther." But, in fact, there is *no* testimony, direct or indirect, for a Greek original of St. Matthew.

the people amongst whom he laboured. Cyrillus appears to have died at Rome in 868, while Methodius continued for many years to be the bishop of the Slavonians. He is stated to have continued his brother's translation, although *how much* they themselves actually executed is quite uncertain; perhaps much of the Old Testament was not translated at all in that age, possibly not for many centuries after.

The Old Testament is, as might be supposed, a version from the LXX., but what measure of revision it may since have received seems to be by no means certain. As the oldest known MS. of the whole Bible is of the year 1499, it may reasonably be questioned whether this version may not in large portions be comparatively modern. This could only be set at rest by a more full and accurate knowledge being obtained of Slavonic Biblical MSS. Dobrowsky however mentions (Griesbach's *Gr. Test.* ii., xxxiii.) that this MS. (his 1), and two others copied from it, are the only Slavonic MSS. of the entire Bible existing in Russia. If it be correct that the MSS. which he terms 2 and 3 are copied from this, there are strong reasons for believing that it was not *completed* for some years subsequently to 1499. The oldest MSS. of any part of this version is an Evangeliarium, in Cyrillic characters, of the year 1056; that at Rheims (containing the Gospels) on which the kings of France used to take their coronation oath, is nearly as old. One, containing the Gospels, at Moscow, is of the year 1144.

The first printed portion was an edition of the Gospels in Wallachia, in 1512; in 1575 the same portion was printed at Wilna; and in 1581 the whole Bible was printed at Ostrog in Volhynia; from this was taken the Moscow edition of 1663, in which, however, there was some revision, at least so far as the insertion of 1 John v. 7 is concerned.

Wetstein cited a few readings from this version; Alter made more extracts, which were used by Griesbach, together with the collations sent to him by Dobrowsky, both from MSS. and printed editions. We thus can say, with some confidence, that the general text is such as would have been expected in the ninth century: some readings from the Latin have, it appears, been introduced in places: this arises probably from the early Slavonian custom of reading the Gospel in Latin before they did it in their own tongue.

Dobrowsky paid particular attention in his collations to the copies of the Apocalypse: it has been, however, long suspected that that book formed no portion of this version as originally made. We can now go farther and say definitely that the Apocalypse, as found in some at least of the Slavonic copies, *could* not be anterior to the appearance of the first edition of the Gr. Test. of Erasmus in 1516. For there are readings in the Apocalypse of Erasmus which are entirely devoid of *any* support from Greek MSS. This can be said confidently, since the one Greek copy used by Erasmus has been identified and described by Prof. Delitzsch.[g] It is now therefore known that peculiarities as to error in Erasmus's text of the Apocalypse, as it first appeared, are in several places due not to the MS. from which he drew, but to the want of care in his edition. And thus, whatever agrees with such peculiarities must depend on, and thus be subsequent to, the Erasmian text. In Rev. ii. 13, the Erasmian text has the peculiar reading, *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐμαῖς*; for this no MS. was cited by Griesbach, and all his authority, besides the Erasmian edition, was in fact "Slav. 3, 4," *i. e.* two MSS. collated by Dobrowsky; one of these is said by him to be copied from the oldest Slavonic MS. of the whole Bible: if, therefore, it agrees with it in this place, it shows that the Slavonic MS. must, in that part at least, be later than the year 1516. The only Greek authority for this reading, *ἐμαῖς*, is the *margin* of 92, the Dublin MS., famous as containing 1 John v. 7: in which the Gospels belong to the end of the fifteenth century; the Acts and Epistles are somewhat later, and the Apocalypse was added about the year 1580.[h] There seems to be another Slavonic text of the Apocalypse contained in Dobrowsky's 10, but whether it is older than the one already mentioned is doubtful. [S. P. T.]

SYRIAC VERSIONS. I. OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

A. *From the Hebrew.*—In the early times of Syrian Christianity there was executed a version of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew, the use of which must have been as widely extended as was the Christian profession amongst that people. Ephraem the Syrian, in the latter half of the 4th century, gives abundant proof of its use in general by his countrymen. When he calls it OUR VERSION, ܦܫܝܛܬܐ, it does not appear to be in opposition to any other Syriac translation (for no other can be proved to have then existed), but in contrast to the original Hebrew text, or to those in other languages.[i] At a later period this Syriac translation was designated *Peshito*, ܦܫܝܛܬܐ (*Simple*); or, as in the preface of Bar-Hebraeus to his *Thesaurus Arcanorum*, ܦܫܝܛܬܐ ܕܥܡܝܩܬܐ (*Simple* version). It is probable that this name was applied to the version after another had been formed from the Hexaplar Greek text. In the translation made from Origen's revision of the LXX., the critical marks introduced by him were retained, and thus every page and every part was

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g Handschriftliche Funde von Franz Delitzsch. Erstes Heft, Die Erasmischen Entstellungen des Textes der Apocalypse, nachgewiesen aus dem verloren geglaubten Codex Reuchlini, 1861.

Handschriftliche Funde von Franz Delitzsch, mit Beiträgen von S. P. Tregelles. Zweites Heft, neue Studien über den Codex Reuchlini, &c., 1862. [Also with the English Title, "Manuscript Discoveries by Francis Delitzsch, with additions by S. P. Tregelles. Part II., New Studies on the Codex Reuchlini, and new results in the textual history of the Apocalypse, drawn from the libraries of Munich, Vienna, Rome, &c., 1862."]

h This Greek authority *is* the one denoted by 92. Tischendorf (following a misprint in Tregelles's *Greek and English Revelation*, 1844) gives it 91**. That would signify a correction in a later hand in 91; which is the modern supplement to the Vatican MS., in which such a correction has been sought in vain.

i Ephraemi Opera Syr. i. 380 (on 1 Sam. xxiv. 4). He is simply comparing the Hebrew phrase and the Syriac version:—

כלי זמר אמר חכמינו ובחשון

ܟܠ ܙܡܝ ܐܡܪ ܚܟܡܝܢ ܘܒܚܫܘܢ

(לחסך את־דגליו)

ܠܡܚܣܟ ܐܬ ܕܓܠܝܘ

ܒܦܫܝܛܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝ ܠܟ

marked with *asterisks* and *obeli*, from which the translation from the Hebrew was free. It might, therefore, be but natural for a bare text to be thus designated, in contrast to the marks and the citations of the different Greek translators found in the version from the Hexaplar Greek. This translation from the Hebrew has always been the ecclesiastical version of the Syrians; and when it is remembered how in the 5th century dissensions and divisions were introduced into the Syrian Churches, and how from that time the Monophysites and those termed Nestorians have been in a state of unhealed opposition, it shows not only the antiquity of this version, but also the deep and abiding hold which it must have taken on the mind of the people, that this version was firmly held fast by both of these opposed parties, as well as by those who adhere to the Greek Church, and by the Maronites. Its existence and use prior to their divisions is sufficiently proved by Ephraem alone. But how much older it is than that deacon of Edessa we have no evidence. From Bar-Hebraeus (in the 13th century) we learn that there were three opinions as to its age; some saying that the version was made in the reigns of Solomon and Hiram, some that it was translated by Asa, the priest who was sent by the King of Assyria to Samaria, and some that the version was made in the days of Adai the apostle and of Abgarus, King of Osrhoene (at which time, he adds, the *Simple* version of the New Test. was also made).[k] The first of these opinions of course implies that the books written before that time were then translated; indeed, a limitation of somewhat the same kind would apply to the second. The ground of the first opinion seems to have been the belief that the Tyrian king was a convert to the profession of the true and revealed faith held by the Israelites; and that the possession of Holy Scripture in the Syriac tongue (which they identified with his own) was a necessary consequence of this adoption of the true belief: this opinion is mentioned as having been held by some of the Syrians in the 9th century. The second opinion (which does not appear to have been cited from any Syriac writer prior to Bar-Hebraeus), seems to have some connexion with the formation of the Samaritan *version* of the Pentateuch. As that version is in an Aramaean dialect, any one who supposed that it was made immediately after the mission of the priest from Assyria, might say that it was then first that *an* Aramaean translation was executed; and this might afterwards, in a sort of indefinite manner, have been connected with what the Syrians themselves used. James of Edessa (in the latter half of the 7th century) had held the *third* of the opinions mentioned by Bar-Hebraeus, who cites him in support of it, and accords with it.

It is highly improbable that any part of the Syriac version is older than the advent of our Lord; those who placed it under Abgarus, King of Edessa, seem to have argued on the account that the Syrian people then received Christianity; and thus they supposed that a version of the Scriptures was a necessary accompaniment of such conversion. All that the account shows clearly is, then, that it was believed to belong to the earliest period of the Christian faith among them: an opinion with which all that we know on the subject accords well. Thus Ephraem, in the 4th century, not only shows that it was then current, but also gives the impression that this had even then been *long* the case. For in his commentaries he gives explanations of terms which were even then obscure. This might have been from age: if so, the version was made comparatively long before his days: or it might be from its having been in a dialect different from that to which he was accustomed at Edessa. In this case, then, the translation was made in some other part of Syria; which would hardly have been done, unless Christianity had at such a time been more diffused there than it was at Edessa. The dialect of that city is stated to have been the purest Syriac; if, then, the version was made for that place, it would no doubt have been a monument of such purer dialect. Probably the origin of the Old Syriac version is to be compared with that of the Old Latin [see VULGATE]; and that it differed as much from the polished language of Edessa as did the Old Latin, made in the African Province, from the contemporary writers of Rome, such as Tacitus.

Even though the traces of the origin of this version of the Old Test. be but few, yet it is of importance that they should be marked; for the Old Syriac has the peculiar value of being the first version from the Hebrew original made for Christian use; and, indeed, the only translation of the kind before that of Jerome, which was made subsequently to the time when Ephraem wrote. This Syriac commentator *may* have termed it "OUR version," in contrast to all others then current (for the Targums were hardly versions), which were merely reflections of the Greek and not of the Hebrew original.

The proof that this version was made from the Hebrew is twofold: we have the direct statements of Ephraem, who compares it in places with the Hebrew, and speaks of this origin as a fact; and who is confirmed (if that had been needful) by later Syrian writers; we find the same thing as evident from the internal examination of the version itself. Whatever internal change or revision it may have received, the Hebrew groundwork of the translation is unmistakable. Such indications of revision must be afterwards briefly specified.

The first printed edition of this version was that which appeared in the Paris Polyglott of Le Jay in 1645; it is said that the editor, Gabriel Sionita, a Maronite, had only an imperfect MS., and that, besides errors, it was defective as to whole passages, and even as to entire books. This last charge *seems* to be so made as if it were to imply that books were omitted besides those of the Apocrypha, a part which Sionita confessedly had not. He is stated to have supplied the deficiencies by translating into Syriac from the Vulgate. It can hardly be supposed but that there is some exaggeration in these statements. Sionita may have filled up occasional hiatus in his MS.; but it requires very definite examination before we can fully credit that he thus supplied whole books. It seems needful to believe that the defective books were simply those in the Apocrypha, which he did not supply. The result, however, is, that the Paris edition is but an infirm groundwork for our speaking with confidence of the text of this version.

In Walton's Polyglott, 1657, the Paris text is reprinted, but with the addition of the Apocryphal books which had been wanting. It was generally said that Walton had done much to amend the texts upon MS. authority; but the late Prof. Lee denies this, stating that "the only addition made by Walton was some Apocryphal books." From

[k] Wiseman, *Horae Syriacae*, 96

Walton's Polyglott, Kirsch, in 1787, published a separate edition of the Pentateuch. Of the Syriac Psalter there have been many editions. The first of these, as mentioned by Eichhorn, appeared in 1610; it has by the side an Arabic version. In 1625 there were two editions; the one at Paris edited by Gabriel Sionita, and one at Leyden by Erpenius from two MSS. These have since been repeated; but anterior to them all, it is mentioned that the seven penitential Psalms appeared at Rome in 1584.

In the punctuation given in the Polyglotts, a system was introduced which was in part a peculiarity of Gabriel Sionita himself. This has to be borne in mind by those who use either the Paris Polyglott or that of Walton; for in many words there is a redundancy of vowels, and the form of some is thus exceedingly changed.

When the British and Foreign Bible Society proposed more than forty years ago to issue the Syriac Old Testament for the first time in a separate volume, the late Prof. Lee was employed to make such editorial preparations, as could be connected with a mere revision of the text, without any specification of the authorities. Dr. Lee collated for the purpose six Syriac MSS. of the Old Test. in general, and a very ancient copy of the Pentateuch: he also used in part the commentaries of Ephraem and of Bar-Hebraeus. From these various sources he constructed his text, with the aid of that found already in the Polyglotts. Of course the corrections depended on the editor's own judgment; and the want of a specification of the results of collations leaves the reader in doubt as to what the evidence may be in those places in which there is a departure from the Polyglott text. But though more information might be desired, we have in the edition of Lee a veritable Syriac text, from Syriac authorities, and free from the suspicion of having been formed in modern times, by Gabriel Sionita's translating portions from the Latin.

But we have now in this country, in the MS. treasures brought from the Nitrian valleys, the means of far more accurately editing this version. Even if the results should not appear to be striking, a thorough use of these MSS. would place this version on such a basis of diplomatic evidence as would show positively how this earliest Christian translation from the Hebrew was read in the 6th or 7th century, or possibly still earlier:[1] we thus could use the Syriac with a fuller degree of confidence in the criticism of the Hebrew text, just as we can the more ancient versions of the new for the criticism of the Greek.

In the beginning of 1849, the late excellent Biblical scholar, the Rev. John Rogers, Canon of Exeter, published "*Reasons why a New Edition of the Peschito, or ancient Syriac Version of the Old Testament, should be published.*" In this interesting pamphlet, addressed to the late Abp. of Canterbury, Canon Rogers speaks of the value of the version itself, its importance in criticism, the existing editions, their defects, the sources of emendation now possessed by this country, in the Nitrian MSS. especially, "now [1849] under the care of the Rev. Wm. Cureton, who is making known to the public the treasures of the library of the Monastery of St. Mary Deipara, in the Nitrian desert in Egypt, thus happily obtained." He adverts to the facility which would be afforded for the proper publication of the proposed edition, from type having been of late prepared representing the proper Estrangelo Syriac character, of which Dr. Cureton was even then making use in printing his text of the Syriac Gospels, &c. If it had been an honour to this country to issue the collations of Kennicott for the Hebrew Old Test., and of Holmes for the LXX., might not this proposed Syriac edition be a worthy successor to such works? The *plan* proposed by Canon Rogers for its execution was this:—to take the Syriac MS. which appeared to be the best in each portion of the Old Test., both on the ground of goodness and antiquity: let this be printed, and then let collations be made by various scholars in interleaved copies; the whole of the results might then be published in the same form as De Rossi's *Variae Lectiones to the Hebrew Bible*. Canon Rogers gives a few hints as to what he thought would be probable results from such a collation. He did not expect that the differences from the printed Syriac would be very great; but still there would be a far greater satisfaction as to the confidence with which this version might be quoted, especially in connexion with the criticism of the Hebrew original. By way of illustration he pointed out a good many passages, in which it can hardly be doubted that the defects in the printed Syriac arise from the defectiveness of the copy or copies on which it was based. He also showed it to be a point of important inquiry, whether in places in which the printed Syriac agrees with the LXX., the Syriac has been altered; or whether both may preserve the more ancient reading of Hebrew copies once extant. The reasons why such a Syriac text should be prepared and published, and why such collations should be made, are thus summed up by Canon Rogers: "1st. Because we have no printed text from ancient and approved MSS. 2nd. Because the Latin version in Walton's Polyglott often fails to convey the sense of the Syriac. 3rd. Because there are many omissions in the printed text which may perhaps be supplied in a collation of early MSS. 4th. Because the facilities now given to the study of Hebrew make it desirable that new facilities should also be given to the study of the cognate languages. 5th. Because it is useless to accumulate ancient and valuable Biblical MSS. at the British Museum, if those MSS. are not applied to the purposes of sacred criticism. 6th. Because in comparing the Syriac with the Hebrew original, many points of important and interesting investigation will arise. Finally, Because it is neither creditable to the literary character of the age, nor to the theological position of the Church of England, that one of our most ancient versions of the Bible should continue in its present neglected state." These considerations of the late Canon Rogers are worthy of being thus repeated, not only as being the deliberate judgment of a good Biblical scholar, but also as pointing out practically the objects to be sought in making proper use of the Biblical materials which are at our hands, and of which the scholars of former ages had not the benefit.

There was a strong hope expressed soon after the issue of Canon Rogers's appeal, that the work would have been formally placed in a proper manner in the hands of the Rev. Wm. Cureton, and that thus it would have been accomplished under his superintendence, at the Oxford University Press. Canon Rogers announced this in an Appendix to his pamphlet. But this has not been effected. It may

[1] The Pentateuch could probably be given on a basis of the *fifth* century.

still be hoped that Dr. Cureton will edit at least the Pentateuch from a very ancient copy: but there is not now in this country the *practical encouragement* to such Biblical studies as require the devotion of time, labour, and attention (as well as pecuniary expense), which in the last century Kennicott and Holmes received.

But if the printed Syriac text rests on by no means a really satisfactory basis, it may be asked, How can it be said positively that what we have *is* the same version substantially that was used by Ephraem in the 4th century? Happily, we have the same means of identifying the Syriac with that anciently used, as we have of showing that the modern Latin Vulgate is substantially the version executed by Jerome. We admit that the common printed Latin has suffered in various ways, and yet at the bottom and in its general texture it is undoubtedly the work of Jerome: so with the Peshito of the Old Test., whatever errors of judgment were committed by Gabriel Sionita, the first editor, and however little has been done by those who should have corrected these things on MS. authority, the identity of the version is too certain for it to be thus destroyed, or even (it may be said) materially obscured.

From the citations of Ephraem, and the single words on which he makes remarks, we have sufficient proof of the identity of the version: even though at times he also furnishes proof that the copies as printed are not exactly as he read. The following may be taken as instances of accordance: they are mostly from the places (see Wiseman, *H. Syr.* 122, &c.) in which Ephraem thinks it needful to explain a Syrian word in this version, or to discuss its meaning, either from its having become antiquated in his time, or from its being unused in the same sense by the Syrians of Edessa. Thus, Gen. i. 1, ܫܡܝܐ is used in Syriac as answering to the Hebrew אֵת. The occurrence of this word Ephraem mentions, giving his own explanation: i. 2, ܬܗܘ ܘܒܘܗܘ; x. 9, for גִּבּוֹר צַיִד, the Syriac has ܓܒܝܪ ܨܝܕܐ, which Ephraem mentions as being a term which the Persians also use. Gen. xxx. 14, for דוּדָאִים there is ܡܓܕܠܐ, a word which Ephraem mentions as being there, and the possible meaning of which he discusses. Exod. xxviii. 4, ܟܘܣܬܐ stands for the Hebrew חֹשֶׁן; Ephraem reads it ܟܘܣܝܬܐ, and explains the meaning:—xxxviii. 4, ܡܟܒܪ (מִכְבָּר); xxxviii. 16, ܩܥܪܬܝܘ (קְעָרֹתָיו); xxviii. 40, ܡܓܒܥܬ (מִגְבָּעוֹת); Num. xi. 7, for גַּד there is ܟܫܝܬܐ, a word equally, it seems, meaning *coriander*; which was, however, unknown to Ephraem, who expounds it as though it meant food of all kinds, as if ܟܠ ܡܢ ܙܝܢ. 1 Sam. xxiii. 28, ܣܠܥܐ for סֶלַע; 2 Sam. viii 7, ܫܠܡܐ, merely retaining the Hebrew word שִׁלְטֵי in a Syriac form. 1 K. x. 11, ܐܠܡܓܐ (אַלְמֻגִּים); xii. 11, ܥܩܪܒܐ (עַקְרַבִּים). 2 K. iii. 4, ܢܩܕ (נוֹקֵד); Job xxxix. 23, ܐܫܦܐ (אַשְׁפָּה), xli. 13, ܬܠܚܬ, the Heb. תַּלְחֶט. Is. iii. 22, ܡܛܦܚܬ (מְטַפָּחוֹת); Jer. li. 41, ܫܫܟ (שֵׁשַׁךְ). Zech. v. 7, ܐܝܦܐ (אֵיפָה). In these passages, and in several others, the words of the Peshito are cited by Ephraem because of their obscurity, and of the need that they had of explanation.

The proof that the version which has come down to us is substantially that used by the Syrians in the 4th century, is perhaps more definite from the comparison of words than it would have been from the comparison of passages of greater length; because in longer citations there always might be some ground for thinking that perhaps the MS. of Ephraem might have been conformed to later Syriac copies of the Sacred Text; while, with regard to peculiar words, no such suspicion can have any place, since it is on such words still found in the Peshito that the remarks of Ephraem are based. The fact that he sometimes cites it differently from what we now read, only shows a variation of copies, perhaps ancient, or perhaps such as is found merely in the printed text that we have.

From Ephraem having mentioned *translators* of this version, it has been concluded that it was the work of several: a thing probable enough in itself, but which could hardly be proved from the occurrence of a casual phrase, nor yet from variations in the rendering of the same Hebrew word; such variations being found in almost all translations, even when made by one person—that of Jerome, for instance; and which it would be almost impossible to avoid, especially before the time when concordances and lexicons were at hand. Variations in phraseology give a far surer ground for supposing several translators.

It has been much discussed whether this translation were a Jewish or a Christian work. Some, who have maintained that the translator was a Jew, have argued from his knowledge of Hebrew and his mode of rendering. But these considerations *prove* nothing. Indeed, it might well be doubted if in that age a Jew would have formed anything except a Chaldee Targum; and thus diffuseness of paraphrase might be expected instead of closeness of translation. There need be no reasonable objection made to the opinion that it is a Christian work. Indeed it is difficult to suppose, that before the diffusion of Christianity in Syria, the version could have been needed.

It may be said that the Syriac *in general* supports the Hebrew text that we have: how far arguments may be raised upon minute coincidences or variations cannot be certainly known until the ancient text of the version is better established. Occasionally, however, it is clear that the Syriac translator read one consonant for another in the Hebrew, and translated accordingly; at times another vocalization of the Hebrew was followed.

A resemblance has been pointed out between the

Syriac and the reading of some of the Chaldee Targums: if the Targum is the older, it is not unlikely that the Syriac translator, using every aid in his power to obtain an accurate knowledge of what he was rendering, examined the Targums in difficult passages. This is not the place for formally discussing the date and origin of the Targums [see below, TARGUMS]; but if (as seems almost certain) the Targums which have come down to us are almost without exception more recent than the Syriac version, still they are probably the successors of earlier Targums, which by amplification have reached their present shape. Thus, if existing Targums are more recent than the Syriac, it may happen that their coincidences arise from the use of a common source—an earlier Targum.

But there is another point of inquiry of more importance: it is, how far has this version been affected by the LXX.? and to what are we to attribute this influence? It is possible that the influence of the LXX. is partly to be ascribed to copyists and revisers; while in part this belonged to the version as originally made. For, if a translator had access to another version while occupied in making his own, he might consult it in cases of difficulty; and thus he might unconsciously follow it in other parts. Even knowing the words of a particular translation may affect the mode of rendering in another translation or revision. And thus a tinge from the LXX. may have easily existed in this version from the first, even though in whole books it may not be found at all. But when the extensive use of the LXX. is remembered, and how soon it was superstitiously imagined to have been made by direct inspiration, so that it was deemed canonically authoritative, we cannot feel wonder that readings from the LXX. should have been from time to time introduced; this may have commenced probably before a Syriac version had been made from the Hexaplar Greek text; because in such revised text of the LXX. the additions, &c., in which that version differed from the Hebrew, would be so marked that they would hardly seem to be the authoritative and genuine text.

Some comparison with the Greek is probable even before the time of Ephraem; for, as to the Apocryphal books, while he cites some of them (though not as Scripture), the Apocryphal additions to Daniel and the Books of Maccabees were not yet found in Syriac. Whoever translated any of these books from the Greek, may easily have also compared with it in some places the books previously translated from the Hebrew.

In the Book of Psalms this version exhibits many peculiarities. Either the translation of the Psalter must be a work independent of the Peshito in general, or else it has been strangely revised and altered, not only from the Greek,[m] but also from liturgical use. Perhaps, indeed, the Psalms are a different version; and that in this respect the practice of the Syrian Churches is like that of the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England in using liturgically a different version of the book so much read ecclesiastically.

It is stated that, after the divisions of the Syrian Church, there were revisions of this one version by the Monophysites and by the Nestorians: probably it would be found, if the subject could be fully investigated, that there were in the hands of different parties copies in which the ordinary accidents of transcription had introduced variations.

The *Karkaphensian* recension mentioned by Bar-Hebraeus was only known by name prior to the investigations of Wiseman; it is found in two MSS. in the Vatican; it was formed for the use of Monophysites; there is peculiarity in the punctuation introduced, by a leaning towards the Greek; but it is, as to its substance, the Peshito version.

B. *The Syriac version from the Hexaplar Greek Text.*—The only Syriac version of the Old Test. up to the 6th century was apparently the Peshito. The first definite intimation of a portion of the Old Testament translated from the Greek is through Moses Aghelaeus. This Syriac writer lived in the middle of the 6th century. He made a translation of the *Glaphyra* of Cyril of Alexandria from Greek into Syriac; and, in the prefixed Epistle, he speaks of the versions of the New Test. and the *Psalter*, "which Polycarp (rest his soul!), the Chorepiscopus, made in Syriac for the faithful Xenaias, the teacher of Mabug, worthy of the memory of the good."[n] We thus see that a Syriac version of the Psalms had a similar origin to the Philoxenian Syriac New Test. We know that the date of the latter was A.D. 508; the Psalter was probably a contemporaneous work. It is said that the Nestorian patriarch, Marabba, A.D. 552, made a version from the Greek; it does not appear to be in existence, so that, if ever it was completely executed, it was probably superseded by the Hexaplar version of Paul of Tela; indeed Paul may have used it as the basis of his work, adding marks of reference, &c.

This version by Paul of Tela, a Monophysite, was made in the beginning of the 7th century; for its basis he used the Hexaplar Greek text—that is, the LXX., with the corrections of Origen, the asterisks, obeli, &c., and with the references to the other Greek versions.

The Syro-Hexaplar version was made on the principle of following the Greek, word for word, as exactly as possible. It contains the marks introduced by Origen; and the references to the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, &c. In fact, it is from this Syriac version that we obtain our most accurate acquaintance with the results of the critical labours of Origen.

Andreas Masius, in his edition of the Book of Joshua,[o] first used the results of this Syro-Hexaplar text; for, on the authority of a MS. in his possession, he revised the Greek, introducing asterisks and obeli, thus showing what Origen had done, how much he had inserted in the text, and what he had marked as not found in the Hebrew. The Syriac MS. used by Masius has been long lost; though in this day, after the recovery of the Codex Reuchlini of the Apocalypse (from which Erasmus first edited that book) by Prof. Delitzsch, it could hardly be a cause for surprise if this Syriac Codex were again found.

It is from a MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan that we possess accurate means of knowing this Syriac version. The MS. in question contains

[m] Perhaps as to this the version of the Psalms from the Greek made by Polycarp (to be mentioned presently) has not been sufficiently taken into account. Indeed, remarkably little attention appears to have been paid to the evidence that such a version existed.

[n] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii. 83; where, however, the obscure Syriac is turned into still more obscure Latin.

[o] Josuae imperatoris historia illustrata atque explicata ab Andrea Masio. Antwerp, 1574.

the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, minor prophets, Jeremiah, Baruch, Daniel, Ezekiel, and Isaiah. Norberg published, at Lund in 1787, the Books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, from a transcript which he had made of the MS. at Milan. In 1788, Bugati published at Milan the Book of Daniel; he also edited the Psalms, the printing of which had been completed before his death in 1816; it was published in 1820. The rest of the contents of the Milan Codex (with the exception of the Apocryphal books) was published at Berlin in 1835, by Middeldorpf, from the transcript made by Norberg; Middeldorpf also added the 4th (2nd) Book of Kings from a MS. at Paris.

Besides these portions of this Syriac version, the MSS. from the Nitrian monasteries now in the British Museum would add a good deal more: amongst these there are six, from which much might be drawn, so that part of the Pentateuch and other books may be recovered.[p] These MSS. are like that at Milan, in having the marks of Origen in the text; the references to readings in the margin; and occasionally the Greek word itself is thus cited in Greek.

Dr. Antonio Ceriani, of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, after having for a considerable time proposed to edit the portions of the Syro-Hexaplar Codex of Milan which had hitherto remained in MS., commenced such a work in 1861 (*Monumenta Sacra et Profana, Opera Collegii Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*), the first part of the Syriac text being Baruch, Lamentations, and the Epistle of Jeremiah. To this work Ceriani subjoined a collation of some of the more important texts, and critical notes. A second part has since appeared. It is to be hoped that he may thus edit the whole MS., and that the other portions of this version known to be extant may soon appear in print.

The value of this version for the criticism of the LXX. is very great. It supplies, as far as a version can, the lost work of Origen.

The list of versions of the Old Test. into Syriac often appears to be very numerous; but on examination it is found that many translations, the names of which appear in a catalogue, are really either such as never had an actual existence, or else that they are either the version from the Hebrew, or else that from the Hexaplar text of the LXX., under different names, or with some slight revision. To enumerate the supposed versions is needless. It is only requisite to mention that Thomas of Harkel, whose work in the revision of a translation of the New Test. will have to be mentioned, seems also to have made a translation from the Greek into Syriac of some of the Apocryphal books—at least, the subscriptions in certain MSS. state this.

II. The Syriac New Testament Versions

A. *The Peshito Syriac N. T.* (Text of Widmanstadt, and Curcton's Gospels.)

In whatever forms the Syriac New Test. may have existed prior to the time of Philoxenus (the beginning of the *sixth* century), who caused a new translation to be made, it will be more convenient to consider all such most ancient translations or revisions together; even though there may be reasons afterwards assigned for not regarding the version of the earlier ages of Christianity as absolutely one.

It may stand as an admitted fact that a version of the New Test. in Syriac existed in the 2nd century; and to this we may refer the statement of Eusebius respecting Hegesippus, that he "made quotations from the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Syriac," ἔκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 22). It seems equally certain that in the 4th century such a version was as well known of the New Test. as of the Old. It was the companion of the Old Test. translation made from the Hebrew, and as such was in habitual use in the Syriac Churches. To the translation in common use amongst the Syrians, orthodox, Monophysite, or Nestorian, from the 5th century and onward, the name of Peshito has been as commonly applied in the New Test. as the Old. In the 7th century at least the version so current acquired the name of ܦܫܝܛܐ, *old*, in contrast to that which was then formed and revised by the Monophysites.

Though we have no certain data as to the origin of this version, it is probable on every ground that a Syriac translation of the New Test. was an accompaniment of that of the Old; whatever therefore bears on the one, bears on the other also.

There seem to be but few notices of the old Syriac Version in early writers. Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the former half of the 6th century, incidentally informs us that the Syriac translation does not contain the Second Epistle of Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude. This was found to be correct when a thousand years afterwards this ancient translation became again known to Western scholars. In 1552, Moses of Mardin came to Rome to Pope Julius III., commissioned by Ignatius the Jacobite (Monophysite) patriarch, to state his religious opinions, to effect (it is said) a union with the Romish Church, and *to get the Syriac New Test. printed.* In this last object Moses failed both at Rome and Venice. At Vienna he was, however, successful. Widmanstadt, the chancellor of the Emperor Ferdinand I., had himself learned Syriac from Theseus Ambrosius many years previously; and through his influence the emperor undertook the charge of an

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[p] The following is the notation of these MSS., and their contents and dates:—

12,133 (besides the Peshito Exodus); *Joshua* (defective), cent. vii. "Translated from a Greek MS. of the Hexapla, collated with one of the Tetrapla."

12,134, *Exodus*. A.D. 697.

14,434, *Psalms* formed from *two* MSS. cent. viii. (with the Song of the Three Children subjoined to the second). Both MSS. are defective. Subscription, "According to the LXX."

14,437, *Numbers* and 1 *Kings*, defective (cent. vii. or viii.). The subscription to 1 Kings says that it was translated into Syriac at Alexandria in the year 927 (A.D. 616).

14,442, *Genesis*, defective (with 1 Sam. Peshito). "According to the LXX." (cent. vi.).

17,103, *Judges* and *Ruth*, defective (cent. vii. or viii.). Subscription to Judges, "According to the LXX.;" to Ruth, "From the Tetrapla of the LXX."

The notes on these MSS. made by the present writer in 1857 have been kindly compared and amplified by Mr William Wright of the British Museum.

Rördam issued at Copenhagen in 1859 the first portion of an edition of the MS. 17,103: another part has since been published. Some of these MSS. were written in the same century in which the version was made. They may probably be depended on as giving the text with general accuracy.

edition, which appeared in 1555, through the joint labours of Widmanstadt, Moses, and Postell. Some copies were afterwards issued with the date of 1562 on the back of the title.[q]

In having only *three* Catholic epistles, this Syriac New Test. agreed with the description of Cosmas; the Apocalypse was also wanting, as well as the section John viii. 1-11; this last omission, and some other points, were noticed in the list of errata. The editors appear to have followed their MSS. with great fidelity, so that the edition is justly valued. In subsequent editions endeavours were made conjecturally to amend the text by introducing 1 John v. 7 and other portions which do not belong to this translation. One of the principal editions is that of Leusden and Schaaf; in this the text is made as *full* as possible by supplying every lacuna from *any* source; in the punctuation there is a strange peculiarity, that in the former part Leusden chose to follow a sort of Chaldee analogy, while on his death Schaaf introduced a regular system of Syriac vocalization through all the rest of the volume. The Lexicon which accompanies this edition is of great value. This edition was first issued in 1708: more copies, however, have the date 1709; while some have the false and dishonest statement on the title page, "Secunda editio a mendis purgata," and the date 1717. The late Professor Lee published an edition in 1816, in which he corrected or altered the text on the authority of a few MSS. This is so far independent of that of Widmanstadt. It is, however, very far short of being really a *critical* edition. In 1828, the edition of Mr. William Greenfield (often reprinted from the stereotype plates), was published by Messrs. Bagster: in this the text of Widmanstadt was followed (with the vowels fully expressed), and with certain supplements within brackets from Lee's edition. For the *collation* with Lee's text Greenfield was not responsible. There are now in this country excellent materials for the formation of a critical edition of this version: it may, however, be said, that as in its first publication the MSS. employed were honestly used, it is in the text of Widmanstadt in a far better condition than is the Peshito Old Testament.

This Syriac Version has been variously estimated: some have thought that in it they had a genuine and unaltered monument of the second, or perhaps even of the *first* century. They thus naturally upheld it as almost co-ordinate in authority with the Greek text, and as being of a period anterior to any Greek copy extant. Others finding in it indubitable marks of a later age, were inclined to deny that it had any claim to a very remote antiquity; thus La Croze thought that the commonly printed Syriac New Test. is not the Peshito at all, but the Philoxenian executed in the beginning of the 6th century. The fact is, that this version is transmitted to us contains marks of antiquity, and also traces of a later age. The two things are so blended, that if either class of phaenomena alone were regarded, the most opposite opinions might be formed. The opinion of Wetstein was one of the most perverse that could be devised: he found in this version readings which accord with the Latin; and then, acting on the strange system of criticism which he adopted in his later years, he asserted that any such accordance with the Latin was a proof of corruption from that version: so that with him the proofs of antiquity became the tokens of later origin, and he thus assigned the translation to the *seventh* century. With him the real indications of later readings were only the marks of the very reverse. Michaelis took very opposite ground to that of Wetstein; he upheld its antiquity and authority very strenuously. The former point could be easily *proved*, if one class of readings alone were considered; and this is confirmed by the *contents* of the version itself. But on the other hand there are difficulties, for very often readings of a much more recent kind appear; it was thus thought that it might be compared with the Latin as found in the Codex Brixianus, in which there is an ancient groundwork, but also the work of a reviser is manifest. Thus the judgment formed by Griesbach seems to be certainly the correct one as to the peculiarity of the text of this version: he says (using the terms proper to his system of *recensions*); "Nulli harum recensionum Syriaca versio, prout quidem typis excusa est, similis, verum nec ulli prorsus dissimilis est. In multis concinit cum Alexandrina recensione, in pluribus cum Occidentali, in nonnullis etiam cum Constantinopolitana, ita tamen ut quae in hanc posterioribus demum seculis invecta sunt, pleraque repudiet. *Diversis ergo temporibus ad Graecos codices plane diversos iterum iterumque recognita esse videtur*" (*Nov. Test. Proleg.* lxxv.). In a note Griesbach introduced the comparison of the Codex Brixianus, "Illustrari hoc potest codicum nonnullorum Latinorum exemplo, qui priscam quidem versionem ad Occidentalem recensionem accommodatam representant, sed passim ad juniores libros Graecos refictam. *Ex hoc genere est Brixianus Codex Latinus*, qui non raro a Graeco-Latinis et vetustioribus Latinis omnibus solus discedit, et in Graecorum partes transit."[r] Some proof that the text of the common printed Peshito has been *re-wrought*, will appear when it is compared with the Curetonian Syriac Gospels.

Let it be distinctly remembered that this is no *new* opinion; that it is not the *peculiar* notion of Tregelles, or of any one individual; for as the

[q] The date of 1555 appears repeatedly in the body of the volume; at the end of the Gospels, May 18, 1555; St. Paul's Epp., July 18, 1555; Acts, Aug. 14, 1555; Cath. Epp. and the conclusion, Sep. 27, 1555. The volume is dedicated to the Emperor Ferdinand, and the *contents* mention *three* other dedications to other members of the Imperial house. All of these three are often wanting, and two of them, addressed to the Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles, are not only generally wanting, but it is even said that no copy is known in which they are found.

[r] Griesbach's most matured judgment on this subject was thus given:—"Interpolationes autem e locis Evangeliorum parallelis, quales apud Syrum, Matt. xxviii. 18, Luc. ix. 39, item Matt. xxii. 22, 23, Mar. vi. 11, xiii. 14, Luc. iv. 13, deprehenduntur, non magis quam additamenta e lectionariis libris in sacrum contextum traducta velut Luc. xv. 11, aut liturgicum illud assumentum Matt. vi. 13, vitia sunt τῇ κοινῇ propria. . . . . Quin plerasque interpolationes modo enumeratas, cum aliis ejusmodi generis multis, quae nunc in versione Syriaca extant, primitus ab ea abfuisse et seriori demum tempore in eam irrepsisse, plane mihi persuasum est. Verissime enim clar. Hugius (. . . coll. prolegomenis in majorem meam N. T. editionem, Hal. 1796, vol. i. p. lxxv.) animad vertit, versionem hanc a Diorthote quodam videri recognitam fuisse ac castigatam. Id quod quinto seculo ineunte, antequam ecclesiae orientales Nestorianis et Monophysiticis rixis discinderentur, eventisse suspicor et in epistolis magis adhuc quam in Evangeliis locum habuisse autumo." *Commentarius Criticus* II. *Meleto sacris*, ii. iii. 1811.

question has been re-opened, it has been treated as if this were some theory newly invented to serve a purpose. The Rev. F. H. Scrivener, whose labours in the collation of Greek MSS., and whose care in editing Codex Augiensis of St. Paul's Epistles, deserve very high commendation, avowed himself many years ago an ardent admirer of the Peshito-Syriac. But even then he set aside its authority very often when it happened to adhere to the *ancient* Greek text, to the other ancient versions, and to the early Fathers, in opposition to the later copies. But when the judgment of Griesbach respecting the common printed Syriac had been repeated and enforced by Tregelles (Horne's *Introd.* vol. iv. 265), Scrivener came forward as its champion. In his Introduction to Codex Augiensis, Mr. Scrivener says, "How is this divergency of the Peshito version from the text of Codex B explained by Tregelles? He feels of course the pressure of the argument against him, and meets it, if not successfully, with even more than his wonted boldness. The translation degenerates in his hands into '*the version commonly printed as the Peshito.*' Now let us mark the precise nature of the demand here made on our faith by Dr. Tregelles. He would persuade us that the whole Eastern Church, distracted as it has been, and split into hostile sections for the space of 1400 years, orthodox and Jacobite, Nestorian and Maronite alike, those who could agree in nothing else, have laid aside their bitter jealousies in order to substitute in their monastic libraries and liturgical services, another and a spurious version in the room of the Peshito, that sole surviving monument of the first ages of the Gospel in Syria! Nay, more, that this wretched forgery has deceived Orientalists profound as Michaelis[s] and Lowth, has passed without suspicion through the ordeal of searching criticism to which every branch of Sacred literature has been subjected during the last half century! We will require solid reasons, indeed, before we surrender ourselves to an hypothesis as novel as it appears violently improbable" (pp. xiv. xv.). Mr. Scrivener's warmth of declamation might have been spared: no one calls the Peshito "a spurious version," "wretched forgery," &c., it is not suggested that the Syrian Churches agreed in some strange substitution: all that is suggested is, that at the time of the transition Greek text, before the disruption of the Syrian Churches, the then existing Syriac version was revised and modernized in a way analogous to that in which the Latin was treated in Cod. Brixianus. On part of Mr. Scrivener's statements the Rev. F. J. A. Hort has well remarked:—"The text may have been altered and corrupted between the first or second, and fifth centuries. This is all that Dr. Tregelles has supposed, though Mr. Scrivener assails him with unseemly violence, as if he had represented the vulgar text as 'a wretched forgery.' Mr. Scrivener's rashness is no less remarkable in calling this a '*novel* hypothesis,' when in fact it is at least as old as Griesbach . . . There is neither evidence nor internal probability against the supposition that the Old Syriac version was revised into its present form . . . in the 4th or even 3rd century, to make it accord with Greek MSS. then current at Antioch, Edessa, or Nisibis: *and without some such supposition the Syriac text must remain an inexplicable phaenomenon*, unless we bring the Greek and Latin texts into conformity with it by contradicting the full and clear evidence which we do possess respecting them. All that we have now said might have been alleged before the Curetonian Syriac was discovered: the case is surely strengthened in a high degree by the appearance (in a MS. assigned to the 5th century) of a Syriac version of the Gospels, bearing clear marks of the highest antiquity in its manifest errors as well as in its choicest readings. The appropriation of the *name* 'Peshito,' appears to us wholly unimportant, except for rhetorical purposes."[t]

These remarks of Mr. Hort will suffice in rescuing the opinion stated by Tregelles from the charge of *novelty* or rashness: indeed, the supposition as stated by Griesbach, is a simple solution of various difficulties; for if this be not the fact, then *every* other most ancient document or monument of the New Test. must have been strangely altered in its text. The number of difficulties (otherwise inexplicable) thus solved, is about a demonstration of its truth. Mr. Scrivener, however, seems incapable of apprehending that the *revision* of the Peshito is an opinion long ago held: he says since, "I know no other cause for suspecting the Peshito, than that its readings do not suit Dr. Tregelles, and if this fact be enough to convict it of corruption, I am quite unable to vindicate it."[u] Why, then, do not the readings "suit" Dr. Tregelles? Because, if they were considered genuine, we should have (to use Mr. Hort's words) to "bring the Greek and Latin texts into conformity with it, by contradicting the full and clear evidence which we do possess respecting them."

Whether the whole of this version proceeded from the same translator has been questioned. It appears to the present writer probable that the New Test. of the Peshito is not from the same hand as the Old. Not only may Michaelis be right in supposing a peculiar translator of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but also other parts may be from different hands; this opinion will become more general the more the version is studied. The *revisions* to which the version was subjected may have succeeded in part, but not wholly, in effacing the indications of a plurality of translators. The Acts and Epistles seem to be either more recent than the Gospels, though far less revised; or else, if coeval, far more corrected by later Greek MSS.

There is no sufficient reason for supposing that this version ever contained the four Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, now absent from it, not only in the printed editions but also in the MSS.

Some variations in copies of the Peshito have been regarded as if they might be styled Monophysite and Nestorian recensions: but the designation would be far too definite; for the differences are not sufficient to warrant the classification.

The MSS. of the *Karkaphensian* recension (as it has been termed) of the Peshito Old Test. contain also the New with a similar character of text.

The Curetonian Syriac Gospels.—"Comparative

[s] Even Michaelis did not think it needful to assume that the Peshito had been transmitted without any change. "In using the Syriac version, we must never forget that our present editions are very imperfect, and not conclude that every reading of the Syriac printed text was the reading of the Greek MS. of the first century." Marsh's *Michaelis*, ii. 46

[t] *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* (Cambridge), Feb. 1860. 378-9.

[u] "Plain Introduction," p. 424, *foot-note*.

criticism" shows the true character of every document, whether previously known or newly brought to light, which professes to contain the early text of the New Test. By comparative criticism is not meant such a mode of examining authorities as that to which Mr. Scrivener has applied this term, but such a use of combined evidence as was intended and defined by the critic by whom the expression was (for convenience sake) introduced: that is, the ascertainment that readings are in ancient documents, or rest on ancient evidence (whether early citations, versions, or MSS.), and then the examination of what documents contain such readings, and thus within what limits the inquiry for the ancient text may be bounded. Thus a document, in itself modern, may be proved to be ancient in testimony: a version, previously unknown, may be shown to uphold a very early text. For purposes of comparative criticism early readings, known to be false, have often as definite a value in the chain of proof as those which are true. In the process of comparative criticism nothing is assumed, but point after point is established by independent testimony; and thus the character of the text of MSS., of ancient versions, and of patristic citations, is upheld by their accordance with facts attested by other witnesses, of known age and certain transmission.

It was reasonable to suppose with Griesbach that the Syriac version must at one time have existed in a form different from that in the common printed text: it was felt by Biblical scholars to be a mere assumption that the name *Peshito* carried with it some hallowed prestige; it was established that it was a groundless imagination that this version, as edited, had been known from the earliest ages as the original monument of Syrian Christianity. Hence if it could be shown that an earlier version (or earlier basis of the same version) had existed, there was not only no *à priori* objection, but even a demonstrated probability (almost certainty) that this had been the case. When it is remembered how little we know historically of the Syriac versions, it must be felt as an assumption that the form of text common from the fifth century and onward was the original version. In 1848 Tregelles (see Davidson's *Introduction to the New Test.* vol. i. p. 429) suggested that "the Nitrian MSS. when collated may exhibit perhaps an earlier text." This was written without any notion that it was an ascertained fact that such a MS. of the Gospels existed, and that the full attention of a thorough Syriac scholar had been devoted to its illustration and publication.

Among the MSS. brought from the Nitrian monasteries in 1842, Dr. Cureton noticed a copy of the Gospels, differing greatly from the common text: and this is the form of text to which the name of Curetonian Syriac has been rightly applied. Every criterion which proves the common Peshito not to exhibit a text of extreme antiquity, equally proves the early origin of this. The discovery is in fact that of the object which was wanted, the want of which had been previously ascertained. Dr. Cureton considers that the MS. of the Gospels is of the fifth century, a point in which all competent judges are probably agreed. Some persons indeed have sought to depreciate the text, to point out its differences from the Peshito, to regard all such variations as corruptions, and thus to stigmatise the Curetonian Syriac as a corrupt revision of the Peshito, barbarous in language and false in readings.[x] This peremptory judgment is as reasonable as if the old Latin in the Codex Vercellensis were called an ignorant revision of the version of Jerome. The judgment that the Curetonian Syriac is older than the Peshito is not the peculiar opinion of Cureton, Alford,[y] Tregelles, or Biblical scholars of the school of ancient evidence in this country, but it is also that of continental scholars, such as Ewald, and apparently of the late Prof. Bleek.[z]

The MS. contains Matt. i.-viii. 22, x. 31-xxii. 25. Mark, the four last verses only. John i. 1-42, iii. 6-vii. 37, xiv. 11-29; Luke ii. 48-iii. 16, vii. 33-xv. 21, xvii. 24-xxiv. 41. It would have been a thing of much value if a perfect copy of this version had come down to us; but as it is, we have reason greatly to value the discovery of Dr. Cureton, which shows how truly those critics have argued who concluded that such a version must have existed; and who regarded this as a *proved fact*, even when not only no portion of the version was known to be extant, but also when even the record of its existence was unnoticed. For there is a record showing an acquaintance with this version, to which, as well as to the version itself, attention has been directed by Dr. Cureton. Bar Salibi, bishop of Amida in the 12th century, in a passage translated by Dr. C. (in discussing the omission of three kings in the genealogy in St. Matthew) says:—"There is found occasionally a Syriac copy, made out of the Hebrew, which inserts these three kings in the genealogy; but that afterwards it speaks of *fourteen* and not of *seventeen* generations, because fourteen generations has been substituted for seventeen by the Hebrews on account of their holding to the septenary number," &c.[a]

It shows then that Bar Salibi knew of a Syriac text of the Gospels in which Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah were inserted in Matt. i. 8; there is the same reading in the Curetonian Syriac: but this might have been a coincidence. But in ver. 17 the Curetonian text has, in contradiction to ver. 8, *fourteen* generations and not *seventeen*: and so had the copy mentioned by Bar Salibi: the former point might be a mere coincidence; the

[x] It is very certain that many who profess a peculiar admiration for the Peshito do this rather from some traditional notion than from minute personal acquaintance. They suppose that it has some prescriptive right to the first rank amongst versions, they praise its excellencies, which they have not personally investigated, and they do not care to know wherein it is defective. Every error in translation, every doubtful reading, every supposed defect in the one known MS. of the Curetonian Gospels, has been enumerated by those who wish to depreciate that version, and to detract from the critical merits of its discoverer and editor. But many of the supposed defects are really the very opposite; and if they similarly examined the Peshito, they might find more fault with it and with its translator. The last fourteen chapters of the Book of Acts, as they have come down to us in the Peshito, present far more grounds for comment than an equal portion of the Curetonian. The Peshito is a very valuable version, although overpraised by some injudicious admirers, who (even if they have *read* it) have never closely and verbally examined it. Many have evidently never looked farther than the Gospels, even though aided by Schaaf's Latin interpretation.

[y] "Perhaps the earliest and most important of all the versions." Alford's *Gr. Test.* Proleg. vol. i. 114, ed. 4.

[z] See Bleek's *Einleitung in das N. Test.* p. 723, *foot-note*.

[a] For the Syriac of this part of the passage from Bar Salibi, see Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii. 160.

latter, however, shows such a kind of union in contradiction as proves the identity very convincingly. Thus, though this version was unknown *in Europe* prior to its discovery by Dr. Cureton, it must in the 12th century have been known as a text sometimes found, and as mentioned by the Monophysite Bishop, it might be more in use amongst his co-religionists than amongst others. Perhaps, as its existence and use is thus recorded in the 12th century, some further discovery of Syriac MSS. may furnish us with another copy so as to supply the defects of the one happily recovered.

In examining the Curetonian text with the common printed Peshito, we often find such identity of phrase and rendering as to show that they are not wholly independent translations: then, again, we meet with such variety in the forms of words, &c. as seems to indicate that in the Peshito the phraseology had been revised and refined.[b] But the great (it might be said characteristic) difference between the Curetonian and the Peshito Gospels is in their readings; for while the latter cannot in its present state be deemed an unchanged production of the second century, the former bears all the marks of extreme antiquity, even though in places it may have suffered from the introduction of readings current in very early times.

The following are a few of the very many cases in which the ancient reading is found in the Curetonian, and the later or transition reading in the Peshito. For the *general authorities* on the subject of each passage, reference must be made to the notes in critical editions of the Greek New Test.

Matt. xix. 17, *τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*; the *ancient* reading, as we find in the best authorities, and as we know from Origen; so the Curetonian: *τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν*; the common text with the Peshito. Matt. xx. 22, the clause of the common text, *καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι* (and the corresponding part of the following verse) are in the Peshito; while we know from Origen that they were in his day a peculiarity of St. Mark: omitted in the Curetonian with the other best authorities. In fact, except the Peshito and some revised Latin copies, there is no evidence at all extant for these words prior to the fifth century. Matt. v. 4, 5: here the ancient order of the beatitudes, as supported by Origen, Tertullian, the canons of Eusebius, and Hilary, is that of placing *μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, κ. τ. λ. before μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες, κ. τ. λ.*; here the Curetonian agrees with the distinct testimonies for this order against the Peshito. In Matt. i. 18, we know from Irenaeus that the name "Jesus" was not read; and this is confirmed by the Curetonian: in fact, the common reading, however widely supported, could not have originated until *Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς* was treated as a combined proper name, otherwise the meaning of *τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ἡ γένεσις* would not be "the birth of Jesus Christ," but "the birth of Jesus as the Christ." Here the Curetonian reading is in full accordance with what we know of the *second* century in opposition to the Peshito. In Matt. vi. 4 the Curetonian omits *αὐτός*; in the same ver. and in ver. 6 it omits *ἐν τῷ φανερῷ*: in each case with the best authorities, but against the Peshito. Matt. v. 44, has been amplified by copyists in an extraordinary manner: the words in brackets show the amplifications, and the place from which each was taken: *ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, Ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν* [*εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς*, Luke vi. 28, *καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς*, Ibid. 27], *καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν* [*ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ*, Ibid. 35] *διωκόντων ὑμᾶς*. The briefer form is attested by Irenaeus, Clement, Origen, Cyprian, Eusebius, etc.; and though the inserted words and clauses are found in almost all Greek MSS. (except Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus), and in many versions including the Peshito, *they are not in the Curetonian Syriac*. Of a similar kind are Matt. xviii. 35, *τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν*; Luke viii. 54, *ἐκβαλὼν ἔξω πάντας καὶ*; Luke ix. 7, *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*; ix. 54, *ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησεν*: xi. 2, *γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*: xi. 29, *τοῦ προφήτου*: xi. 44, *γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί*: John iv. 43, *καὶ ἀπῆλθεν*; v. 16, *καὶ ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι*: vi. 51, *ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω*: vi. 69, *τοῦ ζῶντος*.

These are but a few samples of the variations which exist between the Curetonian Syriac and the Peshito as to the kind of text: the instances of this might be increased almost indefinitely. Those acquainted with critical results will know that some of those here specified are crucial texts in points of Comparative Criticism. Such a comparison not only shows the antiquity of the text of the Curetonian Syriac, but it also affords abundant proof that the Peshito must have been modernized and revised.

The antiquity of the Curetonian text is also shown by the occurrence of readings which were, as we know, early current, even though rightly repudiated as erroneous: several of these are in the Curetonian Syriac; it may suffice to refer to the long addition after Matt. xx. 28.

The Curetonian Syriac presents such a text as we might have concluded would be current in the second century: the Peshito has many features which *could not* belong to that age; unless, indeed, we are ready to reject established facts, and those of a very numerous kind: probably, *at least*, two thousand.

It is not needful for very great attention to be paid to the phraseology of the Curetonian Syriac in order to see that the Gospel of St. Matthew differs in mode of expression and various other particulars from what we find in the rest. This may lead us again to look at the testimony of Bar Salibi; he tells us, when speaking of this version of St. Matthew, "there is found occasionally a Syriac copy *made out of the Hebrew*:" we thus *know* that the opinion of the Syrians themselves in the 12th century was that this translation of St. Matthew was not made from the Greek, but from the Hebrew original of the Evangelist: such, too, is the judgment of Dr. Cureton: "this Gospel of St. Matthew appears at least to be built upon the original Aramaic text, which was the work of the Apostle himself." (*Preface to Syriac Gospels*, p. vi.)

Dr. Cureton rightly draws attention to the peculiar title prefixed to the Gospel by St. Matthew, ܐܝܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܬܝ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܘܥܘܢܓܠܝܣܛܐ. Now whatever be the meaning of the word *dampharsho*

[b] A collation of an ancient Syriac MS. of the Gospels (Rich, 7,157 in the British Museum) showed that the Syrians were in the habit of reforming their copies in some respects. The grammatical forms, &c., of this MS. are much more ancient than those of the text of Widmanstadt, who has been followed by successive editors.

here brought *in*—whether it signifies "the *distinct* Gospel of Matthew," as rendered by Cureton, or "the Gospel of Matthew *set forth*" [*i. e.* for lessons throughout the ecclesiastical year], as Bernstein advances, supporting his opinion by a passage in Assemani (which can hardly here apply, as this copy is not so "set forth"), or if it means (as some have objected), "the Gospel of Matthew *explained*"—still there must be some reason why the *first* Gospel should be thus designated, and not the others. But the use of the cognate Hebrew verb in the Old Test. may afford us some aid as to *what* kind of *explanation* is meant, if indeed that is the meaning of the term here used. In the description of the reading of the law in Neh. viii. 8, we are told, "So they read in the book of the law *distinctly* (מְפֹרָשׁ), and gave the sense, and caused the people to understand the reading." The word here used has been regarded by able scholars as implying an interpretation from the ancient Hebrew into the form of Aramaean then current. Such a *Mephorash*, when written, would be the germ of the Targum of after ages. (See below, p 1638*a*.) The same word may be used in the heading of St. Matthew's Gospel in the same sense—as being an explanation from one Shemitic tongue or dialect into another, just as St. Matthew's Gospel turned from one form of Hebrew into pure Syriac would be.

But it may be asked, if St. Matthew's Hebrew (or Chaldaic) Gospel was before the translator, why should he have done more than copy into Syriac letters? Why *translate* at all? It is sufficient, in reply, to refer to the Chaldaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, and to the Syriac version made from them. In varying dialects it sometimes happens that the vocabulary in use differs more than the grammatical forms. The verbal identity may often be striking, even though accompanied with frequent variation of terms.

We know from Jerome that the Hebrew St. Matthew had מָחָר where the Greek has *ἐπιούσιον*. We do *not* find that word here, but we read for both *ἐπιούσιον* and *σήμερον* at the end of the verse, ܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܘܡܗ, "*constant* of the day." This might have sprung from the interpretation, "morrow by morrow," given to מָחָר; and it may be illustrated by Old Test. passages, *e. g.* Num. iv. 7, where לֶחֶם הַתָּמִיד is rendered by ܠܚܡ ܕܒܟܠ ܝܘܡ. Those who think that if this Syriac version had been made from St. Matthew's Hebrew, we ought to find מָחָר here, forget that a translation is not a verbal transfusion.

We know from Eusebius that Hegesippus cited from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and from the Syriac. Now in a fragment of Hegesippus (Routh, i. 219), there is the quotation, *μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὑμῶν οἱ βλεπόντες καὶ τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν τὰ ἀκούοντα*, words which might be a Greek rendering from Matt. xiii. 16, as it stands in this Syriac Gospel as we have it, or probably also in the Hebrew work of the Apostle himself. Every notice of the kind is important; and Dr. Cureton, in pointing it out, has furnished students with one of the varied data through which a right conclusion may be reached.

Every successive investigation, on the part of competent scholars, aids in the proof that the Curetonian Gospels are an older form than those in the Peshito; that the Peshito is a revision replete with readings unknown in the 2nd century (and often long after); and that the Curetonian text possesses the highest critical as well as historical value.

The more the evidence, direct and indirect, is weighed, the more established it appears will be the judgment that the Curetonian Syriac of St. Matthew's Gospel was translated from the Apostle's Hebrew (Syro-Chaldaic) original, although injured since by copyists or revisers.

B. *The Philoxenian Syriac Version, and its revision by Thomas of Harkel.*—Philoxenus, or Xenaias, Bp. of Hierapolis or Mabug at the beginning of the 6th century (who was one of those Monophysites who subscribed the *Henoticon* of the Emperor Zeno), caused Polycarp, his *Chorepiscopus*, to make a new translation of the New Test. into Syriac. This was executed in A.D. 508, and it is generally termed Philoxenian from its promoter.[c]

This version has not been transmitted to us in the form in which it was first made; we only possess a revision of it, executed by Thomas of Harkel in the following century (The Gospels, A.D. 616). Pococke, in 1630,[d] gives an extract from Bar Salibi, in which the version of Thomas of Harkel is mentioned; and though Pococke did not know *what* version Thomas had made, he speaks of a Syriac translation of the Gospels communicated to him by some learned man whom he does not name, which from its servile adherence to the Greek was no doubt the Harklean text. In the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Assemani there were further notices of the work of Thomas; and in 1730 Samuel Palmer sent from the ancient Amida (now Diarbekr) Syriac MSS. to Dr. Gloucester Ridley, in which the version is contained. Thus he had two copies of the Gospels, and one of all the rest of the New Test., except the end of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse. No other MSS. appear to have yet come to light which contain any of this version beyond the Gospels. From the subscriptions we learn that the text was revised by Thomas with *three* (some copies say *two*) Greek MSS. *One* Greek copy is similarly mentioned at the close of the Catholic Epistles.

Ridley published, in 1761, an account of the MSS. in his possession, and a notice of this version. He had intended to have edited the text: this was however done by White, at different times from 1778 to 1803. After the publication of the Gospels, the researches of Adler brought more copies into notice of that part of the Harklean text. From one of the MSS. in the Vatican, St. John's Gospel was edited by Bernstein in 1851. It will be noticed that this version differs from the Peshito, in containing all the seven Catholic Epistles.

In describing this version as it has come down to us, the *text* is the first thing to be considered. This is characterized by extreme literality: the Syriac idiom is constantly bent to suit the Greek, and everything is in some manner expressed in the Greek phrase and order. It is difficult to imagine that it could have been intended for ecclesiastical reading. It is not independent of the Peshito, the words, &c., of which are often employed. As to the kind of Greek text that it represents it is just what might have been expected in the 6th century. The work of Thomas in the text itself is

[c] See Moses Aghelaeus in Assemani, *Bibliath. Orient* ii. 83.

[d] Preface to the Syriac edit on of 2 Pet. &c.

seen in the introduction of *obeli*, by which passages which he rejected were condemned; and of *asterisks*, with which his insertions were distinguished. His model in all this was the Hexaplar Greek text. The MSS. which were used by Thomas were of a different kind from those employed in making the version; they represented in general a much older and purer text. The margin of the Harklean recension contains (like the Hexaplar text of the LXX.) readings, mostly apparently from the Greek MSS. used. It has been questioned whether these readings are not a comparison with the Peshito; if any of them are so, they have probably been introduced since the time of Thomas. It is probable that the Philoxenian version was very literal, but that the slavish adaptation to the Greek is the work of Thomas; and that his *text* thus bore about the same relation to that of Philoxenus as the Latin Bible of Arias Montanus does to that of his predecessor Pagninus. For textual criticism this version is a good authority as to the text of its own time, at least where it does not merely follow the Peshito. The amplifications in the margin of the Book of Acts bring a MS. used by Thomas into close comparison with the Codex Bezae. One of the MSS. of the Gospels sent to Ridley contains the Harklean text, with some revision by Bar Salibi.

C. *Syriac Versions of portions wanting in the Peshito.*—I. The second Epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, and that of Jude. The fact has been already noticed, that the Old Syriac Version did not contain these Epistles. They were published by Pococke in 1630, from a MS. in the Bodleian. The version of these Epistles so often agrees with what we have in the Harklean recension, that the one is at least dependent on the other. The suggestion of Dr. Davidson (*Biblical Criticism*, ii. 196), that the text of Pococke is that of Philoxenus before it was revised by Thomas, seems most probable. But if it is objected, that the translation does not show as great a knowledge of Greek as might have been expected in the translation of the rest of the Philoxenian, it must be remembered that here he had not the Peshito to aid him. In the Paris Polyglott these Epistles were added to the Peshito, with which they have since been commonly printed, although they have not the slightest relation to that version.

II. *The Apocalypse.*—In 1627 De Dieu edited a Syriac version of the Apocalypse, from a MS. in the Leyden Library, written by one "Caspar from the land of the Indians," who lived in the latter part of the 16th century. A MS. at Florence, also written by this Caspar, has a subscription stating that it was copied in 1582 from a MS. in the writing of Thomas of Harkel, in A.D. 622. If this is correct it shows that Thomas by himself would have been but a poor translator of the N. T. But the subscription seems to be of doubtful authority; and until the Rev. B. Harris Cowper drew attention to a more ancient copy of the version, we might well be somewhat uncertain if this were really an ancient work.[e] It is of small critical value, and the MS. from which it was edited is incorrectly written. It was in the MS. which Abp. Ussher sent as a present to De Dieu in 1631, in which the *whole* of the Syriac N. T. is said to have been contained (of what version is unknown), that having been the only complete MS. of the kind described;[f] and of this MS., in comparison with the text of the Apocalypse printed by De Dieu, Ussher says, "the Syriac lately set out at Leyden may be amended by my MS. copy" (Todd's *Walton*, i. 196, *note*). This book, from the Paris Polyglott and onward, has been added to the Peshito in this translation. Some have erroneously called this Syriac Apocalypse the *Philoxenian*, a name to which it has no title: the error seems to have originated from a verbal mistake in an old advertisement of Greenfield's edition (for which he was not responsible), which said "the *Apocalypse* and the *Epistles* not found in the Peschito, are given from the Philoxenian version."

III. *The Syriac Version of John* viii. 1-11.—From the MS. sent by Abp. Ussher to De Dieu, the latter published this section in 1631. From De Dieu it was inserted in the London Polyglott, with a reference to Ussher's MS., and hence it has passed with the other editions of the Peshito, where it is a mere interpolation.

A copy of the same version (essentially) is found in Ridley's *Codex Barsalibaei*, where it is attributed to Maras, A.D. 622: Adler found it also in a Paris MS. ascribed to Abbas Mar Paul.

Bar Salibi cites a different version, out of Maras, Bp. of Amida, through the chronicle of Zacharias of Melitina. See Assemani (*Biblioth. Orient.* ii. 53 and 170), who gives the introductory words. Probably the version edited is that of Paul (as stated in the Paris MS.), and that of Maras the one cited by Bar Salibi; while in Ridley's MS. the two are confounded. The Paul mentioned is apparently Paul of Tela, the translator of the Hexaplar Greek text into Syriac.

D. THE JERUSALEM SYRIAC LECTIONARY.—The MS. in the Vatican containing this version was pretty fully described by S. E. Assemani in 1756, in the Catalogue of the MSS. belonging to that Library; but so few copies of that work escaped destruction by fire, that it was virtually unpublished, and its contents almost unknown. Adler, who at Copenhagen had the advantage of studying one of the few copies of this Catalogue, drew public attention to this peculiar document in his *Kurze Uebersicht seiner biblischkritischen Reise nach Rom*, pp. 118-127 (Altona, 1783), and still further, in 1789, in his valuable examination of the Syriac versions. The MS. was written in A.D. 1031, in peculiar Syriac writing; the portions are of course those for the different festivals, some parts

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The Rev. B. Harris Cowper has courteously communicated the following notice relative to the Syriac Apocalypse in MSS. in the British Museum: "The MS. No. 7185 of the 14th century does not contain the actual text of the Apocalypse, but a brief commentary upon it—upon paper, and not quite perfect; the text seeming to be that of our printed books. The *text* of the Apocalypse is apparently all found in No. 17,127, a commentary upon the book of the 11th century. This also seems to be of the same text as the printed edition."

[f] De Dieu says that this Syriac MS. contained "omnia T. Syriaci, quae in prioribus deerant editionibus."

Does this mean that it merely contained what was previously wanting, or the *whole*, including such parts? It seems strange if this section of St. John stood in it *alone*. This makes it seem as if the interpretation given above were the true one. Ussher's own description is this:—"I have received the parcels of the N. Test. [in Syriac] which hitherto we have wanted in that language, viz., the history of the adulterous woman, the 2nd Epistle of Peter, the 2nd and 3rd Epistles of St. John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Revelation; as also a small tractate of Ephrem Syrus in his own language." Abp Ussher to Dr. Samuel Ward June 23, 1626 (Todd's *Life of Walton*, i. 194).

of the Gospels not being there at all. The dialect is not common Syriac; it was termed the *Jerusalem* Syriac, from its being supposed to resemble the Jerusalem Talmud in language and other points. The grammar is peculiar; the forms almost Chaldee rather than Syriac; two characters are used for expressing F and P.

For critical purposes this Lectionary has a far higher value than it has for any other: its readings often coincide with the oldest and best authorities. It is not yet known as to its entire text; for except a small specimen, no part has been printed; Adler, however, selected large numbers of readings, which have been commonly used by critics from that time and onward. In Adler's opinion its date as a version would be from the 4th to the 6th century; but it can hardly be supposed that it is of so early an age, or that any Syrians then could have used so corrupt a dialect. It may rather be supposed to be a translation made from a Greek Lectionary, never having existed as a substantive translation: to what age its execution should be assigned seems wholly uncertain. (A further account of the MS. of this version, drawn up from a comparison of Assemani's description in the Vatican Catalogue, and that of Adler, with the MS. itself in the Vatican Library, made by the present writer, is given in Horne's *Introd.* iv. 284–287, where, however, "Jerusalem *Targum*" twice stands for *Talmud*.)

It appears, from the statement of Dr. Ceriani of Milan, that Count Marescalchi has met with a MS. of this Lectionary, and that he has long had the intention of publishing it.

On the Syriac Versions.—Adler, *N. T. Versiones Syriacae, Simplex, Philoxeniana et Hierosolymitana denuo examinatae*, 1789; Wiseman, *Horae Syriacae*, 1827; Ridley, *De Syriacarum N. Foederis versionum indole atque usu*, &c., 1761; Winer, *Commentatio de versionis N. T. Syriacae usu critico caute instituendo*, 1823; Wichelhaus, *De Novi Test. versione Syriaca antiqua quam Peschitho vocant*, 1850; Bernstein, *De Charklensi N. T. translatione Syriaca commentatio*, 1857; Cureton, *Antient Recension of the Syriac Gospels* (Preface, &c.), 1858. [S. P. T.]

TARGUM (תַּרְגּוּם, from תִּרְגֵּם; Arab. ترجم, to translate, explain); a Chaldee word of uncertain origin, variously derived from the roots רגם, רקם (comp. Arab. رقم, رقن, &c.), and even identified with the Greek τράγημα, dessert (Fr. *dragées*), (trop. τραγήματα τῶν λόγων, Dion. Hal. *Rhet.* 10, 18), which occurs often in the Talmud as מיני טרגימא, or תרגימא ("such as dates, almonds, nuts," &c. Pes. 119 *b*):—the general term for the CHALDEE, or, more accurately ARAMAIC VERSIONS of the Old Testament.

The injunction to "read the Book of the Law before all Israel . . . . the men, and women, and children, and the strangers," on the Feast of Tabernacles of every Sabbatical year, as a means of solemn instruction and edification, is first found in Deut. xxxi. 10-13. How far the ordinance was observed in early times we have no means of judging. It would appear, however, that such readings did take place in the days of Jeremiah. Certain it is that among the first acts undertaken by Ezra towards the restoration of the primitive religion and public worship is reported his reading "before the congregation, both of men and women" of the returned exiles, "in the Book in the Law of God" (Neh. viii. 2, 8). Aided by those men of learning and eminence with whom, according to tradition, he founded that most important religious and political body called the Great Synagogue, or Men of the Great Assembly (אנשי כנסת הגדולה, 536-167), he appears to have succeeded in so firmly establishing regular and frequent public readings in the Sacred Records, that later authorities almost unanimously trace this hallowed custom to times immemorial—nay to the time of Moses himself. Such is the statement of Josephus (*c. Ap.* ii. 17); and we read in the Acts, xv. 21, "For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogue every sabbath-day." So also Jer. Meg. i. 1: "Ezra has instituted for Israel that the maledictions in the Pentateuch should also be read in public," &c. Further, Meg. 31 *b*, "Ezra instituted ten things, viz., that there should be readings in the Law also in the afternoon service of Sabbath, on the Monday, and on the Thursday, &c. . . . . But was not this instituted before in the desert, as we find 'they went for three days and found no water' (water meaning the Law, as Is. lv. 1 is fancifully explained by the Haggada), until the 'prophets among them' arranged the three weekly readings? But Ezra only reinstituted them," comp. also B. Kama, 82 *a*, &c. To these ancient readings in the Pentateuch were added, in the course of time, readings in the Prophets (in some Babylonian cities even in the Hagiographa), which were called הפטרות, *Haftaroth*; but when and how these were introduced is still matter of speculation. Former investigators (Abudraham, Elias Levita, Vitringa, &c.) almost unanimously trace their origin to the Syrian persecutions, during which all attention to the Law was strictly prohibited, and even all the copies of it that were found were ruthlessly destroyed; so that, as a substitute for the Pentateuchical Parasha, a somewhat corresponding portion of the Prophets was read in the synagogue, and the custom, once introduced, remained fixed. Recent scholars, on the other hand, without much show of reason, as it would appear, variously hold the *Haftarah* to have sprung from the sermon or homiletic exercise which accompanied the reading in the Pentateuch, and took its *exordium* (as Haftarah, by an extraordinary linguistic stretch, is explained by Frankel) from a prophetic passage, adapted in a manner to the Mosaic text under consideration; or, again, they imagine the *Haftarah* to have taken its rise spontaneously during the exile itself, and that Ezra retained and enforced it in Palestine.

If, however, the primitive religion was re-established, together with the second Temple, in more than its former vigour, thus enabling the small number of the returned exiles—and these, according to tradition, the lowest of the low, the poor in wealth, in knowledge, and in ancestry,[a] the very outcasts and refuse of the nation as it were[b]—to found

[a] "Ten kinds of families went up from Babylon: Priests, Levites, Israelites, profaned (חלילי), those whose fathers are priests, but whose mothers are not fit for priestly marriage); proselytes, freedmen, bastards (or rather those born in illegal wedlock); Nethinim (lowest menials of the Temple); שתוקי ('about whose lineage there is silence,'—of unknown fathers); and אסופי 'foundlings, of unknown father and mother'" (Kidd. 4, 1).

[b] "Ezra, on leaving Babylon, made it like unto pure flour" בסולת נקייה (ib.).

upon the ruins of Zion one of the most important and lasting spiritual commonwealths that has ever been known, there was yet one thing which neither authority nor piety, neither academy nor synagogue, could restore to its original power and glory—the Hebrew language. Ere long it was found necessary to translate the national books, in order that the nation from whose midst they had sprung might be able to understand them. And if for the Alexandrine, or rather the whole body of Hellenistic Jews, Greek translations had to be composed, those who dwelt on the hallowed soil of their forefathers had to receive the sacred word through an Aramaic medium. The word מפורש, *Mephorash*, "explanatory," "clearly," or, as the A. V. has it, "distinctly," used in the above-quoted passage of Neh. viii. 8, is in the Talmud explained by "Targum."[e] Thus to Ezra himself is traced the custom of adding translations in the then popular idiom—the Aramaic—to the periodical readings (Jer. Meg. 28 *b*; J. Ned. iv., Bab. Ned. i.; Maim. Hilch. Teph. xii. §10, &c.), for which he is also reported to have fixed the Sabbaths, the Mondays and Thursdays—the two latter the market and law-days, when the villagers came to town—of every week (Jer. Meg. i. 1; Baba Kama, 82 *a*). The gradual decay of the pure Hebrew vernacular, among the multitude at least, may be accounted for in many ways. The Midrash very strikingly points out, among the characteristics of the long sojourn of Israel in Egypt, that they neither changed their language, nor their names, nor the shape of their garments, during all that time. The bulk of their community—shut up, as it were, in the small province of Goshen, almost exclusively reduced to intercourse with their own race and tribes, devoted only to the pasture of their flocks, and perhaps to the tilling of their soil—were in a condition infinitely more favourable for the retention of all the signs and tokens of their nationality than were the Babylonian captives. The latter scattered up and down the vast empire, seem to have enjoyed everywhere full liberty of intercommunication with the natives—very similar in many respects to themselves—to have been utterly unrestrained in the exercise of every profession and trade, and even to have risen to the highest offices of state; and thus, during the comparatively short space, they struck root so firmly in the land of their exile, that when opportunity served, they were, on the whole, loth to return to the Land of Promise. What more natural than that the immigrants under Zerubbabel, and still more those who came with Ezra—several generations of whose ancestors had been settled in Babel—should have brought back with them the Aramaic, if not as their vernacular, at all events as an idiom with which they were perfectly familiar, and which they may partly have continued to use as their colloquial language in Palestine, as, in fact, they had had to use it in Babylon? Continuous later immigrations from the "Captivity" did not fail to reinforce and further to spread the use of the same tongue. All the decrees and official communications addressed to the Jews by their Persian masters were in Aramaic (Ezr. Neh. *passim*), Judaea being considered only as part of the Syrian satrapy. Nor must it be forgotten that the old colonists in Palestine (2 K. xvii. 24) were Samaritans, who had come from "Aram and Babel," and who spoke Chaldee; that intermarriages with women from Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab had been common (Neh. xiii. 23); that Phoenicia, whose merchants (Tyrians, Neh. xiii. 16) appear to have settled in Palestine, and to have established commercial relations with Judaea and Galilee, contains large elements of Chaldee in its own idiom. Thus it came to pass that we find in the Book of Daniel, for instance, a somewhat forced Hebrew, from which, as it would seem, the author gladly lapses into the more familiar Aramaic (comp. ii. 4, &c.); that oracles were received by the High-priests Johanan[d] and Simon the Just[e] in the Holy of Holies (during the Syrian wars) in Aramaic (Sotah, 33, a.); and that, in short, some time before the Hasmonean period, this was the language in which were couched not only popular sayings, proverbs, and the like (משל הדיוט. Bereshi. R. 107 *d*; Tanch. 17 *a*; Midr. Tehill. 23 *d*; 51 *f*, &c. &c.), but official and legal documents (Mishna Ketub. 4, 8; Toseftah Sabb. c. 8; Edujoth, 8, 4,—c. 130 B.C.), even certain prayers[f]—of Babylonian origin probably—and in which books destined for the great mass of the people were written.[g] That, indeed, the Hebrew Language—the "language of Kenaan" (Is. xix. 18), or "Jehudith" (2 K. xviii. 26, 28; Is. xxxvi. 11) of the Bible—became more and more the language of the few, the learned, the *Holy Language*, לשון הקדש, לישן בית קודשא, or, still more exactly, "Language of the Temple," set aside almost exclusively for the holy service of religion: be it the Divine Law and the works in which this was contained (like the Mishna, the Boraithot, Mechilta, Sifri, Sifra, the older Midrashim, and very many portions of the Talmud), or the correspondence between the different academies (witness the Hebrew letter sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria about 100 B.C., Chag. Jer. ii. 2), or be it the sacred worship itself in temple and synagogue, which was almost entirely carried on in pure Hebrew.

If the common people thus gradually had lost all knowledge of the tongue in which were written the

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e "'And they read in the book of the Law of God clearly (מפורש), and gave the understanding, so that they understood the reading:'—'in the book of the Law'—this is Mikra, the original reading in the Pentateuch; 'מפורש, clearly'—this is Targum" (Meg. 3 *a*; Ned. 37 *b*). To this tradition also might be referred the otherwise rather enigmatical passage (Sanh. 21 *b*): "Originally," says Mar Sutra, "the Law was given to Israel in Ibri writing and the holy (Hebrew) language. It was again given to them in the days of Ezra in the Ashurith writing and the Aramaic language," &c.

d "The youths who went to combat at Antiochia have been victorious."

e "Perished has the army which the enemy thought to lead against the Temple."

f Introduction to the Haggadah for the Pesach (כרא לחמא): "Such was the bread of misery which our fathers ate in the land of Mizrajim. Whoever is needy, he come and eat with us; whoever is in want, he come and celebrate the Pesach. This year here, next year in the land of Israel; this year slaves, next year free men." The *Kaddish*, to which afterwards a certain signification as a prayer for the dead was given, and which begins as follows: "Let there be magnified and sanctified the Great Name in the world which He has created according to His will, and which He rules as His kingdom, during your life and your days, and the life of the whole house of Israel, speedily and in a near time, and say ye, 'Amen: Be the Great Name praised for ever and evermore,'" &c.

g Megillath Taanith, &c.

books to be read to them, it naturally followed (in order "that they might understand them") that recourse must be had to a translation into the idiom with which they were familiar—the Aramaic. That further, since a bare translation could not in all cases suffice, it was necessary to add to the translation an explanation, more particularly of the more difficult and obscure passages. Both translation and explanation were designated by the term *Targum*. In the course of time there sprang up a guild, whose special office it was to act as *interpreters* in both senses (*Meturgeman*[h]), while formerly the learned alone volunteered their services. These interpreters were subjected to certain bonds and regulations as to the form and substance of their renderings. Thus (comp. Mishna Meg. *passim*; Mass. Sofer. xi. 1; Maimon. Hilch. Tephill. 12, §11 ff; Orach Chaj. 145, 1, 2), "neither the reader nor the interpreter are to raise their voices one above the other;" "they have to wait for each other until each have finished his verse;" "the Meturgeman is not to lean against a pillar or a beam, but to stand with fear and with reverence;" "*he is not to use a written Targum*, but he is to deliver his translation *viva voce*"—lest it might appear that he was reading out of the Torah itself, and thus the Scriptures be held responsible for what are *his own* dicta; "no more than one verse in the Pentateuch, and three in the Prophets [a greater licence is given for the Book of Esther] shall be read and translated at a time;" "that there should be not more than one reader and one interpreter for the Law, while for the Prophets one reader and one interpreter, or two interpreters, are allowed," &c. (comp. Cor. xiv. 21 ff; xii. 30; 27, 28). Again (Mishna Meg. and Tosiftah, *ad loc.*), certain passages liable to give offence to the multitude are specified, which may be read in the synagogue and translated; others, which may be read but not translated; others, again, which may neither be read nor translated. To the first class[i] belong *the account of the Creation*—a subject not to be discussed publicly, on account of its most vital bearing upon the relation between the Creator and the Kosmos, and the nature of both: the deed of Lot and his two daughters (Gen. xix. 31); of Judah and Tamar (Gen. xxxviii.); the first account of the making of the golden calf (Ex. xxxii.); all the curses in the Law; the deed of Amnon and Tamar (2 Sam. xiii.); of Absalom with his father's concubines (2 Sam. xvi. 22); the story of the woman of Gibeah (Judg. xix.). These are to be read and translated—being mostly deeds which carried their own punishments with them. To be read but not translated are[k] the deed of Reuben with his father's concubine (Gen. xxv. 22); the latter portion of the story of the golden calf (Ex. xxxii.); the benediction of the priests (on account of its awful nature). And neither to be read nor translated are the deed of David and Bathsheba (2 Sam. xi. and xii.), and according to one the story of Amnon and Tamar (2 Sam. xiii.). (Both the latter stories, however, are, in Mishna Meg. iv. 10, enumerated among those of the second class, which are to be read but not translated.)

Altogether these *Meturgemanim* do not seem to have been held generally in very high respect; one of the reasons being probably that they were paid (two *Selaim* at one time, according to Midr. R. Gen. 98), and thus made (what P. Aboth especially inveighs against) the Torah "a spade to dig with it." "No sign of blessing," it was said, moreover, "could rest upon the profit they made by their calling, since it was money earned on the Sabbath" (Pes. 4 *b*). Persons unfit to be readers, as those whose clothes were so torn and ragged that their limbs became visible through the rents (פּוּחה), their appearance thus not corresponding to the reverence due to the sacred word itself, or blind men, were admitted to the office of a Meturgeman; and, apart from there not being the slightest authority attached to their interpretations, they were liable to be stopped and silenced, publicly and ignominiously, whenever they seemed to overstep the bounds of discretion. At what time the regulation that they should not be under fifty years of age (in odd reference to the "men of fifty," Is. iii. 3, mentioned in Juchas. 44, 2) came into use, we are not able to decide. The Mishna certainly speaks even of a minor (under thirteen years) as being allowed both to read and to act as a Meturgeman (comp. Mishna Meg. *passim*). Altogether they appear to have borne the character of empty-headed, bombastic fools. Thus Midr. Koh. has to Eccl. vii. 5: "'It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise:' —these are the preachers (Darshanim)—'than for a man to hear the song of fools:'—these are the Meturgemanim, who raise their voices in sing-song, (בשיר, or with empty fancies):—'that the people may hear.'" And to ix. 17: "'The words of wise men are heard in quiet'—these are the preachers (Darshanim)—'more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools'—these are the Meturgemanim who stand above the congregation." And though both passages may refer more especially to those Meturgemanim (Emoras, speakers, expounders) who at a later period stood by the side of the *Chacham*, or president of the Academy, the preach r κατ' ἐξοχήν (himself seated on a raised daïs), and repeated with a loud voice, and enlarged upon what the latter had whispered into their ear in Hebrew (חכם לוחש לו לשון עברית, comp. Matt. x. 27, "What ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the housetops"), yet there is an abundance of instances to show that the Meturgeman at the side of the reader was exposed to rebukes of a nature, and is spoken of in a manner, not likely to be employed towards any but men low in the social scale.

A fair notion of what was considered a proper Targum may be gathered from the maxim preserved in the Talmud (Kidd. 49, *a*) "Whosoever translates [as Meturgeman] a verse in its closely exact form [without proper regard to its real meaning] is a *liar*, and whosoever adds to it is *impious and a blasphemer*, *e.g.*, the literal rendering into Chaldee of the verse, 'They saw the God of Israel' (Ex. xxiv. 10), is as wrong a translation as 'They saw *the angel of* God;' the proper rendering being, 'They saw the glory of the God of Israel.'" [Comp. SAMAR. PENT. p. 1114*b*]. Other instances are found in the Mishna (Meg. iv. 8); "Whosoever renders the text (Lev. xviii. 21) 'And thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the

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[h] תורגמינא, תורגמן, מתורגמן (Ar. ترجمى; Arm. *Sargmaniël*; Ital., *Turcimanno*; Fr. *Truchement*; Engl., *Dragoman*, &c.

[i] Comprised in the mnemonic formula בלה״ת עקן״ נגשפה״ (Meg. 25 *a*).

[k] רע״ר״י, ib.

fire to Molech,' by 'Thou shalt not give thy seed to be carried over to heathenism (or to an Aramite woman)' [*i. e.* as the Gemara *ad loc.*; Jer. Sanh. 9, and Sifri on Deut. xviii. 10, explain it, one who marries an Aramaic woman; for although she may become a proselyte, she is yet sure to bear enemies to him and to God, since the mother will in the end carry his children over to idolatrous worship;] as also he who enlarges upon (or figuratively explains) the sections relative to incest (Lev. xviii.)—he shall forthwith be silenced and publicly rebuked." Again (comp. Jer. Ber. v. 1; Meg. iv. 10), "Those who translate 'O my people, children of Israel, as I am merciful in heaven, so shall ye be merciful on earth:'—'Cow or ewe, it and her young ye shall not kill in one day' (Lev. xxii. 28)—they do not well, for they represent the Laws of God [whose reasons no man dare try to fathom] as mere axioms of mercy;" and, it is added, "the short-sighted and the frivolous will say, 'Lo! to a bird's-nest He extends His mercy, ut not to yonder miserable man . . .'"

The same causes which, in the course of time, led to the writing down—after many centuries of oral transmission—of the whole body of the Traditional Law, the very name of which (תורה שבעל פה, "oral law," in contradistinction to תורה שבכתב, or "written law") seemed to imply that it should never become a fixed, immutable code, engendered also, and about the same period, as it would appear, written Targums: for certain portions of the Bible, at least.[m]

The fear of the adulterations and mutilations which the Divine Word—amid the troubles within and without the Commonwealth—must undergo at the hands of incompetent or impious exponents, broke through the rule, that the Targum should only be *oral*, lest it might acquire undue authority (comp. Mishna Meg. iv. 5, 10; Tosifta, *ib.* 3; Jer. Meg. 4, 1; Bab. Meg. 24*a*; Sota, 39*b*). Thus, if a Targum of Job is mentioned (Sab. 115*a*; Tr. Soferim, 5, 15; Tosifta Sab. c. 14; Jer. Sabb. 16, 1) as having been highly disapproved by Gamaliel the Elder (middle of first century, A.D.), who caused it to be hidden and buried out of sight:—we find, on the other hand, at the end of the second century, the practice of reading the Targum generally commended, and somewhat later Jehoshua ben Levi enjoins it as a special duty upon his sons. The Mishna even contains regulations about the manner (Jad. iv. 5) in which the Targum is to be written. But even in their written, and, as we may presume, authoritatively approved form, the Targums were of comparatively small weight, and of no canonical value whatsoever. The Sabbath was not to be broken for their sake as it was lawful to do for the Scripture in the original Hebrew (Sab. 115*a*). The Targum does not defile the hands (for the purpose of touching consecrated food) as do the Chaldee portions of Ezra and Nehemiah (Yad. iv. 5).

The gradual growth of the Code of the written Targum, such as now embraces almost the whole of the O. T., and contains, we may presume, but few snatches of the primitive Targums, is shrouded in deep obscurity. We shall not fail to indicate the opinions arrived at as to the date and authorship of the individual versions in their due places; but we must warn the reader beforehand, that no positive results have been attained as yet, save that nearly *all the names and dates hitherto commonly attached to them must be rejected*. And we fear that, as long at least as the Targum shares the fate of the LXX., the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Midrash, the Talmud, &c.:—viz. that a really critical edition remains a thing occasionally dreamt of, but never attempted;—so long must we abandon the hope of getting any nearer a final solution of this and many other still more important questions. The utter corruption, moreover, of the Targum, bitterly complained of already by Elias Levita—(an author, be it observed, of very moderate attainments, but absurdly overrated by certain of his contemporaries, and by those who copied his usually shallow dicta without previous examination)—debars us from more than half its use. And yet how fertile its study could be made; what light it might be made capable of throwing upon the Bible itself, upon the history of the earliest development of Biblical studies, versions, and upon the Midrash—both the Halachah and Haggadah—snatches of which, in their, as it were, liquid stages, lie embedded in the Targums:—all this we need not urge here at length.

Before, however, entering into a more detailed account, we must first dwell for a short time on the *Midrash*[n] itself, of which the Targum forms part.

The centre of all mental activity and religious action among the Jewish community, after the return from Babylon, was the Scriptural Canon collected by the Soferim, or Men of the Great Synagogue. These formed the chief authority on the civil and religious law, and their authority was the Pentateuch. Their office as expounders and commentators of the Sacred Records was twofold. They had, firstly, to explain the exact meaning of such prohibitions and ordinances contained in the Mosaic Books as seemed not explicit enough for the multitude, and the precise application of which in former days, had been forgotten during the Captivity. Thus, *e. g.*, general terms, like the "work" forbidden on the Sabbath, were by them specified and particularized; not indeed according to their own arbitrary and individual views, but according to tradition traced back to Sinai itself. Secondly, laws neither specially contained nor even indicated in the Pentateuch were inaugurated by them according to the new wants of the times and the ever-shifting necessities of the growing Commonwealth (*Geseroth*, *Tekanoth*). Nor were the latter in all cases given on the sole authority of the Synod; but they were in most cases traditional, and certain special letters or signs in the Scriptures, seemingly superfluous or out of place where they stood, were, according to fixed hermeneutical rules, understood to indicate the inhibitions and prohibitions (*Gedarim*, "Fences"), newly issued and fixed. But Scripture, which had

[m] As, according to Frankel, the LXX. was only a partial translation at first. Witness the confusion in the last chapters of Exodus, which, as mere repetitions (of chaps. xxv. and xxix.), were originally left untranslated. Saadia in a similar manner uses the formulas כדנלך or מתל דנלך in repetitions

[n] מדרש (Arab. مدرس), first used in 2 Chr. xiii 22, xxiv. 27; "Commentary," in the sense of Caesar's "Commentaries," enlargement, embellishment, complement, &c (A. V. *story*!). The compilers of Chronicles seem to have used such promiscuous works treating of biblical personages and events, provided they contained aught that served the tendency of the book.

for this purpose to be studied most minutely and unremittingly—the most careful and scrutinizing attention being paid even to its outward form and semblance—was also used, and more especially in its non-legal, prophetical parts, for homiletic purposes, as a wide field of themes for lectures, sermons, and religious discourses, both in and out of the Synagogue:—at every solemnity in public and private life. This juridical and homiletical expounding and interpreting of Scripture—the germs of both of which are found still closely intertwined and bound up with each other in the Targum—is called *darash*, and the avalanche of Jewish literature which began silently to gather from the time of the return from the exile and went on rolling uninterruptedly—however dread the events which befel the nation—until about a thousand years after the destruction of the second Temple, may be comprised under the general name *Midrash*—"expounding." The two chief branches indicated are, *Halachah* (הלך, "to go"), the rule by which to go, = binding, authoritative law; and *Haggadah* (הגר, "to say") = saying, legend,—flights of fancy, darting up from the Divine word. The *Halachah*, treating more especially the Pentateuch as the legal part of the O. T., bears towards this book the relation of an amplified and annotated Code; these amplifications and annotations, be it well understood, not being new laws, formerly unheard of, deduced in an arbitrary and fanciful manner from Scripture, but supposed to be simultaneous oral revelations *hinted at* in the Scripture: in any case representing not the human but the Divine interpretation, *handed down through a named authority* (*Kabbala, Shemata*—"something received, heard"). The *Haggadah*, on the other hand, held especial sway over the wide field of ethical, poetical, prophetical, and historical elements of the O.T., but was free even to interpret its legal and historical passages fancifully and allegorically. The whole Bible, with all its tones and colours, belonged to the *Haggadah*, and this whole Bible she transformed into an endless series of themes for her most wonderful and capricious variations. "Prophetess of the Exile," she took up the hallowed verse, word or letter, and, as the *Halachah* pointed out in it a special ordinance, she, by a most ingenious exegetical process of her own, showed to the wonder-struck multitude how the woeful events under which they then groaned were hinted at in it, and how in a manner it predicted even their future issue. The aim of the *Haggadah* being the purely momentary one of elevating, comforting, edifying its audience for the time being, *it did not pretend to possess the slightest authority*. As its method was capricious and arbitrary, so its cultivation was open to every one whose heart prompted him. It is saga, tale, gnome, parable, allegory,—poetry, in short, of its own most strange kind, springing up from the sacred soil of Scripture, wild, luxuriant, and tangled, like a primeval tropical forest. If the *Halachah* used the Scriptural word as a last and most awful resort, against which there was no further appeal, the *Haggadah* used it as the golden nail on which to hang its gorgeous tapestry: as introduction, refrain, text, or fundamental stanza for a gloss; and if the former was the iron bulwark around the nationality of Israel, which every one was ready at every moment to defend to his last breath, the latter was a maze of flowery walks within those fortress-walls. That gradually the *Haggadah* preponderated and became *the Midrash κατ' ἐξοχήν of the people*, is not surprising. We shall notice how each successive Targum became more and more impregnated with its essence, and from a version became a succession of short homiletics. This difference between the two branches of Midrash is strikingly pointed in the following Talmudical story: "R. Chia b. Abba, a Halachist, and R. Abbahu, a Haggadist, once came together into a city and preached. The people flocked to the latter, while the former's discourses remained without a hearer. Thereupon the Haggadist comforted the Halachist with a parable. Two merchants come into a city and spread their wares,—the one rare pearls and precious stones; the other a ribbon, a ring, glittering trinkets: around whom will the multitude throng? . . . Formerly, when life was not yet bitter labour, the people had leisure for the deep word of the Law; now it stands in need of comfortings and blessings."

The first collections of the *Halachah*—embracing the whole field of juridico-political, religious, and practical life, both of the individual and of the nation: the human and Divine law to its most minute and insignificant details—were instituted by Hillel, Akiba, and Simon B. Gamaliel; but the final redaction of the general code, *Mishna*,[o] to which the later Toseftahs and Boraithas form supplements, is due to Jehudah Hannassi in 220 A.D. Of an earlier date with respect to the contents, but committed to writing in later times, are the three books: *Sifra*, or *Torath Kohanim* (an amplification of Leviticus), *Sifri* (of Numbers and Deuteronomy), and *Mechiltha* (of a portion of Exodus). The masters of the Mishnaic period, after the Soferim, are the Tannaim, who were followed by the Amoraim. The discussions and further amplifications of the Mishna by the latter, form the *Gemara* (Complement), a work extant in two redactions, viz. that of Palestine or Jerusalem (middle of 4th century), and of Babylon (5th century A.D.), which, together with the Mishna, are comprised under the name Talmud. Here, however, though the work is ostensibly devoted to *Halachah*, an almost equal share is allowed to *Haggadah*. The Haggadistic mode of treatment was threefold: either the simple understanding of words and things (*Peshat*), or the homiletic application, holding up the mirror of Scripture to the present (*Derush*), or a mystic interpretation (*Sod*), the second of which chiefly found its way into the Targum. On its minute division into special and general, ethical, historical, esoteric, &c., Haggadah, we cannot enter here. Suffice it to add that the most extensive collections of it which have survived are Midrash Rabbah (commenced about 700, concluded about 1100 A.D.), comprising the Pentateuch and the five Megilloth, and the Pesikta (about 700 A.D.), which contains the most complete cycle of Pericopes, but the very existence of which had until lately been forgotten, surprisingly enough, through the very extracts made from it (Jalkut, Pesikta Rabbathi, Sutarta, &c.).

[o] Mishna, from *shana*, "to learn," "learning," not, as erroneously translated of old, and repeated ever since, Δευτερωσις, "repetition;" but corresponding exactly with Talmud, (from *lamad*, "to learn"), and Torah (from *horeh*), "to teach:" all three terms meaning "*the study*," by way of eminence.

From this indispensable digression we return to the subject of Targum. The Targums now extant are as follows:—

I. Targum on the Pentateuch, known as that of Onkelos.

II. Targum on the first and last prophets, known as that of Jonathan Ben-Uzziel.

III. Targum on the Pentateuch, likewise known as that of Jonathan Ben-Uzziel.

IV. Targum on portions of the Pentateuch, known as Targum Jerushalmi.

V. Targums on the Hagiographa, ascribed to Joseph the Blind, viz.:—

1. Targum on Psalms, Job, Proverbs.

2. Targum on the five Megilloth (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Esther, Ecclesiastes).

3. Two (not three, as commonly stated) other Targums to Esther: a smaller and a larger, the latter known as Targum Sheni, or Second Targum.

VI. Targum to Chronicles

VII. Targum to Daniel, known from an unpublished Persian extract, and hitherto not received among the number.

VIII. Targum on the Apocryphal pieces of Esther.

We have hinted before that neither any of the names under which the Targums hitherto went, nor any of the dates handed down with them, have stood the test of recent scrutiny. Let it, however, not for a moment be supposed that a sceptic Wolfian school has been at work, and with hypercritical and wanton malice has tried to annihilate the hallowed names of Onkelos, Jonathan, and Joseph the Blind. It will be seen from what follows that most of these names have or may have a true historical foundation and meaning; but uncritical ages and ignorant scribes have perverted this meaning, and a succession of most extraordinary misreadings and strangest ὕστερα πρότερα—some even of a very modern date—have produced rare confusion, and a chain of assertions which dissolve before the first steady gaze. That, notwithstanding all this, the implicit belief in the old names and dates still reigns supreme will surprise no one who has been accustomed to see the most striking and undeniable results of investigation and criticism quietly ignored by contemporaries, and forgotten by generations which followed, so that the same work had to be done very many times over again before a certain fact was allowed to be such.

We shall follow the order indicated above:—

I. The Targum of Onkelos.

It will be necessary, before we discuss this work itself, to speak of the person of its reputed author as far as it concerns us here. There are few more contested questions in the whole province of Biblical, nay general literature, than those raised on this head. Did an Onkelos ever exist? Was there more than one Onkelos? Was Onkelos the real form of his name? Did he translate the Bible at all, or part of it? And is this Targum the translation he made? Do the dates of his life and this Targum tally? &c. &c. The ancient accounts of Onkelos are avowedly of the most corrupted and confused kind: so much so that both ancient and modern investigators have failed to reconcile and amend them so as to gain general satisfaction, and opinions remain widely divergent. This being the case, we think it our duty to lay the whole—not very voluminous—evidence, collected both from the body of Talmudical and post-Talmudical (so-called Rabbinical) and patristic writings before the reader, in order that he may judge for himself how far the conclusions to which we shall point may be right.

The first mention of "Onkelos"—a name variously derived from Nicolaus (Geiger), Ὄνομα καλός [sic] (Renan), Homunculus, Avunculus, &c.—more fully "Onkelos the Proselyte," is found in the Tosiftah, a work drawn up shortly after the Mishna. Here we learn (1.) that "Onkelos the Proselyte" was so serious in his adherence to the newly-adopted (Jewish) faith, that he threw his share in his paternal inheritance into the Dead Sea (Tos. Demai, vi. 9). (2.) At the funeral of Gamaliel the Elder (1st century A.D.) he burnt more than 70 minas worth of spices in his honour (Tos. Shabb. 8). (3.) This same story is repeated, with variations (Tos. Semach. 8). (4.) He is finally mentioned, by way of corroboration to different Halachas, in connexion with Gamaliel, in three more places, which complete our references from the Tosiftah (Tos. Mikv. 6, 1; Kelim, iii. 2, 2; Chag. 3, 1). The Babylonian Talmud, the source to which we turn our attention next, mentions the name Onkelos four times: (1.) As "Onkelos the Proselyte, the son of Kalonikos" (Callinicus? Cleonicus?), the son of Titus' sister, who, intending to become a convert, conjured up the ghosts of Titus, Balaam, and Christ [the latter name is doubtful], in order to ask them what nation was considered the first in the other world. Their answer that Israel was the favoured one decided him (Gitt. 56). (2.) As "Onkelos the son of Kalonymus" (Cleonymus?) (Aboda Sar. 11 *a*). It is there related of him that *the* emperor (*Kaisar*) sent three Roman cohorts to capture him, and that he converted them all. (3.) In Baba Bathra 99 *a* (Boraitha), "Onkelos the Proselyte" is quoted as an authority on the question of the form of the Cherubim. And (4.) The most important passage—because on it and it alone, in the wide realm of ancient literature, has been founded the general belief that Onkelos is the author of the Targum now current under this name—is found in Meg. 3 *a*. It reads as follows:—"R. Jeremiah, and, according to others, R. Chia bar Abba, said: The Targum to the Pentateuch was made by the 'Proselyte Onkelos,' from the mouth of R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua; the Targum to the Prophets was made by Jonathan ben Uzziel from the mouth of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. . . . But have we not been taught that the Targum existed from the time of Ezra? . . . Only that it was forgotten, and Onkelos restored it." No mention whatever is to be found of Onkelos either in the Jerusalem Talmud, redacted about a hundred years before the Babylonian, nor in the Church fathers—an item of negative evidence to which we shall presently draw further attention. In a Midrash collection, completed about the middle of the 12th century, we find again "Onkelos the Proselyte" asking an old man, "Whether that was all the love God bore towards a proselyte, that he promised to give him bread and a garment? Whereupon the old man replied that this was all for which the Patriarch Jacob prayed (Gen. xxviii. 20)." The Book Zohar, of late and very uncertain date, makes "Onkelos" a disciple of Hillel and Shammai. Finally, a MS., also of a very late and uncertain date, in the library of the Leipzig Senate (B. H. 17), relates of "Onkelos, the nephew of Titus," that he asked the emperor's advice as to what merchandize he thought it was profitable to trade in. The em

perer told him that that should be bought which was cheap in the market, since it was sure to rise in price. Whereupon Onkelos went on his way. He repaired to Jerusalem, and studied the Law under R. Eleazar and R. Jehoshua, and his face became wan. When he returned to the court, one of the courtiers observed the pallor of his countenance, and said to Titus, "Onkelos appears to have studied the Law." Interrogated by Titus, he admitted the fact, adding that he had done it by his advice. No nation had ever been so exalted, and none was now held cheaper among the nations than Israel: "therefore," he said, "I concluded that in the end none would be of higher price."

This is all the information to be found in ancient authorities about Onkelos and the Targum which bears his name. Surprisingly enough, the latter is well known to the Babylonian Talmud (whether to the Jerusalem Talmud is questionable) and the Midrashim, and is often quoted, but *never once as Targum Onkelos*. The quotations from it are invariably introduced with כדמתרגמינן, "As we [Babylonians] translate;" and the version itself is called (*e. g.* Kiddush. 49*a*) תרגום דדן, "Our Targum," exactly as Ephraim Syrus (*Opp.* i. 380) speaks of the Peshito as "Our translation."

Yet we find on the other hand another current version invariably quoted in the Talmud by the name of its known author, viz. תרגם עקילס, "the [Greek] Version of Akilas:" a circumstance which, by showing that it was customary to quote the author by name, excites suspicion as to the relation of Onkelos to the Targum Onkelos. Still more surprising, however, is, as far as the person of Onkelos is concerned (whatever be the discrepancies in the above accounts), the similarity between the incidents related of him and those related of Akilas. The latter (אקילס, עקילס) is said, both in Sifra (Lev. xxv. 7) and the Jerusalem Talmud (Demai, xxvii.*d*), to have been born in Pontus, to have been a proselyte, to have thrown his paternal inheritance into an asphalt lake (T. Jer. Demai, 25*d*), to have translated the Torah before R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, who praised him (קלסו, in allusion perhaps to his name, עקילס); or, according to other accounts, before R. Akiba (comp. Jer. Kidd. 1, 1, 2, &c.; Jer. Meg. 1, 11; Babli Meg. 3*a*). We learn further that he lived in the time of Hadrian (Chag. 2, 1), that he was the son of the Emperor's sister (Tanch. 28, 1), that he became a convert against the Emperor's will (ib. and Shem. Rabba, 146*c*), and that he consulted Eliezer and Jehoshua about his conversion (Ber. R. 78*d*; comp. Midr. Koh. 102*b*). First he is said to have gone to the former, and to have asked him whether that was all the love God bore a proselyte, that He promised him bread and a garment (Gen. xxviii. 20). "See," he said, "what exquisite birds and other delicacies I now have: even my slaves do not care for them any longer." Whereupon R. Eliezer became wroth, and said, "Is that for which Jacob prayed, 'And give me bread to eat and a garment to wear,' so small in thine eyes?—Comes he, the proselyte, and receives these things without any trouble!"—And Akilas, dissatisfied, left the irate Master and went to R Joshua. He pacified him, and explained to him that "Bread" meant the Divine Law, and "Garment," the Talith, or sacred garment to be worn during prayer. "And not this alone, he continued, but the Proselyte may marry his daughter to a Priest, and his offspring may become a High-Priest, and offer burnt-offerings in the Sanctuary." More striking still is a Greek quotation from *Onkelos*, the Chaldee translator (Midr. Echa, 58*c*), which in reality is found in and quoted (Midr. Shir hashir. 27*d*) from Akilas, the Greek translator.

That Akilas is no other than Aquila (Ἀκύλας), the well-known Greek translator of the Old Testament, we need hardly add. He is a native of Pontus (Iren. *adv. Haer.* 3, 24; Jer. *De Vir. Ill.* c. 54; Philastr. *De Haer.* §90). He lived under Hadrian (Epiph. *De Pond. et Mens.* §12). He is called the περιθερίδες (Chron. Alex. περιθερός) of the Emperor (*ib.* §14), becomes a convert to Judaism (§15), whence he is called the Proselyte (Iren. *ib.*; Jerome to Is. viii. 14, &c.), and receives instructions from Akiba (Jer. *ib.*). He translated the O. T., and his Version was considered of the highest import and authority among the Jews, especially those unacquainted with the Hebrew language (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* l. c.; Augustin, *Civ. D.* xv. 23; Philastr. *Haer.* 90; Justin, *Novell.* 146). Thirteen *distinct* quotations[P] from this Version are preserved in Talmud and Midrash, and they tally, for the most part, with the corresponding passages preserved in the Hexapla; and for those even which do not agree, there is no need to have recourse to corruptions. We know from Jerome (on Ezek. iii. 15) that Aquila prepared a further edition of his Version, called by the Jews κατ' ἀκρίβειαν, and there is no reason why we should not assume, *caeteris paribus*, that the differing passages belong to the different editions.

If then there can be no reasonable doubt as to the identity of Aquila and Akilas, we may well now go a step further, and from the threefold accounts adduced,—so strikingly parallel even in their anachronisms and contortions—safely argue the identity, as of Akilas and Aquila, so of Onkelos '*the translator*,' with Akilas or Aquila. Whether in reality a proselyte of that name had been in existence at an earlier date—a circumstance which might explain part of the contradictory statements; and whether the difference of the forms is produced through the ע (ng, nk), with which we find the name sometimes spelt, or the Babylonian manner, occasionally to insert an *n*, like in Adrianus, which we always find spelt Andrianus in the Babylonian Talmud; or whether we are to read Gamaliel II. for Gamaliel the Elder, we cannot here examine; anything connected with the person of an Onkelos no longer concerns us, since he is not the author of the Targum; indeed, as we saw, only *once* ascribed to him in the passage of the Babylonian Talmud (Meg. 3*a*), palpably corrupted from the Jerusalem Talmud (Meg. i. 9). And not before the 9th century (Pirke der. Eliezer to Gen. xlv. 27) does this mischievous mistake seem to have struck root, and even from that time three centuries elapsed, during which the Version was quoted often enough, but without its authorship being ascribed to Onkelos.

P *Greek quotations*:—Gen. xvii. 1, in Beresh. Rab. 51*b*; Lev. xxiii. 40, Jer. Succah, 3, 5, fol. 53*d* (comp. Vaj. Rab. 200*d*); Is. iii. 20, Jer. Shabb. 6, 4, fol. 8*b*; Ez. xvi. 10, Midr. Thren. 58*c*; Ez. xxiii. 43, Vaj. Rab. 203*d*; Ps. xlviii. 15 (Masor. T., xlvii. according to LXX.), Jer. Meg. 2, 3, fol. 73*b*; Prov. xviii. 21, Vaj. Rab. fol. 203*b*; Esth. i. 6, Midr. Esth. 120*d*; Dan. v. 5, Jer. Joma, 3, 8, fol. 41*a*.—*Heorew quotations*, re-translated from the Greek:—Lev. xix. 20, Jer. Kid. i. 1, fol. 59*a*; Dan. viii. 13, Ber. Rab. 24*c*.—*Chaldee quotations*:—Prov. xxv. 11; Beresh. Rab 104*b*; Is. v. 6, Midr. Koh. 113*c*, *d*.

From all this it follows that those who, in the face of this overwhelming mass of evidence, would fain retain Onkelos in the false position of translator of our Targum, must be ready to admit that there were two men living simultaneously of most astoundingly similar names; both proselytes to Judaism, both translators of the Bible, both disciples of R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua; it being of both reported by the same authorities that they translated the Bible, and that they were disciples of the two last-mentioned Doctors; both supposed to be nephews of the reigning emperor, who disapproved of their conversion (for this account comp. Dion Cass. lxvii. 14, and Deb. Rab. 2; where Domitian is related to have had a near relative executed for his inclining towards Judaism), and very many more palpable improbabilities of the same description.

The question now remains, why was this Targum called that of Onkelos or Akilas? It is neither a translation of it, nor is it at all done in the same spirit. All that we learn about the Greek Version shows us that its chief aim and purpose was, to counteract the LXX. The latter had at that time become a mass of arbitrary corruptions—especially with respect to the Messianic passages—as well on the Christian as on the Jewish side. It was requisite that a translation, scrupulously literal, should be given into the hands of those who were unable to read the original. Aquila, the disciple, according to one account, of Akiba; the same Akiba who expounded (*darash*) for Halachistic purposes the seemingly most insignificant Particles in the Scripture (*c. g.* the את, sign of accusative; Gen. R. 1; Tos. Sheb. 1; Talm. Sheb. 26*a*), fulfilled his task according to his master's method. "Non solum verba sed et etymologias verborum transferre conatus est. . . . Quod Hebraei non solum habent ἄρθρα sed et *πρόαρθρα*, ille *κακοζήλως* et syllabas interpretetur et litteras, dictatque *σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν* quod graeca et latina lingua non recipit" (Jer. *de Opt. Gen. interpret.*). Targum Onkelos, on the other hand, is, if not quite a paraphrase, yet one of the very freest versions. Nor do the two translations, with rare exceptions, agree even as to the renderings of proper nouns, which each occasionally likes to transform into something else. But there *is* a reason. The Jews in possession of this most slavishly accurate Greek Bible-text, could now on the one hand successfully combat arguments, brought against them from interpolated LXX. passages, and on the other follow the expoundings of the School and the Halachah, based upon the letter of the Law, as closely as if they had understood the original itself. That a version of this description often marred the sense, mattered less in times anything but favourable to the literal meaning of the Bible. It thus gradually became such a favourite with the people, that its renderings were household words. If the day when the LXX. was made was considered a day of distress like the one on which the golden calf was cast, and was actually entered among the fast days (8th Tebeth; Meg. Taanith);—this new version, which was to dispel the mischievous influences of the older, earned for its author one of the most delicate compliments in the manner of the time. The verse of the Scripture (Ps. xlv. 3), "Thou art more beautiful (*jofjefita*) than the sons of men," was applied to him—in allusion to Gen. ix. 27, where it is said that Japhet, (*i. e.* the Greek language), should one day dwell in the tents of Shem (*i. e.* Israel), Meg. 1, 11, 71 *b* and *c*; 9 *b*, Ber. Rab. 40 *b*.—Οὗτος γὰρ Ἀκύλας δουλεύων τῇ ἑβραϊκῇ λέξει ἐκδέδωκεν εἰπεῖν . . . φιλοτιμότερον πεπιστευμένος παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις, ἡρμενευκέναι τὴν γραφήν, &c. (Orig. *ac Afric.* 2).

What, under these circumstances, is more natural than to suppose that the new Chaldee Version—at least as excellent in its way as the Greek—was started under the name which had become expressive of the type and ideal of a Bible-translation; that, in fact, it should be called a Targum done in the manner of Aquila:—*Aquila-Targum*. Whether the title of recommendation was, in consideration of the merits of the work upon which it was bestowed, gladly endorsed and retained—or for aught we know, was not bestowed upon it until it was generally found to be of such surpassing merit, we need not stop to argue.

Being thus deprived of the dates which a close examination into the accounts of a translator's life might have furnished us, we must needs try to fix the time of our Targum as approximately as we can by the circumstances under which it took its rise, and by the quotations from it which we meet in early works. Without unnecessarily going into detail, we shall briefly record, what we said in the introduction, that the Targum was begun to be committed to writing about the end of the 2nd century, A.D. So far, however, from its superseding the oral Targum at once, it was on the contrary strictly forbidden to read it in public (Jer. Meg. 4, 1). Nor was there any uniformity in the version. Down to the middle of the 2nd century we find the masters most materially differing from each other with respect to the Targum of certain passages, (Seb. 54 *a*.) and translations quoted not to be found in any of our Targums. The necessity must thus have pressed itself upon the attention of the spiritual leaders of the people to put a stop to the fluctuating state of a version, which, in the course of time must needs have become naturally surrounded with a halo of authority little short of that of the original itself. We shall thus not be far wrong in placing the work of collecting the different fragments with their variants, and reducing them into one—finally authorized Version—about the end of the 3rd, or the beginning of the 4th century, and in assigning Babylon to it as the birthplace. It was at Babylon, that about this time the light of learning, extinguished in the blood-stained fields of Palestine, shone with threefold vigour. The Academy at Nahardea, founded according to legend during the Babylonian exile itself, had gathered strength in the same degree as the numerous Palestinian schools began to decline, and when in 259 A.D. that most ancient school was destroyed, there were three others simultaneously flourishing in its stead:—Tiberias, whither the college of Palestinian Jabneh had been transferred in the time of Gamaliel III. (200); Sora, founded by Chasda of Kafri (293); and Pumbadita founded by R. Jehudah b. Jecheskeel (297). And in Babylon for well nigh a thousand years "the crown of the Law" remained, and to Babylon, the seat of the "Head of the Golah" (Dispersion), all Israel, scattered to the ends of the earth, looked for its spiritual guidance. That one of the first deeds of these Schools must have been the fixing of the Targum, as soon as the fixing of it became indispensable, we may well presume; and as we see the text fluctuating down to the middle of the 2nd century, we must needs assume that the redaction took place as soon afterwards as may reasonably be supposed. Further corroborative arguments are

found for Babylon as the place of its final redaction, although Palestine was the country where it grew and developed itself. Many grammatical and idiomatical signs—the substance itself, *i. e.* the words, being Palestinian—point, as far as the scanty materials in our hands permit us to draw conclusions as to the true state of language in Babylon, to that country. The Targum further exhibits a greater linguistic similarity with the Babylonian, than with the Palestinian Gemara. Again, terms are found in it which the Talmud distinctly mentions as peculiar to Babylon,[q] not to mention Persian words, which on Babylonian soil easily found their way into our work. One of the most striking hints is the unvarying translation of the Targum of the word נהר, "River," by Euphrates, *the* River of Babylon. Need we further point to the terms above mentioned, under which the Targum is exclusively quoted in the Talmud and the Midrashim of Babylon, viz., "*Our* Targum," "As *we* translate," or its later designation (Aruch, Rashi, Tosafoth, &c.) as the "Targum of Babel"? Were a further proof needed, it might be found in the fact that the two Babylonian Schools, which, holding different readings in various places of the Scripture, as individual traditions of their own, consequently held different readings in the Targum ever since the time of its redaction.

The opinions developed here are shared more or less by some of the most competent scholars of our day: for instance, Zunz (who now repudiates the dictum laid down in his *Gottesdienstl. Vortr.*, that the translation of Onkelos dates from about the middle of the first century, A.D.; comp. Geiger, *Zeitschr.* 1843, p. 179, note 3), Grätz, Levy, Herzfeld, Geiger, Frankel, &c. The history of the investigation of the Targums, more especially that of Onkelos, presents the usual spectacle of vague speculations and widely contradictory notions, held by different investigators at different times. Suffice it to mention that of old authorities, Reuchin puts the date of the Targum as far back as the time of Isaiah—notwithstanding that the people, as we are distinctly told, did not understand even a few Aramaic words in the time of Jeremiah. Following Asaria de Rossi and Eliah Levita (who, for reasons now completely disposed of, assumed the Targum to have first taken its rise in Babylon during the Captivity), Bellarmin, Sixtus Senensis, Aldret, Bartolocci, Rich. Simon, Hottinger, Walton, Thos. Smith, Pearson, Allix, Wharton, Prideaux, Schickard, take the same view with individual modifications. Pfeiffer, B. Meyer, Steph. Morinus, on the other hand, place its date at an extremely late period, and assign it to Palestine. Another School held that the Targum was not written until after the time of the Talmud—so Wolf, Havermann, partly Rich. Simon, Hornbeck, Joh. Morinus, &c.: and their reasons are both the occurrence of "Talmudical Fables" in the Targum and the silence of the Fathers. The former is an argument to which no reply is needed, since we do not see what it can be meant to prove, unless the "Rabbinus Talmud" has floated before their eyes, who, according to 'Henricus Seynensis Capucinus' (*Ann. Eccl.* tom. i. 261), must have written all this gigantic literature, ranging over a thousand years, out of his own head, in which case, indeed, every dictum on record, dating before or after the compilation of the Talmud, and in the least resembling a passage or story contained therein, must be a plagiarism from its sole venerable author. The latter argument, viz. the silence of the Fathers, more especially of Origen, Jerome, and Epiphanius, has been answered by Walton; and what we have said will further corroborate his arguments to the effect, that they did not mention it, not because it did not exist in their days, but because they either knew nothing of it, or did not understand it. In the person of an Onkelos, a Chaldee translator, the belief has been general, and will remain so, as long as the ordinary Handbooks—with rare exceptions—do not care to notice the uncontested results of contemporary investigation. How scholars within the last century have endeavoured to reconcile the contradictory accounts about Onkelos, more particularly how they have striven to smooth over the difficulty of their tallying with those of Akilas—as far as either had come under their notice—for this and other minor points we must refer the reader to Eichhorn, Jahn, Berthold, Hävernick, &c.

We now turn to the Targum itself.

Its language is Chaldee, closely approaching in purity of idiom to that of Ezra and Daniel. It follows a sober and clear, though not a slavish exegesis, and keeps as closely and minutely to the text as is at all consistent with its purpose, viz., to be chiefly, and above all, a version for the people. Its explanations of difficult and obscure passages bear ample witness to the competence of those who gave it its final shape, and infused into it a rare unity. Even where foreign matter is introduced, or, as Berkowitz in his Hebrew work *Oteh Or* keenly observes, where it most artistically blends two translations: one literal, and one figurative, into one; it steadily keeps in view the real sense of the passage in hand. It is always concise and clear, and dignified, worthy of the grandeur of its subject. It avoids the legendary character with which all the later Targums entwine the Biblical word, as far as ever circumstances would allow. Only in the poetical passages it was compelled to yield—though reluctantly—to the popular craving for Haggadah; but even here it chooses and selects with rare taste and tact.

Generally and broadly it may be stated that alterations are never attempted, save for the sake of clearness; tropical terms are dissolved by judicious circumlocutions, for the correctness of which the authors and editors — in possession of the living tradition of a language still written, if not spoken in their day—certainly seem better judges than some modern critics, who through their own incomplete acquaintance with the idiom, injudiciously blame Onkelos. Highly characteristic is the aversion of the Targum to anthropopathies and anthropomorphisms; in fact, to any term which could in the eyes of the multitude lower the idea of the Highest Being. Yet there are many passages retained in which human affections and qualities are attributed to Him. He speaks, He sees, He hears, He smells the odour of sacrifice, is angry, repents, &c.:—the Targum thus showing itself entirely opposed to the allegorising and symbolising tendencies, which in those, and still more in later days, were prone to transform Biblical history itself into the most extraordinary legends and fairy tales with or without a moral. The Targum, however, while retaining terms like the arm of God, the right hand of God, the finger of God — for

[q] נערה, "a girl," is rendered by רביא; "for thus they call in Babylon a young girl," שכן קורין בבבל לינוקא רביא (Chag. 13 *a*).

Power, Providence, &c.—replaces terms like foot, front, back of God, by the fitting figurative meaning. We must notice further its repugnance to bring the Divine Being into too close contact, as it were, with man. It erects a kind of reverential barrier, a sort of invisible medium of awful reverence between the Creator and the creature. Thus terms like "the Word" (Logos = Smsc. Ôm), "the Shechinah" (Holy Presence of God's Majesty, "the Glory"), further, human beings talking not *to*, but "before" God, are frequent. The same care, in a minor degree, is taken of the dignity of the persons of the patriarchs, who, though the Scripture may expose their weaknesses, were not to be held up in their iniquities before the multitude whose ancestors and ideals they were. That the most curious ὕστερα πρότερα and anachronisms occur, such as Jacob studying the Torah in the academy of Shem, &c., is due to the then current typifying tendencies of the Haggadah. Some extremely cautious, withal poetical, alterations also occur when the patriarchs speak of having acquired something by violent means: as Jacob (Gen. xlviii. 22), by his "sword and bow," which two words become in the Targum, "prayers and supplications." But the points which will have to be considered chiefly when the Targum becomes a serious study—as throwing the clearest light upon its time, and the ideas then in vogue about matters connected with religious belief and exercises—are those which treat of prayer, study of the law, prophecy, angelology, and the Messiah.

The only competent investigator who, after Winer (*De Onkeloso*, 1820), but with infinitely more minuteness and thorough knowledge of the subject, has gone fully into this matter, is Luzzatto. Considering the vast importance of this, the oldest Targum, for biblical as well as for linguistic studies in general,—not to mention the advantages that might accrue from it to other branches of learning, such as geography, history, &c.: we think it advisable to give—for the first time—a brief sketch of the results of this eminent scholar. His classical, though not rigorously methodical, *Oheb Ger* (1830) is, it is true, quoted by every one, but in reality known to but an infinitely small number, although it is written in the most lucid modern Hebrew.

He divides the discrepancies between Text and Targum into four principal classes.

(A.) Where the language of the Text has been changed in the Targum, but the meaning of the former retained.

(B.) Where both language and meaning were changed.

(C.) Where the meaning was retained, but additions were introduced.

(D.) Where the meaning was changed, and additions were introduced.

He further subdivides these four into thirty-two classes, to all of which he adds, in a most thorough and accurate manner, some telling specimens. Notwithstanding the apparent pedantry of his method, and the undeniable identity which necessarily must exist between some of his classes, a glance over their whole body, aided by one or two examples in each case, will enable us to gain as clear an insight into the manner and "genius" of the Onkelos-Targum as is possible without the study of the work itself.

(A.) Discrepancies where the language of the text has been changed in the Targum, but the meaning of the former has been retained.

1. Alterations owing to the idiom: *e. g.* the singular,[r] "Let there be [*sit*] lights" (Gen. i. 14), is transformed into the plur.[s] [*sint*] in the Targum "man and woman,"[t] as applied to the animals (Gen. vii. 2), becomes, as unsuitable in the Aramaic, "male and female."[u]

2. Alterations out of reverence towards God, more especially for the purpose of doing away with all ideas of a plurality of the Godhead: *e. g.* the terms Adonai, Elohim, are replaced by Jehovah, lest these might appear to imply more than one God. Where Elohim is applied to idolatry it is rendered "Error."[x]

3. Anthropomorphisms, where they could be misunderstood and construed into a disparagement or a lowering of the dignity of the Godhead among the common people, are expunged: *e. g.* for "And God smelled a sweet smell" (Gen. viii. 21), Onkelos has, "And Jehovah received the sacrifice with grace;" for "And Jehovah went[y] down to see the city" (Gen. xi. 5), "And Jehovah *revealed*[z] Himself," a term of frequent use in the Targum for verbs of motion, such as "to go down," "to go through," &c., applied to God. "I shall pass over[a] you" (Ex. xii. 13), the Targum renders, "I shall protect you."[b] Yet only anthropomorphisms which clearly stand figuratively and might give offence, are expunged, not as Maimonides, followed by nearly all commentators, holds, *all* anthropomorphisms, for words like "hand, finger, to speak, see," &c. (see above), are retained. But where the words remember, think of,[c] &c., are used of God, they always, whatever their tense in the text, stand in the Targum in the present; since a past or future would imply a temporary forgetting on the part of the Omniscient.[d] A keen distinction is here also established by Luzzatto between חזי and גלי, the former used of a real, external seeing, the latter of a seeing "into the heart."

4. Expressions used of and to God by men are brought more into harmony with the idea of His dignity. Thus Abraham's question, "The Judge of the whole earth, should he not (לא) do justice?" (Gen. xviii. 25) is altered into the affirmative: "The Judge . . . verily He will do justice." Laban, who speaks of his gods[e] in the text, is made to speak of his religion[f] only in the Targum.

5. Alterations in honour of Israel and their ancestors. Rachel "stole"[g] the Teraphim (xxxi. 19) is softened into Rachel "took;"[h] Jacob "fled" from Laban (lb. 22), into "went";[k] "The sons of Jacob answered Shechem with craftiness"[m] (xxxiv. 13), into "with wisdom."[n]

6. Short glosses introduced for the better understanding of the text: "for it is my mouth that speaks to you" (xiv. 12), Joseph said to his brethren: Targum, "in your tongue,"[o] *i. e.* without an interpreter. "The people who had made

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[r] יהי
[s] יהון
[t] איש ואשתו
[u] דכר ונוקבא
[x] טעוות עממיא
[y] וירד
[z] ואתגלי
[a] פסחתי
[b] אחוס
[c] פקד, זכר
[d] Comp. Prayer for Rosh hashana, "ואין שכחה וכו'

"And there is no forgetting before the throne of Thy glory."

[e] אלהים
[f] דחלתי
[g] ותגנוב
[h] ונסיבת
[i] בורח
[k] אזיל
[m] במרמה
[n] בחוכמא
[o] בלשניכון

the calf" (Ex. xxxii. 35) Targum, "worshipped," [p] since not they, but Aaron made it.

7. Explanation of tropical and allegorical expressions: "Be fruitful (lit. 'creep,' from שרץ) and multiply" (Gen. i. 28), is altered into "bear children;" [q] "thy brother Aaron shall be thy *prophet*" [r] (Ex. vii. 1), into "thy interpreter" [s] (Meturgeman); "I made thee a god (Elohim) to Pharaoh" (Ex. vii. 1), into "a master;" [t] "to a head and not to a tail" (Deut. xxviii. 13), into "to a strong man and not to a weak;" [u] and finally, "Whoever says of his father and his mother, I saw them not" (Deut. xxxiii. 9), into "Whoever is not merciful [x] towards his father and his mother."

8. Tending to ennoble the language: the "washing" of Aaron and his sons is altered into "sanctifying;" [y] the "carcasses" [z] of the animals of Abraham (Gen. xv. 11) become "pieces;" [a] "anointing" [b] becomes "elevating, raising;" [c] "the wife of the bosom," [d] "wife of the covenant." [e]

9. The last of the classes where the terms are altered, but the sense is retained, is that in which a change of language takes place in order to introduce the explanations of the oral law and the traditions: *e. g.* Lev. xxiii. 11, "On the morrow after the Sabbath [f] (*i. e.* the feast of the unleavened bread) the priest shall wave it (the sheaf)," Onkelos for Sabbath, *feast-day*. [g] For frontlets [h] (Deut. vi. 8), Tefillin (phylacteries). [i]

(B.) Change of both the terms and the meaning.

10. To avoid phrases apparently derogatory to the dignity of the Divine Being: "Am I in God's stead?" [k] becomes in Onkelos, "Dost thou ask [children] from me?" [m] from before God thou shouldst ask them" (Gen. xxx. 2).

11. In order to avoid anthropomorphisms of an objectionable kind. "With the breath of Thy nose" [n] ("blast of Thy nostrils," A. V., Ex. xv. 8), becomes "With the word of Thy mouth." [o] "And I shall spread my hand over thee" [p] (Ex. xxxiii. 22), is transformed into "I shall with my word protect thee." [q] "And thou shalt see my back parts," [r] but my face [s] shall not be seen" (Ex. xxxiii. 23): "And thou shalt see what is behind me," [t] but that which is before me [u] shall not be seen" (Deut. xxxiii. 12).

12. For the sake of religious euphemisms: *e. g.* "And ye shall be like God" [x] (Gen. iii. 5), is altered into "like princes." [y] "A laughter [z] has God made me" (Gen. xxi. 6), into "A joy [a] He gives me"—"God" being entirely omitted.

13. In honour of the nation and its ancestors: *e. g.* "Jacob was an upright man, a dweller in tents" [b] (Gen. xxv. 27), becomes "an upright man, frequenting the house of learning." [c] "One of the people [d] might have lain with thy wife" (Gen. xxvi. 10)—"One singled out among the people," [e] *i. e.* the king. "Thy brother came and took my blessing with deceit" [f] (Gen. xxvii. 35), becomes "with wisdom" [g]

14. In order to avoid similes objectionable on aesthetical grounds. "And he will bathe his feet in oil" [h]—"And he will have many delicacies [i] of a king" (Deut. xxxiii. 24).

15. In order to ennoble the language. "And man became a living being" [k] (Gen. ii. 7)—"And *it* became in man a speaking spirit." [m] "How good are thy *tents*," [n] O Jacob"—"How good are thy *lands*," [o] O Jacob" (Num. xxiv. 5).

16. In favour of the Oral Law and the Rabbinical explanations "And go into the land of Moriah" [p] (Gen. xxii. 2), becomes "into the land of worship" (the future place of the Temple). "Isaac went to walk [q] in the field" (Gen. xxiv. 63), is rendered "to *pray*." [r] [Comp. SAM. PENT., p. 1114 *b*]. "Thou shalt not boil a kid [s] in the milk of its mother" (Ex. xxxiv. 26)—as meat and milk, [t] according to the Halachah.

(C.) Alterations of words (circumlocutions, additions, &c.) without change of meaning.

17. On account of the difference of idiom: *e. g.* "Her father's brother" [u] (=relation), (Gen. xxix. 12), is rendered "The son of her father's sister." [x] "What God does [y] (future) he has told Pharaoh" (Gen. xli. 28)—"What God will do," [z] &c.

18. Additions for the sake of avoiding expressions apparently derogatory to the dignity of the Divine Being, by implying polytheism and the like: "Who is like unto Thee [a] among the gods?" is rendered, "There is none like unto Thee," [b] Thou art God" (Ex. xv. 11). "And they sacrifice to demons who are no gods" [c]—"of no use" [d] (Deut. xxxii. 17).

19. In order to avoid erroneous notions implied in certain verbs and epithets used of the Divine Being: *e. g.* "And the Spirit of God [e] moved" (Gen. i. 2)—"A wind from before the Lord." [f] "And Noah built God an altar" [g] (Gen. viii. 20)—"an altar before [h] the Lord." "And God [i] was with the boy" (Gen. xxi. 20)—"And the word of God [k] was in the aid of the boy." "The mountain of God" (Ex. iii. 1)—"The mountain upon which was revealed the glory [m] of God." "The staff of God" (Ex. iv. 20)—"The staff with which thou hast done the miracles before [n] God."

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[p] דאשתעבדו [q] אתילידו [r] נביאך
[s] מתורגמנך [t] רב [u] לתקוף ולא לחלש
[x] רחים [y] ויקדשון [z] פנרים
[a] פלניא (בתרים) [b] משח [c] תרבי
[d] אישת חיקך [e] אישת קייכך
[f] שבת [g] יומא טבא [h] טוטפות
[i] תפילין [k] התחת אל אנכי
[m] המני את בעיא וכו׳ [n] וברוח אפיך
[o] ובמימר פומך [p] וישבותי כפי
[q] ואנין במימרי [r] אחור [s] פני
[t] ית דבתרי [u] ית דקדמי [z] אלהים
[a] רברבין [b] יושב אהלים [c] משמיש בבית אולפנא
[d] אחד העה [e] חד דמיחד בעמא

[f] במרמה [g] בחוכמא [h] שמן
[i] תפנוקי [k] לנפש חיה
[m] והות באדם לרוח ממללא [n] אהליך
[o] ארעך [p] מוריה [q] לשוח.
[r] פולחנא. [Abraham instituted, according to the Midrash, the morning- (Shaharith), Isaac the afternoon- (Minha), and Jacob the evening-prayer (Maarib).]

[s] נדי בחלב [t] בשר וחלב
[u] אחי [x] בר אחת [y] עושה
[z] עתיד למעבד [a] מי כמוך [b] לית בר מנך
[c] לא אלהי [d] לית בהן צרוך
[e] רוח מן קדם אלהים [f] רוח מן קדם אלהים
[g] לה׳ [h] קדם ה׳ [i] אל
[k] יקרא [m] מימרא דה׳ [n] יקן קדם ה

"And I shall see[o] what will be their end"—"It is open (revealed) before me,"[p] &c. The Divine Being is in fact very rarely spoken of without that spiritual medium mentioned before; it being considered, as it were, a want of proper reverence to speak to or of Him directly. The terms "Before" (קדם), "Word" (Λόγος; מימרא), "Glory" (יקרא), "Majesty" (שכנתיה), are also constantly used instead of the Divine name: *e. g.* "The voice of the Lord God was heard" (Gen. iii. 8)—"The voice of the Word." "And He will dwell in the tents of Shem" (ix. 27)—"And the Shechina [Divine Presence] will dwell." "And the Lord went up from Abraham" (Gen. xvii. 22)—"And the glory of God went up." "And God came to Abimelech" (Gen. xx. 3)—"And the word from [before] God came to Abimelech."

20. For the sake of improving seemingly irreverential phrases in Scripture. "Who is God that I should listen unto His voice?" (Ex. v. 2)—"The name of God has not been revealed to me, that I should receive His word."[q]

21. In honour of the nation and its ancestors. "And Israel said to Joseph, Now I shall gladly die"[r] (Gen. xlvi. 30), which might appear frivolous in the mouth of the patriarch, becomes "I shall be comforted[s] now." "And he led his flock towards[t] the desert" (Ex. iii. 1)—"towards a good spot of pasture[u] in the desert."

22. In honour of the Law and the explanation of its obscurities. "To days and years" (Gen. i. 14)—"that days and years should be counted by them."[x] "A tree of knowledge of good and evil"—"A tree, and those who eat its fruits[y] will distinguish between good and evil." "I shall not further curse for the sake of[z] man" (viii. 21)—"through the sin[a] of man." "To the ground shall not be forgiven the blood[b] shed upon it" (Num. xxv. 33)—"the *innocent*[c] blood."

23. For the sake of avoiding similes, metonymical and allegorical passages, too difficult for the comprehension of the multitude: *e. g.* "Thy seed like the dust of the earth" (Gen. xiii. 16)—"mighty[d] as the dust of the earth." "I am too small for all the benefits" (Gen. xxxii. 10)—"My good deeds[e] are small." "And the Lord thy God will circumcise thy heart"—"the folly of thy heart."[f]

24. For the sake of elucidating apparent obscurities, &c., in the written Law. "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother" (Gen. ii. 24)—"the home"[g] (not really his parents). "The will of Him who dwelleth in the bush"—"of Him that dwelleth in heaven[h] [whose Shechinah is in heaven], and who revealed Himself in the bush to Moses."

25. In favour of the oral Law and the traditional explanations generally. "He punishes the sins of the parents on their children" (Ex. xx. 5), has the addition, "when the children follow the sins of their parents" (comp. Ez. xviii. 19). "The righteous and the just ye shall not kill" (Ex. xxiii. 7)—"He who has left the tribunal as innocent, thou shalt not kill him," *i. e.*, according to the Halacha he is not to be arraigned again for the same crime. "Doorposts" (*mesusoth*) (Deut. vi. 9)—"And thou shalt write them . . . *and affix them* upon the posts," &c.

(D.) Alteration of language and meaning.

26. In honour of the Divine Being, to avoid apparent multiplicity or a likeness. "Behold man will be like one of us, knowing good and evil" (Gen. iii. 22)—"He will be the only one in the world[i] to know good and evil." "For who is a God in heaven and on earth who could do like Thy deeds and powers?" (Deut. iii. 24)—"Thou art God, Thy Divine Presence (Shechinah) is in heaven[k] above, and reigns on earth below, and there is none who does like unto Thy deeds," &c.

27. Alteration of epithets employed of God. "And before Thee shall I hide myself"[m] (Gen. iv. 14)—"And before Thee it is not possible to hide."[n] "This is my God and I will praise[o] Him, the God of my father and I will extol[p] Him" (Ex. xv. 2)—"This is my God, and I will build Him a sanctuary;[q] the God of my fathers, and I will pray before Him."[r] "In one moment I shall go up in thy midst and annihilate thee"—"For one hour will I take away my majesty[s] from among thee" (since no evil can come from above).

28. For the ennobling of the sense. "Great is Jehovah above all gods"—"Great is God, and there is no other god beside Him." "Send through him whom thou wilt send" (Ex. iv. 13)—"through him who is worthy to be sent."

29. In honour of the nation and its ancestors. "And the souls they made[t] in Haran" (Gen. xii. 5)—"the souls they made subject to the Divine Law[u] in Haran." "And Isaac brought her into the tent of his mother Sarah" (Gen. xxiv. 67)—"And lo righteous were her works,[x] like the works of his mother Sarah." "And he bent his shoulder to bear, and he became a tributary servant" (Gen. xlix. 15)—"And he will conquer the cities of the nations and destroy their dwelling-places, and those that will remain there will serve him and pay tribute to him." "People, foolish and not wise" (Deut. xxxii. 6)—"People who has received the Law and has not become wise."[y]

30. Explanatory of tropical and metonymical phrases. "And besides thee no man shall raise his hand and his foot in the whole land of Egypt" (Gen. xli. 44)—"There shall not a man raise his hand to seize a weapon, and his foot to ride on a horse."

31. To ennoble or improve the language. "Coats of skin" (Gen. iii. 21)—"Garments of honour[z] on the skin of their flesh." "Thy two daugh-

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[o] ידעתי [p] גלי קדמי
[q] לא אתגלי לי דאקבל במימריה
[r] אחר המ׳ [s] אנחמה [t] אמותה
[u] לממני בהון [x] שפר רעיה ב׳
[y] בעבור [z] ואילון דאכלין פירוהי
[a] לדם נקי [b] לדם [c] בדיל חובי
[d] זעירן זכוותי [e] סגיאין
[f] בית מישכביה [g] טפשות לבך
[h] יהידא בעלמא [i] דשכנתיה בשמיא

[k] שכנתך בשמיא [m] אסתתר
[n] לית אפשר לאסתרא [o] אנוהו
[p] ארוממנהו [q] אבני ליה מקדש
[r] אפלח קדמוהי [s] אסלק שבנתי
[t] דשעבידו לאורייתא [u] עשו
[x] ותקנין עובדהא
[y] סבילו אורייתא ולא חכימו
[z] לבושין דיקר

cers who are found with thee" (Gen. xix. 15)—"who were found faithful with thee." "May Reuben live and not die" (Deut. xxxiii. 6)—"May Reuben live in the everlasting life."

The foregoing examples will, we trust, be found to bear out sufficiently the judgment given above on this Targum. In spite of its many and important discrepancies, it never for one moment forgets its aim of being a clear, though free, translation *for the people*, and nothing more. Wherever it deviates from the literalness of the text, such a course, in its case, is fully justified—nay, necessitated—either by the obscurity of the passage, or the wrong construction that naturally would be put upon its wording by the multitude. The explanations given agree either with the real sense, or develop the current tradition supposed to underlie it. The specimens adduced by other investigators, however differently classified or explained, are easily brought under the foregoing heads. They one and all tend to prove that Onkelos, whatever the objections against single instances, is one of the most excellent and thoroughly competent interpreters. A few instances only—and they are very few indeed—may be adduced, where even Onkelos, as it would appear, "dormitat." Far be it from us for one moment to depreciate, as has been done, the infinitely superior knowledge both of the Hebrew and Chaldee idioms on the part of the writers and editors of our document, or to attribute their discrepancies from modern translations to ignorance. They drank from the fullness of a highly valuable traditional exegesis, as fresh and vigorous in their days as the Hebrew language itself still was in the circles of the wise, the academies and schools. But we have this advantage, that words which then were obsolete, and whose meaning was known no longer—only guessed at—are to us familiar by the numerous progeny they have produced in cognate idioms, known to us through the mighty spread of linguistic science in our days; and if we are not aided by a traditional exegesis handed down within and without the schools, perhaps ever since the days of the framing of the document itself, neither are we prejudiced and fettered by it. Whatever may be implied and hidden in a verse or word, we have no reason to translate it accordingly, and, for the attaining of this purpose, to overstrain the powers of the roots. Among such small shortcomings of our translator may be mentioned that he appears to have erroneously derived שׁאת (Gen. iv. 7) from נשׂא; that נוכחת (xx. 6) is by him rendered אוכחת; אברך (Gen. xli. 43) by אבא למלכא; אֶבֶד (Deut. xxiv. 5) אָבֵד; and the like. Comp. however the Commentators on these passages.

The bulk of the passages generally adduced as proofs of want of knowledge on the part of Onkelos have to a great part been shown in the course of the foregoing specimens to be intentional deviations; many other passages not mentioned merely instance the want of knowledge on the part of his critics.

Some places, again, exhibit that blending of two distinct translations, of which we have spoken; the catchword being apparently taken in two different senses. Thus Gen. xxii. 13, where he translates: "And Abraham lifted up his eyes after these, and behold there was a ram;" he has not "in his perplexity" mistranslated אחר for אחר, but he has only placed for the sake of clearness the אחר after the verb (he saw), instead of the noun (ram); and the חרא, which is moreover wanting in some texts, has been added, not as a translation of אחר or אחר, but in order to make the passage more lucid still. A similar instance of a double translation is found in Gen. ix. 6: "Whosoever sheds a man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed"—rendered "Whosoever sheds the blood of man, by witnesses through the sentence of the judges shall his blood be shed;" באדם, by man, being taken first as "witness," and then as "judges."

We may further notice the occurrence of two *Messianic* passages in this Targum: the one, Gen. xlix. 10, Shiloh; the other, Num. xxiv. 17, "sceptre:" both rendered "Messiah."

A fuller idea of the "Genius" of Onkelos as Translator and as Paraphrast, may be arrived at from the specimens subjoined in pp. 1659-61.

We cannot here enter into anything like a minute account of the dialect of Onkelos or of any other Targum. Regarding the linguistic shades of the different Targums, we must confine ourselves to the general remark, that the later the version, the more corrupt and adulterated its language. Three dialects, however, are chiefly to be distinguished: as in the Aramaic idiom in general, which in contradistinction to the Syriac, or Christian Aramaic, may be called Judaeo-Aramaic, so also in the different Targums; and their recognition is a material aid towards fixing the place of their origin; although we must warn the reader that this guidance is not always to be relied upon.

1. The Galilean dialect, known and spoken of already in the Talmud as the one which most carelessly confounds its sounds, vowels as well as consonants. "The Galileans are negligent with respect to their language,[a] and care not for grammatical forms"[b] is a common saying in the Gemara. We learn that they did not distinguish properly between B and P (ב, פ), saying Tapula instead of Tabula, between Ch and K (כ and ק) saying χείριος for κύριος. Far less could they distinguish between the various gutturals, as is cleverly exemplified in the story where a Judaean asked a Galilean, when the latter wanted to buy an אמר, whether he meant עֵמֶר (wool), or אֵמֶר (a lamb), or חֲמַר (wine), or חֲמֹר (an ass). The next consequence of this their disregard of the gutturals was, that they threw them often off entirely at the beginning of a word *per aphaeresin*. Again they contracted, or rather wedged together, words of the most dissimilar terminations and beginnings. By confounding the vowels like the consonants, they often created entirely new words and forms. The Mappik H (ה) became Ch (somewhat similar to the Scotch pronunciation of the initial H). As the chief reason for this Galilean confusion of tongues (for which comp. Matt. xxvi. 73; Mark xiv. 70) may be assigned the increased facility of intercourse with the neighbouring nations owing to their northern situation.

2. The Samaritan Dialect, a mixture of vulgar Hebrew and Aramean, in accordance with the origin of the people itself. Its chief characteristics are the frequent use of the *Ain* (which not only stands for other gutturals, but is even used as *mater lectionis*), the commutation of the gutturals in general, and the indiscriminate use of the mute consonants ב for ו, ק for כ, ח for ק, &c.

3. The Judaean or Jerusalem Dialect (comp

[a] לא הקפידו [b] לא דייקא לישנא

Ned. 66 *b*) scarcely ever pronounces the gutturals at the end properly, often throws them off entirely. Jeshuâ, becomes Jeshu; Sheba—Shib. Many words are peculiar to this dialect alone. The appellations of "door," [e] "light," [d] "reward," [e] &c., are totally different from those used in the other dialects. Altogether all the peculiarities of provincialism, shortening and lengthening of vowels, idiomatic phrases and words, also an orthography of its own, generally with a fuller and broader vocalisation, are noticeable throughout both the Targums and the Talmud of Jerusalem, which, for the further elucidation of this point as of many others have as yet not found an investigator.

The following recognised Greek words, the greater part of which also occur in the Talmud and Midrash, are found in Onkelos: Ex. xxviii. 25, [f] *βήρυλλος*; Ex. xxviii. 11, [g] *γλυφή*; Gen. xxviii. 17, [h] *ἰδιώτης*; Lev. xi. 30, [i] *κωλώτης*; Ex. xxviii. 19, [k] *θράκιος* (Plin. xxxvii. 68); Ex. xxxix. 11, [m] *Καρχηδόνιοι*, comp. Pes. der. Kah. xxxii. (Carbunculi); Deut. xx. 20, [n] *χαράκωμα* (Ber. R. xcviii.); Ex. xxviii. 20, [o] *χρῶμα*; Num. xv. 38, Deut. xxii. 12, [p] *κράσπεδον*; Ex. xxx. 34, [q] *κίστος*; Gen. xxxvii. 28, [r] *λῆδον*; Ex. xxiv. 16, [s] *φάρσος*; Ex. xxvi. 6, [t] *πόρπη*; Gen. vi. 14, [u] *κέδρος*; Ex. xxviii. 19, [x] *κέγχρος* (Plin. xxxvii. 4). To these may be added the unrecognised [y] *κεραμίς* (Ex. xxi. 18), [z] *λιβρούχης*, or *λεβρόχη* (Gen. xxx. 14), &c.

The following short rules on the general mode of transcribing the Greek Letters in Aramaic and Syriac (Targum, Talmud, Midrash, &c.), may not be out of place:—

Γ before palatals, pronounced like *ν*, becomes נ.

Z is rendered by ז.

H appears to have occasionally assumed the pronunciation of a consonant (Digamma); and a ו is inserted.

Θ is ת, T ט. But this rule, even making allowances for corruptions, does not always seem to have been strictly observed.

K is ק, sometimes כ.

M, which before labials stands in lieu of a *ν*, becomes נ: occasionally a נ is inserted before labials where it is not found in the Greek word.

Ξ, generally כס, sometimes, however, נז or צ.

Π is פ, sometimes, however, it is softened into ב.

P is sometimes altered into ל or נ.

'P becomes either רה or הר at the beginning of a word.

Σ either ס or ז.

The *spiritus asper*, which in Greek is dropped in the middle of a word, reappears again sometimes (*συνέδοι*—Sanhedrin). Even the *lenis* is represented sometimes by a ה at the beginning of a word; sometimes, however, even the *asper* is dropped.

As to the vowels no distinct rule is to be laid down, owing principally to the original want of vowel-points in our texts.

Before double consonants at the beginning of a word an א *prostheticum* is placed, so as to render the pronunciation easier. The terminations are frequently Hebraised:—thus *οι* is sometimes rendered by the termination of the Masc. Pl. ים, &c.

A curious and instructive comparison may be instituted, between this mode of transcription of the Greek letters into Hebrew, and that of the Hebrew letters into Greek, as found chiefly in the LXX.

א sometimes inaudible (*spirit. len.*) Ἀαράν, Ἑλκανά; sometimes audible (as *spirit. asper*), Ἀβραάμ, Ἠλίας.

ב = *β*: Ῥεβέκκα; sometimes *φ*: Ἰακεβζήφ, sometimes *υ*: Ῥααῦ, sometimes *μβ*: Ζερομβαβέλ, sometimes it is completely changed into *μ*: Ἰαμνεῖα (2 Chr. xxvi. 6).

ג = *γ*: Γόμερ, sometimes *κ*: Δωήκ, sometimes *χ*: Χερούχ.

ד = *δ*: once = *τ* Ματραίθ (Gen. xxxvi. 39).

ה = א, either *spirit. asp.* like Ὀδοδά, or *spir. len.* like Ἀβέλ.

ו = *υ*, not the vowel, but our *v*: Ἔυα, Λευί: thus also *ου* (as the Greek writers often express the Latin *v* by *ου*): Ἰεσσουά: sometimes = *β*: Σαβού (Gen. xiv. 5); sometimes it is entirely left out, Ἀστί for Vashti.

ז = *ζ*, sometimes *σ*: Σαβουλών, Χασβί; rarely *ξ*: Βαύξ (Gen. xxii. 21).

ח, often entirely omitted, or represented by a *spir. len.* in the beginning, or the reduplication of the vowel in the middle or at the end of the word, sometimes = *χ*: Χάμ; sometimes = *κ*: Τάβεκ (Gen. xxii. 24).

ט = *τ*: Σαφάτ; sometimes = *δ*: Φούδ (Gen. x. 6); or *θ*: Ἐλιφαλάδ (2 Sam. v. 16).

י = *ι*: Ἰακώβ, or *ι* before *ρ* (ר): Ἱερεμίας. Between several vowels it is sometimes entirely omitted: Ἰωαδά.

כ = *χ*: Χαναάν; sometimes *κ*: Σαβαθακά (Gen. x. 7); rarely = *γ*: Γαφθωρείμ.

ל, נ, ר = *λ*, *ν*, *ρ*; but they are often found interchanged: owing perhaps to the similarity of the Greek letters. נ is sometimes also rendered *μ* (see above).

מ = *μ*, sometimes *β*: Νεβρώδ, Σεβλά (1 Chr i. 47).

ש and ס = *σ*: Συμεών, Σηείρ, Σίν.

ע = *spir. len.*: Ἐφρών; sometimes = *γ* (ᾼ) Γομορρα; sometimes *κ*, Ἀρβόκ (Gen. xxiii. 2).

פ = *φ*: Φαλέγ, or *π*: Σαλπαάδ.

צ = *σ*: Σιδών; sometimes *ζ*: Οὐζ (Gen. x. 23; Cod. Alex. Ὦς; xxii. 21: Ὦξ).

ק = *κ*: Βαλάκ; sometimes *χ*: Χεττουρά; also *γ*: Χελέγ.

ת = *θ*: Ἰαφέθ; sometimes *τ*: Τοχός.

As to the Bible Text from which the Targum was prepared, we can only reiterate that we have no certainty whatever on this head, owing to the extraordinarily corrupt state of our Targum texts. Pages upon pages of Variants have been gathered by Cappellus, Kennicott, Buxtorf, De Rossi, Clericus, Luzzatto, and others, by a superficial comparison of a few copies only, and those chiefly printed ones. Whenever the very numerous MSS. shall be collated, then the learned world may possibly come to certain probable conclusions on it. It would appear, however, that broadly speaking, our present Masoretic text has been the one from which th

[c] בבא for דשא [d] בוציני for שרגי
[e] אגר for סוטר [f] ברלא
[g] גלף [h] הדיוט [i] חלטתא
[k] טרסיא [m] כרכדינא [n] כרכום

[o] כרום (ימא) (Mich. *Lex. Syr.* 435, makes it *Persian*)
[p] כרוספדא [q] בשת [r] לטום
[s] פרסא [t] פורפא [u] קדרום
[x] סנכרי [y] כורמיזא [z] יברוחין

Onk. Version was, if not made, yet edited, at all events; unless we assume that late hands have been intentionally busy in mutually assimilating text and translation. Many of the inferences drawn by De Rossi and others from the discrepancies of the version to discrepancies of the original from the Masor. Text, must needs be rejected if Onkelos' method and phraseology, as we have exhibited it, are taken into consideration. Thus, when, Ex. xxiv. 7, "before the people" is found in Onkelos, while our Hebrew text reads "in the ears," it by no means follows that Onkelos read באזני: it is simply his way of explaining the unusual phrase, to which he remains faithful throughout. Or, "Lead the people *unto the place* (A.V.) of which I have spoken" (Ex. xxxii. 34), is solely Onkelos' translation of אל אשר, *scil.* the place, and no מקום need be conjectured as having stood in Onkelos' copy; as also, Ex. ix. 7, his addition "From the cattle of '*the children of*' Israel" does not prove a בני to have stood in his Codex.

And this also settles (or rather leaves unsettled), the question as to the authenticity of the Targumic Texts, such as we have them. Considering that no MS. has as yet been found older than at most 600 years, even the careful comparison of all those that do exist would not much further our knowledge. As far as those existing are concerned, they teem with the most palpable blunders,—not to speak of variants, owing to sheer carelessness on the part of the copyists;—but few are of a nature damaging the sense materially. The circumstance that Text and Targum were often placed side by side, column by column, must have had no little share in the incorrectness, since it was but natural to make the Targum resemble the Text as closely as possible, while the nature of its material differences was often unknown to the scribe. In fact, the accent itself was made to fit both the Hebrew and the Chaldee wherever a larger addition did not render it utterly impossible. Thus letters are inserted, omitted, thrust in, blotted out, erased, in an infinite number of places. But the difference goes still further. In some Codices synonymous terms are used most arbitrarily as it would appear: ארעה and אדמתא earth, אדם and אנשא man, אורח and מהלך path, יהוה and אלהים, Jehovah and Elohim, are found to replace each other indiscriminately. In some instances, the Hebrew Codex itself has, to add to the confusion, been emendated from the Targum.

A Masorah has been written on Onkelos, without, however, any authority being inherent in it, and without, we should say, much value. It has never been printed, nor, as far as we have been able to ascertain, is there any MS. now to be found in this country, or in any of the public libraries abroad. What has become of Buxtorf's copy, which he intended to add to his never printed "Babylonia"—a book devoted to this same subject—we do not know. Luzzatto has lately found such a "Masorah" in a Pentateuch MS., but he only mentions some variants contained in it. Its title must not mislead the reader; it has nothing whatever to do with *the* Masorah of the Bible, but is a recent work, like the *Masorah of the Talmud*, which has nothing whatever to do with the Talmud Text.

The MSS. of Onkelos are extant in great numbers—a circumstance easily explained by the injunction that it should be read every Sabbath at home, if not in the Synagogue. The Bodleian has 5, the British Museum 2, Vienna 6, Augsburg 1, Nuremberg 2, Altdorf 1, Carlsruhe 3, Stuttgart 2, Erfurt 3, Dresden 1, Leipsic 1, Jena 1, Dessau 1, Helmstadt 2, Berlin 4, Breslau 1, Brieg 1, Regensburg 1, Hamburg 7, Copenhagen 2, Upsala 1 Amsterdam 1, Paris 8, Molsheim 1, Venice 6, Turin 2, Milan 4, Leghorn 1, Sienna 1, Genoa 1, Florence 5, Bologna 2, Padua 1, Trieste 2, Parma about 40, Rome 18 more or less complete Codd. containing Onkelos.

Editio Princeps, Bologna 1482, fol. (Abr. b. Chajjim) with Hebr. Text and Rashi. Later Edd. Soria 1490, Lisbon 1491, Constantinople 1505: from these were taken the texts in the Complutensian (1517) and the Venice (Bomberg) Polyglotts (1518, 1526, 1547-49), and Buxtorf's Rabbinical Bible (1619). This was followed by the Paris Polyglott (1645), and Walton's (1657). A recent and much emendated edition dates Wilna 1852.

Of the extraordinary similarity between Onkelos and the Samaritan version we have spoken under SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH [p. 1114]. There also will be found a specimen of both, taken from the Barberini Codex. Many more points connected with Onkelos and his influence upon later Hermeneutics and Exegesis, as well as his relation to earlier or later versions, we have no space to enlarge upon, desirable as an investigation of these points might be. We have, indeed, only been induced to dwell so long upon this single Targum, because in the first instance a great deal that has been said here will, *mutatis mutandis*, hold good also for the other Targums; and further, because Onkelos is THE CHALDEE VERSION *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, while, from Jonathan downwards, we more and more leave the province of Version and gradually arrive from Paraphrase to Midrash-Haggadah. We shall therefore not enter at any length into these, but confine ourselves chiefly to main results.

II. TARGUM ON THE PROPHETS

viz. Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets,—called TARGUM OF JONATHAN BEN UZZIEL.

Next in time and importance to Onkelos on the Pentateuch stands the Targum on the Prophets, which in our printed Edd. and MSS.—none older, we repeat it, than about 600 years—is ascribed to Jonathan ben Uzziel, of whom the Talmud contains the following statements:—(1.) "Eighty disciples had Hillel the Elder, thirty of whom were worthy that the Shechinah (Divine Majesty) should rest upon them, as it did upon Moses our Lord; peace be upon him. Thirty of them were worthy that the sun should stand still at their bidding as it did at that of Joshua ben Nun. Twenty were of intermediate worth. The greatest of them all was Jonathan b. Uzziel, the least R. Johanan b. Saccai; and it was said of R. Johanan b. Saccai, that he left not (uninvestigated) the Bible, the Mishna, the Gemara, the Halachahs, the Haggadahs, the subtleties of the Law, and the subtleties of the Soferim . . . . ; the easy things and the difficult things [from the most awful Divine mysteries to the common popular proverbs] . . . If this is said of the least of them, what is to be said of the greatest, *i.e.* Jonathan b. Uzziel?" (Bab. Bath. 134 *a*; comp. Succ. 28 *a*). (2.) A second passage (see Onkelos) referring more especially to our present subject, reads as follows: "The Targum of Onkelos was made by Onkelos the Proselyte from the mouth of R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua, and that of the Prophets by Jonathan b. Uzziel from the mouth

of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. And in that hour was the Land of Israel shaken three hundred parasangs. . . . And a voice was heard, saying, 'Who is this who has revealed my secrets unto the sons of man?' Up rose Jonathan ben Uzziel and said: 'It is I who have revealed Thy secrets to the sons of man. . . . But it is known and revealed before Thee, that not for my honour have I done it, nor for the honour of my father's house, but for Thine honour; that the disputes may cease in Israel.' . . . And he further desired to reveal the Targum to the Hagiographa, when a voice was heard:—'Enough.' And why?—because the day of the Messiah is revealed therein (Meg. 3*a*)." Wonderful to relate, the sole and exclusive authority for the general belief in the authorship of Jonathan b. Uzziel, is this second Hagadistic passage exclusively; which, if it does mean anything, does at all events not mean our Targum, which is found mourning over the "Temple in ruins," full of invectives against Rome (Sam. xi. 5; Is. xxxiv. 9, &c. &c.), mentioning Armillus (Is. x. 4) (the Antichrist), Germania (Ez. xxxviii. 6):—not to dwell upon the thousand and one other internal and external evidences against a date anterior to the Christian era. If interpolations must be assumed,—and indeed Rashi speaks already of corruptions in his MSS.—such solitary additions are at all events a very different thing from a wholesale system of intentional and minute interpolation throughout the bulky work. But what is still more extraordinary, this belief—long and partly still upheld most reverentially against all difficulties—is completely modern: that is, not older than at most 600 years (the date of our oldest Targum MSS.), and is utterly at variance with the real and genuine sources: the Talmud, the Midrash, the Babylonian Schools, and every authority down to Hai Gaon (12th cent.). Frequently quoted as this Targum is in the ancient works, it is never once quoted as the Targum of Jonathan. But it is invariably introduced with the formula: "R. Joseph[a] (bar Chama, the Blind, euphemistically called the clear-sighted, the well-known President of Pumbaditha in Babylonia, who succeeded Rabba in 319 A.D.) says," &c. (Moed Katon 26 *a*, Pesach. 68 *a*, Sanh. 94 *b*). Twice even it is quoted in Joseph's name, and with the addition, "Without the Targum to this verse (due to him) we could not understand it." This is the simple state of the case: and for more than two hundred years critics have lavished all their acumen to defend what never had any real existence, or at best owed its apparent existence to a heading added by a superficial scribe.

The date which the Talmud thus in reality assigns to our Targum fully coincides with our former conclusions as to the date of written Targums in general. And if we may gather thus much from the legend that to write down the Targum to the Prophets was considered a much bolder undertaking—and one to which still more reluctantly leave was given—than a Targum on the Pentateuch, we shall not be far wrong in placing *this* Targum some time, although not long, after Onkelos, or about the middle of the fourth century;—the latter years of R. Joseph, who, it is said, occupied himself chiefly with the Targum when he had become blind. The reason given for that reluctance is, although hyperbolically expressed, perfectly clear: "The Targum on the Prophets revealed the secrets"—that is, it allowed free scope to the wildest fantasy to run riot upon the prophetic passages—tempting through their very obscurity,—and to utter explanations and interpretations relative to present events, and oracles of its own for future times, which might be fraught with grave dangers in more than one respect. The Targum on the Pentateuch (permitted to be committed to writing, Meg. 3 *a*; Kidd. 69 *a*) could not but be, even in its written form, more sober, more dignified, more within the bounds of fixed and well known traditions, than any other Targum; since it had originally been read publicly, and been checked by the congregation as well as the authorities present;—as we have endeavoured to explain in the Introduction. There is no proof, on the other hand, of more than fragments from the Prophets having ever been read and translated in the synagogue. Whether, however, R. Joseph was more than the redactor of this the second part of the Bible-Targum, which was originated in Palestine, and was reduced to its final shape in Babylon, we cannot determine. He may perhaps have made considerable additions of his own, by filling up gaps or rejecting wrong versions of some parts. So much seems certain, that the schoolmen of his Academy were the collectors and revisers, and he gave it that stamp of unity which it now possesses, spite of the occasional difference of style:—adapted simply to the variegated hues and diction of its manifold biblical originals.

But we do not mean to reject in the main either of the Talmudical passages quoted. We believe that there was such a man as Jonathan b. Uzziel, that he was one of the foremost pupils of Hillel, and also that he did translate, either privately or publicly, parts of the prophetical books; chiefly, we should say, in a mystical manner. And so startling were his interpretations—borne aloft by his high fame—that who but prophets themselves could have revealed them to him? And going a step further, who could reveal prophetic allegories and mysteries of *all* the prophetic books, but those who, themselves the last in the list, had the whole body of sacred oracles before them? This appears to us the only rational conclusion to be drawn from the facts:—as they stand, not as they are imagined. That nothing save a few snatches of this *original* paraphrase or Midrash could be embodied in our Targum, we need not urge. Yet for these even we have no proof. Zunz, the *facile princeps* of Targumic as well as Midrashic investigation, who, as late as 1830 (*Gottesd. Vortr.*), still believed himself in the modern notion of Jonathan's authorship ("first half of first century, A.D."), now utterly rejects the notion of "our possessing *anything* of Jonathan ben Uzziel" (Geiger's *Zeitschr.* 1837, p. 259).

Less conservative than our view, however, are the views of the modern School (Rappoport, Luzzatto, Frankel, Geiger, Levy, Bauer, Jahn, Bertholdt, Levysohn, &c.), who not only reject the authorship of Jonathan, but also utterly deny that there was any ground whatsoever for assigning a Targum to him, as is done in the Talmud. The passage, they say, is not older, but younger than our Targum, and in fact does apply, erroneously of course, to this, and to no other work of a similar kind. The populace cry for a great "name, upon which to hang"—in Talmudical phraseology—all that is cherished and venerated, and the wish of those eager to impart to

[a] "Sinai," "Possessor of Wheat," in allusion to his vast mastery over the traditions.

this Version a lasting authority, found in Jonathan the most fitting person to father it upon. Was he not the greatest of the great, "who had been dusted with the dust of Hillel's feet?" He was the wisest of the wise, the one most imbued with knowledge human and divine, of all those eighty, the least of whom was worthy that the sun should stay its course at his bidding. Nay, such were the flames[b] that arose from his glowing spirit, says the hyperbolic Haggadah, that "when he studied in the Law, the very birds that flew over him in the air, were consumed by fire" (*nisrephu*[c]—not, as Landau, in the preface to his Aruch, apologetically translates, *became Seraphs*). At the same time we readily grant that we see no reason why the great Hillel himself, or any other much earlier and equally eminent Master of the Law, one of the Soferim perhaps, should not have been fixed upon.

Another suggestion, first broached by Drusius, and long exploded, has recently been revived under a somewhat modified form. Jonathan (Godgiven), Drusius said, was none else but Theodotion (Godgiven), the second Greek translator of the Bible after the LXX., who had become a Jewish proselyte. Considering that the latter lived under Commodus II., and the former at the time of Christ; that the latter is said to have translated the Prophets only (neither the Pentateuch, nor the Hagiographa), while the former translated the *whole* Bible; that Jonathan translated into Aramaic and Theodotion into Greek,—not to mention the fact that Theodotion was, to say the least, a not very competent translator, since "ignorance or negligence" (Montfaucon, *Pref. to Hexapla*), or both, must needs be laid at the door of a translator, who, when in difficulties, simply transcribes the hard Hebrew words into Greek characters, without troubling himself any further;[d] while the mastery over both the Hebrew and the Aramaic displayed in the Jonathanic Version are astounding:—considering all this, we need not like Walton ask caustically, why Jonathan ben Uzziel should not rather be identified with the Emperor Theodosius, whose name also is "Godgiven;"—but dismiss the suggestion as Carpzov long since dismissed it. We are, however, told now (Luzzatto, Geiger, &c.), that as the Babylonian Targum on the Pentateuch was called a Targum "in the manner of Aquila or Onkelos," *i. e.* of sterling value, so also the continuation of the Babylonian Targum, which embraced the Prophets, was called a Targum "in the manner of Theodotion" = Jonathan; and by a further stretch, Jonathan-Theodotion became the Jonathan b. Uzziel. We cannot but disagree with this hypothesis also—based on next to nothing, and carried to more than the usual length of speculation. While Akyla is quoted continually in the Talmud, and is deservedly one of the best known and best beloved characters, every trait and incident of whose personal history is told even twice over, not the slightest trace of such a person as Theodotion is to be found anywhere in the Talmudical literature. What, again, was it that could have acquired so transcendent a fame for his translation and himself, that a Version put into the mouths of the very prophets should be called after him, "in order that the people should like it"?—a translation which was, in fact, deservedly unknown, and, properly speaking, no translation at all. It was, as we learn, a kind of private emendation of some LXX. passages, objectionable to the pious Proselyte in their then corrupted state. It was only the Book of Daniel which was retained from Theodotion's pen, because in this book the LXX. had become past correction. If, moreover, the intention was "to give the people a Hebrew for a Greek name, because the latter might sound too foreign," it was an entirely gratuitous one. Greek names abound in the Talmud, and even names beginning with Theo like Theodorus are to be found there.

On the other hand, the opinion has been broached that this Targum was a post-Talmudical production, belonging to the 7th or 8th cent. A.D. For this point we need only refer to the Talmudical quotations from it. And when we further add, that Jo. Morinus, a man as conspicuous by his want of knowledge as by his most ludicrous attacks upon all that was "Jewish" or "Protestant" (it was he, *e.g.* who wished to see the "forged" Masoretic Code corrected from the Samaritan Pentateuch, *q.v.*) is the chief, and almost only, defender of this theory, we have said enough. On the other theory of there being more than one author to our Targum (Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette), combated fiercely by Gesenius, Hävernick, and others, we need not further enlarge, after what we have already said. It certainly is the work, not of one, or of two, but of twenty, of fifty and more Meturgemanim, Haggadists, and Halachists. The edition, however, we repeat it advisedly, has the undeniable stamp of one master-mind; and its individual workings, its manner and peculiarity are indelibly impressed upon the whole labour from the first page to the last. Such, we hold, must be the impression upon every attentive reader; more especially, if he judiciously distinguishes between the first and the last prophets. That in the historical relations of the former, the Version must be, on the whole, more accurate and close (although here too, as we shall show, Haggadah often takes the reins out of the Meturgeman's or editor's hands), while in the obscurer Oracles of the latter the Midrash reigns supreme: is exactly what the history of Targumic development leads us to expect.

And with this we have pointed out the general character of the Targum under consideration. Gradually, perceptibly almost, the translation becomes the *τράγημα*, a frame, so to speak, of allegory, parable, myth, tale, and oddly masked history—such as we are wont to see in Talmud and Midrash, written under the bloody censorship of Esau-Rome; interspersed with some lyrical pieces of rare poetical value. It becomes, in short, like the Haggadah, a whole system of Eastern phantasmagorias whirling round the sun of the Holy Word of the Seer. Yet, it is always aware of being a translation. It returns to its verse after long excurses, often in next to no perceptible connexion with it. Even in the midst of the full swing of fancy, swayed to and fro by the many currents of thought that arise out of a single word, snatches of the verse from which the flight was taken will suddenly appear on the surface like a refrain or a keynote, showing that in reality there is a

[b] The simile of the fire—"as the Law was given in fire on Sinai"—is a very favourite one in the Midrash.

[c] נשרפו.

[d] *e. g.*, Lev. vii. 13, פנול, T. Φεγγώλ, or Φεγγούλ, by way of emendation; Lev. xiii. 6, מספחת, *Μασφάα*; ib. ישאת, *Σήθ*; Lev. xviii. 23, תבל, *θάβελ*; Is. lxiv. 6 עדים, *Ἐδδίμ*.

connexion, though hidden to the uninitiated. For long periods again, it adheres most strictly to its text and to its verse- and translates most conscientiously and closely. It may thus fairly be described as holding in point of interpretation and enlargement of the text, the middle place between Onkelos, who only in extreme cases deviates into paraphrase, and the subsequent Targums, whose connexion with their texts is frequently of the most flighty character. Sometimes indeed our Targum coincides so entirely with Onkelos,—being, in fact, of one and the same origin and growth, and a mere continuation and completion as it were of the former work, that this similarity has misled critics into speculations of the priority in date of either the one or the other. Hävernick, *e. g.* holds—against Zunz—that Onkelos copied, plagiarised in fact, Jonathan. We do not see, quite apart from our placing Onkelos first, why either should have used the other. The three passages (Judg. v. 26 and Deut. xxii. 5; 2 K. xiv. 6 and Deut. xxiv. 16; Jer. xlviii. 45, 46 and Num. xxi. 28, 29) generally adduced, do not in the first place exhibit that literal closeness which we are led to expect, and which alone could be called "copying;" and in the second place, the two last passages are not, as we also thought we could infer from the words of the writers on either side, extraneous paraphrastic additions, but simply the similar translations of similar texts: while in the first passage Jonathan only refers to an injunction contained in the Pentateuch-verse quoted. But even had we found such paraphrastic additions, apparently not belonging to the subject, we should have accounted for them by certain traditions—the common property of the whole generation,—being recalled by a certain word or phrase in the Pentateuch to the memory of the *one* translator; and by another word or phrase in the Prophets to the memory of the *other* translator. The interpretation of Jonathan, where it adheres to the text, is mostly very correct in a philosophical and exegetical sense, closely literal even, provided the meaning of the original is easily to be understood by the people. When, however, similes are used, unfamiliar or obscure to the people, it unhesitatingly dissolves them and makes them easy in their mouths like household words, by adding as much of explanation as seems fit; sometimes, it cannot be denied, less sagaciously, even incorrectly, comprehending the original meaning. Yet we must be very cautious in attributing to a Version which altogether bears the stamp of thorough competence and carefulness that which may be single corruptions or interpolations, as we find them sometimes indicated by an introductory "Says the Prophet"[e]: although, as stated above, we do not hesitate to attribute the passages displaying an acquaintance with works written down to the 4th century, and exhibiting popular notions current at that time, to the Targum in its original shape. Generally speaking, and holding the difference between the nature of the Pentateuch (supposed to contain in its very letters and signs Halachistic references, and therefore only to be handled by the Meturgeman with the greatest care) and that of the Prophets (freest Homiletes themselves) steadily in view—the rules laid down above with respect to the discrepancies between Original and Targum, in Onkelos, hold good also with Jonathan. Anthropomorphisms it avoids carefully. Geographical names are, in most cases, retained as in the Original, and where translated, they are generally correct. Its partiality for Israel never goes so far that anything derogatory to the character of the people should be willingly suppressed, although a certain reluctance against dwelling upon its iniquities and punishments longer than necessary, is visible. Where, however, that which redounds to the praise of the individual—more especially of heroes, kings, prophets—and of the community, is contained in the text, there the paraphrase lovingly tarries. Future bliss, in this world and the world to come, liberation from the oppressor, restoration of the Sanctuary on Mount Zion, of the Kingdom of Jehovah and the House of David, the re-establishment of the nation and of its full and entire independence, as well as of the national worship, with all the primitive splendour of Priest and Levite, singer and musician and prophet—these are the favourite dreams of the people and of Jonathan, and no link is overlooked by which those strains may be drawn in as variations to the Biblical theme. Of Messianic passages, Jonathan has pointed out those mentioned below[f]; a number not too large, if we consider how, with the increased misery of the people, their ardent desire to see their Deliverer appear speedily must have tried to find as many places in the Bible as possible, warranting His arrival. So far from their being suppressed (as, by one of those unfortunate accidents that befall sometimes a long string of *investigators*, who are copying their information at third and fourth hand, has been unblushingly asserted by almost everybody up to Gesenius, who found its source in a *misunderstood sentence of Carpzov*), they are most prominently, often almost pointedly brought forward. And there is a decided polemical animus inherent in them—temperate as far as appearance goes, but containing many an unspoken word: such as a fervent human mind pressed down by all the woes and terrors, written and unwritten, would whisper to itself in the depths of its despair. These passages extol most rapturously the pomp and glory of the Messiah to come—by way of contrast to the humble appearance of Christ: and all the places where suffering and misery appear to be the lot forecast to the Anointed, it is Israel, to whom the passage is referred by the Targum.

Of further dogmatical and theological peculiarities (and this Targum will one day prove a mine of instruction chiefly in that direction, besides the other vast advantages inherent in it, as in the older Targums, for linguistic, patristic, geographical, historical, and other studies) we may mention briefly the "Stars of God" (Is. xiv. 13; comp. Dan. viii. 10; 2 Macc. ix. 10, being referred—in a similar manner—to "the people of Israel;") the doctrine of the second death (Isa. xxii. 14, lxv. 15), &c. As to the general nature of its idiom, what we have said above holds good here. Likewise our remarks on the relation between the text of the Original of Onkelos, and its own text, may stand for Jonathan, who never appears to differ from the Masoretic text without a very cogent reason. Yet, since Jonathan's MSS., though very much smaller in number, are in a still worse plight than those

[e] אמר נביא.

[f] 1 Sam. ii. 10; 2 Sam. xxiii. 3; 1 K. iv. 33; Is. iv. 2, [illegible] x. 27, xi. 1, 6, xv. 2, xvi. 1, 5, xxviii. 5, xlii. 1, xliii. 10, xlv. 1, lii. 13, liii. 10; Jer. xxiii. 5, xxx. 21, xxxiii. 13, 15; Hos. iii. 5, xiv. 8; Mic. iv. 8, v 2, 13; Zech. iii. 8, iv. 7, vi. 12, x. 4.

of Onkelos, we cannot speak with great certainty on this point. Respecting, however, the individual language and phraseology of the translation, it lacks to a certain, though small, degree, the clearness and transparency of Onkelos; and is somewhat alloyed with foreign words. Not to such a degree, however, that we cannot fully endorse Carpzov's dictum: "Cujus nitor sermonis Chaldaei et dictionis laudatur puritas, ad Onkelosum proxime accedens et parum deflectens a puro tersoque Chaldaismo biblico" (*Crit. Sacr.* p. 461), and incline to the belief of Wolf (*Bibl. Hebr.* ii. 1165): "Quae vero, vel quod ad voces novas et barbaras, vel ad res aetate ejus inferiores, aut futilia nonnulla, quamvis pauca triplicis hujus generis exstent, ibi occurrunt, ex merito falsarii cujusdam ingenio adscribuntur." Of the manner and style of this Targum, the few subjoined specimens will we hope give an approximate idea.

In conclusion, we may notice a feature of our Targum, not the least interesting perhaps, in relation to general or "human" literature: viz., that the Shemitic fairy and legendary lore, which for the last two thousand years—as far as we can trace it,—has grown up in East and West to vast glittering mountain-ranges, is to a very great extent to be found, in an embryo state, so to say, in this our Targum. When the literary history of those most wonderful circles of medieval sagas—the sole apparent fruit brought home by the crusaders from the Eastern battle-fields — shall come to be written by a competent and thorough investigator, he will have to extend his study of the sources to this despised "fabulosus" Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel. And the entire world of pious biblical legend, which Islam has said and sung in the Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and all its other tongues, to the delight of the wise and the simple for twelve centuries now, is contained almost fully developed, from beginning to end, but clearer, purer, and incomparably more poetically conceived, in our Targum-Haggadah.

The *Editio Princeps* dates Leiria, 1494. The later editions are embodied in the Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglotts. Several single books have likewise been repeatedly edited (comp. Wolff, Le Long, Rosenmüller, &c.).

JUDGES V.

AUTHORISED VERSION.	TARGUM [JONATHAN-BEN-UZZIEL] TO THE PROPHETS.
1 THEN sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam on that day, saying,	1 AND Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam gave praise for the miracle and the salvation which were wrought for Israel on that day, and spake:
2 Praise ye the LORD for the avenging of Israel, when the people willingly offered themselves.	2 When the children of Israel rebel against the Law, then the nations come over them and drive them out of their cities; but when they return to do the Law, then they are mighty over their enemies, and drive them out from the whole territory of the land of Israel. Thus has been broken Sisera and all his armies to his punishment, and to a miracle and a salvation for Israel. Then the wise returned to sit in the houses of the synagogue . . . and to teach unto the people the doctrine of the Law. Therefore praise ye and bless the Lord.
3 Hear, O ye kings; give ear, O ye princes; I, *even* I, will sing unto the LORD; I will sing *praise* to the LORD God of Israel.	3 Hear, ye kings (ye who came with Sisra to the battle-array), listen, ye rulers [ye who were with Jabin the king of Kenaan: not with your armies nor with your power have ye conquered and become mighty over the house of Israel]—said Deborah in prophecy before God: I praise, give thanks and blessings before the Lord, the God of Israel.
4 LORD, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water.	4 [O Lord, Thy Law which Thou gavest to Israel, when they transgress it, then the nations rule over them: but when they return to it, then they become powerful over their enemies.] O Lord, on the day when Thou didst reveal Thyself to give it unto them from Seir, Thou becamest manifest unto them in the splendour of Thy glory over the territories of Edom: the earth trembled, the heavens showered down, the clouds dropped rain.
5 The mountains melted from before the LORD, *even* that Sinai from before the LORD God of Israel.	5 The mountains trembled before the Lord, the mountains of Tabor, the mountain of Hermon, and the mountain of Carmel, spake with each other, and said one to the other: Upon me the Shechinah will rest, and to me will it come. But the Shechinah rested upon Mount Sinai, which is the weakest and smallest of all the mountains. . . . This Sinai trembled and shook, and its smoke went up as goes up the smoke of an oven: because of the glory of the God of Israel which had manifested itself upon it.
6 In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath, in the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through byways.	6 When they transgressed in the days of Shamgar the son of Anath in the days of Jael, ceased the wayfarers: they who had walked in well-prepared ways had again to walk in furtive paths.
7 *The inhabitants of* the villages ceased, they ceased in Israel, until that I Deborah arose, that I arose a mother in Israel.	7 Destroyed were the open cities of the land of Israel: their inhabitants were shaken off and driven about, until I, Deborah, was sent to prophesy over the house of Israel.
8 They chose new gods; then *was* war in the gates: was there a shield or spear seen among forty thousand in Israel?	8 When the children of Israel went to pray unto new idols [errors], which recently had come to be worshipped, with which their fathers did not concern themselves, there came over them the nations and drove them out of their cities: but when they returned to the Law, they could not prevail against them until they made themselves strong, and Sisra went up against them, the enemy and the adversary, with forty thousand chiefs of troops, with fifty thousand holders of the sword, with sixty thousand holders of spears, with seventy thousand holders of shields, with eighty thousand throwers of arrows and slings, besides nine hundred iron chariots which he had with him, and his own chariots. All these thousands and all these hosts could not stand before Barak and the ten thousand men he had with him

AUTHORISED VERSION.	TARGUM [JONATHAN-BEN-UZZIEL] TO THE PROPHETS.
9 My heart *is* toward the governors of Israel, that offered themselves willingly among the people. Bless ye the LORD.	9 Spake Deborah in prophecy: I am sent to praise the scribes of Israel, who, while this tribulation lasted, ceased not to study in the Law: and it redounds well unto them who sat in the houses of congregation, wide open, and taught the people the doctrine of the Law, and praised and rendered thanks before the Lord.
10 Speak, ye that ride on white asses, ye that sit in judgment, and walk by the way.	10 Those who had interrupted their occupations are riding on asses covered with many-coloured caparisons, and they ride about freely in all the territory of Israel, and congregate to sit in judgment. They walk in their old ways, and are speaking of the power Thou hast shown in the land of Israel, &c.

JUDGES XI.

39 AND it came to pass, at the end of two months, that she returned unto her father, who did with her *according* to his vow which he had vowed: and she knew no man. And it was a custom in Israel.	39 AND it was at the end of two months, and she returned to her father, and he did unto her according to the vow which he had vowed: and she had known no man. And it became a statute in Israel. *Addition* (תוספת), that no man should offer up his son or his daughter as a burnt-offering, as Jephta the Gileadite did, who asked not Phinehas the priest. If he had asked Phinehas the priest, then he would have dissolved his vow with money [for animal sacrifices].

1 SAM. II.

1 AND Hannah prayed, and said, My heart rejoiceth in the LORD; mine horn is exalted in the LORD; my mouth is enlarged over mine enemies; because I rejoice in thy salvation.	1 AND Hannah prayed in the spirit of prophecy, and said: [Lo, my son Samuel will become a prophet over Israel; in his days they will be freed from the hand of the Philistines; and through his hands shall be done unto them wondrous and mighty deeds: therefore] be strong my heart in the portion which God gave me. [And also Heman the son of Joel, the son of my son Samuel, shall arise, he and his fourteen sons, to say praise with nablia (harps?) and cythers, with their brethren the Levites, to sing in the house of the sanctuary: therefore] Let my horn be exalted in the gift which God granted unto me. [And also on the miraculous punishment that would befal the Philistines who would bring back the ark of the Lord in a new chariot, together with a sin-offering: therefore let the congregation of Israel say] I will open my mouth to speak great things over my enemies; because I rejoice in thy salvation.
2 *There is* none holy as the LORD: for *there is* none beside thee, neither *is there* any rock like our God.	2 [Over Sanherib the king of Ashur did she prophesy, and she said: He will arise with all his armies over Jerusalem, and a great sign will be done with him. There shall fall the corpses of his troops: Therefore praise ye all the peoples and nations and tongues, and cry]: There is none holy but God; there is not beside Thee; and Thy people shall say, There is none mighty but our God.
3 Talk no more so exceeding proudly; let *not* arrogancy come out of your mouth: for the LORD *is* a God of knowledge, and by him actions are weighed.	3 [Over Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babel did she prophesy and say: Ye Chaldeans, and all nations who will once rule over Israel] Do not speak grandly; let no blasphemy go out from your mouth: for God knows all, and over all his servants he extends his judgment; also from you he will take punishment of your guilt.
4 The bows of the mighty *are* broken, and they that stumbled are girded with strength.	4 [Over the kingdom Javan she prophesied and said] The bows of the mighty ones [of the Javanites] will be broken; [and those of the house of the Asmoneans] who are weak, to them will be done miracles and mighty deeds.

1 SAM. XVII.

8 AND he stood and cried unto the armies of Israel, and said unto them, Why are ye come out to set *your* battle in array? *Am* not I a Philistine, and ye servants to Saul? choose you a man for you, and let him come down to me.	8 AND he arose, and he cried unto the armies of Israel, and said unto them: Why have you put yourselves in battle array? Am I not the Philistine, and you the servants of Saul? [I am Goliath the Philistine from Gath, who have killed the two sons of Eli, the priests Chofna and Pinehas, and carried captive the ark of the covenant of the Lord, I who have carried it to the house of Dagon, *my Error*, and it has been there in the cities of the Philistines seven months. And in every battle which the Philistines have had I went at the head of the army, and we conquered in the battle, and we strew the killed like the dust of the earth, and until now have the Philistines not thought me worthy to become captain of a thousand over them. And you, O children of Israel, what mighty deed has Saul the son of Kish from Gibeah done for you that you made him king over you? If he is a valiant man, let him come out and do battle with me; but if he is a weak man], then choose for yourselves a man, and let him come out against me, &c.

1 KINGS XIX.

11, 12 AND he said, Go forth, and stand upon the mount before the LORD. And, behold, the LORD	11, 12 AND he said [to Elijah], Arise and stand on the mountain before the Lord. And God revealed

AUTHORISED VERSION.	TARGUM [JONATHAN-BEN-UZZIEL] TO THE PROPHETS.
passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks, before the LORD; *but* the LORD *was* not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; *but* the LORD *was* not in the earthquake: And after the earthquake a fire; *but* the Lord *was* not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice.	himself: and before him a host of angels of the wind, cleaving the mountain and breaking the rocks before the Lord; but not in the host of angels was the Shechinah. And after the host of the angels of the wind came a host of angels of commotion; but not in the host of the angels of commotion was the Shechinah of the Lord. And after the host of the angels of commotion came a host of angels of fire; but not in the host of the angels of fire was the Shechinah of the Lord. But after the host of the angels of the fire came voices singing in silence.
13 And it was *so*, when Elijah heard *it*, that he wrapped his face in his mantle, and went out, and stood in the entering in of the cave: and, behold, *there came* a voice unto him, and said, What doest thou here, Elijah?	13 And it was when Elijah heard this, he hid his face in his mantle, and he went out and he stood at the door of the cave; and, lo! with him was a voice, saying, What doest thou here, O Elijah! &c.

ISAIAH XXXIII.

22 FOR the LORD *is* our judge, the LORD *is* our lawgiver, the LORD *is* our king; he will save us.	22 FOR the Lord is our judge, who delivered us with his power from Mizraim; the Lord is our teacher, for He has given us the doctrine of the Torah from Sinai; the Lord is our king: He will deliver us, and give us righteous restitution from the army of Gog.

JEREM. X.

11 THUS shall ye say unto them, The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, *even* they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens.	11 THIS is the copy of the letter which Jeremiah the prophet sent to the remaining ancient ones of the captivity in Babel: "And if the nations among whom you are will say unto you, Pray to our *Errors*:—O house of Israel, then you shall answer thus, and speak in this wise: The Errors unto which you pray are Errors which are of no use: they cannot rain from heaven; they cannot cause fruit to grow from the earth. They and their worshippers will perish from the earth, and will be destroyed from under these heavens.

MICAH VI.

4 FOR I brought thee up out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed thee out of the house of servants; and I sent before thee Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.	4 FOR I have taken thee out from the land of Mizraim, and have released thee from the house of thy bondage: and have sent before thee three prophets; Moses, to teach thee the tradition of the ordinances; Aaron, to atone for the people: and Miriam, to teach the women.

III. and IV. TARGUM OF JONATHAN-BEN-UZZIEL AND JERUSHALMI-TARGUM ON THE PENTATEUCH.

Onkelos and Jonathan on the Pentateuch and Prophets, whatever be their exact date, place, authorship and editorship, are, as we have endeavoured to show, the oldest of existing Targums, and belong, in their present shape, to Babylon and the Babylonian academies flourishing between the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. But precisely as two parallel and independent developments of the Oral Law (תּשׁבּפ) have sprung up in the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds respectively, so also recent investigation has proved to demonstration the existence of two distinct cycles of Targums on the Written Law (תּשׁבכתב)—*i. e.* the entire body of the Old Testament. Both are the offspring of the old, primitive institution of the public "reading and translating of the Torah," which for many hundred years had its place in the Palestinian synagogues. The one first collected, revised, and edited in Babylon, called—more especially that part of it which embraced the Pentateuch (Onkelos)—the Babylonian, *Ours*, by way of eminence, on account of the superior authority inherent in all the works of the Madinchaë (Babylonians, in contradistinction to the Maarbae or Palestinians). The other, continuing its oral life, so to say, down to a much later period, was written and edited—less carefully, or rather with a much more faithful retention of the oldest and youngest fancies of Meturgemanim and Darshanim—on the soil of Judaea itself. Of this entire cycle, however, the Pentateuch and a few other books and fragmentary pieces only have survived entire, while of most of the other books of the Bible a few detached fragments are all that is known, and this chiefly from quotations. The injunction above mentioned respecting the sabbatical reading of the Targum on the Pentateuch—nothing is said of the Prophets—explains the fact, to a certain extent, how the Pentateuch Targum has been religiously preserved, while the others have perished. This circumstance, also, is to be taken into consideration, that Palestine was in later centuries well-nigh cut off from communication with the Diaspora, while Babylon, and the gigantic literature it produced, reigned paramount over all Judaism, as, indeed, down to the 10th century, the latter continued to have a spiritual leader in the person of the Resh Gelutha (Head of the Golah), residing in Babylon. As not the least cause of the loss of the great bulk of the Palestinian Targum may also be considered the almost uninterrupted martyrdom to which those were subjected who preferred, under all circumstances, to live and die in the Land of Promise.

However this may be, the Targum on the Pentateuch has come down to us: and not in one, but in two recensions. More surprising still, the one hitherto considered a fragment, because of its embracing portions only of the individual books, has in reality never been intended to embrace any further portion, and we are thus in the possession of two Palestinian Targums, preserved in their original forms. The one, which extends from the first verse of Genesis to the last of Deuteronomy, is known under the name of Targum Jonathan (ben Uzziel) or Pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch. The other, interpreting single verses, often single words only, is extant in the following proportions

a third on Genesis, a fourth on Deuteronomy, a fifth on Numbers, three-twentieths on Exodus, and about one-fourteenth on Leviticus. The latter is generally called Targum *Jerushalmi*, or, down to the 11th century (Hai Gaon, Chananel), *Targum Erets Israel*, Targum of Jerusalem or of the land of Israel. That Jonathan ben Uzziel, the same to whom the prophetical Targum is ascribed, and who is reported to have lived either in the 5th-4th century B.C., or about the time of Christ himself (see above), could have little to do with a Targum which speaks of Constantinople (Num. xxiv. 19, 24), describes very plainly the breaking-up of the West-Roman Empire (Num. xxiv. 19-24), mentions the Turks (Gen. x. 2), and even Mohammed's two wives, Chadidja and Fatime (Gen. xxi. 21), and which exhibits not only the fullest acquaintance with the edited body of the Babylonian Talmud, by quoting entire passages from it, but adopts its peculiar phraseology:—not to mention the complete disparity between the style, language, and general manner of the Jonathanic Targum on the Prophets, and those of this one on the Pentateuch, strikingly palpable at first sight,—was recognised by early investigators (Morinus, Pfeiffer, Walton, &c.), who soon overthrew the old belief in Jonathan b. Uzziel's authorship, as upheld by Menahem Rekanati, Asariah de Rossi, Gedaljah, Galatin, Fagius, &c. But the relation in which the two Targums, so similar and yet so dissimilar, stood to each other, how they arose, and where and when—all these questions have for a long time, in the terse words of Zunz, caused many of the learned such dire misery, that whenever the "Targum Hierosolymitanum comes up," they, instead of information on it and its twin-brother, prefer to treat the reader to a round volley of abuse of them. Not before the first half of this century did the fact become fully and incontestibly established (by the simple process of an investigation of the sources), that both Targums were in reality one—that both were known down to the 14th century under no other name than Targum Jerushalmi—and that some forgetful scribe about that time must have taken the abbreviation יר"ת—'*T. J.*' over one of the two documents, and, instead of dissolving it into Targum-Jerushalmi, dissolved it erroneously into what he must till then have been engaged in copying—viz., Targum-Jonathan, sc. ben Uzziel (on the Prophets). This error, fostered by the natural tendency of giving a well-known and far-famed name—without inquiring too closely into its accuracy—to a hitherto anonymous and comparatively little known version, has been copied again and again, until it found its way, a hundred years later, into print. Of the intermediate stage, when only a few MSS. had received the new designation, a curious fact, which Azariah de Rossi (Cod. 37 *b*) mentions, gives evidence. "I saw," he says, "two complete Targums on the whole Pentateuch, word for word alike; one in Reggio, which was described in the margin, 'Targum of Jonathan b. Uzziel;' the other in Mantua, described at the margin as 'Targum Jerushalmi.'" In a similar manner quotations from either in the Aruch confound the designation. Benjamin Mussaphia (d. 1674), the author of additions and corrections to the Aruch, has indeed pronounced it as his personal conjecture that both may be one and the same, and Drusius, Mendelssohn, Rapoport, and others shared his opinion. Yet the difficulty of their obvious dissimilarity, if they were identical, remained to be accounted for. Zunz tries to solve it by assuming that Pseudo-Jonathan is the original Targum, and that the fragmentary Jerushalmi is a collection of variants to it. The circumstance of its also containing portions identical with the codex, to which it is supposed to be a collection of readings, he explains by the negligence of the transcriber. Frankel, however, followed by Traub and Levysohn, has gone a step further. From the very identity of a proportionately large number of places, amounting to about thirty in each book, and from certain palpable and consistent differences which run through both recensions, they have arrived at a different conclusion, which seems to carry conviction on the face of it, viz., that Jerushalmi is a collection of emendations and additions to single portions, phrases, and words of Onkelos, and Pseudo-Jonathan a further emendated and completed edition to the whole Pentateuch of Jerushalmi-Onkelos The chief incentive to a new Targum on the Pentateuch (that of Onkelos being well known in Palestine), was, on the one hand, the wish to explain such of the passages as seemed either obscure in themselves or capable of greater adaptation to the times; and on the other hand the great and paramount desire for legendary lore, and ethical and homiletical motives, intertwined with the very letter of Scripture, did not and could not feel satisfied with the (generally) strictly literal version of Onkelos, as soon as the time of eccentric, prolix, oral Targums had finally ceased in Palestine too, and written Targums of Babylon were introduced as a substitute, once for all. Hence variants, exactly as found in Jerushalmi, not to the whole of Onkelos, but to such portions as seemed most to require "improvement" in the direction indicated. And how much this thoroughly paraphrastic version was preferred to the literal is, among other signs, plainly visible from the circumstance that it is still joined, for instance, to the reading of the Decalogue on the Feast of Weeks in the synagogue. At a later period the gaps were filled up, and the whole of the existing Jerushalmi was recast, as far again as seemed fitting and requisite. This is the Jonathan, so called for the last four hundred years only. And thus the identity in some, and the divergence in other places finds its most natural solution.

The Jerushalmi, in both its recensions, is written in the Palestinensian dialect, the peculiarities of which we have briefly characterised above. It is older than the Masora and the conquest of Western Asia by the Arabs. Syria or Palestine must be its birthplace, the second half of the 7th century its date, since the instances above given will not allow of any earlier time. Its chief aim and purpose is, especially in its second edition, to form an entertaining compendium of all the Halachah and Haggadah, which refers to the Pentateuch, and takes its stand upon it. And in this lies its chief use to us. There is hardly a single allegory, parable, mystic digression, or tale in it which is not found in the other haggadistic writings—Mishna, Talmud, Mechilta, Sifra, Sifri, &c.; and both Winer and Petermann, not to mention the older authorities, have wrongly charged it with inventing its interpretations. Even where no source can be indicated, the author has surely only given utterance to the leading notions and ideas of his times, extravagant and abstruse as they may oftentimes appear to our modern Western minds. Little value is inherent in its critical emendations on the exegesis of Onkelos. It sometimes endeavours either to find an entirely new

signification for a word, and then it often falls into grave errors, or it restores interpretations rejected by Onkelos, only it must never be forgotten that translation is quite a secondary object with Jerushalmi. It adheres, however, to the general method followed by Onkelos and Jonathan. It dissolves similes and widens too concise diction. Geographical names it alters into those current in its own day. It avoids anthropomorphisms as well as anthropopathisms. The strict distinction between the Divine Being and man is kept up, and the word קדם "before" is put as a kind of medium between the former and the latter, no less than the other —"Shechinah," "Word," "Glory," &c. It never uses Elohim where the Scripture applies it to man or idols. The same care is taken to extol the good deeds of the people and its ancestors, and to slur over and excuse the evil ones, &c.:— all this, however, in a much more decided and exaggerated form than either in Onkelos or Jonathan. Its language and grammar are very corrupt; it abounds—chiefly in its larger edition, the Pseudo-Jonathan—in Greek, Latin, Persian, and Arabic words; and even making allowances for the many blunders of ignorant scribes, enough will remain to pronounce the diction ungrammatical in very many places.

Thus much briefly of the Jerushalmi as one and the same work. We shall now endeavour to point out a few characteristics belonging to its two recensions respectively. The first, Jerushalmi κατ' ἐξοχήν, knows very little of angels; Michael is the only one ever occurring: in Jonathan, on the other hand, angelology flourishes in great vigour: to the Biblical Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, are added the Angel of Death, Samael, Sagnugael, Shachassai, Usiel; seventy angels descend with God to see the building of the Babylonian tower; nine hundred millions of punishing angels go through Egypt during the night of the Exodus, &c. Jerushalmi makes use but rarely of Halachah and Haggadah, while Jonathan sees the text as it were only through the medium of Haggadah: to him the chief end. Hence Jonathan has many Midrashim not found in Jerushalmi, while he does not omit a single one contained in the latter. There are no direct historical dates in Jerushalmi, but many are found in Jonathan, and since all other signs indicate that but a short space of time intervenes between the two, the late origin of either is to a great extent made manifest by these dates. The most striking difference between them, however, and the one which is most characteristic of either, is this, that while Jerushalmi adheres more closely to the language of the Mishna, Jonathan has greater affinity to that of the Talmud. Of either we subjoin short specimens, which, for the purpose of easier comparison, and reference, we have placed side by side with Onkelos. The Targum Jerushalmi was first printed in Bomberg's Bible, Venice, 1518, ff., and was reprinted in Bomberg's edd., and in Walton, vol. iv. Jonathan to the Pentateuch, a MS. of which was first discovered by Ashur Purinz in the Library of the family of the Puahs in Venice, was printed for the first time in 1590, as "Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel," at Venice, reprinted at Hanau, 1618, Amsterdam, 1640, Prague, 1646, Walton, vol. iv., &c.

GENESIS III. 17–24.

AUTHORISED VERSION.	ONKELOS.	TARGUM JERUSHALMI. *First Recension.*	TARGUM [JONATHAN-BEN-UZZIEL] JERUSHALMI. *Second Recension.*
17 AND unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed *is* the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat *of* it all the days of thy life;	17 AND to Adam he said, For that thou hast accepted the word of thy wife, and hast eaten from the tree of which I have commanded unto thee, and said, Thou shalt not eat from it: cursed shall the earth be for thy sake; with trouble shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life;	—	17 AND to Adam he said, Because thou hast received the word of thy wife, and hast eaten from the fruit of the tree, of which I commanded thee, Thou shalt not eat from it: cursed be the earth, because it has not shown unto thee thy fault; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life;
18 Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field;	18 And thorns and thistles it shall grow for thee; and thou shalt eat the grass of the field;	18 And thorns and thistles shall it multiply for thee; and thou shalt eat the grass that is on the face of the earth. Then began Adam and said, I pray, through the Mercy that is before Thee, Jehovah, let us not be accounted before Thee as the beasts that eat the grass on the face of the field: may we be permitted to arise and toil with the toil of our hands, and eat food from the fruits of the earth; and thus may there be a difference before Thee between the sons of man and the offspring of cattle.	18 And thorns and thistles shall grow and multiply for thy sake; and thou shalt eat the grass that is on the face of the field. Adam answered and said, I pray, by the Mercy that is before Thee, Jehovah, that we may not be deemed like unto the beasts, that we should eat grass that is on the face of the field; may we be allowed to arise and toil with the toiling of our hands, and eat food from the food of the earth, and thus may there be a distinction now before Thee, between the sons of men and the offspring of cattle.

AUTHORISED VERSION.	ONKELOS.	TARGUM JERUSHALMI. *First Recension.*	TARGUM [JONATHAN-BEN-UZZIEL] JERUSHALMI. *Second Recension.*
19 In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou *art*, and unto dust shalt thou return.	19 In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, until thou returnest unto the earth from which thou art created: for dust art thou, and to dust shalt thou return.		19 . . . In the toil of the palm of thy hand shalt thou eat food, until thou returnest unto the dust from which thou wert created: for dust art thou, and to dust shalt thou return: for from the dust thou wilt once rise to give judgment and account for all that thou hast done, on the day of the great Judgment.
20 And Adam called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother of all living.	20 And Adam called the name of his wife Chavah; for that she was the mother of all sons of man.		20 And Adam called the name of his wife Chavah; for she is the mother of all the sons of man.
21 Unto Adam also and to his wife did the LORD God make coats of skins, and clothed them.	21 And Jehovah Elohim made unto Adam and his wife garments of glory, on the skin of their flesh, and clothed them.		21 And Jehovah Elohim made unto Adam and his wife garments of honour, from the skin of the serpent which he had cast out of it, on the skin of their flesh, instead of their beauty which they had cast off; and he clothed them.
22 And the LORD God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever:	22 And Jehovah Elohim said, Behold Adam is the only one in the world knowing good and evil: perchance now he might stretch forth his hand and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live for evermore.	22 And the Word of Jehovah Elohim said, Lo! man, whom I created, is alone in this world, as I am alone in the highest Heavens; mighty nations will spring from him; from him also will arise a people that will know to distinguish between good and evil: now it is better to expel him from the garden of Eden, before he stretch out his hand and take also from the fruits of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever.	22 And Jehovah Elohim said to the angels that were ministering before him, Lo! there is Adam alone on the earth, as I am alone in the highest Heavens, and there will spring from him those who know to distinguish between good and evil: if he had kept the commandment I commanded, he would have been living and lasting, like the tree of life, for evermore. Now since he has not kept what I commanded, We decree against him and expel him from the garden of Eden. before he may stretch out his hand and take from the fruits of the tree of life; for if he ate therefrom he would live and remain for ever.
23 Therefore the LORD God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken.	23 And Jehovah Elohim sent him from the garden of Eden, to till the earth whence he was created.		23 And Jehovah Elohim expelled him from the garden of Eden, and he went and he settled on the Mount of Moriah, to till the earth of which he was created.
24 So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, [1] and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.	24 And he drove out Adam; and he placed before the garden of Eden the Cherubim and the sharp sword, which turns to guard the way to the tree of life.	24 And He expelled Adam, and caused to reside the splendour of His Shechinah from the beginning at the east of the garden of Eden, above the two Cherubim. Two thousand years before the world was created, he created the Law, and prepared Gchinnom [Hell] and Gan Eden [Paradise]: He prepared Gan Eden for the Righteous, that they may eat and delight in the fruits of	24 And He drove out Adam from where He had made to reside the glory of His Shechinah from the beginning between the two Cherubim. Before He created the world He has created the Law: He has prepared the garden of Eden for the Righteous, that they shall eat and delight in the fruits of the tree, because they have acted during their life according to the doctrine of

AUTH. VERSION.	ONKELOS.	TARGUM JERUSHALMI. *First Recension.*	TARGUM [JONATHAN-BEN-UZZIEL] JERUSHALMI. *Second Recension.*
		the tree, because they kept the commandments of the Law in this world, and prepared Gehinnom for the wicked, for it is like unto a sharp sword that eats from both sides; He has prepared within it sparks of light and coals which consume the wicked, to punish them in the future world for their not having kept the commandments of the Law. For the tree of life that is the Law; whosoever keeps it in this world, he will live and last like the tree of life: good is the Law to whomsoever keeps it in this world, like the fruit of the tree of life in the world to come.	the Law in this world, and have kept its commandments: He has prepared the Gehinnom for the wicked, which is likened unto a sharp sword that eats from two sides: He prepared within it sparks of light and coals of fire to judge with them the wicked who rebelled in their lives against the doctrine of the Law. Better is this Law to him who acts according to it than the fruits of the tree of life, for the Word of Jehovah has prepared for him who keeps it, that he shall live and walk in the paths of the way of the life of the future world.

THE LAST CHAPTER OF DEUTERONOMY, v. 1–3.

AUTHORISED VERSION.	ONKELOS.	TARGUM JERUSHALMI. *First Recension.*	TARGUM [JONATHAN-BEN-UZZIEL] JERUSHALMI. *Second Recension.*
1 AND Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the LORD shewed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan,	1 AND Moses ascended from the encampment of Moab to the mountain of Nebo: the head of the height that is opposite Jericho. And Jehovah showed him all the land of Gilead unto Dan.	1 AND Moses ascended from the plain of Moab to the mountain of Nebo, the summit of the hill which is opposite Jericho. And God showed him the whole land: Gilead unto Dan of Caesarea.	1 AND Moses ascended from the plains of Moab to the mountain of Nebo, the summit of the height which is over against Jericho, and the word of Jehovah showed him all the mighty ones of the land: the powerful deeds which Jephtha from Gilead would do, and the victories of Samson the son of Manoah, from the tribe of Dan.
2 And all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea,	2 And all Naphtali and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah to the hindmost sea.	2 And all the land of Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and the whole land of Judah, to the hindmost sea.	2 And the thousand princes from the house of Naphtali who joined issue with Balak, and the kings whom Joshua the son of Nun from the tribe of Efraim, would kill, and the power of Gideon the son of Joash from the tribe of Manasseh, and all the kings of Israel, and the kingdom of the house of Judah who would rule in the land until the second Sanctuary would be laid low.
3 And the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar.	3 And the west and the plain of the valley of Jericho the city of the palms, unto Zoar.	3 And west, and the plain of the valley of Jericho the city which produces the palms, that is Zeër.	3 And the king of the south who would join the king of the north to destroy the inhabitants of the land, and the Ammonites and Moabites, the inhabitants of the valleys who would oppress Israel, and the exile of the disciples of Elija who would be driven out from the plain of Jericho, and the exile of the disciples of Elisha who would be driven out from the city of palms by their brethren, the house of Israel: two hundred thousand men. And the woes of each generation and the punishment of *Armalgus* [Armillus] the evil one and the battle-array of Gog. And in this great misery Michael will arise with the sword: to save, &c.

V. TARGUMS OF "JOSEPH THE BLIND" ON THE HAGIOGRAPHA.

"When Jonathan ben Uzziel began to paraphrase the Cethubim" (Hagiographa), we read in the Talmudical passage before quoted, "a mysterious voice was heard saying: It is enough. Thou hast revealed the secrets of the Prophets—why wouldst thou also reveal those of the Holy Ghost?"—It would thus appear, that a Targum to these books (Job excepted) was entirely unknown up to a very late period. Those Targums on the Hagiographa which we now possess have been attributed vaguely to different authors, it being assumed in the first instance that they were the work or one man. Now it was Aky'ba the Greek

translator, mentioned in Bereshith Rabba (see above); now Onkelos, the Chaldee translator of the Pentateuch, his mythical double; now Jonathan b. Uzziel, or Joseph (Jose) the Blind (see above). But the diversity in the different parts of the work warring too palpably against the unity of authorship, the blindness of the last-named authority seemed to show the easiest way out of the difficulty. Joseph was supposed to have dictated it to different disciples at different periods, and somehow every one of the amanuenses infused part of his own individuality into his share of the work. Popular belief thus fastened upon this Joseph the Blind, since a name the work must needs have, and to him in most of the editions, the Targum is affiliated. Yet, if ever he did translate the Hagiographa, certain it is that those which we possess are not by his or his disciples' hands—that is, of the time of the 4th century. Writers of the 13th century already refuted this notion of Joseph's authorship, for the assumption of which there never was any other ground than that he was mentioned in the Talmud, like Onkelos-Akylas and Jonathan, in connection with Targum; and, as we saw, there is indeed reason to believe that he had a share in the redaction of "Jonathan" to the Prophets, which falls in his time. Between him and our hagiographical Targums, however, many centuries must have elapsed. Yet we do not even venture to assign to them more than an approximate round date, about 1000 A.D. Besides the Targums to the Pentateuch and the Prophets, those now extant range over Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the five Megilloth, *i.e.* Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Esther, Ecclesiastes; the Chronicles and Daniel. Ezra and Nehemiah alone are left without a Targum at present; yet we can hardly help believing that ere long one will also be found to the latter, as the despaired-of Chronicles was found in the 17th century, and Daniel—a sure trace of it at least—so recently, that as yet nobody has considered it worth his while to take any notice of it. We shall divide these Targums into four groups: Proverbs, Job, Psalms;—Megilloth;—Chronicles;—and Daniel.

1. Targum on Psalms, Job, Proverbs.

Certain linguistic and other characteristics[g] exhibited by these three Targums, lead to the conclusion that they are nearly contemporaneous productions, and that their birthplace is, most likely, Syria. While the two former, however, are mere paraphrases, the Targum on Proverbs comes nearer to our idea of a version than almost any Targum, except perhaps that of Onkelos. It adheres as closely to the original text as possible. The most remarkable feature about it, however, and one which has given rise to endless speculations and discussions, is its extraordinary similarity to the Syriac Version. It would indeed sometimes seem as if they had copied each other—an opinion warmly advocated by Dathe, who endeavoured to prove that the Chaldee had copied or adapted the Syrian, there being passages in the Targum which could, he assumed, only be accounted for by a misunderstanding of the Syriac translation.[h] It has, on the other hand, been argued that there are a greater number of important passages which distinctly show that the Targumist had used an original Hebrew text, varying from that of the Syriac, and had also made use of the LXX. against the latter.[i] The Syriasms would easily be accounted for by the Aramaic idiom itself, the forms of which vary but little from, and easily merge into, the sister dialect of Syria. Indeed nearly all of them are found in the Talmud, a strictly Aramaic work. It has been supposed by others that neither of these versions, as they are now in our hands, exhibit their original form. A late editor, as it were, of the (mutilated) Targum, might have derived his emendations from that version which came nearest to it, both in language and in close adherence to the Hebrew text—viz., the Syriac; and there is certainly every reason to conclude from the woefully faulty state in which this Targum is found (Luzzatto counts several hundred corrupt readings in it), that many and clumsy hands must have been at work upon the later Codd. The most likely solution of the difficulty, however, seems to be that indicated by Frankel—viz., that the LXX. is the common source of both versions, but in such a manner that the Aramaic has also made use of the Hebrew and the Greek—of the latter, however, through the Syriac medium. As a specimen of the curious similarity of both versions, the following two verses from the beginning of the book may find a place here:—

Chap. I. 2-3.

Targum (Ver. 2).	Syr. (Ver. 2).
למדע חכמתא ומרדותא	לאחבא ספרא וסחרנותא
לאתבן אמרי בינותא׃	למאחזה מלי סברא׃
Ver. 3.	Ver. 3.
למקבלא מרדותא דשוכלא	למסבל סחרנותא דקשוטא
וצדקתא ודינא ותריצותא׃	וזכותא ודינא ומישרא׃

[g] *e.g.* The use of the word אנגלי for angel in Targ. Ps. and Job, the ן, affixed to the 3rd p. plur. praef. Peal, the infin. with praef. מ, besides several more or less unusual Greek and Syriac words common to all three.

[h] *e.g.*, ch. xxix.5, the Heb. word קִרְיָה, "city," is rendered כוכא, "city," in Syr. Targum translates כדבא, "a lie," which is only to be accounted for by a misunderstanding or misreading of the Syriac כוכא, where for the second *c* the Chaldee translator read a *b*, כובא.

[i] Prov. xxvi. 10, the Masoretic text reads: רב מחולל כל וישכר כסיל; LXX. πολλὰ χειμάζεται σὰρξ ἄφρονων (=בשר כסיל); Targ. סגי חיש בשרא דסיכלא; thus adopting exactly the reading of the LXX. against the received text: xxix. 21, מפנק מנער עבדו, quoted in the same manner in Talm. Succah. 52 *b*; LXX. ὃς καταστασπαταλᾷ ἐκ παιδὸς οἰκέτης ἔσται; evidently reading לעבד נהוי=Targ. עבד יהיה. Comp. also xxvii 16, xxx. 30, &c.

Compare also vers. 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13; ch. ii. vers. 9, 10, 13-15; iii. 2-9, &c.

We must not omit to observe that no early Jewish commentator—Rashi, Ibn Ezra, &c.—mentions the Targum either to Proverbs, or to Job and Psalms. Nathan ben Jechiel (12th century) is the first who quotes it.

Respecting the two latter Targums of this group, Psalms and Job, it is to be observed that they are, more or less, mere collections of fragments. That there must have existed paraphrases to Job at a very early period follows from the Talmudical passages which we quoted in the introduction—nay, we almost feel inclined to assume that this book, considered by the learned as a mere allegory ("Job never was, and never was created," is the dictum found in the Talmud, Baba Bathra, 15*a*: *i. e.* he never had any real existence, but is a poetical, though sacred, invention), opened the list of written paraphrases. How much of the primitive version is embodied in the one which we possess it is of course next to impossible to determine, more especially in the state of infancy in which the investigation of the Targums as yet remains. So much, however, is palpable, that the Targums of both Psalms and Job in their present shape contain relics of different authors in different times: some paraphrasts, some strictly translators. Very frequently a second version of the same passage is introduced by the formula תרגום אחר, "another Targum," and varies most widely from its predecessor; while, more especially in the Psalms, a long series of chapters translated literally, is followed by another series translated in the wildest and most fanciful character. The Cod. Erpen. still exhibits these various readings, as such, side by side, on its margin; thence, however, they have in our printed editions found their way into the text. How much of these variants, or of the entire text, belongs to the Palestinian Cycles, which may well have embraced the whole Torah:—or whether they are to be considered exclusively the growth of later times, and have thus but a very slender connexion with either the original Babylonian or the Palestinian Targum-works, future investigation must determine.

The most useful in this group is naturally the Targum on Proverbs, it being the one which translates most closely, or rather the only one which does *translate* at all. Besides the explanation it gives of difficult passages in the text, its peculiar affinity to the Syriac Version naturally throws some light upon both, and allows of emendations in and through either. As to Job and Psalms, their chief use lies in their showing the gradual dying stages of the idiom in which they are written, and also in their being in a manner guides to the determination of the date of certain stages of Haggadah.

2, 3. Targums on the five Megilloth.

These Targums are likewise not mentioned before the 12th century, when the Aruch quotes them severally:—although Esther must have been translated at a very early period, since the Talmud already mentions a Targum on it. Of this, we need hardly add, no trace is found in our present Targum. The freedom of a "version" can go no further than it does in these Targums on the Megilloth. They are, in fact, mere Haggadah, and bear the most striking resemblance to the Midrash on the respective books. Curiously enough, the gradual preponderance of the Paraphrase over the text is noticeable in the following order: Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Song of Songs. The latter is fullest to overflowing of those "*nugæ atque frivolitates*," which have so sorely tried the temper of the wise and grave. Starting from the almost comical notion that all they found in the books of Mohammedanism and of Judaism, of Rome and of Greece, if it seemed to have any reference to "Religio," however unsupported, and however plainly bearing the stamp of poetry—good or bad—on its face, must needs be a religious creed, and the creed forced upon every single believer:—they could not but get angry with mere 'day-dreams' being interspersed with the sacred literature of the Bible. Delitzsch, a scholar of our generation, says of the Targums in general that "history becomes in them most charming, most instructive poetry; but this poetry is not the invention, the phantasma of the writer, but the old and popular venerable tradition or legend . . . . the Targums are poetical, both as to their contents and form" (*Gesch. d. Jüd. Poesie*, p. 27): and further, "The wealth of legend in its gushing fullness did not suffer any formal bounds; legend bursts upon legend, like wave upon wave, not to be dammed in even by any poetical forms. Thus the Jerusalem Targum in its double Recensions [to the Pentateuch], and the Targums on the five Megilloth are the most beautiful national works of art, through which there runs the golden thread of Scripture, and which are held together only by the unity of the idea" (p. 135). Although we do not share Delitzsch's enthusiasm to the full extent, yet we cannot but agree with him that there are, together with stones and dust, many pearls of precious price to be gathered from these much despised, because hardly known, books.

The dialect of these books occupies the mean between the East and West Aramean, and there is a certain unity of style and design about all the five books, which fully justifies the supposition that they are, one and all, the work of one author. It may be that, taken in an inverted series, they mark the successive stages of a poet's life; glowing, rapturous, overflowing in the first; stately, sober, prosy in the last. As to the time of its writing or editing, we have again to repeat, that it is most uncertain, but unquestionably belongs to a period much later than the Talmud. The Book of Esther, enjoying both through its story-like form and the early injunction of its being read or heard by every one on the Feast of Purim, a great circulation and popularity, has been targumised many times, and besides the one embodied in the five Megilloth, there are two more extant (*not three*, as generally stated: the so-called third being only an abbreviation of the first), which are called respectively the first: a short one without digressions, and the second —(*Targum sheni*): a larger one, belonging to the Palestinian Cycle. The latter Targum is a collection of Eastern romances, broken up and arranged to the single verses: of gorgeous hues and extravagant imagination, such as are to be met with in the Adshaib or Chamis, or any Eastern collection of legends and tales.

VI. Targum on the Book of Chronicles.

This Targum was unknown, as we said before, up to a very recent period. In 1680, it was edited for the first time from an Erfurt MS. by M. F. Beck, and in 1715 from a more complete as well as correct MS. at Cambridge, by D. Wilkins. The name of Hungary occurring in it, and its frequent use of the

Jerusalem-Targum to the Pentateuch, amounting sometimes to simple copying (comp. the Genealogical Table in chap. i., &c.), show sufficiently that its author is neither "Jonathan b. Uzziel" nor "Joseph the Blind," as has been suggested. But the language, style, and the Haggadah, with which it abounds, point to a late period and point out Palestine as the place where it was written. Its use must be limited to philological, historical, and geographical studies; the science of exegesis will profit little by it. The first edition appeared under the title *Paraphrasis Chaldaica libr. Chronicorum*, cura M. F. Beckii, 2 tom. Aug. Vind. 1680-83, 4to.; the second by D. Wilkins, *Paraphrasis ... auctore R. Josepho*, &c. Amst., 1715, 4to. The first edition has the advantage of a large number of very learned notes, the second that of a comparatively more correct and complete text.

VII. The Targum to Daniel.

It is for the first time that this Targum, for the non-existence of which many and weighty reasons were given (that the date of the Messiah's arrival was hidden in it, among others), is here formally introduced into the regular rank and file of Targums, although it has been known for now more than five-and-twenty years. Munk found it, not indeed in the Original Aramaic, but in what appears to him to be an extract of it written in Persian. The MS. (Anc. Fond, No. 45, Imp. Library) is inscribed "History of Daniel," and has retained only the first words of the Original, which it translates likewise into Persian. This language is then retained throughout.

After several legends known from other Targums, follows a long propnecy of Daniel, from which the book is shown to have been written after the first Crusade. Mohammad and his successors are mentioned, also a king who coming from Europe (אן רומיאן) will go to Damascus, and kill the Ishmaelitic (Mohammedan) kings and princes; he will break down the minarets (מנארה), destroy the mosques (מסגדהא), and no one will after that dare to pronounce the name of the Profane (פסול = Mohammad). The Jews will also have to suffer great misfortunes (as indeed the knightly Crusaders won their spurs by dastardly murdering the helpless masses, men, women, and children, in the Ghettos along the Rhine and elsewhere, before they started to deliver the Holy tomb). By a sudden transition the Prophet then passes on to the "Messiah, son of Joseph," to Gog and Magog, and to the "true Messiah, the son of David." Munk rightly concludes that the book must have been composed in the 12th century, when Christian kings reigned for a brief period over Jerusalem (*Notice sur Saadia*, Par. 1838).

VIII. There is also a Chaldee translation extant of the apocryphal pieces of Esther, which, entirely lying apart from our task, we confine ourselves to mention without further entering into the subject. De Rossi has published them with Notes and Dissertations. Tübingen, 1783, 8vo.

Further fragments of the Palestinian Targum.

Besides the complete books belonging to the Palestinian Cycle of Targum which we have mentioned, and the portions of it intersected as "Another Reading," "Another Targum," into the Babylonian Versions, there are extant several independent fragments of it. Nor need we as yet despair of finding still further portions, perhaps one day to see it restored entirely. There is all the more hope for this, as the Targum has not been lost very long yet. Abudraham quotes the Targum Jerushalmi to *Samuel* (i. 9, 13). Kimchi has preserved several passages from it to *Judges* (xi. 1, consisting of 47 words); to *Samuel* (i. 17, 18: 106 words); and *Kings* (i. 22, 21: 68 words; ii. 4, 1: 174 words, iv. 6: 55 words; iv. 7: 72 words; xiii. 21: 9 words), under the simple name of Toseftah, *i.e.* Addition, or Additional Targum. Luzzatto has also lately found fragments of the same, under the names "Targum of Palestine," "Targum of Jerushalmi," "Another Reading," &c., in an African Codex written 5247 A.M. = 1487 A.D., viz. to 1 Sam. xviii. 19; 2 Sam. xii. 12; 1 Kings v. 9, v. 11, v. 13, x. 18, x. 26, xiv. 13; to Hosea i. 1; Obad. i. 1.—To Isaiah, Rashi (*Isaaki*, not as people still persist in calling him, *Jarchi*), Abudraham and Farissol quote it: and a fragment of the Targum to this prophet is extant in Cod. Urbin. Vatican No. 1, containing about 120 words, and beginning: "Prophecy of Isaiah, which he prophesied at the end of his prophecy in the days of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah the King of the Tribe of the House of Judah on the 17th of Tamuz in the hour when Manasseh set up an idol in the Temple," &c. Isaiah predicts in this his own violent death. Parts of this Targum are also found in Hebrew, in Pesiktah Rabbathi 6 *a*, and Yalkut Isa. 58 *d*. A Jerusalem Targum to Jeremiah is mentioned by Kimchi; to Ezekiel by R. Simeon, Nathan (Aruch), and likewise by Kimchi, who also speaks of a further additional Targum to Jonathan for this Book. A "Targum-Jerushalmi" to Micah is known to Rashi, and of Zechariah a fragment has been published in Bruns (Repert. Pt. 15, P. 174) from a Reuchlinian MS. (Cod. 354, Kennic. 25), written 1106. The passage, found as a marginal gloss to Zech. xii. 10, reads as follows:—

"Targum Jerushalmi. And I shall pour out upon the House of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of prophecy and of prayer for truth. And after this shall go forth Messiah the Son of Efraim to wage war against Gog. And Gog will kill him before the city of Jerushalaim. They will look up to me and they will ask me wherefore the heathens have killed Messiah the Son of Efraim. They will then mourn over him as mourn father and mother over an only son, and they will wail over him as one wails over a firstborn."—A Targum Jerushalmi to the third chapter of *Habakkuk*, quoted by Rashi, is mentioned by de Rossi (Cod. 265 and 405, both 13th century). It has been suggested that a Targum Jerushalmi on the Prophets only existed to the Haftarahs, which had at one time been translated perhaps, like the portion from the Law, in public; but we have seen that entire books, not to mention single chapters, possessed a Palestinian Targum, which never were intended or used for the purpose of Haftarah. And there is no reason to doubt that the origin of this Targum to the Prophets is precisely similar to, and perhaps contemporaneous with, that which we traced to that portion which embraces the Pentateuch. The Babylonian Version, the "Jonathan"-Targum, though paraphrastic, did not satisfy the apparently more imaginative Palestinian public. Thus from heaped-up additions and marginal glosses, the step to a total re-writing of the entire Codex in the manner and taste of the later times and the different locality, was easy enough From a critique

of the work as such, however, we must naturally keep aloof, as long as we have only the few specimens named to judge from. But its general spirit and tendency are clear enough. So is also the advantage to which even the minimum that has survived may some day be put by the student of Midrashic literature, as we have briefly indicated above.

We cannot conclude without expressing the hope —probably a vain one—that linguistic studies may soon turn in the direction of that vast and most interesting, as well as important, Aramaic literature, of which the Targums form but a small item.

The writer finally begs to observe that the translations of all the passages quoted from Talmud and Midrash, as well as the specimens from the Targum, have been made by him directly from the respective originals.

N. Pfeiffer, *Critica Sacr.*; Tho. Smith, *Diatribe*; Gerhard, *De Script. Sacr.*; Helvicus, *De Chald. Bibl. Paraphr.*; Varen, *De Targ. Onkel.*; Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.*; Carpzov, *Critica Sacra*; Joh. Morinus, *Exercitt. Bibl.*; Schickard, *Bechin. Hupper.*; Jerar, *Proleg. Bibliae*; Rivet, *Isagoge ad S. S.*; Allix, *Judic. Eccles. Jud.*; Huet, *De Claris Interpp.*; Leusden, *Philol. Hebr.*; Prideaux, *Connect.*; Rambach, *Inst. Herm. Sacr.*; Elias Levita, *Meturgeman*; *Tishbi*; Luzzatto, *Oheb Ger*; Perkovitz, *Oteh Or*; Winer, *Onkelos*; Auger, *De Onkeloso*; Vitringa, *Synagoga*; Azariah De Rossi, *Meor Enajim*; Petermann, *De duabus Pent. Paraphr.*; Dathe, *De ratione consensus vers. Chald. et Syr. Prov. Sal.*; Lövy, in *Geiger's Zeitschr.*; Levysohn and Traub in Frankel's *Monatsschr.*; Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge*; Geiger, *Urschrift*; Frankel, *Vorstudien zur LXX.*; *Beiträge f. Pal. Exeg. Zeitschrift*; *Monatsschrift*; Geiger, *Zeitschrift*; Fürst, *Orient*; *Hall. Allg. Liter. Zeitg.* 1821 and 1832; *Introductions* of Walton, Eichhorn, Keil, Hävernick, Jahn, Herbst, Bertheau, Davidson, &c.; Gesenius. *Jesaia*; Horne, *Aruch*; *Geschichten* of Jost, Herzfeld, Grätz, &c.; Delitzsch, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Poesie*; Sach's *Beiträge*; Fürst, *Chald. Gramm.*; E. Deutsch in *Westerm. Monatschr.*, 1859; *Zeitschrift* and *Verhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellsch.*, &c. &c.] [E. D.]

VERSION, AUTHORISED. The history of the English translations of the Bible connects itself with many points of interest in that of the nation and the Church. The lives of the individual translators, the long struggle with the indifference or opposition of men in power, the religious condition of the people as calling for, or affected by, the appearance of the translation, the time and place and form of the successive editions by which the demand, when once created, was supplied;—each of these has furnished, and might again furnish, materials for a volume. It is obvious that the work now to be done must lie within narrower limits; and it is proposed, therefore, to exclude all that belongs simply to the personal history of the men, or the general history of the time, or that comes within the special province of Bibliography. What will be aimed at will be to give an account of the several versions as they appeared; to ascertain the qualifications of the translators for the work which they undertook, and the principles on which they acted; to form an estimate of the final result of their labours in the received Version, and, as consequent on this, of the necessity or desirableness of a new or revised translation; and, finally, to give such a survey of the literature of the subject as may help the reader to obtain a fuller knowledge for himself.

I. EARLY TRANSLATIONS.—It was asserted by Sir Thomas More, in his anxiety to establish a point against Tyndal, that he had seen English translations of the Bible, which had been made before Wycliffe, and that these were approved by the Bishops, and were allowed by them to be read by laymen, and even by devout women (*Dialogues*, ch. viii-xiv. col. 82). There seem good grounds, however, for doubting the accuracy of this statement. No such translations—versions, *i. e.* of the entire Scriptures—are now extant. No traces of them appear in any contemporary writer. Wycliffe's great complaint is, that there is no translation (Forshall and Madden, *Wycliffe's Bible*, *Pref.* p. xxi. *Prol.* p. 59). The Constitutions of Archbishop Arundel (A.D. 1408) mention two only, and these are Wycliffe's own, and the one based on his and completed after his death. More's statement must therefore be regarded either as a rhetorical exaggeration of the fact that parts of the Bible had been previously translated, or as rising out of a mistake as to the date of MSS. of the Wycliffe version. The history of the English Bible will therefore begin, as it has begun hitherto, with the work of the first great reformer. One glance, however, we may give, in passing, to the earlier history of the English Church, and connect some of its most honoured names with the great work of making the truths of Scripture, or parts of the Books themselves, if not the Bible as a whole, accessible to the people. We may think of Caedmon as embodying the whole history of the Bible in the alliterative metre of Anglo-Saxon poetry (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 24); of Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, in the 7th century, as rendering the Psalter; of Bede, as translating in the last hours of his life the Gospel of St. John (*Epist. Cuthberti*); of Alfred, setting forth in his mother-tongue as the great ground-work of his legislation, the four chapters of Exodus (xx.-xxiii.) that contained the first code of the laws of Israel (Pauli's *Life of Alfred*, ch. v.). The wishes of the great king extended further. He desired that "all the free-born youth of his kingdom should be able to read the English Scriptures"[a] (*Ibid.*). Portions of the Bible, some of the Psalms, and extracts from other Books, were translated by him for his own use and that of his children. The traditions of a later date, seeing in him the representative of all that was good in the old Saxon time, made him the translator of the whole Bible (*Ibid.* Supp. to ch. v.).

The work of translating was, however, carried on by others. One Anglo-Saxon version of the four Gospels, interlinear with the Latin of the Vulgate, known as the Durham Book, is found in the Cottonian MSS. of the British Museum, and is referred to the 9th or 10th century. Another, known as the Rushworth Gloss, and belonging to the same period, is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

[a] So Pauli (Eng. transl.). But would "Englisc gewrit" mean "the Scriptures" exclusively? Do not the words of Alfred point to a general as well as a religious education?

[b] One interesting fact connected with this version is that its text agrees with that of the Codex Bezae where that MS. differs most from the *textus receptus* of the N. T. Another is its publication by Foxe the Martyrologist in 1571, at the request of Abp. Parker. It was subsequently edited by Dr. Marshall in 1665.

It may be noticed, as bearing upon a question afterwards

Another, of a somewhat later date, is in the same collection, and in the library of C. C. College, Cambridge. The name of Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, is connected with a version of the Psalms; that of Aelfric, with an Epitome of Scripture History, including a translation of many parts of the historical Books of the Bible (Lewis, *Hist. of Transl.* ch. I.; Forshall and Madden, *Preface*; Bagster's *English Hexapla*, Pref.). The influence of Norman ecclesiastics, in the reigns that preceded or followed the Conquest, was probably adverse to the continuance of this work. They were too far removed from sympathy with the subjugated race to care to educate them in their own tongue. The spoken dialects of the English of that period would naturally seem to them too rude and uncouth to be the channel of Divine truth. Pictures, mysteries, miracle plays, rather than books, were the instruments of education for all but the few who, in monasteries under Norman or Italian superintendence, devoted themselves to the study of theology or law. In the remoter parts of England, however, where their influence was less felt, or the national feeling was stronger, there were those who carried on the succession, and three versions of the Gospels, in the University Library at Cambridge, in the Bodleian, and in the British Museum, belonging to the 11th or 12th century, remain as attesting their labours. The metrical paraphrase of the Gospel history, known as the Ormulum, in alliterative English verse, ascribed to the latter half of the 12th century, is the next conspicuous monument, and may be looked upon as indicating a desire to place the facts of the Bible within reach of others than the clergy.[c] The 13th century, a time in England, as throughout Europe, of religious revival, witnessed renewed attempts. A prose translation of the Bible into Norman-French, circ. A.D. 1260, indicates a demand for devotional reading within the circle of the Court, or of the wealthier merchants, or of convents for women of high rank. Further signs of the same desire are found in three English versions of the Psalms—one towards the close of the 13th century; another by Schorham, circ. A.D. 1320; another—with other canticles from the O.T. and N.T.—by Richard Rolle of Hampole, circ. 1349; the last being accompanied by a devotional exposition: and in one of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, and of all St. Paul's Epistles (the list includes the Apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans), in the Library of C. C. College, Cambridge. The fact stated by Archbishop Arundel in his funeral sermon on Anne of Bohemia, wife of Richard II., that she habitually read the Gospels in the vulgar tongue, with divers expositions, was probably true of many others of high rank.[d] It is interesting to note these facts, not as detracting from the glory of the great Reformer of the 14th century, but as showing that for him also there had been a preparation; that what he supplied met a demand which had for many years been gathering strength. It is almost needless to add that these versions started from nothing better than the copies of the Vulgate, more or less accurate, which each translator had before him (Lewis, ch. I.; Forshall and Madden *Preface*).

II. WYCLIFFE (b. 1324; d. 1384).—(1). It is singular, and not without significance, that the first translation from the Bible connected with the name of Wycliffe should have been that of part of the Apocalypse.[e] The *Last Age of the Church* (A.D. 1356) translates and expounds the vision in which the Reformer read the signs of his own times, the sins and the destruction of "Antichrist and his meynee" (=multitude). Shortly after this he completed a version of the Gospels, accompanied by a commentary "so that pore Cristen men may some dele know the text of the Gospel, with the comyn sentence of olde holie doctores" (*Preface*). Wycliffe, however, though the chief, was not the only labourer in the cause. The circle of English readers was becoming wider, and they were not content to have the Book which they honoured above all others in a tongue not their own. Another translation and commentary appear to have been made about the same time, in ignorance of Wycliffe's work, and for the "manie lewid men that gladlie would kon the Gospelle, if it were draghen into the Englisch tung." The fact that many MSS. of this period are extant, containing in English a Monotessaron, or Harmony of the Gospels, accompanied by portions of the Epistles, or portions of the O. T., or an epitome of Scripture history, or the substance of St. Paul's Epistles, or the Catholic Epistles at full length, with indications more or less distinct, of Wycliffe's influence, shows how wide-spread was the feeling, that the time had come for an English Bible. (Forshall and Madden, *Pref.* pp. xiii.-xvii.) These preliminary labours were followed up by a complete translation of the N.T. by Wycliffe himself. The O.T. was undertaken by his coadjutor, Nicholas de Hereford, but was interrupted probably by a citation to appear before Archbishop Arundel in 1382, and ends abruptly (following so far the order of the Vulgate) in the middle of Baruch. Many of the MSS. of this version now extant present a different recension of the text, and it is probable that the work of Wycliffe and Hereford was revised by Richard Purvey, circ. A.D. 1388. To him also is ascribed the interesting Prologue, in which the translator gives an account both of his purpose and his method. (Forshall and Madden, *Pref.* p. xxv.)

(2). The former was, as that of Wycliffe had been, to give an English Bible to the English

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the subject of much discussion, that in this and the other Anglo-Saxon versions the attempt is made to give vernacular equivalents even for the words which, as belonging to a systematic theology, or for other reasons, most later versions have left practically untranslated. Thus *baptisma* is "fyllith" (washing); *poenitentia*, "doed-bote" (redress for evil deeds). So *scribae* are "bocere" (bookmen). Synagogues "gesamnungum" (meetings); amen, "sothlice" (in sooth); and phylacteries, "healsbec" (neck-books). See Lewis, *Hist. of Translations*, p. 9.

[c] The Ormulum, edited by Dr. White, was printed at the Oxford University Press in 1852.

[d] Chronologically, of course, the Gospels thus referred to may have been Wycliffe's translation; but the strong opposition of Arundel to the work of the Reformer makes it probable that those which the queen used belonged to a different school, like that of the versions just mentioned.

[e] The authorship of this book has however been disputed (comp. Todd's *Preface*).

[f] "One comfort is of knightes; they saveren much the Gospelle, and have wille to read in Englische the Gospelle of Christes life" (Wycliffe, *Prologue*). Compare the speech ascribed to John of Gaunt (13 Ric. II.). "We wul not be the dregs of all, seeing other nations have the law of God, which is the law of our faith, written in their own language" (Foxe, *Pref. to Saxon Gospels* Lewis, p. 29).

people. He appeals to the authority of Bede, of Alfred, and of Grostête, to the examples of "Frenshe, and Beemers (Bohemians), and Britons." He answers the hypocritical objections that men were not holy enough for such a work; that it was wrong for "idiots" to do what the great doctors of the Church had left undone. He hopes "to make the sentence as trewe and open in Englishe as it is in Latine, or more trewe and open."

It need hardly be said, as regards the method of the translator, that the version was based entirely upon the Vulgate.[g] If, in the previous century, scholars like Grostête and Roger Bacon, seeking knowledge in other lands, and from men of other races, had acquired, as they seem to have done, some knowledge both of Greek and Hebrew, the succession had, at all events, not been perpetuated. The war to be waged at a later period with a different issue between Scholastic Philosophy and "Humanity" ended, in the first struggle, in the triumph of the former, and there was probably no one at Oxford among Wycliffe's contemporaries who could have helped him or Purvey in a translation from the original. It is something to find at such a time the complaint that "learned doctoris taken littel heede to the lettre," the recognition that the Vulgate was not all sufficient, that "the texte of oure bokis" (he is speaking of the Psalter, and the difficulty of understanding it) "discordeth much from the Ebreu."[h] The difficulty which was thus felt was increased by the state of the Vulgate text. The translator complains that what the Church had in view was not Jerome's version, but a later and corrupt text; that "the comune Latyne Bibles han more neede to be corrected as manie as I have seen in my life, than hath the Englishe Bible late translated." To remedy this he had recourse to collation. Many MSS. were compared, and out of this comparison, the true reading ascertained as far as possible. The next step was to consult the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the commentaries of Nicholas de Lyrâ, and others, as to the meaning of any difficult passages. After this (we recognise here, perhaps, a departure from the right order) grammars were consulted. Then came the actual work of translating, which he aimed at making idiomatic rather than literal. As he went on, he submitted his work to the judgment of others, and accepted their suggestions.[i] It is interesting to trace these early strivings after the true excellence of a translator; yet more interesting to take note of the spirit, never surpassed, seldom equalled, in later translators, in which the work was done. Nowhere do we find the conditions of the work, intellectual and moral, more solemnly asserted. "A translator hath grete nede to studie well the sentence, both before and after," so that no equivocal words may mislead his readers or himself, and then also "he hath nede to lyve a clene life, and be ful devout in preiers, and have not his wit occupied about worldli things, that the Holie Spiryt, author of all wisedom, and cunnynge and truthe, dresse (= train) him in his work, and suffer him not for to err" (Forshall and Madden, *Prol.* p. 60).

(3). The extent of the circulation gained by this version may be estimated from the fact that, in spite of all the chances of time, and all the systematic efforts for its destruction made by Archbishop Arundel and others, not less than 150 copies are known to be extant, some of them obviously made for persons of wealth and rank, others apparently for humbler readers. It is significant as bearing, either on the date of the two works, or on the position of the writers, that while the quotations from Scripture in Langton's *Vision of Piers Plowman* are uniformly given in Latin, those in the *Persone's Tale* of Chaucer are given in English, which for the most part agrees substantially with Wycliffe's translation.

(4). The following characteristics may be noticed as distinguishing this version: (1) The general homeliness of its style. The language of the Court or of scholars is as far as possible avoided, and that of the people followed. In this respect the principle has been acted on by later translators. The style of Wycliffe is to that of Chaucer as Tyndal's is to Surrey's, or that of the A. V. to Ben Jonson's. (2) The substitution, in many cases, of English equivalents for quasi-technical words. Thus we find "fy" or "fogh" instead of "Raca" (Matt. v. 22); "they were *washed*" in Matt. iii. 6; "richesse" for "mammon" (Luke xvi. 9, 11, 13); "bishop" for "high-priest" (*passim*). (3) The extreme literalness with which, in some instances, even at the cost of being unintelligible, the Vulgate text is followed, as in 2 Cor. i. 17-19.

III. TYNDAL.—The work of Wycliffe stands by itself. Whatever power it exercised in preparing the way for the Reformation of the 16th century, it had no perceptible influence on later translations. By the reign of Henry VIII. its English was already obsolescent, and the revival of classical scholarship led men to feel dissatisfied with a version which had avowedly been made at second-hand, not from the original. With Tyndal, on the other hand, we enter on a continuous succession. He is the patriarch, in no remote ancestry, of the Authorised Version. With a consistent, unswerving purpose, he devoted his whole life to this one work; and through dangers and difficulties, amid enemies and treacherous friends, in exile and loneliness, accomplished it. More than Cranmer or Ridley he is the true hero of the English Reformation. While they were slowly moving onwards, halting between two opinions, watching how the Court-winds blew, or, at the best, making the most of opportunities, he set himself to the task without which, he felt sure, Reform would be impossible, which, once accomplished, would render it inevitable. "Ere many years," he said, at the age of thirty-six (A.D. 1520), he would cause "a

[g] A crucial instance is that of Gen. iii. 15: "*She* shall trede thy head."

[h] This knowledge is, however, at second hand, "bi witnesse of Jerom, of Lire, and other expositouris."

[i] It is worth while to give his own account of this process:—"First this simple creature," his usual way of speaking of himself, "hedde myche travaile, with diverse felawis and helperis, to gedere manie elde bibles, and othere doctoris, and comune glosis, and to make oo Latyn bible sumdel trewe, and thanne to studie it of the new, the text with the glose, and othere doctoris, as he mizte, and speciali Lire on the elde testament, that helpid full myche in this werk, the thridde time to counsel with elde grammarians and elde dyvynis of harde wordes and harde sentences how those mizte best be understode and translated, the iiij^th tyme to translate as clearlie as he coude to the sentence, and to have manie good felawis and kunnynge at the correcting of the translacioun" (*Preface*, c. xv.). The note at the close of the preface on the grammatical idioms of different languages, the many English equivalents, *e. g.*, for the Latin ablative absolute, shews considerable discernment.

boy that driveth the plough" to know more of Scripture than the great body of the clergy then knew (Foxe, in Anderson's *Annals of English Bible*, i. 36). We are able to form a fairly accurate estimate of his fitness for the work to which he thus gave himself. The change which had come over the Universities of Continental Europe since the time of Wycliffe had affected those of England. Greek had been taught in Paris in 1458. The first Greek Grammar, that of Constantine Lascaris, had been printed in 1476. It was followed in 1480 by Craston's Lexicon. The more enterprising scholars of Oxford visited foreign Universities for the sake of the new learning. Grocyn (d. 1519), Linacre (d. 1524), Colet (d. 1519), had, in this way, from the Greeks whom the fall of Constantinople had scattered over Europe, or from their Italian pupils, learnt enough to enter, in their turn, upon the work of teaching. When Erasmus visited Oxford in 1497, he found in these masters a scholarship which even he could admire. Tyndal, who went to Oxford circ. 1500, must have been within the range of their teaching. His two great opponents, Sir Thomas More and Bishop Tonstal, are known to have been among their pupils. It is significant enough that after some years of study, Tyndal left Oxford and went to Cambridge. Such changes were, it is true, common enough. The fame of any great teacher would draw round him men from other Universities, from many lands. In this instance, the reason of Tyndal's choice is probably not far to seek (Walter, *Biog. Notice* to Tyndal's *Doctrinal Treatises*). Erasmus was in Cambridge from 1509 to 1514. All that we know of Tyndal's character and life, the fact especially that he had made translations of portions of the N.T. as early as 1502 (Offor, *Life of Tyndal*, p. 9), leads to the conclusion that he resolved to make the most of the presence of one who was emphatically the scholar and philologist of Europe. It must be remembered, too, that the great scheme of Cardinal Ximenes was just then beginning to interest the minds of all scholars. The publication of the Complutensian Bible, it is true, did not take place till 1520; but the collection of MSS. and other preparations for it began as early as 1504. In the mean time Erasmus himself, in 1516, brought out the first published edition of the Greek Testament; and it was thus made accessible to all scholars. Of the use made by Tyndal of these opportunities we have evidence in his coming up to London (1522), in the vain hope of persuading Tonstal (known as a Greek scholar, an enlightened Humanist) to sanction his scheme of rendering the N. T. into English, and bringing a translation of one of the orations of Isocrates as a proof of his capacity for the work. The attempt was not successful. "At the last I understood not only that there was no room in my Lord of London's palace to translate the N.T., but also that there was no place to do it in all England" (*Pref. to Five Books of Moses*).

It is not so easy to say how far at this time any knowledge of Hebrew was attainable at the English universities, or how far Tyndal had used any means of access that were open to him. It is probable that it may have been known, in some measure, to a few bolder than their fellows, at a time far earlier than the introduction of Greek. The large body of Jews settled in the cities of England must have possessed a knowledge, more or less extensive, of their Hebrew books. On their banishment, to the number of 16,000, by Edward I., these books fell into the hands of the monks, superstitiously reverenced or feared by most, yet drawing some to examination, and then to study. Grostête, it is said, knew Hebrew as well as Greek. Roger Bacon knew enough[k] to pass judgment on the Vulgate as incorrect and misleading. Then, however, came a period in which linguistic studies were thrown into the background, and Hebrew became an unknown speech even to the best-read scholars. The first signs of a revival meet us towards the close of the 15th century. The remarkable fact that a Hebrew Psalter was printed at Soncino in 1477 (forty years before Erasmus's Greek Testament), the Pentateuch in 1482, the Prophets in 1486, the whole of the O. T. in 1488, that by 1496 four editions had been published, and by 1596 not fewer than eleven (Whitaker, *Hist. and Crit. Inquiry*, p. 22), indicates a demand on the part of the Christian students of Europe, not less than on that of the more learned Jews. Here also the progress of the Complutensian Bible would have attracted the notice of scholars. The cry raised by the "Trojans" of Oxford in 1519 (chiefly consisting of the friars, who from the time of Wycliffe had all but swamped the education of the place) against the first Greek lectures—that to study that language would make men Pagans, that to study Hebrew would make them Jews—shows that the latter study as well as the former was the object of their dislike and fear[l] (Anderson, i. 24; Hallam, *Lit. of Eur.* i. 403).

Whether Tyndal had in this way gained any knowledge of Hebrew before he left England in 1524 may be uncertain. The fact that in 1530-31 he published a translation of Genesis, Deuteronomy, and Jonah,[m] may be looked on as the first-fruits of his labours, the work of a man who was giving this proof of his power to translate from the original (Anderson, *Annals*, i. 209-288). We may perhaps trace, among other motives for the many wanderings of his exile, a desire to visit the cities Worms, Cologne, Hamburgh, Antwerp (Anderson, pp. 48-64), where the Jews lived in greatest numbers, and some of which were famous for their Hebrew learning. Of at least a fair acquaintance with that language we have, a few years later, abundant evidence in the table of Hebrew words prefixed to his translation of the five books of Moses, and in casual etymologies scattered through his other works, *e. g.* Mammon (*Parable of Wicked Mammon*, p. 68[n]), Cohen (*Obedience*, p. 255), Abel Mizraim (p. 347), Pesah

[k] The boast of Bacon, that any one using his method could learn Hebrew and Greek within a week, bold as it is, shews that he knew something of both (*De Laude Sac. Script.* c. 28).

[l] As indicating progress, it may be mentioned that the first Hebrew professor, Robert Wakefield, was appointed at Oxford in 1530, and that Henry VIII.'s secretary, Pace, knew Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee.

[m] The existence of a translation of Jonah by Tyndal, previously questioned by some editors and biographers, has been placed beyond a doubt by the discovery of a copy (believed to be unique) in the possession of the Ven. Lord Arthur Hervey. It is described in a letter by him to the *Bury Post* of Feb. 3, 1862, transferred shortly afterwards to the *Athenæum*.

[n] The references to Tyndal are given to the Parker Society edition

p. 353). A remark (*Preface to Obedience*, p 148) shows how well he had entered into the general spirit of the language. "The properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the Englishe than with the Latine. The manner of speaking is in both one, so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into Englishe word for word." When Spalatin describes him in 1534 it is as one well-skilled in seven languages, and one of these is Hebrew [o] (Anderson, i. 397).

The N. T. was, however, the great object of his care. First the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark were published tentatively, then in 1525 the whole of the N. T. was printed in 4to. at Cologne and in small 8vo. at Worms.[p] The work was the fruit of a self-sacrificing zeal, and the zeal was its own reward. In England it was received with denunciations. Tonstal, Bishop of London, preaching at Paul's Cross, asserted that there were at least 2000 errors in it, and ordered all copies of it to be bought up and burnt. An Act of Parliament (35 Hen. VIII. cap. 1) forbade the use of all copies of Tyndal's "false translation." Sir T. More (*Dialogues*, l. c. *Supplication of Souls, Confutation of Tindal's Answer*) entered the lists against it, and accused the translator of heresy, bad scholarship, and dishonesty, of "corrupting Scripture after Luther's counsel." The treatment which it received from professed friends was hardly less annoying. Piratical editions were printed, often carelessly, by trading publishers at Antwerp.[q] A scholar of his own, George Joye, undertook (in 1534) to improve the version by bringing it into closer conformity with the Vulgate, and made it the vehicle of peculiar opinions of his own, substituting "life after this life," or "verie life," for "resurrection," as the translation of *ἀνάστασις*. (Comp. Tyndal's indignant protest in Pref. to edition of 1534.) Even the most zealous reformers in England seemed disposed to throw his translation overboard, and encouraged Coverdale (*infra*) in undertaking another. In the mean time the work went on. Editions were printed one after another.[r] The last appeared in 1535, just before his death, "diligently compared with the Greek," presenting for the first time systematic chapter-headings, and with some peculiarities in spelling specially intended for the pronunciation of the peasantry (Offor, *Life*, p. 82). His heroic life was brought to a close in 1536. We may cast one look on its sad end—the treacherous betrayal, the Judas-kiss of the false friend, the imprisonment at Vilvorden, the last prayer, as the axe was about to fall, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."[s]

The work to which a life was thus nobly devoted was as nobly done. To Tyndal belongs the honour of having given the first example of a translation based on true principles, and the excellence of later versions has been almost in exact proportion as they followed his. Believing that every part of Scripture had one sense and one only, the sense in the mind of the writer (*Obedience*, p. 304), he made it his work, using all philological helps that were accessible, to attain that sense. Believing that the duty of a translator was to place his readers as nearly as possible on a level with those for whom the books were originally written, he looked on all the later theological associations that had gathered round the words of the N. T. as hindrances rather than helps, and sought, as far as possible, to get rid of them. Not "grace," but "favour," even in John i. 17 (in edition of 1525); not "charity," but "love;" not "confessing," but "acknowledging;" not "penance," but "repentance;" not "priests," but "seniors" or "elders;" not "salvation," but "health;" not "church," but "congregation," are instances of the changes which were then looked on as startling and heretical innovations (Sir T. More, *l. c.*). Some of them we are now familiar with. In others the later versions bear traces of a reaction in favour of the older phraseology. In this, as in other things, Tyndal was in advance, not only of his own age, but of the age that followed him. To him, however, it is owing that the versions of the English Church have throughout been popular, and not scholastic. All the exquisite grace and simplicity which have endeared the A. V. to men of the most opposite tempers and contrasted opinions—to J. H. Newman (*Dublin Review*, June, 1853) and J. A. Froude—is due mainly to his clear-sighted truthfulness.[t] The desire to make the Bible a people's book led him in one edition to something like a provincial, rather than a national translation, but on the whole it kept him free from the besetting danger of the time, that of writing for scholars, not for the people; of a version full of "inkhorn" phrases, not in the spoken language of the English nation. And throughout there is the pervading stamp, so often wanting in other like works, of the most thorough truthfulness. No word has been altered to court a king's favour, or please bishops, or make out a case for or against a particular opinion. He is working freely, not in the fetters of prescribed rules. With the most entire sincerity he could say, "I call God to record, against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doings, that I

[o] Hallam's assertion that Tyndal's version "was avowedly taken from Luther's" originated probably in an inaccurate reminiscence of the title-page of Coverdale's (*Lit. of Europe*, i. 526).

[p] The only extant copy of the 8vo. edition is in the Library of the Baptist College at Bristol. It was reproduced in 1862 in *fac-simile* by Mr. Francis Fry, Bristol, the impression being limited to 177 copies. Mr. Fry proves, by a careful comparison of type, size, water-mark, and the like, with those of other books from the same press, that it was printed by Peter Schoeffer of Worms.

[q] In two of these (1534 and 1535) the words, "This cup is the New Testament in my blood," in 1 Cor. xi. were omitted (Anderson, i. 415). By a like process Mr. Anderson (i. 63) fixes Cologne as the place, and Peter Quentel as the printer of the 4to.

[r] The localities of the editions are not without interest. Hamburgh, Cologne, Worms, in 1525; Antwerp in 1526, '27, '28; Marlborow (= Marburg) in 1529; Strasburg (Joye's edit.) in 1531; Bergen-op-Zoom in 1533 (Joye's); John c. vi. at Nuremberg in 1533; Antwerp in 1534 (Cotton, *Printed Editions*, pp. 4-6).

[s] Two names connect themselves sadly with this version. A copy of the edition of 1534 was presented specially to Anne Boleyn, and is now extant in the British Museum Several passages, such as might be marked for devotional use, are underscored in red ink. Another reforming Lady, Joan Bocher, was known to have been active in circulating Tyndal's N. T. (Neal, i. 43; Strype, *Mem.* i. c. 26).

[t] The testimony of a Roman Catholic scholar is worth quoting:—"In point of perspicacity and noble simplicity, propriety of idiom and purity of style, no English version has as yet surpassed it" (Geddes, *Prospectus for a new Translation*, p. 89). The writer cannot forbear adding Mr. Froude's judgment in his own words:—"The peculiar genius, if such a word may be permitted, which breathes through it, the mingled tenderness and majesty, the Saxon simplicity, the preternatural grandeur, unequalled, unapproached, in the attempted improvements of modern scholars,—all are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one man, and that man William Tyndal" (*Hist. of Eng.* iii. 84).

never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the world, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me" (Anderson, i. 349).

IV. COVERDALE.—(1.) A complete translation of the Bible, different from Tyndal's, bearing the name of Miles Coverdale, printed probably at Zurich, appeared in 1535. The undertaking itself, and the choice of Coverdale as the translator, were probably due to Cromwell. Tyndal's controversial treatises, and the polemical character of his prefaces and notes, had irritated the leading ecclesiastics and embittered the mind of the king himself against him. All that he had written was publicly condemned. There was no hope of obtaining the king's sanction for anything that bore his name. But the idea of an English translation began to find favour. The rupture with the see of Rome, the marriage with Anne Boleyn, made Henry willing to adopt what was urged upon him as the surest way of breaking for ever the spell of the Pope's authority. The bishops even began to think of the thing as possible. It was talked of in Convocation. They would take it in hand themselves. The work did not, however, make much progress. The great preliminary question whether "venerable" words, such as hostia, penance, pascha, holocaust, and the like, should be retained, was still unsettled (Anderson, i. 414).[a] Not till "the day after doomsday" (the words are Cranmer's) were the English people likely to get their English Bible from the bishops (ib. i. 577). Cromwell, it is probable, thought it better to lose no further time, and to strike while the iron was hot. A divine whom he had patronised, though not, like Tyndal, feeling himself called to that special work (*Pref. to Coverdale's Bible*), was willing to undertake it. To him accordingly it was entrusted. There was no stigma attached to his name, and, though a sincere reformer, neither at that time nor afterwards did he occupy a sufficiently prominent position to become an object of special persecution.[x]

(2.) The work which was thus executed was done, as might be expected, in a very different fashion from Tyndal's. Of the two men, one had made this the great object of his life, the other, in his own language, "sought it not, neither desired it," but accepted it as a task assigned him. One prepared himself for the work by long years of labour in Greek and Hebrew. The other is content to make a translation at second hand "out of the Douche (Luther's German Version) and the Latine."[y] The one aims at a rendering which shall be the truest and most exact possible. The other loses himself in weak commonplace as to the advantage of using many English words for one and the same word in the original, and in practice oscillates between "penance" and "repentance," "love" and "charity," "priests" and "elders," as though one set of words were as true and adequate as the other (*Preface*, p. 19). In spite of these weaknesses, however, there is much to like in the spirit and temper of Coverdale. He is a second-rate man, labouring as such contentedly, not ambitious to appear other than he is. He thinks it a great gain that there should be a diversity of translations. He acknowledges, though he dare not name it, the excellence of Tyndal's version,[z] and regrets the misfortune which left it incomplete. He states frankly that he had done his work with the assistance of that and of five others.[a] If the language of his dedication to the king, whom he compares to Moses, David, and Josiah, seems to be somewhat fulsome in its flattery, it is, at least, hardly more offensive than that of the Dedication of the A. V., and there was more to palliate it.[b]

(3.) An inspection of Coverdale's version serves to show the influence of the authorities he followed.[c] The proper names of the O. T. appear for the most part in their Latin form, Elias, Eliseus, Ochozias; sometimes, as in Esay and Jeremy, in that which was familiar in spoken English. Some points of correspondence with Luther's version are not without interest. Thus "Cush," which in Wycliffe, Tyndal, and the A. V. is uniformly rendered "Ethiopia," is in Coverdale "Morians' land" (Ps. lxviii. 31; Acts viii. 27, &c.), after the "Mohrenlande" of Luther, and appears in this form accordingly in the P. B. version of the Psalms. The proper name Rabshakeh passes, as in Luther, into the "chief butler" (2 K. xviii. 17; Is. xxxvi. 11). In making the sons of David "priests" (2 Sam. viii. 18), he followed both his authorities. Ἐπίσκοποι are "bishops" in Acts xx. 28 ("overseers" in A. V.). "Shiloh," in the prophecy of Gen. xlix. 10, becomes "the worthy," after Luther's "der Held." "They houghed oxen" takes the place of "they digged down a wall," in Gen. xlix. 6. The singular word "Lamia" is taken from the Vulg., as the English rendering of *Ziim* ("wild beasts," A. V.) in Is. xxxiv. 14. The "tabernacle of witness," where the A. V. has "congregation," shows the same influence. In spite of Tyndal, the Vulg. "plena gratiâ," in Luke i. 28, leads to "full of grace;"

[a] A list of such words, 99 in number, was formally laid before Convocation by Gardiner in 1542, with the proposal that they should be left untranslated, or Englished with as little change as possible (Lewis, *Hist.* ch. 2).

[x] It is uncertain where this version was printed, the title-page being silent on that point. Zurich, Cologne, and Frankfort have all been conjectured. Coverdale is known to have been abroad, and may have come in contact with Luther.

[y] There seems something like an advertising tact in this title-page. A scholar would have felt that there was no value in any translation but one from the original. But the "Douche" would serve to attract the Reforming party, who held Luther's name in honour; while the "Latine" would at least conciliate the conservative feeling of Gardiner and his associates. Whitaker, however, maintains that Coverdale knew more Hebrew than he chose, at this time, to acknowledge, and refers to his translation of one difficult passage ("Ye take youre pleasure under the okes and under all grene trees, the children beyinge slaine in the valleys," Is. lvii. 5) as proving an independent judgment against the authority of Luther and the Vulgate (*Hist. and Crit. Enquiry*, p. 52).

[z] "If thou [the reader] be fervent in prayer, God shall not only send thee it [the Bible] in a better [version] by the ministration of those that began it before, but shall also move the hearts of those that before meddled not withal."

[a] The five were probably—(1) The Vulgate. (2) Luther's. (3) The German Swiss version of Zurich. (4) the Latin of Pagninus, (5) Tyndal's. Others, however, have conjectured a German translation of the Vulgate earlier than Luther's, and a Dutch version from Luther (Whitaker, *Hist and Crit. Enquiry*, p. 49).

[b] He leaves it to the king, *e. g.*, "to correct his translation, to amend it, to improve [= condemn] it, yea, and clean to reject it, if your godly wisdom shall think necessary."

[c] Ginsburg (*App. to Coheleth*) has shewn that, with regard to one book at least of the O. T., Coverdale followed the German-Swiss version printed at Zurich in 1531, with an almost servile obsequiousness

while we have, on the other hand, "congregation" throughout the N. T. for ἐκκλησία, and "love" instead of "charity" in 1 Cor. xiii. It was the result of the same indecision that his language as to the Apocrypha lacks the sharpness of that of the more zealous reformers. "Baruch" is placed with the canonical books, after "Lamentations." Of the rest he says that they are "placed apart," as "not held by ecclesiastical doctors in the same repute" as the other Scriptures, but this is only because there are "dark sayings" which seem to differ from the "open Scripture." He has no wish that they should be "despised or little set by." "Patience and study would show that the two were agreed."

(4.) What has been stated practically disposes of the claim which has sometimes been made for this version of Coverdale's, as though it had been made from the original text (Anderson, i. 564; Whitaker, *Hist. and Crit. Inquiry*, p. 58). It is not improbable, however, that as time went on he added to his knowledge. The letter addressed by him to Cromwell (*Remains*, p. 492, Parker Soc.) obviously asserts, somewhat ostentatiously, an acquaintance "not only with the standing text of the Hebrew, with the interpretation of the Chaldee and the Greek," but also with "the diversity of reading of all texts." He, at any rate, continued his work as a pains-taking editor. Fresh editions of his Bible were published, keeping their ground in spite of rivals, in 1537, 1539, 1550, 1553. He was called in at a still later period to assist in the Geneva version. Among smaller facts connected with this edition may be mentioned the appearance of Hebrew letters—of the name Jehovah—in the title-page (יהוה), and again in the margin of the alphabetic poetry of Lamentations, though not of Ps. cxix. The plural form "Biblia" is retained in the title-page, possibly however in its later use as a singular feminine [comp. BIBLE]. There are no notes, no chapter-headings, no divisions into verses. The letters A, B, C, D, in the margin, as in the early editions of Greek and Latin authors, are the only helps for finding places. Marginal references point to parallel passages. The O. T., especially in Genesis, has the attraction of woodcuts. Each book has a table of contents prefixed to it.[a]

V. MATTHEW.—(1.) In the year 1537, a large folio Bible appeared as edited and dedicated to the king, by Thomas Matthew. No one of that name appears at all prominently in the religious history of Henry VIII., and this suggests the inference that the name was pseudonymous, adopted to conceal the real translator. The tradition which connects this Matthew with John Rogers, the proto-martyr of the Marian persecution, is all but undisputed. It rests (1) on the language of the indictment and sentence which describe him (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1029, 1563; Chester, *Life of Rogers*, pp. 418-423) as Joannes Rogers alias Matthew, as if it were a matter of notoriety; (2) the testimony of Foxe himself, as representing, if not personal knowledge, the current belief of his time; (3) the occurrence at the close of a short exhortation to the Study of Scripture in the Preface, of the initials J. R.;[b] (4) internal evidence. This subdivides itself. (*a.*) Rogers, who had graduated at Pembroke Coll. Cambridge in 1525, and had sufficient fame to be invited to the new Cardinal's College at Oxford, accepted the office of chaplain to the merchant adventurers of Antwerp, and there became acquainted with Tyndal, two years before the latter's death. Matthew's Bible, as might be expected, if this hypothesis were true, reproduces Tyndal's work, in the N. T. entirely, in the O. T. as far as 2 Chr., the rest being taken with occasional modifications from Coverdale. (*b.*) The language of the Dedication is that of one who has mixed much, as Rogers mixed, with foreign reformers. "This hope have the godlie even in strange countries, in your grace's godliness."

(2.) The printing of the book was begun apparently abroad, and was carried on as far as the end of Isaiah. At that point a new pagination begins, and the names of the London printers, Grafton and Whitechurch, appear. The history of the book was probably something like this: Coverdale's translation had not given satisfaction—least of all were the more zealous and scholar-like reformers contented with it. As the only complete English Bible, it was, however, as yet, in possession of the field. Tyndal and Rogers, therefore, in the year preceding the imprisonment of the former, determined on another, to include O. T., N. T., and Apocrypha, but based throughout on the original. Left to himself, Rogers carried on the work, probably at the expense of the same Antwerp merchant who had assisted Tyndal (Poyntz), and thus got as far as Isaiah. The enterprising London printers, Grafton and Whitechurch, then came in (Chester, *Life of Rogers*, p. 29). It would be a good speculation to enter the market with this, and so drive out Coverdale's, in which they had no interest. They accordingly embarked a considerable capital, 500*l.*, and then came a stroke of policy which may be described as a miracle of audacity. Rogers's name, known as the friend of Tyndal, is suppressed, and the simulacrum of Thomas Matthew disarms suspicion. The book is sent by Grafton to Cranmer. He reads, approves, rejoices. He would rather have the news of its being licensed than a thousand pounds (Chester, pp. 425-427). Application is then made both by Grafton and Cranmer to Cromwell. The king's license is granted, but the publisher wants more. Nothing less than a monopoly for five years will give him a fair margin of profit. Without this, he is sure to be undersold by piratical, inaccurate editions, badly printed, on inferior paper. Failing this, he trusts that the king will order one copy to be bought by every incumbent, and six by every abbey. If this was too much, the king might, at least, impose that obligation on all the popishly-inclined clergy. That will bring in something, besides the good it may possibly do them (Chester, p. 430). The application was, to some extent, successful. A copy was ordered, by royal proclamation, to be set up in every church, the cost being divided between the clergy and the parishioners. This was, therefore, the first Authorised Version. It is scarcely conceivable, however, that Henry could have read the book which he thus sanctioned, or known that it was substantially identical with what had been publicly stigmatised in his Acts of Parliament (*ut supra*). What had before given most offence had been the polemic character of Tyndal's annotations, and here were notes bolder, and more thorough still. Even the significant W. T. does not appear to have attracted notice.

[a] A careful reprint, though not a fac-simile, of Coverdale's version has been published by Bagster (1838).

[b] These ornamental initials are curiously selected, H. R. for the king's name, W. T. (at the end of the O T.) for William Tyndal, R. G. for Richard Grafton the printer.

(3.) What has been said of Tyndal's Version applies, of course, to this. There are, however, signs of a more advanced knowledge of Hebrew. All the technical words connected with the Psalms, Neginoth, Shiggaion, Sheminith, &c., are elaborately explained. Ps. ii. is printed as a dialogue. The names of the Hebrew letters are prefixed to the verses of Lamentations. Reference is made to the Chaldee Paraphrase (Job vi.), to Rabbi Abraham (Job xix.), to Kimchi (Ps. iii.). A like range of knowledge is shown in the N. T. Strabo is quoted to show that the Magi were not kings, Macrobius as testifying to Herod's ferocity (Matt. ii.), Erasmus's Paraphrase on Matt. xiii., xv. The popular identification of Mary Magdalene with "the woman that was a sinner" is discussed, and rejected (Luke x.). More noticeable even than in Tyndal is the boldness and fullness of the exegetical notes scattered throughout the book. Strong and earnest in asserting what he looked on as the central truths of the Gospel, there was in Rogers a Luther-like freedom in other things which has not appeared again in any authorised translation or popular commentary. He guards his readers against looking on the narrative of Job i. as literally true. He recognises a definite historical starting-point for Ps. xlv. ("The sons of Korah praise Solomon for the beauty, eloquence, power, and nobleness, both of himself and of his wife"), Ps. xxii. ("David declareth Christ's dejection ..... and all, under figure of himself"), and the Song of Solomon ("Solomon made this balade for himself and his wife, the daughter of Pharaoh, under the shadow of himself, figuring Christ," &c.). The chief duty of the Sabbath is "to minister the fodder of the Word to simple souls," to be "pitiful over the weariness of such neighbours as laboured sore all the week long." "When such occasions come as turn our rest to occupation and labour, then ought we to remember that the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath" (Jer. xvii.). He sees in the Prophets of the N. T. simply "expounders of Holy Scripture" (Acts xv.). To the man living in faith, "Peter's fishing after the resurrection, and all deeds of matrimony are pure spiritual;" to those who are not, "learning, doctrine, contemplation of high things, preaching, study of Scripture, founding of churches and abbeys, are works of the flesh" (*Pref. to Romans*).[f] "Neither is outward circumcision or outward baptism worth a pin of themselves, save that they put us in remembrance to keep the covenant" (1 Cor. vii.). "He that desireth honour, gaspeth after lucre. . . . castles, parks, lordships . . . . desireth not a work, much less a good work, and is nothing less than a bishop" (1 Tim. iii.). Ez. xxxiv. is said to be "against bishops and curates that despise the flock of Christ" The ἄγγελος ἐκκλησίας of Rev. ii. and iii. appears (as in Tyndal) as "the messenger of the congregation." Strong protests against Purgatory are found in notes to Ez. xviii. and 1 Cor. iii., and in the "Table of Principal Matters" it is significantly stated under the word Purgatory that "it is not in the Bible, but the purgation and remission of our sins is made us by the abundant mercy of God." The Preface to the Apocrypha explains the name, and distinctly asserts the inferiority of the books. No notes are added, and the translation is taken from Coverdale, as if it had not been worth while to give much labour to it.

(4.) A few points of detail remain to be noticed. In the order of the books of the N. T. Rogers follows Tyndal, agreeing with the A. V. as far as the Epistle to Philemon. This is followed by the Epistles of St. John, then that to the Hebrews, then those of St. Peter, St. James, and St. Jude. Woodcuts, not very freely introduced elsewhere are prefixed to every chapter in the Revelation. The introduction of the "Table" mentioned above gives Rogers a claim to be the Patriarch of Concordances, the "father" of all such as write in Dictionaries of the Bible. Reverence for the Hebrew text is shown by his striking out the three verses which the Vulgate has added to Ps. xiv. In a later edition, published at Paris, not by Rogers himself, but by Grafton, under Coverdale's superintendence, in 1539, the obnoxious Prologue and Prefaces were suppressed, and the notes systematically expurgated and toned down. The book was in advance of the age. Neither booksellers nor bishops were prepared to be responsible for it.

VI. TAVERNER (1539). (1.) The boldness of the pseudo-Matthew had, as has been said, frightened the ecclesiastical world from its propriety. Coverdale's Version was, however, too inaccurate to keep its ground. It was necessary to find another editor, and the printers applied to Richard Taverner. But little is known of his life. The fact that, though a layman, he had been chosen as one of the canons of the Cardinal's College at Oxford indicates a reputation for scholarship, and this is confirmed by the character of his translation. It professes, in the title-page, to be "newly recognised, with great diligence, after the most faithful exemplars." The editor acknowledges "the labours of others (*i. e.* Tyndal, Coverdale, and Matthew, though he does not name them) who have neither undiligently nor unlearnedly travelled," owns that the work is not one which can be done "absolutely" (*i. e.* completely) by one or two persons, but requires "a deeper conferring of many learned wittes together, and also a juster time, and longer leisure;" but the thing had to be done; he had been asked to do it. He had "used his talent" as he could.

(2.) In most respects this may be described as an expurgated edition of Matthew's. There is a Table of Principal Matters, and there are notes; but the notes are briefer, and less polemical. The passages quoted above are, *e. g.* omitted wholly or in part. The Epistles follow the same order as before.

VII. CRANMER. (1.) In the same year as Taverner's, and coming from the same press, appeared an English Bible, in a more stately folio printed with a more costly type, bearing a higher name than any previous edition. The title-page is an elaborate engraving, the spirit and power of which indicate the hand of Holbein. The king, seated on his throne, is giving the *Verbum Dei* to the bishops and doctors, and they distribute it to the people, while doctors and people are all joining in cries of "*Vivat Rex.*" It declares the book to be "truly translated after the verity of the Hebrew and Greek texts" by "divers excellent learned men, expert in the foresaid tongues." A preface, in April, 1540, with the initials T. C., implies the archbishop's sanction. In a later edition (Nov. 1540), his name appears on the titlepage, and the names of his coadjutors are given, Cuthbert (Tonstal) Bishop of Durham, and Nicholas (Heath) Bishop of Rochester

[f] The long preface to the Romans (seven folio pages) was substantially identical with that in Tyndal's edition of 1534.

but this does not exclude the possibility of others having been employed for the first edition.

(2.) Cranmer's Version presents, as might be expected, many points of interest. The prologue gives a more complete ideal of what a translation ought to be than we have as yet seen. Words not in the original are to be printed in a different type. They are added, even when "not wanted by the sense," to satisfy those who have "missed them" in previous translations, *i. e.* they represent the various readings of the Vulgate where it differs from the Hebrew. The sign * indicates diversity in the Chaldee and Hebrew. It had been intended to give all these, but it was found that this would have taken too much time and space, and the editors purposed therefore to print them in a little volume by themselves. The frequent hands (☞) in the margin, in like manner, show an intention to give notes at the end; but Matthew's Bible had made men cautious, and, as there had not been time for "the King's Council to settle them," they were omitted, and no help given to the reader beyond the marginal references. In absence of notes, the lay-reader is to submit himself to the "godly-learned in Christ Jesus." There is, as the title-page might lead us to expect, a greater display of Hebrew than in any previous version. The Books of the Pentateuch have their Hebrew names given, *Bereschith* (Genesis), *Velle Schemoth* (Exodus), and so on. 1 and 2 Chr. in like manner appear, as *Dibre Haiamim*. In the edition of 1541, many proper names in the O. T. appear in the fuller Hebrew form, as *e. g.* Amaziahu, Jeremiahu. In spite of this parade of learning, however, the edition of 1539 contains, perhaps, the most startling blunder that ever appeared under the sanction of an archbishop's name. The editors adopted the Preface which, in Matthew's Bible, had been prefixed to the Apocrypha. In that preface the common traditional explanation of the name was concisely given. They appear, however, to have shrunk from offending the conservative party in the Church by applying to the books in question so damnatory an epithet as Apocrypha. They looked out for a word more neutral and respectful, and found one that appeared in some MSS. of Jerome so applied, though in strictness it belonged to an entirely different set of books. They accordingly substituted that word, leaving the preface in all other respects as it was before, and the result is the somewhat ludicrous statement that the "books were called *Hagiographa*," because "they were read in secret and apart"!

(3.) A later edition in 1541 presents a few modifications worth noticing. It appears as "authorised" to be "used and frequented" in every church in the kingdom." The introduction, with all its elaborate promise of a future perfection disappears, and, in its place, there is a long preface by Cranmer, avoiding as much as possible all references to other translations, taking a safe Via Media tone, blaming those who "refuse to read," on the one hand, and "inordinate reading," on the other. This neutral character, so characteristic of Cranmer's policy, was doubtless that which enabled it to keep its ground during the changing moods of Henry's later years. It was reprinted again and again, and was the Authorised Version of the English Church till 1568—the interval of Mary's reign excepted. From it, accordingly, were taken most, if not all, the portions of Scripture in the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552. The Psalms, as a whole, the quotations from Scripture in the Homilies, the sentences in the Communion Services, and some phrases elsewhere,[x] still preserve the remembrance of it. The oscillating character of the book is shown in the use of "love" instead of "charity" in 1 Cor. xiii.; and "congregation" instead of "church" generally, after Tyndal; while in 1 Tim. iv. 14, we have the singular rendering, as if to gain the favour of his opponents, "with authority of priesthood." The plan of indicating doubtful texts by a smaller type was adhered to, and was applied, among other passages, to Ps. xiv. 5, 6, 7, and the more memorable text of 1 John v. 7. The translation of 1 Tim. iii. 16, "All Scripture given by inspiration of God, is profitable," &c., anticipated a construction of that text which has sometimes been boasted of, and sometimes attacked, as an innovation. In this, however, Tyndal had led the way.

VIII. GENEVA.—(1.) The experimental translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew by Sir John Cheke into a purer English than before (Strype, *Life of Cheke*, vii. 3), had so little influence on the versions that followed that it hardly calls for more than a passing notice, as showing that scholars were as yet unsatisfied. The reaction under Mary gave a check to the whole work, as far as England was concerned; but the exiles who fled to Geneva entered on it with more vigour than ever. Cranmer's Version did not come up to their ideal. Its size made it too costly. There were no explanatory or dogmatic notes. It followed Coverdale too closely; and where it deviated, did so, in some instances, in a retrograde direction. The Genevan refugees—among them Whittingham, Goodman, Pullain, Sampson, and Coverdale himself—laboured "for two years or more, day and night." They entered on their "great and wonderful work" with much "fear and trembling." Their translation of the N. T. was "diligently revised by the most approved Greek examples" (MSS. or editions?) (*Preface*). The N. T., translated by Whittingham, was printed by Conrad Badius in 1557, the whole Bible in 1560.

(2.) Whatever may have been its faults, the Geneva Bible was unquestionably, for sixty years, the most popular of all versions. Largely imported in the early years of Elizabeth, it was printed in England in 1561, and a patent of monopoly given to James Bodleigh. This was transferred, in 1576, to Barker, in whose family the right of printing Bibles remained for upwards of a century. Not less than eighty editions, some of the whole Bible, were printed between 1558 and 1611. It kept its ground for some time even against the A. V., and gave way, as it were, slowly and under protest. The causes of this general acceptance are not difficult to ascertain. The volume was, in all its editions, cheaper and more portable—a small quarto, instead of the large folio of Cranmer's "Great Bible." It was the first Bible which laid aside the obsolescent black letter, and appeared in Roman type. It was the first which, following the Hebrew example, recognised the division into verses, so dear to the preachers or hearers of sermons. It was accompanied, in most of the editions after 1578, by a Bible Dictionary of considerable merit. The notes were often really helpful in dealing with the difficulties of Scripture, and were looked on as spiritual and evangelical. It was accordingly the version specially adopted by the great Puritan party through the whole reign of Elizabeth, and far into that of James. As might be expected, it was based on Tyndal's Version, often

[x] Such, *e. g.*, as "worthy fruits of penance."

returning to it where the intermediate renderings had had the character of a compromise.

(3.) Some peculiarities are worthy of special notice:—(1) It professes a desire to restore the "true writing" of many Hebrew names, and we meet accordingly with forms like Izhak (Isaac), Jaacob, and the like. (2) It omits the name of St. Paul from the title of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and, in a short Preface, leaves the authorship an open question. (3) It avows the principle of putting all words not in the original in Italics. (4) It presents, in a Calendar prefixed to the Bible, something like a declaration of war against the established order of the Church's lessons, commemorating Scripture facts, and the deaths of the great Reformers, but ignoring saints' days altogether. (5) It was the first English Bible which entirely omitted the Apocrypha. (6) The notes were characteristically Swiss, not only in their theology, but in their politics. They made allegiance to kings dependent upon the soundness of their faith, and in one instance (note on 2 Chr. xv. 16) at least seemed, to the easily startled James I., to favour tyrannicide.[k]

(4.) The circumstances of the early introduction of the Geneva Version are worth mentioning, if only as showing in how different a spirit the great fathers of the English Reformation, the most conservative of Anglican theologians, acted from that which has too often animated their successors. Men talk now of different translations and various readings as likely to undermine the faith of the people. When application was made to Archbishop Parker, in 1565, to support Bodleigh's application for a licence to reprint the Geneva Version in 12mo., he wrote to Cecil in its favour. He was at the time looking forward to the work he afterwards accomplished, of "one other special Bible for the Churches, to be set forth as convenient time and leisure should permit;" but in the mean time it would "nothing hinder, but rather doo much good, to have diversity of translations and readings" (Strype, *Life of Parker*, iii. 6).[l] In many of the later reprints of this edition the N. T. purports to be based upon Beza's Latin Version; and the notes are said to be taken from Joac. Camer, P. Leseler, Villerius, and Fr. Junius.

IX. The Bishops' Bible.—(1.) The facts just stated will account for the wish of Archbishop Parker, in spite of his liberal tolerance, to bring out another version which might establish its claims against that of Geneva. Great preparations were made. The correspondence of Parker with his Suffragans presents some points of interest, as showing how little agreement there was as to the true theory of a translation. Thus while Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, finds fault with the "common translation" (Geneva?), as "following Munster too much," and so "swerving much from the Hebrew," Guest, Bishop of St. David's, who took the Psalms, acted on the principle of translating them so as to agree with the N. T. quotations, "for the avoiding of offence;" and Cox, Bishop of Ely, while laying down the sensible rule that "inkhorn terms were to be avoided," also went on to add "that the usual terms were to be retained so far forth as the Hebrew will well bear" (Strype, *Parker*, iii. 6). The principle of pious frauds, of distorting the truth for the sake of edification, has perhaps often been acted on by other translators. It has not often been so explicitly avowed as in the first of these suggestions.

(2.) The bishops thus consulted, eight in number, together with some deans and professors, brought out the fruit of their labours in a magnificent folio (1568 and 1572). Everything had been done to make it attractive. A long erudite preface vindicated the right of the people to read the Scriptures, and (quoting the authority of Bishop Fisher) admitted the position which later divines have often been slow to admit, that "there be yet in the Gospel many dark places which, without all doubt, to the posterity shall be made much more open." Wood-engravings of a much higher character than those of the Geneva Bible were scattered profusely, especially in Genesis. Three portraits of the Queen, the Earl of Leicester, and Lord Burleigh, beautiful specimens of copperplate engraving, appeared on the titlepages of the several parts.[k] A map of Palestine was given, with degrees of latitude and longitude, in the edition of 1572. A most elaborate series of genealogical tables, prepared by Hugh Broughton, the great Rabbi of the age (of whom more hereafter), but ostensibly by Speed the antiquary (Broughton's name being in disfavour with the bishops), was prefixed (Strype, *Parker*, iv. 20; Lightfoot, *Life of Broughton*). In some points it followed previous translations, and was avowedly based on Cranmer's. "A new edition was necessary." "This had led some well-disposed men to recognize it again, not as condemning the former translation, which has been followed mostly of any other translation, excepting the original text" (Pref. of 1572). Cranmer's Prologue was reprinted. The Geneva division into verses was adopted throughout.

(3.) Some peculiarities, however, appear for the first and last time. (1) The Books of the Bible are classified as legal, historical, sapiential, and prophetic. This was easy enough for the O. T., but the application of the same idea to the N. T. produced some rather curious combinations. The Gospels, the Catholic Epistles, and those to Titus, Philemon, and the Hebrews, are grouped together as legal, St. Paul's other Epistles as sapiential; the Acts appear as the one historical, the Revelation as the one prophetic Book. (2) It is the only Bible in which many passages, sometimes nearly a whole chapter, have been marked for the express purpose of being omitted when the chapters were read in the public service of the Church. (3) One edition contained the older version of the Psalms from Matthew's Bible, in parallel columns with that now issued, a true and practical acknowledgment of the benefit of a diversity of translations. (4) The initials of the translators were attached to the Books which they had severally undertaken. The work was done on the plan

[k] The note "Herein he showed that he lacked zeal, for she ought to have died," was probably one which Scotch fanatics had handled in connexion with the name of James's mother.

[l] The Geneva Version, as published by Barker, is that popularly known as the *Breeches* Bible, from its rendering of Gen. iii. 7. It had however been preceded in this by Wycliffe's.

[k] The fitness of these illustrations is open to question. Others still more incongruous found their way into the text of the edition of 1572, and the feelings of the Puritans were shocked by seeing a woodcut of Neptune in the initial letters of Jonah, Micah, and Nahum, while that of the Ep. to the Hebrews went so far as to give Leda and the Swan. There must, to say the least, have been very slovenly editorship to permit this

of limited, not joint liability. (5) Here, as in the Geneva, there is the attempt to give the Hebrew proper names more accurately, as, *e. g.*, in Heva, Isahac, Uziahu, &c.

(4.) Of all the English versions, the Bishop's Bible had probably the least success. It did not command the respect of scholars, and its size and cost were far from meeting the wants of the people. Its circulation appears to have been practically limited to the churches which were ordered to be supplied with it. It had however, at any rate, the right to boast of some good Hebrew scholars among the translators. One of them, Bishop Alley, had written a Hebrew Grammar; and though vehemently attacked by Broughton (Townley, *Literary History of the Bible*, iii. 190), it was defended as vigorously by Fulke, and, together with the A. V., received from Selden the praise of being "the best translation in the world" (*Table Talk, Works*, iii. 2009).

X. Rheims and Douay.—(1.) The successive changes in the Protestant versions of the Scriptures were, as might be expected, matter of triumph to the controversialists of the Latin Church. Some saw in it an argument against any translation of Scripture into the spoken language of the people. Others pointed derisively to the want of unity which these changes displayed. There were some, however, who took the line which Sir T. More and Gardiner had taken under Henry VIII. They did not object to the principle of an English translation. They only charged all the versions hitherto made with being false, corrupt, heretical. To this there was the ready retort, that they had done nothing: that their bishops in the reign of Henry had promised, but had not performed. It was felt to be necessary that they should take some steps which might enable them to turn the edge of this reproach, and the English refugees who were settled at Rheims—Martin, Allen (afterwards cardinal), and Bristow—undertook the work. Gregory Martin, who had graduated at Cambridge, had signalized himself by an attack on the existing versions,[m] and had been answered in an elaborate treatise by Fulke, Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge (*A Defence of the Sincere and True Translation*, &c.). The charges are mostly of the same kind as those brought by Sir T. More against Tyndal. "The old time-honoured words were discarded. The authority of the LXX. and Vulgate was set at nought when the translator's view of the meaning of the Hebrew and Greek differed from what he found in them." The new model translation was to avoid these faults. It was to command the respect at once of priests and people. After an incubation of some years it was published at Rheims in 1582. Though Martin was competent to translate from the Greek, it professed to be based on "the authentic text of the Vulgate." Notes were added, as strongly dogmatic as those of the Geneva Bible, and often keenly controversial. The work of translation was completed somewhat later by the publication of the O. T. at Douay in 1609. The language was precisely what might have been expected from men who adopted Gardiner's ideal of what a translation ought to be. At every page we stumble on "strange ink-horn words," which never had been English, and never could be, such, *e. g.*, as "the Pasche and the Azymes" (Mark xvi. 1), "the arch-synagogue" (Mark v. 35), "in prepuce" (Rom. iv. 9), "consonate with the fallacie of sin" (Heb. iii. 13), "a greater hoste" (Heb. xi. 4), "this is the annuntiation" (1 John v. 5), "pre-ordinate" (Acts xiii. 48), "the justifications of our Lord" (Luke i. 6), "what is to me and thee" (John ii. 4), "longanimity" (Rom. ii. 4), "purge the old leaven that you may be a new paste, as you are azymes" (1 Cor. iv. 7), "you are evacuated from Christ" (Gal. v. 4), and so on.[n]

(2.) A style such as this had, as might be expected, but few admirers. Among those few, however, we find one great name. Bacon, who leaves the great work of the reign of James unnoticed, and quotes almost uniformly from the Vulgate, goes out of his way to praise the Rhemish Version for having restored "charity" to the place from which Tyndal had expelled it, in 1 Cor. xiii. (*Of the Pacification of the Church*).

XI. Authorised Version.—(1.) The position of the English Church in relation to the versions in use at the commencement of the reign of James was hardly satisfactory. The Bishops' Bible was sanctioned by authority. That of Geneva had the strongest hold on the affections of the people. Scholars, Hebrew scholars in particular, found grave fault with both. Hugh Broughton, who spoke Hebrew as if it had been his mother-tongue, denounced the former as being full of "traps and pitfalls," "overthrowing all religion," and proposed a new revision to be effected by an English Septuagint (72), with power to consult gardeners, artists, and the like, about the words connected with their several callings, and bound to submit their work to "one qualified for difficulties." This ultimate referee was, of course, to be himself (Strype, *Whitgift*, iv. 19, 23). Unhappily, neither his temper nor his manners were such as to win favour for this suggestion. Whitgift disliked him, worried him, drove him into exile. His feeling was, however, shared by others; and among the demands of the Puritan representatives at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 (Dr. Reinolds being the spokesman), was one for a new, or, at least, a revised translation. The special objections which they urged were neither numerous (three passages only—Ps. cv. 28, cvi. 30, Gal. iv. 25 were referred to) nor important, and we must conclude either that this part of their case had not been carefully got up, or that the bullying to which they were exposed had had the desired effect of throwing them into some confusion. The bishops treated the difficulties which they did raise with supercilious scorn. They were "trivial, old, and often answered." Bancroft raised the cry of alarm which a timid Conservatism has so often raised since. "If every man's humour were to be followed, there would be no end of translating" (Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 188). Cranmer's words seemed likely to be fulfilled again. Had it been left to the bishops, we might have waited for the A.V. "till the day after doomsday." Even when the work was done, and the translators acknowledged that the Hampton Court Conference had been the starting-point of it, they could not

[m] "A discovery of the manifold corruptions of Holy Scriptures by the Heretikes of our days, specially of the English sectaries." The language of this and other like books was, as might be expected, very abusive. The Bible, in Protestant translations, was "not God's word, but the devil's."

[n] Even Roman Catholic divines have felt the superiority of the A. V., and Challoner, in his editions of the N. T. in 1748, and the Bible, 1763, often follows it in preference to the Rheims and Douay translations.

resist the temptation of a fling at their opponents. The objections to the Bishops' Bible had, they said, been nothing more than a shift to justify the refusal of the Puritans to subscribe to the Communion Book (*Preface* to A.V.). But the king disliked the politics of the Geneva Bible. Either repeating what he had heard from others, or exercising his own judgment, he declared that there was as yet no good translation, and that that was the worst of all. Nothing, however, was settled at the Conference beyond the hope thus held out.

(2.) But the king was not forgetful of what he thought likely to be the glory of his reign. The work of organising and superintending the arrangements for a new translation was one specially congenial to him, and in 1606 the task was accordingly commenced. The selection of the fifty-four scholars[o] to whom it was entrusted, seems, on the whole, to have been a wise and fair one. Andrews, Saravia, Overal, Montague, and Barlow, represented the "higher" party in the Church; Reinolds, Chaderton, and Lively that of the Puritans.[p] Scholarship unconnected with party was represented by Henry Savile and John Boys. One name is indeed conspicuous by its absence. The greatest Hebrew scholar of the age, the man who had, in a letter to Cecil (1595), urged this very plan of a joint translation, who had already translated several books of the O.T. (Job, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, Lamentations) was ignominiously excluded. This may have been, in part, owing to the dislike with which Whitgift and Bancroft had all along regarded him. But in part, also, it was owing to Broughton's own character. An unmanageable temper showing itself in violent language, and the habit of stigmatizing those who differed from him, even on such questions as those connected with names and dates, as heretical and atheistic, must have made him thoroughly impracticable; one of the men whose presence throws a Committee or Conference into chaos.[q]

(3.) What reward other than that of their own consciences and the judgment of posterity were the men thus chosen to expect for their long and laborious task? The king was not disposed to pay them out of his state revenue. Gold and silver were not always plentiful in the household of the English Solomon, and from him they received nothing (Heywood, *State of Auth. Bibl. Revision*). There remained, however, an ingenious form of liberality, which had the merit of being inexpensive. A king's letter was sent to the archbishops and bishops, to be transmitted by them to their chapters, commending all the translators to their favourable notice. They were exhorted to contribute in all 1000 marks, and the king was to be informed of each man's liberality. If any livings in their gift, or in the gift of private persons, became vacant, the king was to be informed of it, that he might nominate some of the translators to the vacant preferment. Heads of colleges, in like manner, were enjoined to give free board and lodging to such divines as were summoned from the country to labour in the great work (Strype *Whitgift*, iv.). That the king might take his place as the director of the whole, a copy of fifteen instructions was sent to each translator, and apparently circulated freely in both Universities.

(4.) The instructions thus given will be found in Fuller (*l. c.*), and with a more accurate text in Burnet (*Reform. Records*). It will not be necessary to give them here in full; but it will be interesting to note the bearing of each clause upon the work in hand, and its relation to previous versions. (1) The Bishops' Bible was to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit. This was intended probably to quiet the alarm of those who saw, in the proposal of a new version, a condemnation of that already existing. (2) The names of prophets and others were to be retained, as nearly as may be as they are vulgarly used. This was to guard against forms like Izhak, Jeremiahu, &c., which had been introduced in some versions, and which some Hebrew scholars were willing to introduce more copiously. To it we owe probably the forms Jeremy, Elias, Osee, Core, in the N.T. (3) The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, as the word Church not to be translated Congregation. The rule was apparently given for the sake of this special application. "Charity," in 1 Cor. xiii. was probably also due to it. The earlier versions, it will be remembered, had gone on the opposite principle. (4) When any word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most eminent fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of faith. This, like the former, tends to confound the functions of the preacher and the translator, and substitutes ecclesiastical tradition for philological accuracy. (5) The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as possible. Here, again, convenience was more in view than truth and accuracy, and the result is that divisions are perpetuated which are manifestly arbitrary and misleading. (6) No marginal notes to be affixed but only for the explanation of Hebrew and Greek words. This was obviously directed against the Geneva notes, as the special objects of the king's aversion. Practically, however, in whatever feeling it originated, we may be thankful that the A.V. came out as it did, without note or comment. The open Bible was placed in the hands of all readers. The work of interpretation was left free. Had an opposite course been adopted, we might have had the tremendous evil of a whole body of Exegesis imposed upon the Church by authority, reflecting the Calvinism of the Synod of Dort, the absolutism of James, the high-flying prelacy of Bancroft. (7) Such quotations of places to be marginally set down as may serve for fit reference of one Scripture to another. The principle that Scripture is its own best interpreter was thus recognised, but practically the marginal references of the A.V. of 1611 were somewhat scanty, most of those now printed having been added in later editions. (8 and 9) State plan of translation.

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[o] Only forty-seven names appear in the king's list (Burnet, *Reform. Records*). Seven may have died, or declined to act; or it may have been intended that there should be a final Committee of Revision. A full list is given by Fuller (*Ch. Hist.* x.); and is reproduced, with biographical particulars, by Todd and Anderson.

[p] This side was, however, weakened by the death of Reinolds and Lively during the progress of the work. The loss of the latter, Hebrew professor at Cambridge for thirty years, was every way deplorable.

[q] It deserves notice that Broughton is the only English translator who has adopted *the Eternal* as the equivalent for Jehovah, as in the French version. To him also perhaps, more than to any other divine, we owe the true interpretation of the Descent into Hell.

Each company of translators is to take its own books; each person to bring his own corrections. The company to discuss them, and having finished their work, to send it on to another company, and so on. (10) Provides for differences of opinion between two companies by referring them to a general meeting. (11) Gives power, in cases of difficulty, to consult any scholars. (12) Invites suggestions from any quarter. (13) Names the directors of the work: Andrews, Dean of Westminster; Barlow, Dean of Chester; and the Regius Professors of Hebrew and Greek at both Universities. (14) Names translations to be followed when they agree more with the original than the Bishops' Bible, *sc.* Tyndal's, Coverdale's, Matthew's, Whitchurch's, (Cranmer's), and Geneva. (15) Authorises Universities to appoint three or four overseers of the work.

(5.) It is not known that any of the correspondence connected with this work, or any minute of the meetings for conference is still extant. Nothing is more striking than the silence with which the version that was to be the inheritance of the English people for at least two centuries and a half was ushered into the world. Here and there we get glimpses of scholars coming from their country livings to their old college haunts to work diligently at the task assigned them (Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii. 87). We see the meetings of translators, one man reading the chapter which he has been at work on, while the others listen, with the original, or Latin, or German, or Italian, or Spanish versions in their hands (Selden, *Table Talk*). We may represent to ourselves the differences of opinion, settled by the casting vote of the "odd man," or by the strong overbearing temper of a man like Bancroft,[r] the minority comforting themselves with the thought that it was no new thing for the truth to be outvoted (Gell, *Essay towards Amendment of last Eng. transl. of Bible*, p. 321).[s] Dogmatic interests were in some cases allowed to bias the translation, and the Calvinism of one party, the prelatic views of another, were both represented at the expense of accuracy (Gell, *l. c.*).[t]

(6.) For three years the work went on, the separate companies comparing notes as directed. When the work drew towards its completion it was necessary to place it under the care of a select few. Two from each of the three groups were accordingly selected, and the six met in London, to superintend the publication. Now, for the first time, we find any more definite remuneration than the shadowy promise held out in the king's letter, of a share in the 1000 marks which Deans and Chapters would *not* contribute. The matter had now reached its business stage, and the Company of Stationers thought it expedient to give the six editors thirty pounds each, in weekly payments, for their nine months' labour. The final correction, and the task of writing the arguments of the several books, was given to Bilson, bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Miles Smith, the latter of whom also wrote the Dedication and the Preface. Of these two documents the first is unfortunately familiar enough to us, and is chiefly conspicuous for its servile adulation.[u] James I. is "that sanctified person," "enriched with singular and extraordinary graces," that had appeared "as the sun in his strength." To him they appeal against the judgment of those whom they describe, in somewhat peevish accents, as "Popish persons or self-conceited brethren." The Preface to the Reader is more interesting, as throwing light upon the principles on which the translators acted. They "never thought that they should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one." "Their endeavour was to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one." They claim credit for steering a middle course between the Puritans who "left the old ecclesiastical words," and the obscurity of the Papists "retaining foreign words of purpose to darken the sense." They vindicate the practice, in which they indulge very freely, of translating one word in the original by many English words, partly on the intelligible ground that it is not always possible to find one word that will express all the meanings of the Greek or Hebrew, partly on the somewhat childish plea that it would be unfair to choose some words for the high honour of being the channels of God's truth, and to pass over others as unworthy.

(7.) The version thus published did not all at once supersede those already in possession. The fact that five editions were published in three years, shows that there was a good demand. But the Bishops' Bible probably remained in many Churches, (Andrews takes his texts from it in preaching before the king as late as 1621), and the popularity of the Geneva Version is shown by not less than thirteen reprints, in whole or in part, between 1611 and 1617. It is not easy to ascertain the impression which the A. V. made at the time of its appearance. Probably, as in most like cases, it was far less for good or evil than friends or foes expected. The Puritans, and the religious portion of the middle classes generally, missed the notes of the Geneva book (Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* x. 50, 51). The Romanists spoke as usual, of the unsettling effect of these frequent changes, and of the marginal readings as leaving men in doubt what was the truth of Scripture.[x] One frantic cry

[r] Miles Smith, himself a translator and the writer of the Preface, complained of Bancroft that there was no contradicting him (Beard, *Revised Eng. Bible*).

[s] Gell's evidence, as having been chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, carries some weight with it. His works are to be found in the Brit. Mus. Library, Mr. Scrivener's statement to the contrary being apparently an oversight (*Supplement to A. V. of N. T.* p. 101).

[t] The following passages are those commonly referred to in support of this charge: (1) The rendering "such as should be saved," in Acts ii. 47. (2) The insertion of the words "any man" in Heb. x. 38 ("the just shall live by faith, but if *any man* draw back," &c.), to avoid an inference unfavourable to the doctrine of Final Perseverance. (3) The use of "bishopric," in Acts i. 20, of 'oversight,' in 1 Pet. v. 2, of "bishop," in 1 Tim. iii. 1, &c. and "overseers." in Acts xx. 28, in order to avoid the identification of Bishops and Elders. (4) The chapter-heading of Ps. cxlix. in 1611 (since altered), "The Prophet exhorteth to praise God for that power which he hath given the Church to bind the consciences of men." Blunt (*Duties of a Parish Priest*, Lect. II.) appears, in this question, on the side of the prosecution; Trench (*On the A. V of the N. T.* c. x.) on that of the defence. The charge of an undue bias against Rome in 1 Cor. xi. 27, Gal. v. 6, Heb. xiii. 4, is one on which an acquittal may be pronounced with little or no hesitation.

[u] It may be at least pleaded, in mitigation, that the flattery of the translators is outdone by that of Francis Bacon.

[x] Whitaker's answer, by anticipation, to the charge is worth quoting: "No inconvenience will follow if interpretations or versions of Scripture, when they have become obsolete, or ceased to be intelligible, may be afterwards changed or corrected" (*Dissert. on Script.* p. 232, Parker Soc. ed.). The wiser divines of the English Church had not then learnt to raise the cry of finality.

was heard from Hugh Broughton the rejected (*Works*, p. 661), who "would rather be torn in pieces by wild horses than impose such a version on the poor churches of England." Selden, a few years later, gives a calmer and more favourable judgment. It is "the best of all translations as giving the true sense of the original." This, however, is qualified by the remark that "no book in the world is translated as the Bible is, word for word, with no regard to the difference of idioms. This is well enough so long as scholars have to do with it, but when it comes among the common people, Lord! what gear do they make of it!" (*Table-Talk*). The feeling of which this was the expression, led even in the midst of the agitations of the Commonwealth to proposals for another revision, which, after being brought forward in the Grand Committee of Religion in the House of Commons in Jan. 1656, was referred to a sub-committee, acting under Whitelocke, with power to consult divines and report. Conferences were accordingly held frequently at Whitelocke's house, at which we find, mingled with less illustrious names, those of Walton and Cudworth. Nothing, however, came of it (Whitelocke, *Memorials*, p. 564; Collier, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 9). No report was ever made, and with the Restoration the tide of conservative feeling, in this as in other things, checked all plans of further alteration. Many had ceased to care for the Bible at all. Those who did care were content with the Bible as it was. Only here and there was a voice raised, like R. Gell's (*ut supra*), declaring that it had defects, that it bore in some things the stamp of the dogmatism of a party (p. 321).

(8.) The highest testimony of this period is that of Walton. From the editor of the Polyglott, the few words "inter omnes eminet" meant a good deal (*Pref.*). With the reign of Anne the tide of glowing panegyric set in. It would be easy to put together a long *catena* of praises stretching from that time to the present. With many, of course, this has been only the routine repetition of a traditional boast. "Our unrivalled Translation," and "our incomparable Liturgy," have been, equally, phrases of course. But there have been witnesses of a far higher weight. In proportion as the English of the 18th century was infected with a Latinised or Gallicised style, did those who had a purer taste look with reverence to the strength and purity of a better time as represented in the A. V. Thus Addison dwells on its ennobling the coldness of modern languages with the glowing phrases of Hebrew (*Spectator*, No. 405), and Swift confesses that "the translators of the Bible were masters of an English style far fitter for that work than any we see in our present writings" (*Letter to Lord Oxford*). Each half-century has naturally added to the prestige of these merits. The language of the A. V. has intertwined itself with the controversies, the devotion, the literature of the English people. It has gone, wherever they have gone, over the face of the whole earth. The most solemn and tender of individual memories are, for the most part, associated with it. Men leaving the Church of England for the Church of Rome turn regretfully with a yearning look at that noble "well of English undefiled," which they are about to exchange for the uncouth monstrosities of Rheims and Douay. In this case too, as in so many others, the position of the A. V. has been strengthened, less by the skill of its defenders than by the weakness of its assailants. While from time to time, scholars and divines (Lowth, Newcome, Waterland, Trench, Ellicott), have admitted the necessity of a revision, those who have attacked the present version and produced new ones have been, for the most part, men of narrow knowledge and defective taste (Purver, and Harwood, and Bellamy, and Conquest), just able to pick out a few obvious faults, and showing their competence for the task by entering on the work of translating or revising the whole Bible single-handed. One memorable exception must not, however, be passed over. Hallam (*Lit. of Europe*, iii. ch. 2, *ad fin.*) records a brief but emphatic protest against the "enthusiastic praise" which has been lavished on this translation. "It may, in the eyes of many, be a better English, but it is not the English of Daniel, or Raleigh, or Bacon, . . . It abounds, in fact, especially in the O. T., with obsolete phraseology, and with single words long since abandoned, or retained only in provincial use." The statement may, it is believed, be accepted as an encomium. If it had been the English of the men of letters of James's reign, would it have retained as it has done, for two centuries and a half, its hold on the mind, the memory, the affections of the English people?

XII. SCHEMES FOR A REVISION.—(1.) A notice of the attempts which have been made at various times to bring about a revision of the A. V. though necessarily brief and imperfect, may not be without its use for future labourers. The first half of the 18th century was not favourable for such a work. An almost solitary *Essay for a New Translation* by H. R. (Ross), 1702, attracted little or no notice (Todd, *Life of Walton*, i. 134). A Greek Testament with an English translation, singularly vulgar and offensive, was published in 1729, of which extracts are given by Lewis (*Hist. of Transl.* ch. v.). With the slight revival of learning among the scholars of the latter half of that period the subject was again mooted. Lowth in a Visitation Sermon (1758), and Secker in a Latin Speech intended for Convocation (1761), recommended it. Matt. Pilkington in his *Remarks* (1759), and Dr. Thomas Brett, in an *Essay on Ancient Versions of the Bible* (1760), dwelt on the importance of consulting them with reference to the O. T. as well as the N. T., with a view to a more accurate text than that of the Masoretic Hebrew, the former insisting also on the obsolete words which are scattered in the A. V., and giving a useful Alphabetic list of them. A folio *New and literal translation* of the whole Bible by Anthony Purver, a Quaker (1764), was a more ambitious attempt. He dwells at some length on the "obsolete, uncouth, clownish" expressions which disfigure the A. V. He includes in his list such words as "joyous," "solace," "damsel," "day-spring," "bereaved," "marvels," "bondmen." He substitutes "he hearkened to what he said," for "he hearkened to his voice;" "eat victuals," for "eat bread" (Gen. iii. 19); "was in favour with," for "found grace in the eyes of;" "was angry," for "his wrath was kindled." In spite of this defective taste, however, the work has considerable merit, is based upon a careful study of the original, and of many of the best commentators, and may be contrasted favourably with most of the single-handed translations that have followed. It was, at any rate, far above the depth of degradation and folly which was reached in Harwood's *Literal Translation of the N. T.* "with freedom, spirit, and elegance" (1768). Here again, a few samples are enough to show the character of the whole. "The young lady is not

dead" (Mark v. 39). "A gentleman of splendid family and opulent fortune had two sons" (Luke xv. 11). "The clergyman said, You have given him the only right and proper answer" (Mark xii. 32). "We shall not pay the common debt of nature, but by a soft transition, &c." (1 Cor. xv. 51).

(2.) Biblical revision was happily not left entirely in such hands as these. A translation by Worsley "according to the present idiom of the English tongue" (1770) was, at least, less offensive. Durell (*Preface to Job*), Lowth (*Preface to Isaiah*), Blayney (*Pref. to Jeremiah*, 1784), were all strongly in favour of a new, or revised translation. Durell dwells most on the arbitrary additions and omissions in the A. V. of Job, on the total absence in some cases, of any intelligible meaning. Lowth speaks chiefly of the faulty state of the text of the O. T., and urges a correction of it, partly from various readings, partly from ancient versions, partly from conjecture. Each of the three contributed, in the best way, to the work which they had little expectation of seeing accomplished, by labouring steadily at a single book and committing it to the judgment of the Church.[y] Kennicott's labours in collecting MSS. of the O. T. issued in his *State of the present Hebrew Text* (1753, 59), and excited expectations that there might before long be something like a basis for a new version in a restored original.

A more ambitious scheme was started by the Roman Catholic Dr. Geddes, in his *Prospectus for a New Translation* (1786). His remarks on the history of English translations, his candid acknowledgment of the excellences of the A. V., and especially of Tyndal's work as pervading it, his critical notes on the true principles of translation, on the A. V. as falling short of them, may still be read with interest. He too like Lowth finds fault with the superstitious adherence to the Masoretic text, with the undue deference to lexicons, and disregard of versions shown by our translators. The proposal was well received by many Biblical scholars, Lowth, Kennicott, and Barrington, being foremost among its patrons. The work was issued in parts, according to the terms of the Prospectus, but did not get further than 2 Chron. in 1792, when the death of the translator put a stop to it. Partly perhaps owing to its incompleteness, but still more from the extreme boldness of a Preface, anticipating the conclusions of a later criticism,[z] Dr. Geddes's translation fell rapidly into disfavour. A Sermon by White (famous for his Bampton Lectures) in 1779, and two Pamphlets by J. A. Symonds, Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, the first on the Gospels and the Acts, in 1789; the second on the Epistles, in 1794, though attacked in an *Apology for the Liturgy and Church of England* (1795), helped to keep the discussion from oblivion.

(3.) The revision of the A. V., like many other salutary reforms, was hindered by the French Revolution. In 1792, Archbishop Newcome had published an elaborate defence of such a scheme, citing a host of authorities (Doddridge, Wesley, Campbell, in addition to those already mentioned), and taking the same line as Lowth. Revised translations of the N. T. were published by Wakefield in 1795, by Newcome himself in 1796, by Scarlett in 1798. Campbell's version of the Gospels appeared in 1788, that of the Epistles by Macknight in 1795. But in 1796 the note of alarm was sounded. A feeble pamphlet by George Burges (*Letter to the Lord Bishop of Ely*), took the ground that "the present period was unfit," and from that time, Conservatism, pure and simple, was in the ascendant. To suggest that the A. V. might be inaccurate, was almost as bad as holding "French principles." There is a long interval before the question again comes into anything like prominence, and then there is a new school of critics in the *Quarterly Review* and elsewhere, ready to do battle vigorously for things as they are. The opening of the next campaign was an article in the *Classical Journal* (No. 36), by Dr. John Bellamy, proposing a new translation, followed soon afterwards by its publication under the patronage of the Prince Regent (1818). The work was poor and unsatisfactory enough, and a tremendous battery was opened upon it in the *Quarterly Review* (Nos. 37 and 38), as afterwards (No. 46) upon an unhappy critic, Sir J. B. Burges, who came forward with a Pamphlet in its defence (*Reasons in favour of a New Translation*, 1819). The rash assertion of both Bellamy and Burges that the A. V. had been made almost entirely from the LXX. and Vulgate, and a general deficiency in all accurate scholarship, made them easy victims. The personal element of this controversy may well be passed over, but three less ephemeral works issued from it, which any future labourer in the same field will find worth consulting. Whitaker's *Historical and Critical Inquiry*, was chiefly an able exposure of the exaggerated statement just mentioned. H. J. Todd, in his *Vindication of the Authorised Translation* (1819), entered more fully than any previous writer had done into the history of the A. V., and gives many facts as to the lives and qualifications of the translators not easily to be met with elsewhere.[a] The most masterly, however, of the manifestoes against all change, was a pamphlet (*Remarks on the Critical Principles*, &c., Oxford, 1820), published anonymously, but known to have been written by Archbishop Laurence. The strength of the argument lies chiefly in a skilful display of all the difficulties of the work, the impossibility of any satisfactory restoration of the Hebrew of the O. T., or any settlement of the Greek of the N. T., the expediency therefore of adhering to a *Textus receptus* in both. The argument may not be decisive, but the scholarship and acuteness brought to bear on it make the book instructive, and any one entering on the work of a translator ought at least to read it, that he may know what difficulties he has to face.[b]

(4.) A correspondence between Herbert Marsh, bishop of Peterborough, and the Rev. H. Walter, in 1828, is the next link in the chain. Marsh had spoken (*Lectures on Biblical Criticism*, p. 295) with some contempt of the A. V. as based on Tyndal's, Tyndal's on Luther's, and Luther's on

[y] Whatever be the demerits of Lowth's Isaiah, it deserves something better than the sarcasm of Hurd, that "its only use was to shew how little was to be expected from any new translation." As the Boswell of Warburton, Hurd could not resist the temptation of attacking an old antagonist of his master's.

[z] "I will not pretend to say that it [the history of the Pentateuch] is entirely unmixed with the leaven of the heroic ages. Let the father of Hebrew be tried by the same rules of criticism as the father of Greek history."

[a] A short epitome of this portion of Todd's book has been published by the S. P. C. K. as a tract, and will be found useful.

[b] About this period also (1819) a new edition of Newcome's version was published by Belsham and other Unitarian ministers, and, like Bellamy's attempt or the O. T., had the effect of stiffening the resistance of the great body of the clergy to all proposals for a revision.

Munster's Lexicon, which was itself based on the Vulgate. There was, therefore, on this view, no real translation from the Hebrew in any one of these. Substantially this was what Bellamy had said before, but Marsh was a man of a different calibre, and made out a stronger case. Walter, in his answer, proves what is plain enough, that Tyndal knew some Hebrew, and that Luther in some instances followed Rabbinical authority and not the Vulgate; but the evidence hardly goes to the extent of showing that Tyndal's version of the O. T. was entirely independent of Luther's, or Luther's of the Latin.

(5.) The last five-and-twenty years have seen the question of a revision from time to time gaining fresh prominence. If men of second-rate power have sometimes thrown it back by meddling with it in wrong ways, others, able scholars and sound theologians, have admitted its necessity and helped it forward by their work. Dr. Conquest's Bible, with "20,000 emendations" (1841), has not commanded the respect of critics, and is almost self-condemned by the silly ostentation of its title. The motions which have from time to time been made in the House of Commons by Mr. Heywood, have borne little fruit beyond the display of feeble Liberalism and yet feebler Conservatism by which such debates are, for the most part, characterised; nor have the discussions in Convocation, though opened by a scholar of high repute (Professor Selwyn), been much more productive. Dr. Beard's, *A revised English Bible the Want of the Church* (1857), though tending to overstate the defects of the A. V., is yet valuable as containing much information, and representing the opinions of the more learned Nonconformists. Far more important, every way, both as virtually an authority in favour of revision, and as contributing largely to it, are Professor Scholefield's *Hints for an Improved Translation of the N. T.* (1832). In his second edition, indeed, he disclaims any wish for a new translation, but the principle which he lays down clearly and truly in his preface, that if there is "any adventitious difficulty resulting from a defective translation, then it is at the same time an act of charity and of duty to clear away the difficulty as much as possible," leads legitimately to at least a revision; and this conclusion Mr. Selwyn in the last edition of the *Hints* (1857), has deliberately adopted. To Bishop Ellicott also belongs the credit of having spoken at once boldly and wisely on this matter. Putting the question whether it would be right to join those who oppose all revision, his answer is, "God forbid. . . . It is in vain to cheat our own souls with the thought that these errors (in A. V.) are either insignificant or imaginary. There *are* errors, there *are* inaccuracies, there *are* misconceptions, there *are* obscurities . . . . and that man who, after being in any degree satisfied of this, permits himself to lean to the counsels of a timid or popular obstructiveness, or who, intellectually unable to test the truth of these allegations, nevertheless permits himself to denounce or deny them, will . . . have to sustain the tremendous charge of having dealt deceitfully with the inviolable word of God" (*Pref. to Pastoral Epistles*). The translations appended by Dr. Ellicott to his editions of St. Paul's Epistles, proceed on the true principle of altering the A. V. "only where it appears to be incorrect, inexact, insufficient, or obscure," uniting a profound reverence for the older translators with a bold truthfulness in judging of their work. The copious collation of all the earlier English versions makes this part of his book especially interesting and valuable. Dr. Trench (*On the A. V. of the N. T.*, 1858), in like manner, states his conviction that "a revision ought to come," though as yet, he thinks, "the Greek and the English necessary to bring it to a successful issue are alike wanting" (p. 3). The work itself, it need hardly be said, is the fullest contradiction possible of this somewhat despondent statement, and supplies a good store of materials for use when the revision actually comes. The *Revision of the A. V. by Five Clergymen* (Dr Barrow, Dr. Moberly, Dean Alford, Mr. Humphry, and Dr. Ellicott), represents the same school of conservative progress, has the merit of adhering to the clear, pure English of the A. V., and does not deserve the censure which Dr. Beard passes on it as "promising little and performing less." As yet, this series includes only the Gospel of St. John, and the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. The publications of the American Bible Union are signs that there also the same want has been felt. The translations given respectively by Alford, Stanley, Jowett, and Conybeare and Howson, in their respective Commentaries, are in like manner, at once admissions of the necessity of the work, and contributions towards it. Mr. Sharpe (1840) and Mr. Highton (1862) have ventured on the wider work of translations of the entire N. T. Mr. Cookesley has published the Gospel of St. Matthew as Part I. of a like undertaking. It might almost seem as if at last there was something like a *consensus* of scholars and divines on this question. That assumption would, however, be too hasty. Partly the *vis inertiae*, which in a large body like the clergy of the English Church, is always great, partly the fear of ulterior consequences, partly also the indifference of the majority of the laity, would probably, at the present moment give at least a numerical majority to the opponents of a revision. Writers on this side are naturally less numerous, but the feeling of Conservatism, pure and simple, has found utterance in four men representing different sections, and of different calibre,—Mr. Scrivener (*Supp. to A. Eng. V. of N. T.*), Dr. M'Caul (*Reasons for holding fast the Authorized English Version*), Mr. C. S. Malan (*A Vindication*, &c.), and Dr. Cumming (*Revision and Translation*).[c]

XIII. PRESENT STATE OF THE QUESTION.—(1.) To take an accurate estimate of the extent to which the A. V. requires revision would call for nothing less than an examination of each single Book, and would therefore involve an amount of detail incompatible with our present limits. To give a few instances only, would practically fix attention on a part only of the evidence, and so would lead to a false rather than a true estimate. No attempt, therefore, will be made to bring together individual passages as needing correction. A few remarks on the chief questions which must necessarily come before those who undertake a revision will not,

[c] Mr. Malan's careful translation of the chief Oriental and other versions of the Gospel according to St. John, and Mr. Scrivener's notes on St. Matthew, deserve to be mentioned as valuable contributions towards the work which they depreciate. A high American authority, Mr. George P. Marsh, may also be referred to as throwing the weight of his judgment into the scale against any revision at the present moment (*Lectures on the English Language*, Lect. xxviii).

perhaps, be out of place. Examples, classified under corresponding heads, will be found in the book by Dr. Trench already mentioned, and, scattered in the form of annotations, in that of Professor Scholefield.

(2.) The translation of the N. T. is from a Text confessedly imperfect. What editions were used is a matter of conjecture; most probably, one of those published with a Latin version by Beza between 1565 and 1598, and agreeing substantially with the *Textus receptus* of 1633. It is clear, on principle, that no revision ought to ignore the results of the textual criticism of the last hundred years. To shrink from noticing any variation, to go on printing as the inspired Word that which there is a preponderant reason for believing to be an interpolation or a mistake, is neither honest nor reverential. To do so for the sake of greater edification is simply to offer to God the unclean sacrifice of a lie. The authority of the A. V. is at any rate in favour of the practice of not suppressing facts. In Matt. i. 11, xxvi. 26; Luke xvii. 36; John viii. 6; Acts xiii. 18; Eph. vi. 9; Heb. ii. 4; James ii. 18; 1 John ii. 23; 1 Pet. ii. 21; 2 Pet. ii. 11, 18; 2 John 8, different readings are given in the margin, or, as in 1 John ii. 23, indicated by a different type. In earlier versions, as has been mentioned, 1 John v. 7 was printed in smaller letters. The degree to which this should be done will, of course, require discernment. An apparatus like that in Tischendorf or Alford would obviously be out of place. Probably the useful Greek Testament edited by Mr. Scrivener might serve as an example of a middle course.

(3.) Still less had been done at the commencement of the 17th century for the text of the O. T. The Jewish teachers, from whom Protestant divines derived their knowledge, had given currency to the belief that in the Masoretic text were contained the *ipsissima verba* of Revelation, free from all risks of error, from all casualties of transcription. The conventional phrases, "the authentic Hebrew," "the Hebrew verity," were the expression of this undiscerning reverence.[d] They refused to apply the same rules of judgment here which they applied to the text of the N. T. They assumed that the Masoretes were infallible, and were reluctant to acknowledge that there had been any variations since. Even Walton did not escape being attacked as unsound by the great Puritan divine, Dr. John Owen, for having called attention to the fact of discrepancies (*Proleg.* cap. vi.). The materials for a revised text are, of course, scantier than with the N. T.; but the labours of Kennicott, De Rossi, J. H. Michaelis, and Davidson have not been fruitless, and here as there, the older versions must be admitted as at least evidence of variations which once existed, but which were suppressed by the rigorous uniformity of the later Rabbis. Conjectural emendations, such as Newcome, Lowth and Ewald have so freely suggested, ought to be ventured on in such places only as are quite unintelligible without them.

(4.) All scholars worthy of the name are now agreed that as little change as possible should be made in the language of the A. V. Happily there is little risk of an emasculated elegance such as might have infected a new version in the last century. The very fact of the admiration felt for the A. V., and the general revival of a taste for the literature of the Elizabethan period, are safeguards against any like tampering now. Some words, however, absolutely need change, as being altogether obsolete; others, more numerous, have been slowly passing into a different, often into a lower or a narrower meaning, and are therefore no longer what they once were, adequate renderings of the original

(5.) The self-imposed law of fairness which led the A. V. translators to admit as many English words as possible to the honour of representing one in the Hebrew or Greek text has, as might be expected, marred the perfection of their work. Sometimes the effect is simply the loss of the solemn emphasis of the repetition of the same word. Sometimes it is more serious, and affects the meaning. While it would be simple pedantry to lay down unconditionally that but one and the same word should be used throughout for one in the original, there can be no doubt that such a limitation is the true principle to start with, and that instances to the contrary should be dealt with as exceptional necessities. Side by side with this fault, there is another just the opposite of it. One English word appears for several Greek or Hebrew words, and thus shades of meaning, often of importance to the right understanding of a passage, are lost sight of. Taken together, the two forms of error, which meet us in well-nigh every chapter, make the use of an English Concordance absolutely misleading.[e]

(6.) Grammatical inaccuracy must be noted as a defect pervading, more or less, the whole extent of the present version of the N. T. Instances will be found in abundance in Trench and Scholefield (*passim*), and in any of the better Commentaries. The true force of tenses, cases, prepositions, articles, is continually lost, sometimes at the cost of the finer shades which give vividness and emphasis, but sometimes also entailing more serious errors. In justice to the translators of the N. T., it must be said that, situated as they were, such errors were almost inevitable. They learnt Greek through the medium of Latin. Lexicons[f] and grammars were alike in the universal language of scholars; and that language was poorer and less inflected than the Greek, and failed utterly to represent, *e. g.* the force of its article, or the difference of its aorist and perfect tenses. Such books of this nature as were used by the translators were necessarily based upon a far scantier induction, and were therefore more meagre and inaccurate than those which have been the fruits of the labours of later scholars. Recent scholarship may in many things fall short of that of an earlier time, but the introduction of Greek lexicons and grammars in English has been beyond all doubt a change for the better.

(7.) The field of the O. T. has been far less adequately worked than that of the N. T., and Hebrew scholarship has made far less progress than

[d] The Judaising spirit on this matter culminated in the *Formula Helvetici Consensus*, which pronounces the existing O. T. Text to be "tum quoad consonas, tum quoad vocalia, sive puncta ipsa, sive punctorum potestatem, tum quoad res, tum quoad verba, *θεόπνευστος*.

[e] The *Englishman's Hebrew Concordance* and the *Englishman's Greek Concordance*, published by Walton and Maberly, deserve mention as useful helps for the student of the A. V. in overcoming this difficulty.

[f] Constantine's and Scapula's were the two principally used. During the half century that preceded the A. V. the study of Greek had made great progress, was taught at all the great schools in 1536, and made part of the system of new ones then founded. Nowell, Dean of St Paul's, published a Greek version of the Catechism. The Grammar chiefly in use was probably Colet's (?).

Greek. Relatively, indeed, there seems good ground for believing that Hebrew was more studied in the early part of the 17th century than it is now. It was newer and more popular. The reverence which men felt for the perfection of the "Hebrew verity" made them willing to labour to learn a language which they looked upon as half-divine. But here also there was the same source of error. The early Hebrew lexicons represented partly, it is true, a Jewish tradition; but partly also were based upon the Vulgate (Bishop Marsh, *Lectures*, ii. App. 61). The forms of cognate Shemitic languages had not been applied as a means for ascertaining the precise value of Hebrew words. The grammars, also in Latin, were defective. Little as Hebrew professors have, for the most part, done in the way of exegesis, any good commentary on the O. T. will show that here also there are errors as serious as in the N. T. In one memorable case, the inattention, real or apparent, of the translators to the force of the *Hiphil* form of the verb (Lev. iv. 12) has led to a serious attack on the truthfulness of the whole narrative of the Pentateuch (Colenso, *Pentateuch Critically Examined*, Part I. ch. vii.).

(8.) The division into chapters and verses is a matter that ought not to be passed over in any future revision. The former, it must be remembered, does not go further back than the 13th century. The latter, though answering, as far as the O. T. is concerned, to a long-standing Jewish arrangement, depends, in the N. T., upon the work of Robert Stephens. [BIBLE.] Neither in the O. T. nor in the N. T. did the verse-division appear in any earlier English edition than that of Geneva. The inconveniences of changing both are probably too great to be risked. The habit of referring to chapter and verse is too deeply rooted to be got rid of. Yet the division, as it is, is not seldom artificial, and sometimes is absolutely misleading. No one would think of printing any other book, in prose or poetry, in short clauses like the verses of our Bibles, and the tendency of such a division is to give a broken and discontinuous knowledge, to make men good textuaries but bad divines. An arrangement like that of the Paragraph Bibles of our own time, with the verse and chapter divisions relegated to the margin, ought to form part of any authoritative revision.[g]

(9.) Other points of detail remain to be noticed briefly: (1) The chapter headings of the A. V. often go beyond their proper province. If it is intended to give an authoritative commentary to the lay reader, let it be done thoroughly. But if that attempt is abandoned, as it was deliberately in 1611, then for the chapter-headings to enter, as they do, upon the work of interpretation, giving, as in Canticles, Psalms, and Prophets, *passim*, mystical meanings, is simply an inconsistency. What should be a mere table of contents becomes a gloss upon the text. (2) The use of italics in printing the A. V. is at least open to some risks. At first they seem an honest confession on the part of the translators of what is or is not in the original. On the other hand, they tempt to a loose translation. Few writers would think it necessary to use them in translating other books. If the words do not do more than represent the sense of the original, then there is no reason for treating them as if they were added at the discretion of the translators. If they go beyond that, they are of the nature of a gloss, altering the force of the original, and have no right to be there at all, while the fact that they appear as additions frees the translator from the sense of responsibility. (3) Good as the principle of marginal references is, the margins of the A. V., as now printed, are somewhat inconveniently crowded, and the references, being often merely verbal, tend to defeat their own purpose, and to make the reader weary of referring. They need, accordingly, a careful sifting; and though it would not be desirable to go back to the scanty number of the original edition of 1611, something intermediate between that and the present over-abundance would be an improvement. (4) Marginal readings, on the other hand, indicating variations in the text, or differences in the judgment of translators, might be profitably increased in number. The results of the labours of scholars would thus be placed within the reach of all intelligent readers, and so many difficulties and stumbling-blocks might be removed.[h]

(10.) What has been said will serve to show at once to what extent a new revision is required, and what are the chief difficulties to be encountered. And the work, it is believed, ought not to be delayed much longer. Names will occur to every one of men competent to undertake the work as far as the N. T. is concerned; and if such alterations only were to be introduced as commanded the assent of at least two-thirds of a chosen body of twenty or thirty scholars, while a place in the margin was given to such renderings only as were adopted by at least one-third, there would be, it is believed, at once a great change for the better, and without any shock to the feelings or even the prejudices of the great mass of readers. Men fit to undertake the work of revising the translation of the O. T. are confessedly fewer, and, for the most part, occupied in other things. The knowledge and the power, however, are there, though in less measure, and even though the will be for the time absent, a summons to enter on the task from those whose authority they are bound to respect, would, we cannot doubt, be listened to. It might have the result of directing to their proper task and to a fruitful issue energies which are too often with-

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[g] As examples of what may be said on both sides on this point, the reader may be referred to an article on *Paragraph Bibles* in No. 208 of the *Edinburgh Review* (subsequently reprinted by the Rev. W. Harness, 1855) and the Pamphlet by Dr. M'Caul (*Reasons for holding fast*) already mentioned. Reeves's Bibles and Testaments (1802) and Boothroyd's translation (1824) should be mentioned as having set the example followed by the Religious Tract Society in their *Paragraph Bible*.

[h] In all these points there has been, to a much larger extent than is commonly known, a work of unauthorized revision. Neither italics, nor references, nor readings, nor chapter-headings, nor, it may be added, punctuation, are the same now as they were in the A. V. of 1611. The chief alterations appear to have been made first in 1683, and afterwards in 1769, by Dr. Blayney, under the sanction of the Oxford Delegates of the Press (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1789). A like work was done about the same time by Dr. Paris at Cambridge. There had, however, been some changes previously. The edition of 1638, in particular, shews considerable augmentations in the italics (Turton, *Text of the English Bible*, 1833, pp. 91, 126). To Blayney also we owe most of the notes on weights and measures, and coins, and the explanation, where the text seems to require it, of Hebrew proper names. The whole question of the use of Italics is discussed elaborately by Turton in the work just mentioned.

drawn to ephemeral and unprofitable controversies. As the revised Bible would be for the use of the English people, the men appointed for the purpose ought not to be taken exclusively from the English Church, and the learning of Nonconformists should, at least, be fairly represented. The changes recommended by such a body of men, under conditions such as those suggested, might safely be allowed to circulate experimentally for two or three years. When they had stood that trial, they might without risk be printed in the new Authorized Version. Such a work would unite reverence for the past with duty towards the future. In undertaking it we should be, not slighting the translators on whose labours we have entered, but following in their footsteps. It is the wisdom of the Church to bring out of its treasures things new and old. [E. H. P.]

VILLAGES.[a] It is evident that *chatser*, "a village," lit., an enclosure, a collection of huts, is often used, especially in the enumeration of towns in Josh. xiii., xv., xix., to imply unwalled suburbs outside the walled towns. And so it appears to mean when we compare Lev. xxv. 31 with v. 34. *Migrash*,[b] A. V. "suburbs," *i. e.* a place thrust out from the city (see also Gen. xli. 48). Arab villages, as found in Arabia, are often mere collections of stone huts, "long, low, rude hovels, roofed only with the stalks of palm-leaves," or covered for a time with tent-cloths, which are removed when the tribe change their quarters. Others are more solidly built, as are most of the modern villages of Palestine, though in some the dwellings are mere mud-huts (Robinson, i. 167, ii. 13, 14, 44, 387; Hasselquist, *Trav.* p. 155; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 233, App. §83, p. 525). Arab villages of the Hedjâz and Yemen often consist of huts with circular roofs of leaves or grass, resembling the description given by Sallust of the Numidian *mapalia*, viz. ships with the keel uppermost (Sallust, *Jug.* 18; Shaw, *Trav.* p. 220; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Ar.* p. 54).

There is little in the O. T. to enable us more precisely to define a village of Palestine, beyond the fact that it was destitute of walls or external defences. Persian villages are spoken of in similar terms (Ez. xxxviii. 11; Esth. ix. 19).

By the Talmudists a village was defined as a place destitute of a synagogue (Lightfoot, *Chorogr. Century*, ch. xcviii.). Galilee, in our Lord's time, contained many villages and village-towns,[c] and Josephus says that in his time there were in Galilee 204 towns and villages,[d] some of which last had walls (Joseph. *Vit.* § 45). At present the country is almost depopulated (Raumer, *Pal.* p. 105; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 384). Most modern Turkish and Persian villages have a *Menzil* or *Medhâfeh*, a house for travellers (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 295; Robinson, ii. 19; Martyn, *Life*, p. 437).

The places to which in the O. T. the term *chatser* is applied were mostly in the outskirts of the country (Stanley, p. 526). In the N. T. the term κώμη is applied to Bethphage (Matt. xxi. 2), Bethany (Luke x. 38; John xi. 1), Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 13), Bethlehem (John vii. 42). A distinction between city or town (πόλις) and village (κώμη) is pointed out (Luke viii. 1). On the other hand, Bethsaida is called πόλις (John i. 45; Luke ix. 10), and also κώμη (Mark viii. 23, 26), unless by the latter word we are to understand the suburbs of the town, which meaning seems to belong to "country"[e] (Mark vi. 56). The relation of dependence on a chief town of a district appears to be denoted by the phrase "villages of Caesarea Philippi" (Mark viii. 27).

In the Hebrew language the prefix *Caphar* implied a regular village, as Capernaum, which place, however, had in later times outgrown the limits implied by its original designation (Lightfoot, *l. c.*; Stanley, pp. 521-527; 1 Macc. vii. 31). [H. W. P.]

VINE. The well-known valuable plant (*Vitis vinifera*), very frequently referred to in the Old and New Testaments, and cultivated from the earliest times. The first mention of this plant occurs in Gen. ix. 20, 21, where Noah is represented as having been its first cultivator. The Egyptians say that Osiris first taught men the use of the vine. That it was abundantly cultivated in Egypt is evident from the frequent representations on the monuments, as well as from the Scriptural allusions. See Gen. xl. 9-11, Pharaoh's dream; and Num. xx. 5, where the Israelites complain that the wilderness was "no place of figs or of vines," evidently regretting that they had left the vines of Egypt. Comp. also Ps. lxxviii. 47: "He destroyed their vines with hail" (see on this subject Celsius, *Hierob.* ii. p. 412).

The vines of Palestine were celebrated both for luxuriant growth and for the immense clusters of grapes which they produced. When the spies were sent forth to view the promised land, we are told that on their arrival at the valley of Eshcol they cut down a branch with one cluster of grapes, and bare it between two on a staff (Num. xiii. 23). This they did no doubt for convenience of carriage, and in order that the grapes on that splendid cluster might not be bruised. Travellers have frequently testified to the large size of the grape-clusters of Palestine. Schulz (*Leitungen des Höchsten*, v. p. 285, quoted by Rosenmüller, *Bib. Bot.* p. 223) speaks of supping at Beitshin, a village near Ptolemais, under a vine whose stem was about a foot and a half in diameter, and whose

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[a] 1. *Bath.* See DAUGHTER.

2. חָצֵר; ἔπαυλις, κώμη; *villa, castellum, oppidum*, especially described as unwalled, Lev. xxv. 31. (Stanley, *S. & P.* App. §87.)

3. (*a*) כְּפַר, from כָּפַר, "cover" (Ges. 706); κώμη; *villa*. (*b*) כְּפִיר, only once, Neh. vi. 2; κωμη; *viculus*. (*c*) כֹּפֶר, only once, 1 Sam. vi. 18; κώμη; *villa*.

4. (*a*) פְּרָז, from פָּרַז (Ges. 1125, "to separate," also "to judge," like κρίνω; once "village," *i. e.* a place of separated dwellings, Hab. iii. 14); δυνάστης; *bellator*. See PERIZZITE. (*b*) פְּרָזוֹן, Judg. v. 7, 11; A. V. following Targ. "villages;" lit., rulers or warriors. (*c*) פַּרְזוֹת, πόλις (unwalled), Ez. xxxviii. 11. (*d*) פְּרָזִי, properly a dweller in the country, *paganus*; φερεζαῖος; *oppidum*.

5. חַוָּה; ἔπαυλις; *vicus*; Num. xxxii. 41, Deut. iii. 14, Judg. x. 4: a word applied by modern Bedouins to their own villages (Stanley, p. 527). See HAVOTH-JAIR.

6. מִגְרָשִׁים; περισπόρια; *suburbana*; i.e., pastures for flocks (Ges. pp. 306-7).

In N. T. the word κώμη is also rendered "town."

[b] מִגְרָשׁ, from גָּרַשׁ, "drive out."

[c] κωμοπόλεις, *vicos et civitates*, Mark i. 38.

[d] πόλεις καὶ κώμας.

[e] ἀγροί.

height was about thirty feet, which by its branches formed a hut upwards of thirty feet broad and long. "The clusters of these extraordinary vines," he adds, "are so large that they weigh ten or twelve pounds, and the berries may be compared with our small plums." See also Belon, *Observat.* ii. p. 340: "Les seps des vignes sont fort gros et les rameaux fort spacieux. Les habitants entendent bien comme il la faut gouverner. Car ils la plantent si loing l'une de l'autre, qu'on pourroit mener une charrette entre deux. Ce n'est pas grande merveille si les raisins sont si beaux et le vin si puissant." Strabo states that it is recorded that there are vines in Margiana whose stems are such as would require two men to span round, and whose clusters are two cubits long (*Geograph.* i. p. 112, ed. Kramer). Now Margiana is the modern district of Ghilan in Persia, south-west of the Caspian Sea, and the very country on whose hills the vine is believed to be indigenous. Nothing would be easier than to multiply testimonies relative to the large size of the grapes of Palestine, from the published accounts of travellers such as Elliot, Laborde, Mariti, Dandini (who expresses his surprise at the extraordinary size of the grapes of Lebanon), Russell, &c. We must be content with quoting the following extract from Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine*, p. 330, which is strikingly illustrative of the spies' mode of carrying the grapes from Eshcol:—"Even in our own country a bunch of grapes was produced at Welbeck, and sent as a present from the Duke of Rutland to the Marquis of Rockingham, which weighed nineteen pounds. It was conveyed to its destination—more than twenty miles distant—on a staff by four labourers, two of whom bore it in rotation." The greatest diameter of this cluster was nineteen inches and a half, its circumference four feet and a half, and its length nearly twenty-three inches.

Especial mention is made in the Bible of the vines of Eshcol (Num. xiii. 24, xxxii. 9), of Sibmah, Heshbon, and Elealeh (Is. xvi. 8, 9, 10; Jer. xlviii. 32), and Engedi (Cant. i. 14). Prof. Stanley thus speaks of the vineyards of Judah, which he saw along the slopes of Bethlehem:—"Here, more than elsewhere in Palestine, are to be seen on the sides of the hills, the vineyards marked by their watchtowers and walls, seated on their ancient terraces—the earliest and latest symbol of Judah. The elevation of the hills and table-lands of Judah is the true climate of the vine. He 'bound his foal to the vine, and his ass's colt to the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes.' It was from the Judaean valley of Eshcol, 'the torrent of the cluster,' that the spies cut down the gigantic cluster of grapes. 'A vineyard on a hill of olives,' with the 'fence,' and 'the stones gathered out,' and 'the tower in the midst of it,' is the natural figure which, both in the prophetical and evangelical records, represents the kingdom of Judah" (*S. and P.* p. 164). From the abundance and excellence of the vines, it may readily be understood how frequently this plant is the subject of metaphor in the Holy Scriptures. Thus Israel is a vine brought from Egypt, and planted by the Lord's hand in the land of promise; room had been prepared for it (compare with this the passage from Belon quoted above); and where it took root it filled the land, it covered the hills with its shadow, its boughs were like the goodly cedar-trees (Ps. lxxx. 8–10). Comp. Gmelin (*Travels through Russia and N. Persia*, iii. p. 431), who thus speaks of the vines of Ghilan:—"It is found on forests, . . . and is frequently found about promontories, and their lower part is almost entirely covered with it. There, higher than the eye can reach, it winds itself about the loftiest trees; and its tendrils, which here have an arm's thickness, so spread and mutually entangle themselves far and wide, that in places where it grows in the most luxuriant wildness it is very difficult to find a passage." To dwell under the vine and fig-tree is an emblem of domestic happiness and peace (1 K. iv. 25; Mic. iv. 4; Ps. cxxviii. 3); the rebellious people of Israel are compared to "wild grapes," "an empty vine," "the degenerate plant of a strange vine," &c. (Is. v. 2, 4, but see COCKLE; Hos. x. 1; Jer. ii. 21). It is a vine which our Lord selects to show the spiritual union which subsists between Himself and his members (John xv. 1-6).

The following Hebrew words denote the vine:—

1. *Gephen* (גֶּפֶן), or, more definitely, *gephen hayyayîn* (גֶּפֶן הַיַּיִן), of frequent occurrence in the Bible, and used in a general sense. Indeed *gephen* sometimes is applied to a plant that resembles a vine in some particulars, as גֶּפֶן שָׂדֶה (*gephen sâdeh*), 2 K. iv. 39, *i. e.* probably the Colocynth plant [GOURD, App. A], or גֶּפֶן סְדֹם (*gephen sĕdôm*), the vine of Sodom, certainly not a vine. (See below.)

2. *Sôrêk* (שֹׂרֵק), or *sôrêkâh* (שֹׂרֵקָה), is a term expressive of some choice kind of vine (Jer. ii. 21; Is. v. 2; Gen. xlix. 11), supposed to be identical with that now called in Morocco *serki*, and in Persia *kishmish*, with small round dark berries, and soft stones. (See Niebuhr, *Descript. de l'Arabie*, p. 147; and Oedmann, *Sammlung*, ii. 97.) From the passage in Jeremiah, it is clear that the *sôrêk* denotes not another species of vine, but the common vine which by some process of cultivation attained a high state of excellence.

3. *Nâzîr* (נָזִיר), originally applied to a Nazarite who did not shave his hair, expresses an "undressed vine" (A. V.), *i. e.* one which every seventh and every fiftieth year was *not pruned*. (See Gesenius, *Thes.* s. v.)

Grapes are designated by various names: (1) *Eshcôl* (אֶשְׁכֹּל) is either "a cluster," ripe or unripe, like *racemus*, or a "single grape" (as in Is. lxv. 8, Mic. vii. 1). (2) *'Ênâb* (עֵנָב; Arab. عِنَب, "a cluster"). (3) *Bôser* (בֹּסֶר), sour, *i.e.* unripe grapes (Is. xviii. 5). (4) *Zemôrâh* (זְמוֹרָה), "a grape cut off." "The blossom" of the vine is called *semâdar* (סְמָדַר), Cant. ii. 13, 15. "Grape-stones" are probably meant by *chartsannîm* (חַרְצַנִּים); A. V. "kernel," Num. vi. 4. "The cuticle" of the grape is denominated *zâg* (זָג), Num. *l. c.*; "the tendrils" by *sârîgîm* (שָׂרִיגִים), Joel i. 7.

The ancient Hebrews probably allowed the vine to grow trailing on the ground, or upon supports. This latter mode of cultivation appears to be alluded to by Ezekiel (xix. 11, 12): "her strong rods were broken and withered." Dr. Robinson

who has given us much information on the vines of Palestine, thus speaks of the manner in which he saw them trained near Hebron:—"They are planted singly in rows, eight or ten feet apart in each direction. The stock is suffered to grow up large to the height of six or eight feet, and is then fastened in a sloping position to a strong stake, and the shoots suffered to grow and extend from one plant to another, forming a line of festoons. Sometimes two rows are made to slant towards each other, and thus form by their shoots a sort of arch. These shoots are pruned away in autumn" (*Bib. Res.* ii. 80, 81).

The vintage, *bâtsîr* (בָּצִיר), which formerly was a season of general festivity, as is the case more or less in all vine-growing countries, commenced in September. The towns are deserted, and the people live among the vineyards (כֶּרֶם) in the lodges and tents (*Bib. Res.* l. c.; comp. Judg. ix. 27; Jer. xxv. 30; Is. xvi. 10). The grapes were gathered with shouts of joy by the "grape-gatherers" (בֹּצֵר) (Jer. xxv. 30), and put into baskets (see Jer. vi. 9). They were then carried on the head and shoulders, or slung upon a yoke, to the "wine-press" (גַּת). [WINE.] Those intended for eating were perhaps put into flat open baskets of wickerwork, as was the custom in Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 43). In Palestine at present the finest grapes, says Dr. Robinson, are dried as raisins, *tsimmûk* (צִמּוּק), and the juice of the remainder, after having been trodden and pressed, "is boiled down to a syrup which, under the name of *dibs* (דִּבְשׁ), is much used by all classes, wherever vineyards are found, as a condiment with their food." For further remarks on the modes of making fermented drinks, &c., of the juice of the grape, see under WINE. The vineyard (כֶּרֶם), which was generally on a hill (Is. v. 1; Jer. xxxi. 5: Amos ix. 13), was surrounded by a wall or hedge in order to keep out the wild boars (Ps. lxxx. 13), jackals, and foxes (Num. xxii. 24; Cant. ii. 15; Neh. iv. 3; Ez. xiii. 4, 5; Matt. xxi. 33), which commit sad havoc amongst the vines, both by treading them down and by eating the grapes. Within the vineyard was one or more towers of stone in which the vine-dressers, *côrêmîm* (כָּרְמִים), lived (Is. i. 8, v. 2; Matt. xxi. 33; see also Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 213; ii. 81). The press, *gath* (גַּת), and vat, *yekeb* (יֶקֶב), which was dug (Matt. xxi. 33) or hewn out of the rocky soil, were part of the vineyard furniture (Is. v. 2). See WINE, p. 1774, for a figure of a large footpress with vat, represented in operation. The winepress of the Hebrews was probably of the form there depicted. [FAT, p. 614 *a*.]

The vine in the Mosaic ritual was subject to the usual restrictions of the "seventh year" (Ex. xxiii. 11), and the jubilee of the fiftieth year (Lev. xxv. 11). The gleanings, *ôlêlôth* (עֹלֵלוֹת), were to be left for the poor and stranger (Jer. xlix. 9; Deut. xxiv. 21). The vineyard was not to be sown "with divers seeds" (Deut. xxii. 9), but fig-trees were sometimes planted in vineyards (Luke xiii. 6). Comp. 1 K. iv. 25: "Every man under his vine and under his fig-tree." Persons passing through a vineyard were allowed to eat the grapes therein, but not to carry any away (Deut. xxiii. 24).

Besides wild-boars, jackals and foxes, other enemies, such as birds, locusts, and caterpillars, occasionally damaged the vines.

Beth-haccerem, "the house of the vine" (Jer. vi. 1; Neh. iii. 14), and Abel-ceramîm, "the plain of the vineyards," took their respective names from their vicinity to vineyards. Gophna (now *Jifna*), a few miles N. of Jerusalem, is stated by Eusebius (*Onom.* Φάραγξ βότρυος) to have derived its name from its vines. But see OPHNI. [W. H.]

VINE OF SODOM (גֶּפֶן סְדֹם, *gephen Sedôm*: ἄμπελος Σοδόμων: *vinea Sodomorum*) occurs only in Deut. xxxii. 32, where of the wicked it is said—"their vine is of the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah." It is generally supposed that this passage alludes to the celebrated apples of Sodom, of which Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 8, §4) speaks, and to which apparently Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 6) alludes. Much has been written on this curious subject, and various trees have been conjectured to be that which produced those

> "Dead Sea fruits that tempt the eye,
> But turn to ashes on the lips,"

of which Moore and Byron sing.

The following is the account of these fruits, as given by Josephus: speaking of Sodom, he says—"It was of old a happy land, both in respect of its fruits, and the abundance of its cities. But now it is all burnt up. Men say that, on account of the wickedness of its inhabitants, it was destroyed by lightning. At any rate, there are still to be seen remains of the divine fire and traces of fine cities, and moreover ashes produced in the fruits, which indeed resemble edible fruit in colour, but, on being plucked by the hand, are dissolved into smoke and ashes." Tacitus is more general, and speaks of *all* the herbs and flowers, whether growing wild or planted, turning black, and crumbling into ashes.

Some travellers, as Maundrell (*Early Trav. in Palestine*, p. 454, Bohn, 1848), regard the whole story as a fiction, being unable either to see or hear of any fruit that would answer the required description. Pococke supposed the apples of Sodom to be pomegranates, "which, having a tough, hard rind, and being left on the trees two or three years, may be dried to dust inside, and the outside may remain fair." Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 287) seeks to identify the apples in question with the egg-shaped fruit of the *Solanum melongena* when attacked by some species of *tenthredo*, which converts the whole of the inside into dust, while the rind remains entire and keeps its colour. Seetzen in his letters to Baron Zach (*Monat. Correspond.* xviii. p. 442) thought he had discovered the apples of Sodom in the fruit of a kind of cotton-tree, which grew in the plain of El Ghor, and was known by the name of *Aôschar*. The cotton is contained in the fruit, which is like a pomegranate, but has no pulp. Chateaubriand concludes the long-sought fruit to be that of a thorny shrub with small taper leaves, which in size and colour is exactly like the little Egyptian lemon; when dried, this fruit yields a blackish seed, which may be compared to ashes, and which in taste resembles bitter pepper. Burckhardt (*Trav. in Syria*, p. 392) and Irby and Mangles believe that the tree which produces these celebrated apples is one which they saw abundantly in the Ghor to the east of the Dead Sea, known by the vernacular name of *asheyr* or *oshar*. This tree bears a fruit of a reddish-yellow colour, about three inches in diameter, which contains a white substance resembling the finest silk, and enveloping

some seeds. This silk is collected by the Arabs, and twisted into matches for their firelocks. Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* i. 523), when at *'Ain Jidy*, without knowing at the moment whether it had been observed by former travellers or not, instantly pronounced in favour of the 'ösher fruit being the apples of Sodom. His account of this tree is minute, and may well be quoted:—"The *ösher* of the Arabs," which he identifies with the *Asclepias* (*Calotropis*) *procera* of botanists, "is found in abundance in Upper Egypt and Nubia, and also in Arabia Felix; but seems to be confined in Palestine to the borders of the Dead Sea. We saw it only at *'Ain Jidy*; Hasselquist found it in the desert between Jericho and the northern shore; and Irby and Mangles met with it of large size at the south end of the sea, and on the isthmus of the peninsula. We saw here several trees of the kind, the trunks of which were six or eight inches in diameter, and the whole height from ten to fifteen feet. It has a greyish cork-like bark, with long oval leaves . . . . it discharges copiously from its broken leaves and flowers a milky fluid. The fruit greatly resembles externally a large smooth apple or orange, hanging in clusters of three or four together, and when ripe is of a yellow colour. It was now fair and delicious to the eye, and soft to the touch; but, on being pressed or struck, it explodes with a puff, like a bladder or puff-ball, leaving in the hand only the shreds of the thin rind and a few fibres. It is indeed filled chiefly with air, which gives it the round form . . . . after a due allowance for the marvellous in all popular reports, I find nothing which does not apply almost literally to the fruit of the 'ösher, as we saw it. It must be plucked and handled with great care, in order to preserve it from bursting."

Mr. Walter Elliot, in an article "on the *Poma Sodomitica*, or Dead-Sea apples" (*Trans. of the Entomol. Soc.* ii. p. 14, 1837-1840), endeavours to show that the apples in question are oak galls, which he found growing plentifully on dwarf oaks (*Quercus infectoria*) in the country beyond the Jordan. He tells us that the Arabs asked him to bite one of these galls, and that they laughed when they saw his mouth full of dust. "That these galls are the true Dead-Sea apples," it is added, "there can no longer be a question: nothing can be more beautiful than their rich, glossy, purplish-red exterior: nothing more bitter than their porous and easily pulverized interior" (p. 16). The opinion of Pococke may, we think, be dismissed at once as being a most improbable conjecture. The objection to the *Solanum melongena* is that the plant is not peculiar to the shores or neighbourhood of the Sea of Sodom, but is generally distributed throughout Palestine, besides which it is not likely that the fruit of which Josephus speaks should be represented by occasional diseased specimens of the fruit of the egg-apple; we must look for some plant, the normal character of whose fruit comes somewhere nearer to the required conditions. Seetzen's plant is the same as that mentioned by Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles and Robinson, *i. e.* the 'ösher. Chateaubriand's thorny shrub, with fruit like small lemons, *may be* the *Zukkum* (*Balanites Aegyptiaca*), but it certainly cannot be the tree intended. It is not at all probable that the oak-galls of which Mr. Elliot speaks should be the fruit in question; because these being formed on a tree so generally known as an oak, and being common in all countries, would not have been a subject worthy of especial remark, or have been noticed as something peculiar to the district around the Sea of Sodom. The fruit of the *'ösher* appears to have the best claim to represent the apples of Sodom; the *Calotropis procera* is an Indian plant, and thrives in the warm valley of *'Ain Jidy*, but is scarcely to be found elsewhere in Palestine. The readiness with which its fruit, "fair to the eye," bursts when pressed, agrees well with Josephus's account; and although there is a want of suitableness between "the few fibres" of Robinson, and the "smoke and ashes" of the Jewish historian, yet, according to a note by the editor of Seetzen's Letters, the fruit of the Calotropis in winter contains a yellowish dust, in appearance resembling certain fungi, but of pungent quality.[a] [W. H.]

VINEGAR (חֹמֶץ: ὄξος: *acetum*). The Hebrew term *chomets* was applied to a beverage, consisting generally of wine or strong drink turned sour (whence its use was proscribed to the Nazarite, Num. vi. 3), but sometimes artificially made by an admixture of barley and wine, and thus liable to fermentation (Mishn. *Pes.* 3, §1). It was acid even to a proverb (Prov. x. 26), and by itself formed a nauseous draught (Ps. lxix. 21), but was serviceable for the purpose of sopping bread, as used by labourers (Ruth ii. 14). The degree of its acidity may be inferred from Prov. xxv. 20, where its effect on nitre is noticed. Similar to the *chomets* of the Hebrews was the *acetum* of the Romans,—a thin, sour wine, consumed by soldiers (Veget. *Re Mil.* iv. 7) either in a pure state, or, more usually, mixed with water, when it was termed *posca* (Plin. xix. 29; Spart. *Hadr.* 10). This was the beverage of which the Saviour partook in His dying moments (Matt. xxvii. 48; Mark xv. 36; John xix. 29, 30), and doubtless it was refreshing to His exhausted frame, though offered in derision either on that occasion or previously (Luke xxiii. 36). The same liquid, mingled with gall (as St. Matthew states, probably with the view of marking the fulfilment of the prediction in Ps. lxix. 21), or with myrrh (as St. Mark states with an eye to the exact historical fact[b]), was offered to the Saviour at an earlier stage

[a] "You do not mention the *Solanum Sodomaeum*, which I thought had been quoted as one apple of the Dead Sea, and which is the plant I always thought to be as probably the fruit in question as any other. The objection to *S. melongena* is, that it is a cultivated plant; to the oak gall, that it is wholly absent from the Dead Sea district, though it answers the description best, so far as its beautiful exterior and powdery bitter interior are concerned.

"The Vine of Sodom, again, I always thought might refer to *Cucumis colocynthis* [see GOURD, App. A], which is bitter and powdery inside; the term *vine* would scarcely be given to any but a trailing or other plant of the habit of a vine. The objection to the *Calotropis procera* (*Asclep. gigantea*, Lin.) is, that it is very scarce and not characteristic of the district, being found in one spot only. The beautiful silky cotton would never suggest the idea of anything but what is exquisitely lovely—it is impossible to imagine anything more beautiful: to assume that a diseased state of it was intended, is arguing *ad ignotum ab ignoto*, and a very far-fetched idea." [J. D. HOOKER.]

Dr. Hooker's remark, that the term *vine* must refer to some plant of the habit of a vine, is conclusive against the claims of all the plants hitherto identified with the Vine of Sodom. The *C. colocynthis* alone possesses the required condition implied in the name. [W. H.]

[b] St. Mark terms ὁ οἶνος ἐσμυρνισμένος. There is no

of His sufferings, in order to deaden the perception of pain (Matt. xxvii. 34; Mark xv. 23). [W. L. B.]

VINEYARDS, PLAIN OF THE (אָבֵל כְּרָמִים: Ἐβελχαρμεί; Alex. Αβελ αμπελωνων: *Abel quae est vineis consita*). This place, mentioned only in Judg. xi. 33, has been already noticed under ABEL (5: see vol. i. p. 4 *a*). To what he has there said, the writer has only to call attention to the fact that a ruin bearing the name of *Beit el Kerm*,—"house of the vine," was encountered by De Saulcy to the north of *Kerak* (*Narr.* i. 353). This may be the *Abel ceramim* of Jephthah, if the Aroer named in the same passage is the place of that name on the Arnon (*W. Mojeb*). It is however by no means certain; and indeed the probability is that the Ammonites, with the instinct of a nomadic or semi-nomadic people, betook themselves, when attacked, not to the civilized and cultivated country of Moab (where *Beit-el-Kerm* is situated), but to the spreading deserts towards the east, where they could disperse themselves after the usual tactics of such tribes. [G.]

VIOL. For an explanation of the Hebrew word translated "viol" see PSALTERY. The old English viol, like the Spanish *viguela*, was a six-stringed guitar. Mr. Chappell (*Pop. Mus.* i. 246) says "the position of the fingers was marked on the fingerboard by frets, as in guitars of the present day. The 'Chest of Viols' consisted of three, four, five, or six of different sizes; one for the treble, others for the mean, the counter-tenor, the tenor, and perhaps two for the bass." Etymologically *viol* is connected with the Dan. *Fiol* and the A. S. *fiðele*, through the Fr. *viole*, Old Fr. *vielle*, Med. Lat. *vitella*. In the *Promptorium Parvulorum* we find "Fyvele, viella, fidicina, vitella." Again, in North's Plutarch (*Antonius*, p. 980, ed. 1595) there is a description of Cleopatra's barge, "the poope whereof was of gold, the sailes of purple, and the owers of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the musicke of flutes, howboyes, cytherns, *vyolls*, and such other instruments as they played vpon in the barge." [W. A. W.]

VIPER. [SERPENT.]

VOPH'SI (וָפְסִי: Σαβί; Alex. Ἰαβί: *Vapsi*). Father of Nahbi, the spy selected from the tribe of Naphtali (Num. xiii. 14).

VOWS.[a] The practice of making vows, *i. e.* incurring voluntary obligations to the Deity, on fulfilment of certain conditions, such as deliverance from death or danger, success in enterprises, and the like, is of extremely ancient date, and common in all systems of religion. The earliest mention of a vow is that of Jacob, who, after his vision at Beth-el, promised that in case of his safe return he would dedicate to Jehovah the tenth of his goods, and make the place in which he had set up the memorial stone a place of worship (Gen. xxviii. 18-22, xxxi. 13). Vows in general are also mentioned in the Book of Job (xxii. 27).

Among instances of heathen usage in this respect the following passages may be cited: Jer. xliv. 25, and Jonah i. 16; Hom. *Il.* i. 64, 93, vi. 93, 308; *Odyss.* iii. 382; Xen. *Anab.* iii. 2, §12; Virg. *Georg.* i. 436; *Aen.* v. 234; Hor. *Carm.* i. 5, 13, iii. 29, 59; Liv. xxii. 9, 10; Cic. *Att.* viii. 16; Justin xxi. 3; a passage which speaks of immoral vows; Vell. Pat. ii. 48.

The Law therefore did not introduce, but regulated the practice of vows. Three sorts are mentioned—I. Vows of devotion, *Neder*; II. Vows of abstinence, *Esar* or *Isar*; III. Vows of destruction, *Cherem*.

I. As to vows of devotion, the following rules are laid down: A man might devote to sacred uses possessions or persons, but not the first-born either of man or beast, which was devoted already (Lev. xxvii. 26.) [FIRST-BORN.]

a. If he vowed land, he might either redeem it or not. If he intended to redeem, two points were to be considered, 1. the rate of redemption; 2. the distance, prospectively and retrospectively, from the year of jubilee. The price of redemption was fixed at 50 shekels of silver for the quantity of land which a homer of barley (eight bushels) would suffice to sow (Lev. xxvii. 16; see Knobel). This payment might be abated under the direction of the priest according to the distance of time from the jubilee-year. But at whatever time it was redeemed, he was required to add to the redemption-price one-fifth (20 per cent.) of the estimated value. If he sold the land in the mean time, it might not then be redeemed at all, but was to go to the priests in the jubilee-year (ver. 20).

The purchaser of land, in case he devoted and also wished to redeem it, was required to pay a redemption-price according to the priestly valuation first mentioned, but without the additional fifth. In this case, however, the land was to revert in the jubilee to its original owner (Lev. xxvii. 16; 24, xxv. 27; Keil, *Hebr. Arch.* §66, 80).

The valuation here laid down is evidently based on the notion of annual value. Supposing land to require for seed about 3 bushels of barley per acre, the homer, at the rate of 32 pecks, or 8 bushels, would be sufficient for about 2½ or 3 acres. Fifty shekels, 25 ounces of silver, at five shillings the ounce, would give 6*l.* 5*s.*, and the yearly valuation would thus amount to about 2*l.* per acre.

The owner who wished to redeem, would thus be required to pay either an annual rent or a redemption-price answering to the number of years short of the jubilee, but deducting Sabbatical years (Lev. xxv. 3, 15, 16), and adding a fifth, or 20 per cent. in either case. Thus, if a man devoted an acre of land in the jubilee year, and redeemed it in the same year, he would pay a redemption price of 49 - 6 = 43 years' value, + 20 per cent. = 103*l.* 4*s.*, or an annual rent of 2*l.* 8*s.*; a rate by no means excessive when we consider, 1. the prospect of restoration in the jubilee; 2. the undoubted fertility of the soil, which even now, under all disadvantages, sometimes yields an hundredfold (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 297).

If he refused or was unable to redeem, either the next of kin (Goel) came forward, as he had liberty to do, or, if no redemption was effected, the land became the property of the priests (Lev. xxv. 25, xxvii. 21; Ruth iii. 12, iv. 1, &c.).

In the case of a house devoted, its value was to

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difficulty in the application of οἶνος and ὄξος to the same substance; but whether the *μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον* of St. Matthew can in any way be identified with the *ἡσμυρνισμένος* of Mark is doubtful. The term *χολή* may well have been applied to some soporific substance.

[a] נְדָרִים, from נָדַר, "to make vow" (Ges. 855). See also ANATHEMA.

be assessed by the priest, and a fifth added to the redemption price in case it was redeemed (Lev. xxvii. 15). Whether the rule held good regarding houses in walled cities, viz., that the liberty of redemption lasted only for one year, is not certain; but as it does not appear, that houses devoted but not redeemed became the property of the priests, and as the Levites and priests had special towns assigned to them, it seems likely that the price only of the house, and not the house itself, was made over to sacred uses, and thus that the act of consecration of a house means, in fact, the consecration of its value. The Mishna, however, says, that if a devoted house fell down, the owner was not liable to payment, but that he was liable if he had devoted the value of the house (*Eracin*, v. 5).

b. Animals fit for sacrifice, if devoted, were not to be redeemed or changed, and if a man attempted to do so, he was required to bring both the devotee and the changeling (Lev. xxvii. 9, 10, 33). They were to be free from blemish (Mal. i. 14). An animal unfit for sacrifice might be redeemed, with the addition to the priest's valuation of a fifth, or it became the property of the priests, Lev. xxvii. 12, 13. [OFFERING.]

c. The case of persons devoted stood thus: A man might devote either himself, his child (not the first-born), or his slave. If no redemption took place, the devoted person became a slave of the sanctuary—see the case of Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 8; Michaelis, §124, ii. 166, ed. Smith). [NAZARITE.] Otherwise he might be redeemed at a valuation according to age and sex, on the following scale (Lev. xxvii. 1-7):

	£.	s.	d.
A. 1. A male from one month to 5 years old, 5 shekels	= 0	12	6
2. From 5 years to 20 years, 20 shekels	= 2	10	0
3. From 20 years to 60 years, 50 shekels	= 6	5	0
4. Above 60 years, 15 shekels	= 1	17	6
B. 1. Females from one month to 5 years, 3 shekels	= 0	7	6
2. From 5 years to 20 years, 10 shekels	= 1	5	0
3. From 20 years to 60 years, 30 shekels	= 3	15	0
4. Above 60 years, 10 shekels	= 1	5	0

If the person were too poor to pay the redemption price, his value was to be estimated by the priest, not, as Michaelis says, the civil magistrate (Lev. xxvii. 8; Deut. xxi. 5; Mich. §145, ii. 283).

Among general regulations affecting vows, the following may be mentioned:—

1. Vows were entirely voluntary, but once made were regarded as compulsory, and evasion of performance of them was held to be contrary to true religion (Num. xxx. 2; Deut. xxiii. 21; Eccl. v. 4).

2. If persons in a dependent condition made vows, as (*a*) an unmarried daughter living in her father's house, or (*b*) a wife, even if she afterwards became a widow, the vow, if (*a*) in the first case her father, or (*b*) in the second, her husband heard and disallowed it, was void; but if they heard without disallowance, it was to remain good (Num. xxx. 3-16). Whether this principle extended to all children and to slaves is wholly uncertain, as no mention is made of them in Scripture, nor by Philo when he discusses the question (*de Spec. Leg.* 6, ii. 274, ed. Mangey). Michaelis thinks the omission of sons implies absence of power to control them (§83, i. 447).

3. Votive offerings arising from the produce of any impure traffic were wholly forbidden (Deut. xxiii. 18). A question has risen on this part of the subject as to the meaning of the word *celeb*, dog, which is understood to refer either to unnatural intercourse of the grossest kind, or literally and simply to the usual meaning of the word. The prohibition against dedication to sacred uses of gain obtained by female prostitution was doubtless directed against the practice which prevailed in Phoenicia, Babylonia, and Syria, of which mention is made in Lev. xix. 29; Baruch vi. 43; Herod. i. 199; Strabo, p. 561; August. *de civ. Dei*, iv. 10, and other authorities quoted by Spencer, (*de leg. Hebr.* ii. 35, p. 566). Following out this view, and bearing in mind the mention made in 2 K. xxiii. 7, of a practice evidently connected with idolatrous worship, the word *celeb* has been sometimes rendered *cinaedus*; some have understood it to refer to the first-born, but Spencer himself, ii. 35, p. 572; Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8, §9; Gesen. ii. 685, and the Mishna, *Temurah*, vi. 3, all understand dog in the literal sense. [DOG.]

II., III. For vows of abstinence, see CORBAN; and for vows of extermination, ANATHEMA, and Ezr. x. 8; Mic. iv. 13.

Vows in general and their binding force as a test of religion are mentioned—Job xxii. 27; Prov. vii. 14; Ps. xxii. 25, l. 14, lvi. 12, lxvi. 13, cxvi. 14; Is. xix. 21; Nah. i. 15.

Certain refinements on votive consecrations are noticed in the Mishna, *e.g.*:

1. No evasion of a vow was to be allowed which substituted a part for the whole, as, "I vowed a sheep but not the bones" (*Nedar.* ii. 5).

2. A man devoting an ox or a house, was not liable if the ox was lost, or the house fell down; but otherwise, if he had devoted the value of the one or the other of these.

3. No devotions might be made within two years before the jubilee, nor redemptions within the year following it. If a son redeemed his father's land, he was to restore it to him in the jubilee (*Erac.* vii. 3).

4. A man might devote some of his flock, herd, and heathen slaves, but not all these (*ibid.* viii. 4).

5. Devotions by priests were not redeemable, but were transferred to other priests (*ib.* 6).

6. A man who vowed not to sleep on a bed, might sleep on a skin if he pleased (Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* p. 673).

7. The sums of money arising from votive consecrations were divided into two parts, sacred (1) to the altar; (2) to the repairs of the Temple (Reland, *Ant.* c. x. §4).

It seems that the practice of shaving the head at the expiration of a votive period, was not limited to the Nazaritic vow (Acts xviii. 18, xxi. 24).

The practice of vows in the Christian Church, though evidently not forbidden, as the instance just quoted serves to show, does not come within the scope of the present article (see Bingham, *Antiq.* xvi. 7, 9, and Suicer, εὐχή). [H. W. P.]

VULGATE, THE. (LATIN VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.) The influence which the Latin Versions of the Bible have exercised upon Western Christianity is scarcely less than that of the LXX. upon the Greek Churches. But both the Greek and the Latin Vulgates have been long neglected. The revival of letters, bringing with it the study of the original texts of Holy Scripture, checked for a time the study of these two great bulwarks of the Greek and Latin Churches, for the LXX. in fact belongs rather to the history of Christianity than to the history of Judaism, and, in spite of recent labours, their importance is even now hardly recog-

used. In the case of the Vulgate, ecclesiastical controversies have still further impeded all efforts of liberal criticism. The Romanist (till lately) regarded the Clementine text as fixed beyond appeal; the Protestant shrank from examining a subject which seemed to belong peculiarly to the Romanist. Yet, apart from all polemical questions, the Vulgate should have a very deep interest for all the Western Churches. For many centuries it was the only Bible generally used; and, directly or indirectly, it is the real parent of all the vernacular versions of Western Europe. The Gothic Version of Ulphilas alone is independent of it, for the Slavonic and modern Russian versions are necessarily not taken into account. With England it has a peculiarly close connexion. The earliest translations made from it were the (lost) books of Bede, and the Glosses on the Psalms and Gospels of the 8th and 9th centuries (ed. Thorpe, Lond. 1835, 1842). In the 10th century Aelfric translated considerable portions of the O. T. (*Heptateuchus*, &c., ed. Thwaites, Oxon. 1698). But the most important monument of its influence is the great English Version of Wiclif (1324-1384, ed. Forshall and Madden, Oxfd. 1850), which is a literal rendering of the current Vulgate text. In the age of the Reformation the Vulgate was rather the guide than the source of the popular versions. The Romanist translations into German (Michaelis, ed. Marsh, ii. 107), French, Italian, and Spanish, were naturally derived from the Vulgate (R. Simon, *Hist. Crit. N. T.* Cap. 28, 29, 40, 41). Of others, that of Luther (N. T. in 1523) was the most important, and in this the Vulgate had great weight, though it was made with such use of the originals as was possible. From Luther the influence of the Latin passed to our own Authorised Version. Tyndale had spent some time abroad, and was acquainted with Luther before he published his version of the N. T. in 1526. Tyndale's version of the O. T., which was unfinished at the time of his martyrdom (1536), was completed by Coverdale, and in this the influence of the Latin and German translations was predominant. A proof of this remains in the Psalter of the Prayer Book, which was taken from the "Great English Bible" (1539, 1540), which was merely a new edition of that called Matthew's, which was itself taken from Tyndale and Coverdale. This version of the Psalms follows the Gallican Psalter, a revision of the Old Latin, made by Jerome, and afterwards introduced into his new translation (comp. §22), and differs in many respects from the Hebrew text (*e. g.* Ps. xiv.). It would be out of place to follow this question into detail here. It is enough to remember that the first translators of our Bible had been familiarised with the Vulgate from their youth, and could not have cast off the influence of early association. But the claims of the Vulgate to the attention of scholars rest on wider grounds. It is not only the source of our current theological terminology, but it is, in one shape or other, the most important early witness to the text and interpretation of the whole Bible. The materials available for the accurate study of it are unfortunately at present as scanty as those yet unexamined are rich and varied (comp. § 30). The chief original works bearing on the Vulgate generally are—

R. Simon, *Histoire Critique du V. T.* 1678-85: *N. T.* 1689-93.

Hody, *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus*, Oxon 1705.

Martianay, *Hieron. Opp.* (Paris, 1693, with the prefaces and additions of Vallarsi, Verona, 1734, and Maffei, Venice, 1767).

Bianchini (*Blanchinus* not *Blanchini*), *Vindiciae Canon. SS. Vulg. Lat. Edit.* Romae, 1740.

Bukentop, *Lux de Luce* . . . Bruxellis, 1710.

Sabatier, *Bibl. SS. Lat. Vers. Ant.*, Remis, 1743.

Van Ess, *Pragmatisch-kritische Gesch. d. Vulg.* Tübingen, 1824.

Vercellone, *Variae Lectiones Vulg. Lat. Bibliorum*, tom. i., Romae, 1860; tom. ii., pars prior, 1862.

In addition to these there are the controversial works of Mariana, Bellarmin, Whitaker, Fulke, &c., and numerous essays by Calmet, D. Schulz, Fleck, Riegler, &c., and in the N. T. the labours of Bentley, Sanftl, Griesbach, Schulz, Lachmann, Tregelles, and Tischendorf, have collected a great amount of critical materials. But it is not too much to say that the noble work of Vercellone has made an epoch in the study of the Vulgate, and the chief results which follow from the first instalment of his collations are here for the first time incorporated in its history. The subject will be treated under the following heads:—

I. The Origin and History of the name Vulgate. §§ 1-3.

II. The Old Latin Versions. §§4-13. *Origin*, 4-5. *Character*, 6. *Canon*, 7. *Revisions*: Itala, 8-11. *Remains*, 12-13.

III. The Labours of Jerome. §§ 14-20. *Occasion*, 14. Revision of Old Latin of N. T., 15-17. *Gospels*, 15-16. *Acts, Epistles*, &c., 17. Revision of O. T. from the LXX., 18, 19. Translation of O. T. from the Hebrew, 20.

IV. The History of Jerome's Translation to the Introduction of Printing. §§ 21-24. *Corruption of Jerome's text*, 21-22. Revision of Alcuin, 23. *Later revisions: divisions of the text*, 24.

V. The History of the Printed Text. §§ 25-29. *Early editions*, 25. The Sixtine and Clementine Vulgates, 26. *Their relative merits*, 27. *Later editions*, 28, 29.

VI. The Materials for the Revision of Jerome's Text. §§ 30-32. *MSS. of O. T.*, 30, 31. *Of N. T.*, 32.

VII. The Critical Value of the Latin Versions. §§ 33-39. *In O. T.*, 33. *In N. T.*, 34-38. Jerome's Revision, 34-36. *The Old Latin*, 37. *Interpretation*, 39.

VIII. The Language of the Latin Versions. §§ 40-45. *Provincialisms*, 41, 42. *Graecisms*, 43. *Influence on Modern Language*, 45.

I. The Origin and History of the name Vulgate.—1. The name *Vulgate*, which is equivalent to *Vulgata editio* (the *current* text of Holy Scripture), has necessarily been used differently in various ages of the Church. There can be no doubt that the phrase originally answered to the κοινὴ ἔκδοσις of the Greek Scriptures. In this sense it is used constantly by Jerome in his Commentaries, and his language explains sufficiently the origin of the term: "Hoc juxta LXX. interpretes diximus, quorum *editio toto orbe vulgata est*" (Hieron. *Comm. in Is.* lxv. 20). "Multum in hoc loco LXX. editio Hebraicumque discordant. Primum ergo *de Vulgata editione* tractabimus et postea sequemur ordinem veritatis" (id. xxx. 22). In some places Jerome distinctly quotes the Greek

text: "Porro in editione Vulgata dupliciter legimus; quidam enim codices habent δῆλοί εἰσιν, hoc est *manifesti sunt*: alii δειλαῖοί εἰσιν, hoc est *meticulosi* sive *miseri sunt*" (*Comm. in Osee*, vii. 13; comp. 8-11, &c.). But generally he regards the Old Latin, which was rendered from the LXX., as substantially identical with it, and thus introduces Latin quotations under the name of the LXX. or *Vulgata editio*: "... miror quomodo *vulgata editio* ... testimonium alia interpretatione subverterit: *Congregabor et glorificabor coram Domino*. ... Illud autem quod in LXX. legitur: Congregabor et glorificabor coram Domino ..." (*Comm. in Is.* xlix. 5). So again: "Philisthaeos ... *alienigenas* Vulgata scribit editio" (ib. xiv. 29). "... Palaestinis, quos indifferenter LXX. *alienigenas* vocant" (*in Ezek.* xvi. 27). In this way the transference of the name from the current Greek text to the current Latin text became easy and natural; but there does not appear to be any instance in the age of Jerome of the application of the term to the Latin Version of the O. T. without regard to its derivation from the LXX., or to that of the N. T.

2. Yet more: as the phrase κοινὴ ἔκδοσις came to signify an uncorrected (and so corrupt) text, the same secondary meaning was attached to *vulgata editio*. Thus in some places the *vulgata editio* stands in contrast with the true Hexaplaric text of the LXX. One passage will place this in the clearest light: "... breviter admoneo aliam esse editionem quam Origenes et Caesariensis Eusebius, omnesque Graeciae translatores κοινὴν, id est, *communem* appellant, atque *vulgatam*, et a plerisque nunc Λουκιανὸς dicitur; aliam LXX. interpretum quae in ἑξαπλοῖς codicibus reperitur, et a nobis in Latinum sermonem fideliter versa est ... Κοινὴ autem ista, hoc est, *Communis editio*, ipsa est quae et LXX., sed hoc interest inter utramque, quod κοινὴ pro locis et temporibus et pro voluntate scriptorum vetus corrupta editio est; ea autem quae habetur in ἑξαπλοῖς et quam nos vertimus, ipsa est quae in eruditorum libris incorrupta et immaculata LXX. interpretum translatio reservatur" (Ep. cvi. *ad Sun. et Fret.* § 2).

3. This use of the phrase *Vulgata editio* to describe the LXX. (and the Latin Version of the LXX.) was continued to later times. It is supported by the authority of Augustine, Ado of Vienne (A.D. 860), R. Bacon, &c.; and Bellarmin distinctly recognizes the application of the term, so that Van Ess is justified in saying that the Council of Trent erred in a point of history when they described Jerome's Version as "vetus et vulgata editio, quae longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est" (Van Ess, *Gesch.* 34). As a general rule, the Latin Fathers speak of Jerome's Version as "our" Version (*nostra editio, nostri codices*); but it was not unnatural that the Tridentine Fathers (as many later scholars) should be misled by the associations of their own time, and adapt to new circumstances terms which had grown obsolete in their original sense. And when the difference of the (Greek) "Vulgate" of the early Church, and the (Latin) "Vulgate" of the modern Roman Church has once been apprehended, no further difficulty need arise from the identity of name. (Compare Augustine, *Ed. Benedict.* Paris 1836, tom. V. p. xxxiii.; Sabatier, i. 792; Van Ess, *Gesch.* 24-42, who gives very full and conclusive references, though he fails to perceive that the *Old Latin* was practically identified with the LXX.)

II. THE OLD LATIN VERSIONS.—4. The history of the earliest Latin Version of the Bible is lost in complete obscurity. All that can be affirmed with certainty is that it was made in Africa.[a] During the first two centuries the Church of Rome, to which we naturally look for the source of the version now identified with it, was essentially Greek. The Roman bishops bear Greek names; the earliest Roman liturgy was Greek; the few remains of the Christian literature of Rome are Greek.[b] The same remark holds true of Gaul (comp. Westcott, *Hist. of Canon of N. T.* pp. 269, 270, and reff.); but the Church of N. Africa seems to have been Latin-speaking from the first. At what date this Church was founded is uncertain. A passage of Augustine (*c. Donat. Ep.* 37) seems to imply that Africa was converted late; but if so, the Gospel spread there with remarkable rapidity. At the end of the second century Christians were found in every rank, and in every place; and the master-spirit of Tertullian, the first of the Latin Fathers, was then raised up to give utterance to the passionate thoughts of his native Church. It is therefore from Tertullian that we must seek the earliest testimony to the existence and character of the *Old Latin* (*Vetus Latina*).

5. On the first point the evidence of TERTULLIAN, if candidly examined, is decisive. He distinctly recognizes the general currency of a Latin Version of the N. T., though not necessarily of every book at present included in the Canon, which even in his time had been able to mould the popular language (*adv. Prax.* 5: In usu est nostrorum per simplicitatem interpretationis ... *De Monog.* 11: Sciamus plane non sic esse in Graeco authentico quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem eversionem ...). This was characterized by a "rudeness" and "simplicity," which seems to point to the nature of its origin. In the words of Augustine (*De doctr. Christ.* ii. 16 (11)), "any one in the first ages of Christianity who gained possession of a Greek MS., and fancied that he had a fair knowledge of Greek and Latin, ventured to translate it." (Qui scripturas ex Hebraea lingua in Graecam verterunt numerari possunt; Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuivis primis fidei temporibus in manus venit Codex Graecus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari.)[c] Thus the version of the N. T. appears to have arisen from individual and successive efforts; but it does not follow by any means that numerous versions were simultaneously circulated, or that the several parts of the version were made independently.[d] Even if it

[a] This has been established with the greatest fulness by Card. Wiseman, *Two Letters on 1 John* v. 7, addressed to the editor of the *Catholic Magazine*, 1832-3; republished with additions, Rome, 1835; and again in his collected *Essays*, vol. i. 1853. Eichhorn and Hug had maintained the same opinion; and Lachmann has further confirmed it (*N. T.* i. *Praef.*).

[b] In the absence of all evidence it is impossible to say how far the Christians of the Italian provinces used the Greek or Latin language habitually.

[c] Card. Wiseman has shown (*Essays*, i. 24, 25) that "interpretor" and "verto" *may* be used of a revision; but in connexion with *primis fidei temporibus* they seem certainly to describe the origin of the Version.

[d] It would be out of place here to point out minute differences in rendering which show that the translation was the work of different hands. Mill (*Prolegg.* 521 ff.) has made some interesting collections to establish this result, but he places too much reliance on the version of D_1 (Cod. Bezae).

had been so, the exigencies of the public service must soon have given definiteness and substantial unity to the fragmentary labours of individuals. The work of private hands would necessarily be subject to revision for ecclesiastical use. The separate books would be united in a volume; and thus a standard text of the whole collection would be established. With regard to the O. T. the case is less clear. It is probable that the Jews who were settled in N. Africa were confined to the Greek towns; otherwise it might be supposed that the Latin Version of the O. T. is in part anterior to the Christian era, and that (as in the case of Greek) a preparation for a Christian Latin dialect was already made when the Gospel was introduced into Africa. However this may have been, the substantial similarity of the different parts of the Old and New Testaments establishes a real connexion between them, and justifies the belief that there was one popular Latin version of the Bible current in Africa in the last quarter of the second century. Many words which are either Greek (machaera, sophia, perizoma, poderis, agonizo, &c.) or literal translations of Greek forms (vivifico, justifico, &c.) abound in both, and explain what Tertullian meant when he spoke of the "simplicity" of the translation (compare below § 43).

6. The exact literality of the Old Version was not confined to the most minute observance of order and the accurate reflection of the words of the original: in many cases the very forms of Greek construction were retained in violation of Latin usage. A few examples of these singular anomalies will convey a better idea of the absolute certainty with which the Latin commonly indicates the text which the translator had before him, than any general statements: Matt. iv. 13, habitavit in Capharnaum *maritimam*; *id.* 15, terra Neptalim *viam* maris; *id.* 25, ab Jerosolymis . . . et trans Jordanem; v. 22, reus erit *in gehennam* ignis; vi. 19, ubi tinea et *comestura* exterminat. Mark xii. 31, *majus horum praeceptorum* aliud non est. Luke x. 19, nihil *vos* nocebit. Acts xix. 26, non solum Ephesi sed paene *totius Asiae*. Rom. ii. 15, inter se *cogitationum accusantium* vel etiam defendentium. 1 Cor. vii. 32, sollicitus est quae sunt Domini. It is obvious that there was a continual tendency to alter expressions like these, and in the first age of the Version it is not improbable that the continual Graecism which marks the Latin texts of D_1 (*Cod. Bezae*), and E_2 (*Cod. Laud.*), had a wider currency than it could maintain afterwards.

7. With regard to the African Canon of the N. T. the old Version offers important evidence. From considerations of style and language it seems certain that the Epistle to the Hebrews, James, and 2 Peter, did not form part of the original African Version, a conclusion which falls in with that which is derived from historical testimony (comp. *The Hist. of the Canon of the N. T.* p. 282 ff.). In the O. T., on the other hand, the Old Latin erred by excess and not by defect; for as the Version was made from the current copies of the LXX., it included the Apocryphal books which are commonly contained in them, and to these 2 Esdras was early added.

8. After the translation once received a definite shape in Africa, which could not have been long after the middle of the second century, it was not publicly revised. The old text was jealously guarded by ecclesiastical use, and was retained there at a time when Jerome's version was elsewhere almost universally received. The well-known story of the disturbance caused by the attempt of an African bishop to introduce Jerome's "*cucurbita*" for the old "*hedera*" in the history of Jonah (August. *Ep.* civ. ap. Hieron. *Epp.*, quoted by Tregelles, *Introduction*, p. 242) shows how carefully intentional changes were avoided. But at the same time the text suffered by the natural corruptions of copying, especially by interpolations, a form of error to which the Gospels were particularly exposed (comp. § 15). In the O. T. the version was made from the unrevised edition of the LXX., and thus from the first included many false readings, of which Jerome often notices instances (*e. g.* Ep. cvi. *ad Sun. et Fret.*). In Table A two texts of the *Old Latin* are placed for comparison with the Vulgate of Jerome.

TABLE A. DAN. ix. 4-8.*

Cod. Wirceb.	August. *Ep.* cxi. *ad Victor.*	*Vulgata nova.*
Precatus sum Dominum Deum meum et dixi: Domine Deus, magne et mirabilis,	Precatus sum Dominum Deum meum, *et confessus sum* et dixi: Domine Deus, magne et mirabilis,	*Oravi* Dominum Deum meum,[1] et confessus sum[2] et dixi: *Obsecro* Domine Deus, magne et *terribilis*,
qui servas testamentum tuum, et misericordiam diligentibus te, et servantibus praecepta tua: Peccavimus, fecimus *injurias*, *nocuimus* et declinavimus	*et* qui servas testamentum tuum, et misericordiam diligentibus te, et servantibus praecepta tua: Peccavimus, *adversus legem* fecimus, *impie egimus et recessimus* et declinavimus	*custodiens pactum*, et misericordiam diligentibus te, et *custodientibus mandata* tua: Peccavimus, *iniquitatem*[3] fecimus, impie egimus, et recessimus et declinavimus
a praeceptis tuis et a judiciis tuis, et non exaudivimus servos tuos prophetas, qui loquebantur *ad* reges nostros,	a praeceptis tuis et a judiciis tuis, et non exaudivimus servos tuos prophetas, qui loquebantur *in nomine tuo* ad reges nostros,	a *mandatis* tuis *ac* judiciis. Non *obedivimus* servis tuis prophetis, qui *locuti sunt* in nomine tuo *regibus* nostris,
et ad omnes *populos* terrae. Tibi, Domine, justitia: nobis autem, *et fratribus nostris*, confusio faciei; Sicut dies hic viro *Judae* et *inhabitantibus* Hierusalem, et omni Israel, qui proximi sunt et qui longe sunt, in qua eos disseminasti ibi,	et ad omnem *populum* terrae. Tibi, Domine, justitia: nobis autem confusio faciei; Sicut dies hic viro *Juda*, et *habitantibus* Jerusalem, et omni Israel, qui proximi sunt et qui longe sunt, *in omni terra* in qua eos dissemi-nasti ibi,	principibus nostris, patribus nostris, *omnique populo* terrae. Tibi, Domine, justitia: nobis autem[4] confusio faciei; Sicut *est hodie* viro Juda[5] et *habitatoribus* Jerusalem, et omni Israel, *his qui prope* sunt, et *his* qui *procul*, *in universis terris* ad quas ejecisti eos
contumacia eorum, qua *exprobaverunt* tibi, Domine.	*propter* contumaciam eorum, quia *improbaverunt* te, Domine.	propter *iniquitates* eorum, *in quibus peccaverunt in* te.

* The differences in the two first columns are marked by italics. The italics in col. 3 mark where the text of Jerome differs from both the other texts.

[1] m. *om.* Tol. [2] et c. s. *om.* Tol. [3] inique, Tol. [4] a. *om.* Tol. [5] Judae. Tol.

9. The Latin translator of Irenaeus was probably contemporary with Tertullian,[f] and his renderings of the quotations from Scripture confirm the conclusions which have been already drawn as to the currency of (substantially) one Latin version. It does not appear that he had a Latin MS. before him during the execution of his work, but he was so familiar with the common translation that he reproduces continually characteristic phrases which he cannot be supposed to have derived from any other source (Lachmann, *N. T.* i. pp. x. xi.). CYPRIAN († A.D. 257) carries on the chain of testimony far through the next century; and he is followed by Lactantius, Juvencus, J. Firmicus Maternus, HILARY the deacon (Ambrosiaster), HILARY of Poitiers († A.D. 449), and LUCIFER of Cagliari († A.D. 370). Ambrose and Augustine exhibit a peculiar recension of the same text, and Jerome offers some traces of it. From this date MSS. of parts of the African text have been preserved (§12), and it is unnecessary to trace the history of its transmission to a later time.

10. But while the earliest Latin Version was preserved generally unchanged in N. Africa, it fared differently in Italy. There the provincial rudeness of the version was necessarily more offensive, and the comparative familiarity of the leading bishops with the Greek texts made a revision at once more feasible and less startling to their congregations. Thus in the fourth century a definite ecclesiastical recension (of the Gospels at least) appears to have been made in N. Italy by reference to the Greek, which was distinguished by the name of *Itala*. This Augustine recommends on the ground of its close accuracy and its perspicuity (Aug. *De Doctr. Christ.* 15, in ipsis interpretationibus Italas caeteris praeferatur, nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiae), and the text of the Gospels which he follows is marked by the latter characteristic when compared with the African. In the other books the difference cannot be traced with accuracy; and it has not yet been accurately determined whether other national recensions may not have existed (as seems certain from the evidence which the writer has collected) in Ireland (Britain), Gaul, and Spain.

11. The *Itala* appears to have been made in some degree with authority: other revisions were made for private use, in which such changes were introduced as suited the taste of scribe or critic. The next stage in the deterioration of the text was the intermixture of these various revisions; so that at the close of the fourth century the Gospels were in such a state as to call for that final recension which was made by Jerome. What was the nature of this confusion will be seen from the accompanying tables (B and C, on opposite page) more clearly than from a lengthened description.

12. The MSS. of the Old Latin which have been preserved exhibit the various forms of that version which have been already noticed. Those of the Gospels, for the reason which has been given, present the different types of text with unmistakeable clearness. In the O. T. the MS. remains are too scanty to allow of a satisfactory classification.

i. MSS. of the *Old Latin* Version of the O. T.
1. Fragments of Gen. (xxxvii., xxxviii., xli., xlvi., xlviii.–l., parts) and Ex. (x., xi., xvi., xvii., xxiii.–xxvii., parts) from Cod. E (§30) of the Vulgate: Vercellone, i. pp. 183-4, 307-10.
2. Fragments (scattered verses) of the Pentateuch: Münter, *Miscell. Hafn.* 1821, pp. 89-95.
3. Fragments (scattered verses of 1, 2 Sam. and 1, 2 Kings, and the Canticles), given by Sabatier.
4. Corbei. 7, Saec. xiii. (Sabatier), Esther.
5. Pechianus (Sabatier), Fragm. Esther.
6. Orat. (Sabatier), Esther i.–iii.
7. Majoris Monast. Saec. xii. (Martianay, Sabatier), Job.
8. Sangerm. Psalt. Saec. vii. (Sabatier).
9. Fragments of Jeremiah (xiv.–xli., detached verses), Ezekiel (xl.–xlviii., detached fragments), Daniel (iii. 15-23, 33-50, viii., xi., fragments), Hosea (ii.–vi., fragments), from a palimpsest MS. at Würzburg (Saec. vi., vii.): Münter, *Miscell. Hafn.* 1821.
11. Fragmenta Hos. Am. Mich. . . . . ed. E. Ranke, 1858, &c. (This book the writer has not seen.)
12. Bodl. *Auct.* F. 4, 32. Fragments of Deuteronomy and the Prophets, "Graece et Latine litteris Saxonicis," Saec. viii. ix.[h]

ii. MSS. of the Apocryphal books.
1. Reg. 3564, Saec. ix. (Sabatier), Tob. and Jud.
2, 3. Sangerm. 4, 15, Saec. ix. (Sabatier), Tob. and Jud.
4. Vatic. (Reg. Suec.), Saec. vii., Tob.
5. Corbei. 7 (Sabatier), Jud.
6. Pechian. (Sabatier), Saec. x., Jud.

The text of the remaining books of the *Vetus Latina* not having been revised by Jerome is retained in MSS. of the Vulgate.

iii. MSS. of the N. T.
(1.) Of the Gospels.
African (*i. e.* unrevised) text.
a. Cod. Vercellensis, at Vercelli, written by Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli in the 4th cent. Published by Irici, 1748, and Bianchini, *Ev. Quadr.* 1749.
b. Cod. Veronensis, at Verona, of the 4th or 5th cent. Published by Bianchini (as above).
c. Ccd. Colbertinus, in Bibl. Imp. at Paris, of the 11th cent. Published by Sabatier, *Versiones antiquae.*

[f] It should be added that Dodwell places him much later, at the close of the 4th cent. Comp. Grabe, *Prolegg. ad Iren.* ii. § 3.

[g] It is unnecessary now to examine the conjectures which have been proposed, *usitata-quae, illa-quae.* They were made at a time when the history of the Old Latin was unknown.

[h] To these must probably be added the MSS. of Genesis and the Psalter in the possession of Lord Ashburnham, said to be "of the fourth century."

The text of the Oxford MS. (No. 12) is extremely interesting, and offers many coincidences with the earliest African readings. The passages contained in it are (α) Deut. xxxi. 7; 24-30; xxxii. 1-4. (β) Hos. ii. 18 *a*; iv. 1-3 *a*; 9 *a*; vi. 1 *b*, 2; 16; x. 12 *a*; xii. 6; viii. 3, 4 Amos iii. 8; v. 3; 14. Mich. iii. 2; iv. 1, 2; 5 (part); v. 2; vi. 8; vii. 6, 7. Joel iii. 18. Obad. 15. Jon. i. 8 *b*, 9. Nah. iii. 13. Hab. ii. 4 *b*; iii. 3. Zephan. i. 14-16; 18 (part). Agg. ii. 7, 8. Zech. i. 4 (part); viii. 16, 17, 19 *b* ix. 9; xiii. 5; 7. Mal. i. 6 (part), 10 *b*, 11; ii. 7; iii. 1 Zech. ii. 8 *b*; Mal. iv. 2, 13; 5, 6 *a*. (γ) Gen. i. 1-ii. 3; Ex xiv. 24-xv. 2; Is. iv. 1-v. 7; lv. 1-5; Ps xii. 1-4; Gen xxii. 1-19.

amputa illum:
bonum est tibi clodum introire
in vitam *aeternam*,
quam duos pedes habentem
mitti in gehennam,
ubi ignis est inextinctibilis,
ubi *vermis* eorum non *morietur*,
et ignis *eorum* non *extinguetur*,
Et si oculus scandalizat te,
exime illum:
bonum est tibi *luscum* introire
in regnum Dei

quam duos oculos habentem
mitti in gehennam,
ubi *vermes eorum* non *morientur*,
et ignis non *extinguetur*.

Omnis hostia insalabitur,
et bonum est sal;
quodsi sal *insulsum* fuerit,
in quo *illut condietis?*
Habete in vobis *salem*,
et pacem habete *inter vos*.

amputa illum:
bonum tibi est claudum introire
in vitam *aeternam*,
quam duos pedes habentem
mitti in gehennam,
[*entur*.
ubi *vermes* eorum non *mori*-
et ignis *eorum* non *extinguetur*,
Quod si oculus *tuus* scandalizat
exime illum: [te,
bonum est tibi *luscum* introire
in regnum Dei,

quam duos oculos habentem
mitti in gehennam,
ubi *vermes eorum* non *mori-*
entur,
et iguis *eorum* non *extinguetur*.

Omnis enim victima sale sa-
Bonum est sal: [*lietur*.
quodsi sal *insulsum* fuerit,
in quo *illut condietis?*
Habete in vobis *salem*,
et pacem habete *inter vos*.

amputa illum a te:
bonum *enim* est tibi claudum
introire in vitam *aeternam*,
quam duos pedes habentem,
mitti in gehennam
ignis inextinguibilis,
ubi *vermis* eorura non *morietur*.
et ignis *eorum* non *exstinguetur*,
Quodsi oculus *tuus* scandalizat
exime eum a te: [te,
bonum *enim* est tibi *luscum* in-
troire in regnum Dei,

quam duos oculos habentem
introire in gehennam,
ubi ignis non *exstinguetur*,

et *vermis* non *morietur*.

Omnis enim victima salietur;
quod si sal *infatuatum* fuerit,
in quo *illum condies?*
Habete in vobis *sal*,
et pacem habete *in vobis*.

bonum est tibi claudum introire
in vitam
quam duos pedes habentem
mitti in gehennam,
ignis inextinguibilem;
ubi *vermis* eorum non *moritur*,
et ignis non *extinguitur*.
Quodsi oculus *tuus* scandalizat
eice eum. [te
Bonum est tibi *unum oculum*
habentem introire in regnum
Dei,
quam duos oculos habentem
mitti in gehennam *ignis*
ubi *vermis eorum* non *moritur*,

et ignis non *extinguitur*.
Omnis enim igne salietur,
et omne sacrificium sale sali-
Bonum est sal; [*etur*.
quodsi sal *insulum* fuerit,
in quo *condietur?*
Habete in vobis *salem*,
et pacem habete *inter vos*.

bonum est tibi claudum introire
in vitam *aeternam*
quam duos pedes habentem
mitti in gehennam
ignis inextinguibilis,
ubi *vermis* eorum non *moritur*,
et ignis non *extinguitur*.
Quod si oculus *tuus* scandalizat
eice eum: [te
bonum est tibi *luscum* introire
in regnum Dei,

quam duos oculos habentem
mitti in gehennam *ignis*
ubi *vermis eorum* non *moritur*

et ignis non *extinguitur*.
Omnis enim igne saltietur
et omnis victima saltietur.
Bonum est sal: [*mitte*
Set si *sals fatum* fuer.
in *quod* illut condistis?
Habetis in vobis *panem*.
Pacati estote in illa invicem.

bonum est tibi clodum *mittere*
ad vitam
quam duos pedes habentem
mitti in gehennam.

Et si oculus *te scandalizaverit*

exime eum:
melius est tibi *quacumque parte*
corporis debilem introire *in*
regnum Dei
quam *integrum*
in *gehenna incidere*
ubi *ubi*

ignis non *extinguetur*
et *verum in quo oritur*
omnia autem substantia corru-
Bonum est sal [*mitte*
Set si *sals fatum* fuer.
in *quod* illut condistis?
Habetis in vobis *panem*.
Pacati estote in illa invicem.

* Vienna *Jahrbuch*, 1847-8 Some of the grosser errors are corrected in the MS.; e. g. *habete* for *habetis*; *salem* for *panem*. *Condistis* is surely an error of the press for *condietis*.

TABLE C. JOHN v.

Harl. 1775.

Post haec erat dies festus Judaeorum
et ascendit Ihs *Hierosolymis*
Est *autem* Hierosolymis
probatica piscina
quae cognominatur *Hebraice Bethzeta* *
quinque porticus habens
in his jacebat multitudo magna
languentium caecorum claudorum
aridorum expectantium
aquae motum

Erat autem *quidam homo ibi*
xxx octo annos habens
in infirmitate sua
hunc cum vidisset Ihs jacentem
et cognovisset quia *multum jam tempus*
haberet * dicit ei
Vis sanus fieri? [1]

Egerton 609 (mm).

Post hac erat dies festus Judaeorum
et ascendit Ihs *Hierosolemis*
Est *autem* in Hierusolemis
super probatica piscina
aquae cognominatur *Hebreice Bethsaida*
v porticos habens
In his *enim* jacebat multitudo magna
languentium caecorum claudorum
aridorum expectantium
aquae motum
Angelus autem *Dni* secundum tempus
discendebat in piscinam
et *movebat aquam*
et quicumque prius discenderet
in natatoria post *motionem* aquae
sanus fiebat *quacunque teneretur in-*
firmitate

Erat autem *ibi homo*
xxxta *et* viii annos habens
infirmitate sua
Hunc cum vidisset Ihs jacentem
et cognovisset quia *jam multum* tem-
pus *haberet* dicit ei
Vis sanus fieri?

Harl. 1023 (Irish).

Post haec *erat dies* festus Judaeorum
et ascendit Ihs *Hierosolimis*
Est *autem* Hierosolimis
super probatica piscina
quae cognominatur *Ebreice Bethsaida*
v porticos habens
In his jacebat *multitudo magna*
langentium caecorum claudorum
aridorum *paraliticorum* expectan-
tium aquae motum
Angelus autem *Dni* secundum tempus
lavabatur * *in natatoria*
et *movebatur aqua*
quicumque ergo prior discendisset
in natatoria post *motiones* aquae
sanus fiebat *a longore quocumque*
tenebatur

Erat autem *homo quidam ibi*
xxxviii annos habens
in infirmitate sua
Hunc cum vidisset Ihs *jacebat* *
et cognovisset quia *multum jam* tem-
pus *habet* dicit ei *Ihs*
Vis sanus fieri? [2]

Cambr. Kk. 1. 24.

Post haec erat dies festus Judaeorum
et ascendit Ihs *hierusolimis*

super probatica piscina
quae cognominatur† *HebreicaeBethsaida*
quinque porticos habens
in his jacebat multitudo magna
lugentium caecorum claudorum
aridorum *paraliticorum* expectan-
tium aquae motum
Angelus autem secundum tempus
lavabatur in natatoria
et *movebatur aqua*
Quicumque ergo prior discendisset
in natatoria post *motationem* aquae
sanus fiebat *a languore quocumque*
detenebatur **hoc in graecis exempla-*
ribus non habetur *
Erat autem *quidam homo ibi*
xxxviii annos habens
in infirmitate sua
Hunc cum vidisset Ihs jacentem
et cognovisset quia *multum jam* tem-
pus *habet* dicit ei
Vis sanus fieri?

Cambr. Ii. 6. 32.

Post haec erat dies festus Judeorum
et ascendit Ihs *hierosolimis*
est hierusolimis
super probatica piscina
quae cognominatur *Ebreice Bedsaida*
quinque porticus habens
in his jacebat multitudo magna
languentium caecorum claudorum
aridorum expectantium
aquae motum
Angelus autem *Dni* secundum tempus
discendebat in piscinam
et *movebat aquam*
quique ergo prius discendisset
post *motionem* aquae
sanus fiebat *a languore quocumque*
tenebatur.

Erat autem *ibi homo quidam*
annos habens
in infirmitate sua
hunc cum vidisset Ihs jacentem
et cognovisset quia *multum jam* tem-
pus *habet* dicit ei
Vis sanus fieri?

[1] Variations of B. M. *Addit.* 9381:—*Hierosolimam. aebraicae bethsaida.* Angelus autem Dni secundum temp; descendebat in piscinam et movebatur aqua *et sanabatur unus.* Et qui prior descendisset in piscinam post motionem aquae sanus fiebat a quacumque tenebatur infirmitate. *triginta et octo. imf.*

Variations of Harl. 1802 (Irish):—*dies erat. Hierusolimis* (bis). *mult. langu. magna. discen debat in pisc. et movebat aquam. qui e. prius. natatoriam. sanus f. post motum aquae a quoc. t. ten. ibi h. quidam.* om. *in. jacentem. j. m. tempus.* Variations of *Hereford* Gospels (Anglo-Saxon): *Judeorum, in hirusolimis. e. a. in hirus. aebreicae Bethzaida. languentium. cec. ang. autem disc. et movebatur aqua* (om. *Dni*, etc.). *et quic. p. discendebat.* om. *post. mot. a. quac. teneb infirm.* xxx. et viii. *hab. ann. audisset. iam m.* om *ihs*

d. Cod. Claromontanus, in the Vatican Libr., of the 4th or 5th cent. It contains a great part of St. Matthew, and is mainly African in character. Published by Mai, *Script. vet. nov. Coll.* iii. 1828.

e. Cod. Vindobonensis, at Vienna, of 5th or 6th cent. It contains fragments of St. Mark and St. Luke. Edited by Alter in two German periodicals.

f. Cod. Bobbiensis, at Turin, of the 5th cent. It contains parts of St. Matthew and St. Mark. The chief parts published by Tischendorf in the *Jahrbücher d. Literatur*, Vienna, 1847 ff. The text is a remarkable revision of the African.

g. The readings of a *Speculum*, published by Mai, *Patrum nova collectio*, i. 2, 1852. Comp. Tregelles, *Introduction*, 240.

h. Cod. Sangallensis, of the 5th or 4th cent. It contains fragments of St. Matthew and St. Mark. Transcribed by Tischendorf.

i. Cod. Palat., at Vienna, of the 5th cent. Published by Tischdf. 1847 A very important MS., containing St. John, and St. Luke nearly entire, and considerable parts of the other Gospels.

To these must be added a very remarkable fragment of St. Luke published by A. M. Ceriani, from a MS. of the 6th cent. in the Ambrosian Libr. at Milan: *Monum. Sacra*, ... 1861; and a purple fragment at Dublin (Saec. v.) containing Matt. xiii. 13-23, published by Dr. Todd in *Proceedings of R. I. A.* iii. 374.

k. Ccd. Corbeiensis, St. Matt. Edited by Martianay and Sabatier.

Italic revision.[l]

l. Cod. Brixianus, of the 6th cent. The best type of the *Italic* text. Published by Bianchini, *l. c.* Comp. Lachm. *N. T.* i. Praef. xiv.

m. Cod. Monacensis, of the 6th cent. Transcribed by Tischendorf.

Irish (British) revision.[k]

[l] The critical value of these revised ante-Hieronymian texts is unduly underrated. Each recension, as the representative of a revision of the oldest text by the help of old Greek MSS., is perhaps not inferior to the recension of Jerome; and the MSS. in which they are severally contained, though numerically inferior to Vulgate MSS., are scarcely inferior in real authority.

[k] It would be impossible to enter in detail in the present place into the peculiarities of the text presented by this group of MSS. It will be observed that copies are included in it which represent historically the Irish (η, ϵ), Scotch (β), Mercian (ζ), Northumbrian (δ), and—if we may trust the very uncertain tradition which represents the Gospels of St. Chad as written by Gildas (comp. *Lib. Landav.* p. 615, ed. 1840)—Welsh Churches. Bentley, who had collated more or less completely four of them, observed their coincidence in remarkable readings, but the individual differences of the copies no less than their wide range both in place and age exclude the idea that all were derived from one source. They stand out as a remarkable monument of the independence, the antiquity, and the influence of British (Irish) Christianity.

For the present it must suffice to give a few special readings which show the extent and character of the variations of this family from other families of MSS. The notation of the text is preserved for the sake of brevity.

Matt. viii. 24.—Fluctibus + *erat autem* (enim γ) *illis ventus contrarius* (contr. vent. ζ) (γ δ ϵ ζ).

Matt. x. 29.—*Sine voluntate Dei patris vestri qui in coelis est* (sine p. vol. q. e. in c. ϵ). Sine p. v. vol. qui in c. ϵ. ζ^{**}. Sine patre vestro voluntate, &c., ζ^{*} (γ ϵ ζ).

Matt. xiv. 35.—*Loci illius venerunt et* [om. *ven. et.* δ ζ] *adoraverunt eum et* (δ ϵ ζ).

Matt. xxvii. 49.—*Alius autem accepta lancea pupugit* (pupungit) *latus ejus et exit* (-iit -ivit) *aqua et sanguis* (γ δ ϵ).

Mark xiii. 18.—Ut *hieme non fiat* (-et) *fuga vestra* (γ δ ϵ) *vel sabbato* (δ ϵ), ut *non fra* (sic) *fuga vestra hieme vel sabbato* (ζ).

Luke xxiii. 2.—Nostram + *et solventem legem* (+ nostram ζ) *et prophetas* (δ ϵ ζ).

Luke xxiv. 1.—Ad mon. + *Maria Magdalena et altera Maria et quaedam cum eis* (δ ϵ).

John xix. 30.—*Cum autem expiravit* (asp. e trdiset spm (sic) ζ) *velamentum* (velum a ϵ ζ) *templi scissum est medium a summo usque* (ad a) *deorsum* (a γ ϵ ζ).

John xxi. 6.—Invenietis + *Dixerunt autem Per totam noctem laborantes nihil cepimus: in verbo autem tuo mittimus* (laxttemus [sic *i.e.* laxabimus] rete ϵ, mitemus (sic) ζ) (γ ϵ ζ).

Other readings more or less characteristic are Matt. ii. 14, matrem *om* ejus; ii. 15, est *om* a Domino; iv. 9, vade + *retro;* iv. 6, de te + *ut custodiant te in omnibus viis tuis;* v. 5, lugent + *nunc;* v. 48, sicut pater; vi. 13, *patiaris nos induci*, &c.

As a more continuous specimen the following readings occur in one chapter in the Hereford Gospels in which this Latin text, with a few others only, agrees closely with the Greek: Luke xxiv. 6, *esset in Gal.* 7, *tertia die;* 16, *agnoscerent eum;* 20, *tradiderunt eum;* 24, *viderunt;* 28, *finxit longius ire;* 38, *quare cogitationes;* 39, *pedes meos;* 44, *haec sunt verba mea quae locutus sum ad vos.* Other remarkable readings in the same passage are 8, *horum verborum;* 18, *Respondens unus* om. et; 21, *quo haec omnia;* 27, *et erat incipiens;* 29, *inclinata est dies jam.*

A comparison of the few readings from the Gospels given in the Epistle of GILDAS according to the Cambridge MS. (*Univ. Libr.* Dd. 1, 17), for the text in Stevenson's edition is by no means accurate, shows some interesting coincidences with these Irish (British) MSS. (For the explanation of the additional references see § 31.)

Matt. v. 15.—*Supra* γ δ ϵ ζ K W F (*b*); v. 16, *magnificent* δ (*a, b*); v. 19, qui *enim* γ ϵ P (*a b*); vii. 2, *judicabitur de vobis* ϵ (*a, b*); vii. 3, non *consideras* (*a*); vii. 4, *in oculo tuo est* γ; vii. 6, *miseritis* (*a, b*); vii. 15, attendite + *vobis* γ δ ϕ (*b*); vii. 17, *bonus fructus* δ O (*a, b*); *id et mala malos;* vii. 23, *operarii iniquitatis* (*a*); vii. 27, *impigerunt* O; x. 28, *et corpus et animam, e, c. et an.* γ δ; xv. 14, *caeci duces sunt;* xvi. 18, infirm γ δ ϵ ζ B H O Z K ϕ (*a*); xvi 19, *quaecunque; id. erunt ligata* δ (*b*); xxiii. 3, *vero opera* δ ζ ϕ; id., et *ipsi* non f. δ ϵ ζ (*b*); xxiii. 13, *qui* claud. D. id. vos *autem* δ ζ H O ϕ.

Thus of twenty-one readings which differ from *Cod. Am.* thirteen are given in one or other of those MSS. which have been supposed to present a typical British (Irish) text, and of these eleven are found in the *Rushworth* MS. alone. While on the other hand nine readings agree with *Cod. Veron.* and seven with *Cod. Vercell.*, and every reading is supported by some old authority. Thus, though the range of comparison is very limited, the evidence of these quotations, as far as it goes, supports the belief in a distinct British text.

In the Evangelic quotations in the printed text of ST. PATRICK out of seventeen variations, eight (as far as I can find) are supported by no known Latin authority the remainder are found in γ, δ, ϵ or ϕ. BACHIARIUS I have not been able to examine, though his writings are not unlikely to offer some illustrations of the early text.

SEDULIUS (*Opus Paschale*), as might have been ex-

(α.) Cambridge *Univ. Libr.* Kk. 1, 24. Saec. viii.? St. Luke, i. 15-end, and St. John, i. 18-xx. 17. Bentley's X. Capitula wanting in St. Luke; xiv. in St. John. No Ammonian Sections. (Plate ii. fig. 1.)

(β.) Cambridge *Univ. Libr.* Ti. 6, 32. Saec. viii.-x. *The Book of Deer.* St. Matt. i.-vii. 23. St. Mark, i. 1, v. 36. St. Luke, i. 1, iv. 2. St. John, entire. Very many old and peculiar readings. Nearer Vulg. than (α), but very carelessly written. No Ammonian Sections or Capitula. Belonged to monks of Deer in Aberdeenshire. Comp. Mr. H. Bradshaw in the *Printed Catalogue.*[l]

(γ.) Lichfield, *Book of St. Chad.* Saec. viii. St. Matt., St. Mark, and St. Luke, i.-iii. 9. Bentley's ξ_2.

(δ.) Oxford, *Bodl.* D. 24 (3946). Saec. viii. *The Gospels of Mac Regol.* or the *Rushworth* MS. Bentley's χ. No Capit., Sect., or Prefaces. A collation of the Latin text in the Lindisfarne text of St. Matt. and St. Mark (comp. p. 1711, note [s]), together with the Northumbrian gloss, has been published by Rev. J. Stevenson. Deficient Luke iv. 29-viii. 38.[m]

(ε.) Oxford, C. C. Coll. 122. Saec. x., xi? Bentley's C. Has Canons and Prefaces, but no Sect. or Capit.

(ζ.) Hereford (*Saxon*) *Gospels.* Saec. viii. (ix.). The four Gospels, with two small lacunae. Without Prefaces, Canons, Capitula, or Sections. A very important copy, and probably British in origin.[n] (Plate ii. fig. 5.)

(η.) *The Book of Armagh* (all N. T.), Trin. Coll. Dublin: written A.D. 807. Comp. *Proceedings of R. I. A.* iii. pp. 316, 356. Sir W. Betham, *Irish Antiq. Researches*, ii.[o]

(θ.) A copy found in the *Domhnach Airgid* (Royal I. Acad.), Saec. v. vi. Comp. Petrie, *Transactions of R. I. A.*, xviii., 1838. O'Curry's *Lectures*, Dublin, 1861, pp. 321 ff., where a fac-simile is given.

(ι.) (κ.) Two copies in Trin. Coll. Dublin, said to be "ante-Hieronymian, Saec. vii."[p]

To these must be added a large number of Irish, including under this term North British MSS., which exhibit a text more nearly approaching the Vulgate, but yet with characteristic old readings. Such are:—

Brit. Mus., *Harl.* 1802. Saec. x.-xii. A.D. 1138? Prefaces all at the beginning. No *Capitula* or *Sections.* Bentley's W. (Plate ii. fig. 4.)

Brit. Mus., *Harl.* 1023. Saec. x.-xii? No *Capitula* or *Sections.* (Plate ii. fig. 3.)

Lambeth. *The Book of Mac Durnan.*[q] Saec. x. Has Sections, but no Prefaces or Canons.

Dublin, *T. C. C. The Book of Kells.* Saec. viii.

Dublin, *T. C. C. The Book of Durrow.* Saec. viii.

Dublin, *T. C. C. The Book of Dimma.* Saec. viii.

Dublin, *T. C. C. The Book of Moling.* Saec. viii.[r]

Gallican (?) revision.[s]

Brit. Mus., *Egerton*, 609, formerly *Majoris Monasterii*; iv. Gospp. deficient from Mark vi. 56 to Luke xi. 1. This MS. is called *mm*, and classified under Vulgate MSS. in the editions of the N. T., but it has been used only after Calmet's very imperfect collation, and offers a distinct type of text. *Praef. Can.* No *Capitula.*

(2.) Of the Acts and Epistles.

n. Cod. Bobbiensis, at Vienna. A few fragments of the Acts and Cath. Epp. Edited by Tischendorf, *Jahrbücher d. Lit.* l. c.

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pected from his foreign training, gives in the main a pure Vulgate text in his quotations from the Vulgate. When he differs from it (*e. g.* Luke x. 19, 20; John xi. 43 *prodi*), he often appears to quote from memory, and differs from all MSS.

The quotations given at length in the British copy of Juvencus (Camb. *Univ. Libr.* Ff. 4, 42) would probably repay a careful examination.

[l] This MS., in common with many Irish MSS. (*e.g.* Brit. Mus. Harl. 1802, 2795, the Book of MacDurnan, and some others, as *Harl.* 1775, *Cotton.* Tib. A ii.), separates the genealogy in St. Matt. from the rest of the Gospel, closing v. 17 with the words *Finit Prologus*, and then adding *Incipit Evangelium.*

[m] The reading of this MS. in Matt. xxi. 28 ff. is very remarkable: Homo quidam habebat duos filios et accedens ad primum dixit fili vade operare in viam* meam. ille autem respondens dixit eo dne et non iit accedens autem ad alterum dixit similiter at ille respondens ait nolo. postea autem poenitentia motus abiit in viniam.* quis ex duob: fecit voluntatem patris. dicunt* novissimus.

[n] For the opportunity of examining this MS. the writer is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. J. Jebb, D.D., Canon of Hereford.

[o] This MS. contains the Ep. to the Laodicenes, with the note *Sed Hirunumus eam negat esse Pauli*: Betham ii. p. 263. The stichometry is as follows: *Matheus versus habet MMDCC, Marcus MDCC, Lucas MMDCCC, Johannis MMCCC. Id.* p. 318*

[p] Dr. Reeves undertook to publish the text of the Book of Armagh, with collations of ι, κ, and other MSS. in T. C. D., but the writer has been unable to learn whether he will carry out his design. The MSS. η–κ the writer knows only by description, and very imperfectly.

[q] Facsimiles of many of these "Irish" MSS. are given in Westwood's *Paleographia Sacra* and in O'Curry's *Lectures.* The text of most of them (even of those collated by Bentley) is very imperfectly known, and it passes by a very gradual transition into the ordinary type of Vulgate. The whole question of the general character and the specific varieties of these MSS. requires careful investigation. The Table (F) will give some idea of their variations from the common text. The Stow St. John, at present in Lord Ashburnham's collection, probably belongs to this family.

[r] These four MSS. I know only by Mr. Westwood's descriptions in his *Palaeographia Sacra*; and to Mr. Westwood belongs the credit of first directing attention to Irish MSS. after the time of Bentley.

[s] The text of this recension, which I believe to be contained also in g^1, and Bentley's ρ (comp. p. 1713, note [z]) is closely allied to the British type. As to the Spanish text I have no sufficient materials to form an estimate of its character.

o. *Cod. Corbei.*, a MS. of Ep. of St. James. Published by Martianay, 1695.

p. (Of St. Paul's Epp.) *Cod. Clarom.*, the Latin text of D_2. Published by Tischendorf.

q. (Of St. Paul's Epp.) *Cod. Sangerm.*, the Latin text of E_3, said to have an independent value, but imperfectly known.

r. (Of St. Paul's Epp.) *Cod. Boern.*, the Latin text of G_3, is in the main an old copy, adapted in some points to the Greek.

s. (See Gospels).

t Fragments of St. Paul's Epistles transcribed at Munich by Tischendorf.

u, *v*. (Acts) the Latin text of D_1 and E_2 (Cod. Bezae and Cod. Laud).

To these must be added, from the result of a partial collection:—

x_1. Oxford, *Bodl.* 3418 (Selden, 30). Acts. Saec. viii., vii. An uncial MS. of the highest interest. Deficient xiv. 26, *fidei*—xv. 32, *cum essent*: Bentl. x_2. Among its characteristic readings may be noticed: v. 34, foras modicum apostolos secedere; ix. 40, surge in nomine Domini Ihu Xti.; xi. 17, ne daret illis Spiritum Sanctum credentibus in nomine Ihu Xti.; xiii. 14, Paulus et Barnabas; xvi. 1, et cum circuisset has nationes pervenit in Derben. (Plate i. fig. 4).

x_2. Oxford, *Bodl.* Laud. *Lat.* 108 (E, 67). Saec. ix. St. Paul's Epp. in Saxon letters. Ends Hebr. xi. 34, *aciem gladii*. Corrected apparently by three hands. The original text was a revision of the Old Latin, but it has been much erased. In many cases it agrees with *d* almost or quite alone: *e. g.* Rom. ii. 14, 16, iii. 22, 26, x. 20, xv. 13, 23, 27, 30. The Epistles to Thess. are placed before the Ep. to Coloss. This arrangement, which is given by Augustine (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 13), appears to have prevailed in early English MSS., and occurs in the Saxon Cambridge MS., and several other MSS. of the Bible quoted by Hody, p. 664. Comp. §31 (2) 8.[t]

The well-known *Harleian* MS. 1772 (§32, (2) 3) ought to be reckoned rather among the Old than the Vulgate texts. A good collection of its more striking variations is given in the Harleian Catalogue. In the Acts and Epistles (no less than in the Gospels) there are indications of an unrevised (African) and revised texts, but the materials are as yet too imperfect to allow of an exact determination of the different types.

(3.) In the Apocalypse the text depends on *m* and early quotations, especially in Primasius.

13. It will be seen that for the chief part of the O. T., and for considerable parts of the N. T (*e. g.* Apoc. Acts), the old text rests upon early quotations (principally Tertullian, Cyprian, Lucifer of Cagliari, for the African text, Ambrose and Augustine for the Italic). These were collected by Sabatier with great diligence up to the date of his work; but more recent discoveries (*e. g.* of the Roman *Speculum*) have furnished a large store of new materials which have not yet been fully employed. (The great work of Sabatier, already often referred to, is still the standard work on the Latin Versions. His great fault is his neglect to distinguish the different types of text, African, Italic, British, Gallic; a task which yet remains to be done. The earliest work on the subject was by Flaminius Nobilius, *Vetus Test. sec. LXX. Latine redditum* . . . . Romae, 1588. The new collations made by Tischendorf, Mai, Münter, Ceriani, have been noticed separately.)

III. THE LABOURS OF JEROME.—14. It has been seen that at the close of the 4th century the Latin texts of the Bible current in the Western Church had fallen into the greatest corruption. The evil was yet greater in prospect than at the time; for the separation of the East and West, politically and ecclesiastically, was growing imminent, and the fear of the perpetuation of false and conflicting Latin copies proportionately greater. But in the crisis of danger the great scholar was raised up who probably alone for 1500 years possessed the qualifications necessary for producing an original version of the Scriptures for the use of the Latin Churches. Jerome—Eusebius Hieronymus—was born in 329 A.D. at Stridon in Dalmatia, and died at Bethlehem in 420 A.D. From his early youth he was a vigorous student, and age removed nothing from his zeal. He has been well called the Western Origen (Hody, p. 350), and if he wanted the largeness of heart and generous sympathies of the great Alexandrine, he had more chastened critical skill and closer concentration of power. After long and self-denying studies in the East and West, Jerome went to Rome A.D. 382, probably at the request of Damasus the Pope, to assist in an important synod (*Ep.* cviii. 6), where he seems to have been at once attached to the service of the Pope (*Ep.* cxxiii. 10). His active biblical labours date from this epoch, and in examining them it will be convenient to follow the order of time, noticing (1) the Revision of the Old Latin Version of the N. T.; (2) the Revision of the Old Latin Version (from the Greek) of the O. T.; (3) the New Version of the O. T. from the Hebrew.

(1.) *The Revision of the Old Latin Version of the N. T.*—15. Jerome had not been long at Rome (A.D. 383) when Damasus consulted him on points of Scriptural criticism (*Ep.* xix. "Dilectionis tuae est ut ardenti illo strenuitatis ingenio . . . , vivo sensu scribas"). The answers which he received (*Epp.* xx., xxi.) may well have encouraged him to seek for greater services; and apparently in the same year he applied to Jerome for a revision of the current Latin version of the N. T. by the help of the Greek original. Jerome was fully sensible of the prejudices which such a work would excite among those "who thought that ignorance

[t] A very interesting historical notice of the use of the Old Latin in the North of England is given by Bede, who says of Ceolfrid, a contemporary abbot, "Bibliothecam utriusque Monasterii [Wearmouth and Jarrow] magna geminasse industria. Ita ut tres Pandectas novae translationis, ad unum vetustae translationis, quem de Roma attulerat, ipse superadjungeret. . . ." (*Hist. Abbot. Wiremouth. et Girwiens.* Quoted by Hody, *De Text.* p. 109).

was holiness" (*Ep. ad Marc.* xxvii.), but the need of it was urgent. "There were," he says, "almost as many forms of text as copies" ("tot sunt exemplaria pene quot codices," *Praef. in Evv.*). Mistakes had been introduced "by false transcription, by clumsy corrections, and by careless interpolations" (*id.*), and in the confusion which had ensued the one remedy was to go back to the original source (Graeca veritas, Graeca origo). The Gospels had naturally suffered most. Thoughtless scribes inserted additional details in the narrative from the parallels, and changed the forms of expression to those with which they had been originally familiarized (*id.*). Jerome therefore applied himself to these first ("haec praesens praefatiuncula pollicetur quatuor tantum Evangelia"). But his aim was to revise the Old Latin, and not to make a new version. When Augustine expressed to him his gratitude for "his *translation* of the Gospel" (*Ep.* civ. 6, "non parvas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo quo Evangelium *ex Graeco interpretatus es*"), he tacitly corrected him by substituting for this phrase "the *correction* of the N. T." (*Ep.* cxii. 20, "Si me, ut dicis, in N. T. *emendatione* suscipis . . . ."). For this purpose he collated early Greek MSS., and preserved the current rendering wherever the sense was not injured by it ("... Evangelia ... codicum Graecorum emendata collatione sed veterum. Quae ne multum a lectionis Latinae consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo temperavimus (*all.* imperavimus) ut his tantum quae sensum videbantur mutare, correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant:" *Praef. ad Dam.*). Yet although he proposed to himself this limited object, the various forms of corruption which had been introduced were, as he describes, so numerous that the difference of the Old and Revised (Hieronymian) text is throughout clear and striking. Thus in Matt. v. we have the following variations:—

Vetus Latina.[a]	*Vulgata nova* (Hieron.).
7 ipsis *miserebitur Deus.*	7 ipsi *misericordium consequentur.*
11 dixerint . . .	11 dixerint . . . *mentientes.*
— propter *justitiam.*	— propter *me.*
12 ante vos *patres eorum* (Luke vi. 26).	12 ante vos.
17 non veni solvere *legem aut prophetas.*	17 non veni solvere.
18 fiant: *coelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non praeteribunt.*	18. fiant.
22 fratri suo *sine causa.*	22 fratri suo.
25 es cum *illo* in ira.	25 es in via cum *eo* (and often).
29 *eat* in gehennam.	29 *mittatur* in gehennam.
37 quod autem *amplius.*	37 quod autem *his abundantius.*
41 *adhuc* alia duo.	41 *et* alia duo.
43 *odies.*	43 *odio habebis.*
44 vestros, *et benedicite qui maledicent vobis et* benefacite.	44 vestros benefacite.

Of these variations those in vers. 17, 44, are only partially supported by the old copies, but they illustrate the character of the interpolations from which the text suffered. In St. John, as might be expected, the variations are less frequent. The 6th chapter contains only the following:—

2 sequebatur *autem.*	2 *et* sequebatur.
21 (volebant).	21 (voluerunt).
23 (quem benedixerat Dominus (alii aliter)).	23 (gratias agente Domino).
39 haec est *enim.*	39 haec est *autem.*
39 (Patris mei).	39 (Patris mei *qui misit me*).
53 (manducare).	53 (ad manducandum).
66 (a patre).	66 (a patre *meo*).
67 ex hoc *ergo.*	67 ex hoc.

16. Some of the changes which Jerome introduced were, as will be seen, made purely on linguistic grounds, but it is impossible to ascertain on what principle he proceeded in this respect (comp. §35). Others involved questions of interpretation (Matt. vi. 11, *supersubstantialis* for ἐπιούσιος). But the greater number consisted in the removal of the interpolations by which the synoptic Gospels especially were disfigured. These interpolations, unless his description is very much exaggerated, must have been far more numerous than are found in existing copies; but examples still occur which show the important service which he rendered to the Church by checking the perpetuation of apocryphal glosses: Matt. iii. 3, 15 (v. 12); (ix. 21), xx. 28; (xxiv. 36); Mark i. 3, 7, 8; iv. 19; xvi. 4; Luke (v. 10); viii. 48; ix. 43, 50; xi. 36; xii. 38; xxiii. 48; John vi. 56. As a check upon further interpolation he inserted in his text the notation of the Eusebian Canons [NEW TESTAMENT, §21]; but it is worthy of notice that he included in his revision the famous *pericope*, John vii. 53, viii. 11, which is not included in that analysis.

17. The preface to Damasus speaks only of a revision of the Gospels, and a question has been raised whether Jerome really revised the remaining books of the N. T. Augustine (A.D. 403) speaks only of "the Gospel" (*Ep.* civ. 6, quoted above), and there is no preface to any other books, such as is elsewhere found before all Jerome's versions or editions. But the omission is probably due to the comparatively pure state in which the text of the rest of the N. T. was preserved. Damasus had requested (*Praef. ad Dam.*) a revision of the whole, and when Jerome had faced the more invidious and difficult part of his work there is no reason to think that he would shrink from the completion of it. In accordance with this view he enumerates (A.D. 398) among his works "the restoration of the (Latin version of the) N. T. to harmony with the original Greek." (*Ep. ad Lucin.* lxxi. 5: "N. T. Graecae reddidi auctoritati, ut enim Veterum Librorum fides de Hebraeis voluminibus examinanda est, ita novorum Graecae (?) sermonis normam desiderat." *De Vir. Ill.* cxxxv.: "N. T. Graecae fidei reddidi. Vetus juxta Hebraicam transtuli.") It is yet more directly conclusive as to the fact of this revision, that in writing to Marcella (cir. A.D. 385) on the charges which had been brought against him for "introducing changes in the Gospels," he quotes three passages from the Epistles in which he asserts the superiority of the present Vulgate reading to that of the Old Latin (Rom. xii. 11, *Domino* servientes, for *tempori* servientes; 1 Tim. v. 19, add. nisi sub duobus aut tribus testibus; 1 Tim. i. 15. *fidelis* sermo, for *humanus* sermo). An examination of the Vulgate text, with the quotations of ante-Hieronymian fathers and the imperfect evidence of MSS., is itself sufficient to establish the reality and character of the revision. This will be apparent from a collation of a few chapters taken from several of the later books of the N. T.; but it will also be obvious that the revision was hasty and imperfect; and in later times the line between

[a] In giving the readings of *Vetus Latina* the writer has throughout confined himself to those which are supported by a combination of authorities, avoiding the peculiarities of single MSS., and (if possible) of a single family.

the Hieronymian and Old texts became very indistinct. Old readings appear in MSS. of the Vulgate, and on the other hand no MS. represents a pure African text of the Acts and Epistles.

ACTS i. 4-25.

Versio Vetus.[x]	*Vulg.*
4 *cum conversaretur cum illis . . .* quod audistis	4 *convescens . . .* quam audistis *per os meum.*
5 *tingemini.* [*a me.*	5 *baptizabimini.*
6 *at illi* convenientes.	6 *Igitur qui* convenerant.
7 *at ille respondens* dixit.	7 Dixit *autem.*
8 *superveniente* S. S.	8 *supervenientis* S. S.
10 intenderent. Comp. iii. (4), 12; vi. 15; x. 4; (xiii. 9).	10 intuerentur.
13 ascenderunt *in superiora.*	13 *in cenaculum* ascenderunt.
— *erant habitantes.*	— *manebant.*
14 perseverantes *unanimes orationi.*	14 persev. *unanimiter in oratione.*
18 *Hic igitur adquisivit.*	18 *Et hic quidem possedit.*
21 qui *convenerunt* nobiscum viris.	21 viris qui nobiscum *sunt congregati.*
25 *ire.* Comp. xvii. 30.	25 *ut abiret.*

ACTS xvii. 16-34.

16 *circa simulacrum.*	16 *idololatriae dedilam.*
17 Judaeis.	17 *cum* Judaeis.
18 *seminator.*	18 *seminiveribus.*
22 *superstitiosos*	22 *superstitiosiores.*
23 *perambulans.*	23 *praeteriens.*
— *culturas* vestras.	— *simulacra* vestra.
26 ex uno *sanguine.*	26 ex uno.

ROM. i. 13-15.

13 *Non* autem *arbitror.*	13 *nolo* autem.
15 quod in me *est promptus sum.*	15 quod in me *promptum est.*

1 COR. x. 4-29.

4 sequenti se (sequenti, q), (*Cod. Aug.* f).[y]	4 consequente eos.
6 in figuram.	6 in figura (f), (g).
7 idolorum cultores (g corr.) efficiamur.	7 idololatrae (idolatres, f) efficiamini (f).
12 putat (g corr.).	12 existimat (f).
15 sicut prudentes, vobis dico.	15 ut (sicut, f, g) prudentibus loquor (dico, f, g).
16 quem (f, g).	16 cui.
— communicatio (alt.)(f, g).	— participatio.
21 participare (f, g).	21 participes esse.
29 infideli (g).	29 (aliena); alia (f).

2 COR. iii. 11-18.

14 *dum* (*quod* g corr.) *non revelatur* (g corr.).	14 *non revelatum* (f).
18 *de* (a g) *gloria in gloriam* (g).	18 *a claritate in claritatem.*

GAL. iii. 14-25.

14 *benedictionem* (g).	14 *pollicitationem* (f).
15 *irritum facit* (*irritat*, g).	15 *spernit* (f).
25 *veniente autem fide* (g).	25 *At ubi venit fides* (f).

PHIL. ii. 2-30.

2 *unum* (g).	2 *idipsum* (f).
6 cum . . . *constitutus* (g).	6 cum . . . *esset* (f).
12 *dilectissimi* (g).	12 *carissimi* (f).
20 *sollicitus* (*taedebatur*, g).	26 *maestus* (f).
28 *sollicitus itaque.*	28 *festinantius ergo* (*fest. ego*, f: *fest. autem*, g).
30 *paraboltus de anima sua* (g).	30 *tradens animam suam* (f).

1 TIM. iii. 1-12.

1 *Humanus* (g corr.).	1 *fidelis* (f).
2 *docibilem* (g).	2 *doctorem* (f).
4 habentem *in obsequio.*	4 habentem *subditos* (f, g).
8 *turpilucros.*	8 *turpe lucrum sectantes* (f) (*turpil. s.* g).
12 *filios bene regentes* (g corr.).	12 *qui filiis suis bene praesint* (f).

[x] See note [a], p. 1695.

[y] The Latin readings of *Cod. Aug.* have been added, as offering an interesting example of the admixture of a few old readings with the revised text. Those of *Cod. Boern.* (g) differ, as will be seen, very widely from them.

(2.) *The Revision of the O. T. from the LXX.*—18. About the same time (cir. A.D. 383) at which he was engaged on the revision of the N. T., Jerome undertook also a first revision of the Psalter. This he made by the help of the Greek, but the work was not very complete or careful, and the words in which he describes it may, perhaps, be extended without injustice to the revision of the later books of the N. T.: "Psalterium Romae . . . emendaram et juxta LXX. interpretes, *licet cursim magna illud ex parte* correxeram" (*Praef. in Lib. Ps.*). This revision obtained the name of the *Roman* Psalter, probably because it was made for the use of the Roman Church at the request of Damasus, where it was retained till the pontificate of Pius V. (A.D. 1566), who introduced the Gallican Psalter generally, though the Roman Psalter was still retained in three Italian churches (Hody, p. 383, "in una Romae *Vaticana* ecclesia, et extra urbem in *Mediolanensi* et in ecclesia *S. Marci*, Venetiis"). In a short time "the old error prevailed over the new correction," and at the urgent request of Paula and Eustochium Jerome commenced a new and more thorough revision (*Gallican* Psalter).[z] The exact date at which this was made is not known, but it may be fixed with great probability very shortly after A.D. 387, when he retired to Bethlehem, and certainly before 391, when he had begun his new translations from the Hebrew. In the new revision Jerome attempted to represent as far as possible, by the help of the Greek versions, the real reading of the Hebrew. With this view he adopted the notation of Origen [SEPTUAGINT; compare *Praef. in Gen.*, &c.], and thus indicated all the additions and omissions of the LXX. text reproduced in the Latin. The additions were marked by an *obelus* (÷); the omissions, which he supplied, by an asterisk (*). The omitted passages he supplied by a version of the Greek of Theodotion, and not directly from the Hebrew ("unusquisque . . . ubicunque viderit virgulam praecedentem (÷) ab ea usque ad duo puncta (") quae impressimus, sciat in LXX. interpretibus plus haberi. Ubi autem stellae (*) similitudinem perspexerit, de Hebraeis voluminibus additum noverit, aeque usque ad duo puncta, *juxta Theodotionis duntaxat editionem, qui simplicitate sermonis a LXX. interpretibus non discordat*," *Praef. ad Ps.*; compare *Praeff. in Job, Paralip. Libr. Solom. juxta LXX. Intt. Ep.* cvi. *ad Sun. et Fret.*). This new edition soon obtained a wide popularity. Gregory of Tours is said to have introduced it from Rome into the public services in France, and from this it obtained the name of the *Gallican* Psalter. The comparison of one or two passages will show the extent and nature of the corrections which Jerome introduced into this second work, as compared with the Roman Psalter. (See Table D, opposite.)

How far he thought change really necessary will appear from a comparison of a few verses of his translation from the Hebrew with the earlier revised septuagintal translations. (See Table E.)

Numerous MSS. remain which contain the Latin Psalter in two or more forms. Thus *Bibl. Bodl. Laud.* 35 (Saec. x.?) contains a triple Psalter, Gallican, Roman, and Hebrew: *Coll. C. C. Oxon.* xii. (Saec. xv.) Gallican, Roman, Hebrew: *Id.* x.

[z] In one place Jerome seems to include these two revisions in one work: "Psalterium . . . certe emendatissimum juxta LXX. interpretes nostro labore dudum Roma suscipit" . . . (*Apol. adv. Ruf.* ii. 30).

(Saec. xiv.) Gallican, Hebrew, Hebr. text with interlinear Latin: *Brit. Mus.* Harl. 634, a double Psalter, Gallican and Hebrew: *Brit. Mus.* Arund. 155 (Saec. xi.) a Roman Psalter with Gallican corrections: *Coll. SS. Trin. Cambr.*, R. 17, 1, a triple Psalter, Hebrew, Gallican, Roman (Saec. xii.): Id. R. 8, 6, a triple Psalter, the Hebrew text with a peculiar interlinear Latin version, Jerome's Hebrew, Gallican. An example of the unrevised Latin, which, indeed, is not very satisfactorily distinguished from the Roman, is found with an Anglo-Saxon interlineal version, *Univ. Libr.* Cambr., Ff., i. 23 (Saec. xi.). H. Stephens published a "*Quincuplex Psalterium, Gallicum, Rhomaicum, Hebraicum, Vetus, Conciliatum.* . . . Paris, 1513," but he does not mention the MSS. from which he derived his texts.

19. From the second (Gallican) revision of the Psalms Jerome appears to have proceeded to a revision of the other books of the O. T., restoring all, by the help of the Greek, to a general conformity with the Hebrew. In the Preface to the

TABLE D.

In Tables D, E, and F, the passages are taken from Martianay's and Sabatier's texts, without any reference to MSS., so that the variations cannot be regarded as more than approximately correct.

Ps. viii. 4-6.

Vetus Latina.	*Psalt. Romanum.*	*Psalt. Gallicanum.*
	Quoniam videbo coelos, opera digitorum tuorum:	Quoniam videbo coelos * tuos " opera digitorum tuorum;
	lunam et stellas quas tu fundasti.	lunam et stellas quae † tu " fundasti.
(*Nisi quod*)	Quid est homo, *quod* memor es ejus?	Quid est homo, *quod* memor es ejus?
Nisi quia (quod)	aut filius hominis, *quoniam* visitas eum?	aut filius hominis, *quoniam* visitas eum?
Minorasti.	*Minuisti* eum paulo minus ab angelis;	*Minuisti* eum paulo minus ab angelis;
	gloria et honore coronasti eum:	gloria et honore coronasti eum,
	et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum.	† et " constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum.

Ps. xxxix. 1-4.

	Exspectans exspectavi Dominum:	Exspectans exspectavi Dominum:
respexit me.	et *respexit me*;	et *intendit mihi*;
deprecationem.	et exaudivit *deprecationem* meam;	et †ex"audivit *preces* meas;
	et eduxit me de lacu miseriae,	et eduxit me de lacu miseriae,
	et de luto faecis.	†et "de luto faecis.
	Et statuit super petram pedes meos;	Et statuit super petram pedes meos;
	et direxit gressus meos.	†et" direxit gressus meos.
	Et immisit in os meum canticum novum:	Et immisit in os meum canticum novum:
hymnum.	*hymnum* Deo nostro.	*carmen* Deo nostro.

Ps. xvi. (xv.) 8-11 (Acts ii. 25-28).

(*Domino.*)	Providebam *Dominum* in conspectu meo semper,	Providebam *Dominum* in conspectu meo semper,
	quoniam a dextris est mihi, ne commovear.	quoniam a dextris est mihi, ne commovear.
jocundatum.	Propter hoc *delectatum* est cor meum,	Propter hoc *laetatum* est cor meum,
	et exsultavit lingua mea:	et exsultavit lingua mea:
	insuper et caro mea requiescet in spe.	† insuper "et caro mea requiescet in spe.
	Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in	Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in
apud inferos.	*inferno* (-um);	*inferno*;
	nec dabis Sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.	nec dabis Sanctum tuum videre corruptionem.
	Notas mihi fecisti vias vitae:	Notas mihi fecisti vias vitae:
	adimplebis me laetitia cum vultu tuo:	adimplebis me laetitia cum vultu tuo:
	delectationes in dextra tua, usque in finem.	delectationes in dextera tua † usque " in finem.

TABLE E.

Ps. xxxiii. (xxxiv.) 12-16 (1 Pet. iii. 10-12).

Vetus Latina.	*Vulgata.*	*Jerome's transl. from the Hebr.*
Quis est homo qui vult vitam,	Quis est homo qui vult vitam,	Quis est *vir* qui velit vitam
ut cupit videre dies bonos?	*diligit* dies videre bonos?	*diligens* dies videre bonos?
Cohibe linguam tuam a malo:	*Prohibe* linguam tuam a malo:	*Custodi* linguam tuam a malo,
et labia tua ne loquantur dolum.	et labia tua ne loquantur dolum.	et labia tua ne loquantur dolum.
Deverte a malo et fac bonum:	*Diverte* a malo et fac bonum:	*Recede* a malo et fac bonum:
inquire pacem et *sequere* eam.	inquire pacem, et *persequere* eam.	*quaere* pacem et persequere eam.
Oculi Domini super justos	Oculi Domini super justos	Oculi Domini *ad* justos
et aures ejus *ad* preces eorum.	et aures ejus *in* preces eorum.	et aures ejus *ad clamores* eorum.
Vultus Domini super facientes mala.	Vultus *autem* Domini super facientes mala.	Vultus Domini super facientes *malum.*

Ps. xxxix. (xl.) 6-8 (Hebr. x. 5-10).

Sacrificium et oblationem noluisti:	Sacrificium et oblationem noluisti:	*Victima et oblatione non indiges.*
aures autem perfecisti mihi.	aures autem perfecisti mihi.	aures *fodisti* mihi.
Holocausta etiam pro *delicto* non postulasti.	Holocaustum et pro *peccato* non postulasti:	Holocaustum et pro peccato non *petisti.*
Tunc dixi: Ecce venio.	Tunc dixi: Ecce venio.	Tunc dixi: Ecce venio.
In capite libri scriptum est de me	In capite libri scriptum est de me,	In *volumine* libri scriptum est de me
ut *faciam* voluntatem tuam.	ut *facerem* voluntatem tuam.	ut facerem *placitum tibi.*

Ps. xviii. (xix.) 5 (Rom. x. 18).

In omnem terram exiit sonus eorum:	In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum:	In *universam* terram exivit sonus eorum:
et in *finibus* orbis terrae verba eorum	et in *fines* orbis terrae verba eorum	et in *finem* orbis verba eorum.

Revision of Job, he notices the opposition which he had met with, and contrasts indignantly his own labours with the more mechanical occupations of monks which excited no reproaches ("Si aut fiscellam junco texerem aut palmarum folia complicarem . . nullus morderet, nemo reprehenderet. Nunc autem . . . corrector vitiorum falsarius vocor"). Similar complaints, but less strongly expressed, occur in the Preface to the Books of Chronicles, in which he had recourse to the Hebrew as well as to the Greek, in order to correct the innumerable errors in the names by which both texts were deformed. In the preface to the three Books of Solomon (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles) he notices no attacks, but excuses himself for neglecting to revise Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, on the ground that "he wished only to amend the Canonical Scriptures" ("tantummodo Canonicas Scripturas vobis emendare desiderans"). No other prefaces remain, and the revised texts of the Psalter and Job have alone been preserved; but there is no reason to doubt that Jerome carried out his design of revising all the "Canonical Scriptures" (comp. *Ep.* cxii. *ad August.* (cir. A.D. 404), "Quod autem in aliis quaeris epistolis: cur prior mea *in libris Canonicis* interpretatio asteriscos habeat et virgulas praenotatas . . ."). He speaks of this work as a whole in several places (e. g. *adv. Ruf.* ii. 24, "Egone contra LXX. interpretes aliquid sum locutus, quos ante annos plurimos diligentissime emendatos meae linguae studiosis dedi . . .?" Comp. *Id.* iii. 25; *Ep.* lxxi. *ad Lucin.*, "Septuaginta interpretum editionem et te habere non dubito, et ante annos plurimos (he is writing A.D. 398) diligentissime emendatam studiosis tradidi"), and distinctly represents it as a Latin version of Origen's Hexaplar text (*Ep.* cvi. *ad Sun. et Fret.*, "Ea autem quae habetur in Ἑξαπλοῖς et quam non vertimus"), if, indeed, the reference is not to be confined to the Psalter, which was the immediate subject of discussion. But though it seems certain that the revision was made, there is very great difficulty in tracing its history, and it is remarkable that no allusion to the revision occurs in the Preface to the new translation of the Pentateuch, Joshua (Judges, Ruth), Kings, the Prophets, in which Jerome touches more or less plainly on the difficulties of his task, while he does refer to his former labours on Job, the Psalter, and the Books of Solomon in the parallel prefaces to those books, and also in his Apology against Rufinus (ii. 27, 29, 30, 31). It has, indeed, been supposed (Vallarsi, *Praef. in Hier.* x.) that these six books only were published by Jerome himself. The remainder may have been put into circulation surreptitiously. But this supposition is not without difficulties. Augustine, writing to Jerome (cir. A.D. 405), earnestly begs for a copy of the revision from the LXX., of the publication of which he was then only lately aware (*Ep.* xcvi. 34, "Deinde nobis mittas, obsecro, interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, *quam te edidisse nesciebam*;" comp. §34). It does not appear whether the request was granted or not, but at a much later period (cir. A.D. 416) Jerome says that he cannot furnish him with "a copy of the LXX. (*i. e.* the Latin Version of it) furnished with asterisks and obeli, as he had lost the chief part of his former labour by some person's treachery" (*Ep.* cxxxiv., "Pleraque prioris laboris fraude cujusdam amisimus"). However this may have been, Jerome could not have spent more than four (or five) years on the work, and that too in the midst of other labours, for in 491 he was already engaged on the versions from the Hebrew which constitute his great claim on the lasting gratitude of the Church.

(3.) *The Translation of the O. T. from the Hebrew.*—20. Jerome commenced the study of Hebrew when he was already advanced in middle life (cir. A.D. 374), thinking that the difficulties of the language, as he quaintly paints them, would serve to subdue the temptations of passion to which he was exposed (*Ep.* cxxv. § 12; comp. *Praef. in Dan.*). From this time he continued the study with unabated zeal, and availed himself of every help to perfect his knowledge of the language. His first teacher had been a Jewish convert; but afterwards he did not scruple to seek the instruction of Jews, whose services he secured with great difficulty and expense. This excessive zeal (as it seemed) exposed him to the misrepresentations of his enemies, and Rufinus indulges in a silly pun on the name of one of his teachers, with the intention of showing that his work was not "supported by the authority of the Church, but only of a second Barabbas" (Ruf. *Apol.* ii. 12; Hieron. *Apol.* i. 13; comp. *Ep.* lxxxiv. §3, and *Praef. in Paral.*). Jerome, however, was not deterred by opposition from pursuing his object, and it were only to be wished that he had surpassed his critics as much in generous courtesy as he did in honest labour. He soon turned his knowledge of Hebrew to use. In some of his earliest critical letters he examines the force of Hebrew words (*Epp.* xviii., xx., A.D. 381, 383); and in A.D. 384, he had been engaged for some time in comparing the version of Aquila with Hebrew MSS. (*Ep.* xxxii. § 1), which a Jew had succeeded in obtaining for him from the synagogue (*Ep.* xxxvi. §1). After retiring to Bethlehem, he appears to have devoted himself with renewed ardour to the study of Hebrew, and he published several works on the subject (cir. A.D. 389; *Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.* &c.). These essays served as a prelude to his New Version, which he now commenced. This version was not undertaken with any ecclesiastical sanction, as the revision of the Gospels was, but at the urgent request of private friends, or from his own sense of the imperious necessity of the work. Its history is told in the main in the Prefaces to the several instalments which were successively published. The *Books of Samuel and Kings* were issued first, and to these he prefixed the famous *Prologus galeatus*, addressed to Paula and Eustochium, in which he gives an account of the Hebrew Canon. It is impossible to determine why he selected these books for his experiment, for it does not appear that he was requested by any one to do so. The work itself was executed with the greatest care. Jerome speaks of the translation as the result of constant revision (*Prol. Gal.*, "Lege ergo primum Samuel et Malachim meum: meum, inquam, meum. Quidquid enim crebrius vertendo et emendando sollicitius et didicimus et tenemus nostrum est"). At the time when this was published (cir. A.D. 391, 392) other books seem to have been already translated (*Prol. Gal.* "omnibus libris quos de Hebraeo vertimus"); and in 393 the sixteen prophets[a] were in

[a] A question has been raised whether Daniel was not translated at a later time (comp. *Vit. Hieron.* xxi.), as Jerome does not include him among the prophets in the *Prol. Gal.*; but in a letter written A.D. 394 (*Ep.* liii. *ad Paul.*) he places him distinctly among the four greater prophets. The Preface to Daniel contains no mark of time: it appears only that the translation was made after that of Tobit, when Jerome was not yet familiar with Chaldee.

circulation, and Job had lately been put into the hands of his most intimate friends (*Ep.* xlix. *ad Pammach.*). Indeed, it would appear that already in 392 he had in some sense completed a version of the O. T. (*De Vir. Ill.* cxxxv., "Vetus juxta Hebraicum transtuli." This treatise was written in that year);[b] but many books were not completed and published till some years afterwards. The next books which he put into circulation, yet with the provision that they should be confined to friends (*Praef. in Ezr.*), were Ezra and Nehemiah, which he translated at the request of Dominica and Rogatianus, who had urged him to the task for three years. This was probably in the year 394 (*Vit. Hieron.* xxi. 4), for in the Preface he alludes to his intention of discussing a question which he treats in *Ep.* lvii., written in 395 (*De optimo Gen. interpret.*). In the Preface to the Chronicles (addressed to Chromatius), he alludes to the same Epistle as "lately written," and these books may therefore be set down to that year. The three Books of Solomon followed in 398,[c] having been "the work of three days" when he had just recovered from a severe illness, which he suffered in that year (*Praef.* "Itaque longa aegrotatione fractus . . . . tridui opus nomini vestro [Chromatio et Heliodoro] consecravi." Comp. *Ep.* lxxiii. 10). The *Octateuch* now alone remained (*Ep.* lxxi. 5, *i. e.* Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and Esther, *Praef. in Jos.*). Of this the Pentateuch (inscribed to Desiderius) was published first, but it is uncertain in what year. The Preface, however, is not quoted in the Apology against Rufinus (A.D. 400), as those of all the other books which were then published, and it may therefore be set down to a later date (Hody, p. 357). The remaining books were completed at the request of Eustochium, shortly after the death of Paula, A.D. 404 (*Praef. in Jos.*). Thus the whole translation was spread over a period of about fourteen years, from the sixtieth to the seventy-sixth year of Jerome's life. But still parts of it were finished in great haste (*e. g.* the Books of Solomon). A single day was sufficient for the translation of Tobit (*Praef. in Tob.*); and "one short effort" (una lucubratiuncula) for the translation of Judith. Thus there are errors in the work which a more careful revision might have removed, and Jerome himself in many places gives renderings which he prefers to those which he had adopted, and admits from time to time that he had fallen into error (Hody, p. 362). Yet such defects are trifling when compared with what he accomplished successfully. The work remained for eight centuries the bulwark of Western Christianity; and as a monument of ancient linguistic power the translation of the O. T. stands unrivalled and unique. It was at least a direct rendering of the original, and not the Version of a version. The Septuagintal tradition was at length set aside, and a few passages will show the extent and character of the differences by which the new translation was distinguished from the *Old Latin* which it superseded

TABLE F.

Mic. v. 2 (Matt. ii. 6).

Vetus Latina.	*Vulgata nova.*
Et tu Bethlehem domus Ephrata	Et tu Bethlehem Ephrata,
nequaquam minima es ut sis in millibus Judae.	*parvulus es* in millibus Judae:
ex te mihi egredietur	ex te mihi egredietur
ut sit in principem Israel,	*qui sit dominator* in Israel,
et egressus ejus ab initio,	et egressus ejus ab initio,
ex diebus saeculi.	*a diebus aeternitatis.*

Jer. xxxviii. (xxxi.) 15 (Matt. ii. 18).

Vox in *Rhama* audita est,	Vox in *excelso* audita est
lamentatio et fletus et luctus,	lamentationis luctus et fletus,
Rachel plorantis filios suos,	Rachel plorantis filios suos;
et noluit consolari	*et nolentis* [noluit] *consolari*
quia non sunt.	super eis [s. filiis suis], quia non sunt.

Is. ix. 1. 2 (Matt. iv. 15, 16).

Hoc primum tibe velociter fac	*Primo tempore alleviata est*
regio Zabulon, terra Neptalim;	terra Zabulon et terra Nephthali:
et reliqui qui juxta mare estis	*et novissimo aggravata est via maris*
trans Jordanem Galilaeae gentium	trans Jordanem Galilaeae gentium.
Populus qui ambulabat in tenebris	Populus qui ambulabat in tenebris
vidit lucem magnam:	vidit lucem magnam;
qui habitatis in regione et umbra mortis	habitantibus in regione umbrae mortis
lux *orietur* vobis.	lux *orta est* eis.

Is. liii. 4 (Matt. viii. 17).

Iste *peccata* nostra portat	Vere *languores* nostros ipse tulit
et *pro nobis dolet.*	et *dolores nostros ipse portavit.*

Zech. ix. 9 (Matt. xxi. 5).

Gaude *vehementer*, filia Sion,	Exsulta *satis*, filia Sion,
praedica filia Jerusalem:	*jubila* filia Jerusalem.
Ecce Rex tuus veniet tibi justus et salvans:	Ecce Rex tuus veniet tibi justus et salvator:
ipse *mansuetus* et ascendens super	ipse *pauper* et ascendens super
subjugalem et *pullum novum.*	*asinam* et *super pullum filium asinae.*

Is. lxi. 1, 2 (Luke iv. 18, 19).

Spiritus Domini super me,	Spiritus Domini (al. *add.* Dei) super me,
propter quod unxit me:	eo quod unxerit Dominus me:
evangelizare pauperibus misit me,	*ad annunciandum mansuetis* misit me,
sanare contritos corde,	ut mederer contritis corde,

[b] Sophronius (*De Vir. Ill.* cxxxiv.) had also then translated into Greek Jerome's version of the Psalms and Prophets.

[c] The date given by Hody (A.D. 388) rests on a false reference (p. 356).

Is. lxi. 1, 2 (Luke iv. 18, 19).—*continued.*

Vetus Latina.	*Vulgata nova.*
praedicare captivis *remissionem*,	et praedicarem captivis *indulgentiam*.
et *caecis ut videant*:	et *clausis apertionem*:
vocare annum acceptabilem Domino	ut praedicarem (al. et annunciarem) annum placabilem Domino
et diem retributionis:	et diem ultionis Deo nostro:
consolari omnes lugentes.	ut consolarer omnes lugentes.

Hos. ii. 24 (Rom. ix. 25).

Et dicam non populo meo:	Et dicam non populo meo:
Populus meus es tu.	Populus meus es tu.
Et ipse dicet:	Et ipse dicet:
Dominus Deus meus es tu.	Deus meus es tu.

Hos. i. 10 (Rom. ix. 26).

Et erit in loco ubi *dictum est* eis:	Et erit in loco ubi *dicetur* eis:
Non populus meus vos:	Non populus meus vos:
Vocabuntur Filii Dei viventis.	*Dicetur eis*: Filii Dei viventis.

Is. xxviii. 16 (Rom. x. 11).

Ecce ego immittam in fundamenta Sion lapidem . . .	Ecce ego mittam in fundamentis Sion lapidem
et qui crediderit non *confundetur*.	qui crediderit non *festinet*.

Hos. xiii. 14 (1 Cor. xv. 55).

De morte redimam illos:	De morte redimam eos:
ubi est causa tua mors?	*ero mors tua*, o mors,
ubi est aculeus tuus, Inferne?	*morsus tuus ero*, Inferne.

Job iv. 15-21.

Et spiritus in faciem mihi occurrit,	Et cum spiritus me praesente transiret,
Horruerunt capilli mei et carnes.	inhorruerunt pili carnis meae.
Exsurrexi et non cognovi.	Stetit quidam, cujus non agnoscebam vultum
Inspexi, et non erat figura ante faciem meam:	imago coram oculis meis,
sed auram tantum et vocem audiebam.	et vocem quasi aurae lenis audivi.
Quid enim? Nunquid homo coram Domino mundus erit,	Nunquid homo Dei comparatione justificabitur
aut ab operibus suis sine macula vir?	aut factore suo purior erit vir?
Si contra servos suos non credit,	Ecce qui serviunt ei non sunt stabiles:
et adversus angelos suos pravum quid reperit.	et in angelis suis reperit pravitatem.
Habitantes autem domos luteas,	Quanto magis hi qui habitant domos luteas,
de quibus et nos ex eodem luto sumus,	qui terrenum habent fundamentum,
percussit illos tanquam tinea,	consumentur velut a tinea?
et a mane usque ad vesperam ultra non sunt;	De mane usque ad vesperam succidentur:
et quod non possent sibi ipsis subvenire perierunt.	et quia nullus intelligit in aeternum peribunt.
Affiavit enim eos et aruerunt,	Qui autem reliqui fuerint auferentur ex eis:
interierunt, quia non habebant sapientiam.	Morientur, et non in sapientia.

IV. The History of Jerome's Translation to the Invention of Printing.—21. The critical labours of Jerome were received, as such labours always are received by the multitude, with a loud outcry of reproach. He was accused of disturbing the repose of the Church and shaking the foundations of faith. Acknowledged errors, as he complains, were looked upon as hallowed by ancient usage (*Praef. in Job.* ii.); and few had the wisdom or candour to acknowledge the importance of seeking for the purest possible text of Holy Scripture. Even Augustine was carried away by the popular prejudice, and endeavoured to discourage Jerome from the task of a new translation (*Ep.* civ.), which seemed to him to be dangerous and almost profane. Jerome, indeed, did little to smooth the way for the reception of his work. The violence and bitterness of his language is more like that of the rival scholars of the 16th century than of a Christian Father; and there are few more touching instances of humility than that of the young Augustine bending himself in entire submission before the contemptuous and impatient reproof of the veteran scholar (*Ep.* cxii. *s.f.*). But even Augustine could not overcome the force of early habit. To the last he remained faithful to the Italic text which he had first used; and while he notices in his *Retractationes* several faulty readings which he had formerly embraced, he shows no tendency to substitute generally the New Version for the Old.[d] In such cases Time is the great reformer. Clamour based upon ignorance soon dies away; and the New translation gradually came into use equally with the Old, and at length supplanted it. In the 5th century it was adopted in Gaul by Eucherius of Lyons, Vincent of Lerins, Sedulius and Claudianus Mamertus (Hody, p. 398); but the Old Latin was still retained in Africa and Britain (id.). In the 6th century the use of Jerome's Version was universal among scholars except in Africa, where the other still lingered (Junilius); and at the close of it Gregory the Great, while commenting on Jerome's Version, acknowledged that it was admitted equally with the Old by the Apostolic See (*Praef. in Job. ad Leandrum*, "Novam translationem dissero, sed ut comprobationis causa exigit, nunc Novam, nunc Veterem, per testimonia assumo; ut quia sedes Apostolica (cui auctore Deo praesideo) utraque utitur mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur"). But the Old Version was not

d When he quotes it, he seems to consider an explanation necessary (*De doctr. Christ.* iv. 7, 15): "Ex illius prophetae libro potissimum hoc faciam . . . . . non autem secundum LXX. interpretes, *qui etiam ipsi divino spiritu interpretati, ob hoc aliter videntur nonnulla dixisse, ut ad spiritualem sensum magis admoneretur lectoris intentio* . . . , sed sicut ex Hebraeo in Latinum eloquium presbytero Hieronymo utriusque linguae perito interpretante, translata sunt." In his *Retractationes* there is no definite reference, as far as I have observed, to Jerome's critical labours. He notices, however, some false readings: *Lib.* i. vii.; Ps. xliii. 22 (Rom. viii. 36); Wisd. viii. 7, Eccles. i. 2; *id.* xix. 4; Matt. v. 22 *om* sine causa: *Lib.* ii. xii.; Matt. xx. 17 (*duodecim* for *duo*).

authoritatively displaced, though the custom of the Roman Church prevailed also in the other churches of the West. Thus Isidore of Seville, (*De Offic. Eccles.* i. 12), after affirming the inspiration of the LXX., goes on to recommend the Version of Jerome, "which," he says, "is used universally, as being more truthful in substance and more perspicuous in language." "[Hieronymi] editione generaliter omnes ecclesiae usquequaque utuntur, pro eo quod veracior sit in sententiis et clarior in verbis:" (Hody, p. 402). In the 7th century the traces of the Old Version grow rare. Julianus of Toledo (A.D. 676) affirms with a special polemical purpose the authority of the LXX., and so of the Old Latin; but still he himself follows Jerome when not influenced by the requirements of controversy (Hody, pp. 405, 406). In the 8th century Bede speaks of Jerome's Version as "*our* edition" (Hody, p. 408); and from this time it is needless to trace its history, though the Old Latin was not wholly forgotten.[e] Yet throughout, the New Version made its way without any direct ecclesiastical authority. It was adopted in the different Churches gradually, or at least without any formal command. (Compare Hody, pp. 411 ff. for detailed quotations.)

22. But the Latin Bible which thus passed gradually into use under the name of Jerome was a strangely composite work. The books of the O. T., with one exception, were certainly taken from his Version from the Hebrew; but this had not only been variously corrupted, but was itself in many particulars (especially in the Pentateuch) at variance with his later judgment. Long use, however, made it impossible to substitute his Psalter from the Hebrew for the Gallican Psalter; and thus this book was retained from the Old Version, as Jerome had corrected it from the LXX. Of the Apocryphal books Jerome hastily revised or translated two only, Judith and Tobit. The remainder were retained from the Old Version against his judgment; and the Apocryphal additions to Daniel and Esther, which he had carefully marked as apocryphal in his own Version, were treated as integral parts of the books. A few MSS. of the Bible faithfully preserved the "Hebrew Canon," but the great mass, according to the general custom of copyists to omit nothing, included everything which had held a place in the Old Latin. In the N. T. the only important addition which was frequently interpolated was the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans. The text of the Gospels was in the main Jerome's revised edition; that of the remaining books his very incomplete revision of the Old Latin. Thus the present Vulgate contains elements which belong to every period and form of the Latin Version—(1.) *Unrevised Old Latin*: Wisdom, Ecclus., 1, 2 Macc., Baruch. (2.) *Old Latin revised from the LXX.*: Psalter. (3.) *Jerome's free translation from the original text*: Judith, Tobit. (4.) *Jerome's translation from the Original*: O. T. except Psalter. (5.) *Old Latin revised from Greek MSS.*: Gospels. (6.) *Old Latin cursorily revised*: the remainder of N. T.

The Revision of Alcuin.—23. Meanwhile the text of the different parts of the Latin Bible was rapidly deteriorating. The simultaneous use of the Old and New Versions necessarily led to great corruptions of both texts. Mixed texts were formed according to the taste or judgment of scribes, and the confusion was further increased by the changes which were sometimes introduced by those who had some knowledge of Greek.[f] From this cause scarcely any Anglo-Saxon Vulgate MS. of the 8th or 9th centuries which the writer has examined is wholly free from an admixture of old readings. Several remarkable examples are noticed below (§ 32); and in rare instances it is difficult to decide whether the text is not rather a revised *Vetus* than a corrupted *Vulgata nova* (*e.g.* Brit. Mus. *Reg.* i. E. vi.; *Addit.* 5463). As early as the 6th century, Cassiodorus attempted a partial revision of the text (Psalter, Prophets, Epistles) by a collation of old MSS. But private labour was unable to check the growing corruption; and in the 8th century this had arrived at such a height, that it attracted the attention of Charlemagne. Charlemagne at once sought a remedy, and entrusted to Alcuin (cir. A.D. 802) the task of revising the Latin text for public use. This Alcuin appears to have done simply by the use of MSS. of the Vulgate, and not by reference to the original texts (Porson, *Letter* vi. *to Travis*, p. 145). The passages which are adduced by Hody to prove his familiarity with Hebrew, are in fact only quotations from Jerome, and he certainly left the text unaltered, at least in one place where Jerome points out its inaccuracy (Gen. xxv. 8).[g] The patronage of Charlemagne gave a wide currency to the revision of Alcuin, and several MSS. remain which claim to date immediately from his time.[h] According to a very remarkable statement, Charlemagne was more than a patron of sacred criticism, and himself devoted the last year of his life to the correction of the Gospels "with the help of Greeks and Syrians" (Van Ess, p. 159, quoting Theganus, Script. Hist. Franc. ii. p. 277).[i]

24. However this may be, it is probable that Alcuin's revision contributed much towards preserving a good Vulgate text. The best MSS. of his recension do not differ widely from the pure Hieronymian text, and his authority must have done much to check the spread of the interpolations which reappear afterwards, and which were derived from the intermixture of the Old and New Versions. Examples of readings which seem to be due to him occur: Deut. i. 9, add. *solitudinem*; *venissemus*, for *-etis*; id. 4, *ascendimus*, for *ascendemus*; ii. 24, *in manu tua*, for *in manus tuas*; iv. 33, *vidisti*, for *vixisti*; vi. 13, *ipsi*, add. *soli*; xv. 9, *oculos*, om

[e] Thus Bede, speaking of a contemporary abbot, says that he increased the library of two monasteries with great zeal, "ita ut tres *Pandectas*" (the name for the collection of the Holy Scriptures adopted by Alcuin, in place of *Bibliotheca*) "novae translationis ad unum vetustae translationis, quam de Roma attulerat, ipse superadjungeret... (Hody, p. 409).

[f] Jerome notices this fruitful source of error: "Si quid pro studio ex latere additum est non debet poni in corpore, ne priorem translationem pro scribentium voluntate conturbat" (*Ep.* cvi. *ad Sun. et Fret.*). Bede, Walafrid Strabo, and others, complain of the same custom.

[g] Hieron. *Quaest. in Gen.* xxv 8. *Comm in Eccles* ix. 466; *id.* xii. 490.

[h] Among these is that known as Charlemagne's Bible, *Brit. Mus.* Add. 10,546, which has been described by Hug, *Einl.* §123. Another is in the library of the Oratory at Rome (comp. §30, Cod. D). A third is in the Imperial Library at Paris. All of these, however, are later than the age of Charlemagne, and date probably from the time of Charles the Bald, A.D. 875.

[i] Mr. H. Bradshaw suggests that this statement derives some confirmation from the Preface which Charlemagne added to the collection of Homilies arranged by Paulus Diaconus, in which he speaks "of the pains which he had taken to set the church books to rights." A copy of this collection, with the Preface (xi.th cent.), is preserved in the Library of St. Peter's Coll. Cambr.

tuos; xvii. 20, *filius*, for *filii*; xxi. 6, add. *venient*; xxvi. 16, *at*, for *et*. But the new revision was gradually deformed, though later attempts at correction were made by Lanfranc of Canterbury (A.D. 1089, Hody, p. 416), Card. Nicolaus (A.D. 1150), and the Cistercian Abbot Stephanus (cir. A.D. 1150). In the 13th century *Correctoria* were drawn up, especially in France, in which varieties of reading were discussed;[k] and Roger Bacon complains loudly of the confusion which was introduced into the "Common, that is the Parisian copy," and quotes a false reading from Mark viii. 38, where the correctors had substituted *confessus* for *confusus* (Hody, pp. 419 ff.). Little more was done for the text of the Vulgate till the invention of printing; and the name of Laurentius Valla (cir. 1450) alone deserves mention, as of one who devoted the highest powers to the criticism of Holy Scripture, at a time when such studies were little esteemed.[m]

[k] Vercellone has given the readings of three Vatican *Correctoria*, and refers to his own essay upon them in *Atti della Pontif. Acad. Rom. di Archeologia*, xiv. There is a *Correctorium* in *Brit. Mus.* Reg. 1 A, viii.

[m] The divisions of the Latin Versions into *capitula* were very various. Cassiodorus († 560 A.D.) mentions an ancient division of some books existing in his time ("Octateuchi [*i. e.* Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth] titulos .... credidimus imprimendos a majoribus nostris ordine currente descriptos." *De Inst. Div. Litt.* i.), and in other books (1, 2 Chron., the Books of Solomon), he himself made a corresponding division. Jerome mentions *capitula*, but the sections which he indicates do not seem to establish the existence of any generally received arrangement; and the variety of the capitulation in the best existing MSS. of his Version proves that no one method of subdivision could claim his authority. The divisions which are given in MSS. correspond with the summary of contents by which the several books are prefaced, and vary considerably in length. They are called indiscriminately *capitula*, *breves*, *tituli*. Martianay, in his edition of the *Bibliotheca*, gives a threefold arrangement, and assigns the different terms to the three several divisions; thus Genesis has xxxviii *tituli*, xlvi *breves*, lxxxii (or cliv) *capitula*. But while Jerome does not appear to have fixed any division of the Bible into chapters, he arranged the text in lines (*versus*, στίχοι) for convenience in reading and interpretation; and the lines were combined in marked groups (*membra*, κῶλα). In the poetical books a further arrangement marked the parallelism of the answering clauses (Martianay, *Prolegg.* iv. *Ad Div. Bibl.*). The number of lines (*versus*) is variously given in different MSS. (Comp. Vercellone, *Var. Lect. App. ad Jos.*) For the origin of the present division of the Vulgate, see BIBLE, i. 213.

An abstract of the *capitula* and *versus* given in the Alcuin MS., known as "Charlemagne's Bible" (Brit. Mus. Addit. 10,546), will give a satisfactory idea of the contents, nomenclature, and arrangement of the best copies of the Latin Bible.

Epistola ad Paulinum. Praefatio.
Bresit, i. e. *Genesis*, capp. lxxxii. habet versos iii. dcc.
Ellesmoth, i. e. *Exodus*. capp. cxxxviiii. v. iii.
Leviticus, Hebraice
Vaiecra. . . . capp. lxxxviiii. v. ii. ccc.
Numeri . . . capp. lxxviiii. hab. vers. numr. iii.
Addabarim, Grece
Deuteronomium . . capp. clv. habet vers. ii. dc.
Praefatio Jesu Naue et Judicum.
Josue Ben Nun . . capp. xxxiii. habet vers. i. dccl.
Softim, i. e. *Judicum*,
(liber, ... capp. xviii. habet vers. numr. i. dccl.
Ruth . . . . . none. habet ver. num. ccl.
Praefatio (Prologus galeatus).
Samuhel (*Regum*), lib.
prim. . . . . capp. xxvi. habet versus, ii. ccc.
Samuhel (*Regum*), lib.
sec. . . . . capp. xviii. habet versus, ii. cc.
Malachim, i. e. *Regum*,
lib. tert. . capp. xviiii. (for xviii.) habet vers. ii. d.
Malachim, i. e. *Regum*,
lib. quart. . . . . capp. xvii. habet versus ii. ccl.
Prologus.
Isaias . . . . . none. habet vers.
iii. dlxxx.
Prologus.
Hieremias (with Lam. and Prayer) . . . . . none. habet versus iiii. cccci.
Prologus.
Hiezechiel (*-iel*) . . . . none. none.
Danihel . . . . . none. habet versus i. dcccl.
Osee, Johel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Michas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachias . none. none.
Prologus.
Job . . . . . none. v. i. dcc.
Origo Proph. David . . Praefatio.
Liber *Psalmorum* (Gallican) none. habet vr. v.
Epist. ad Chroni. et Heliod.
Liber *Proverbiorum* . capp. lx. habet versus i. dccxl.
Ecclesiastes . . . capp. xxxi. none.
Cantica Canticorum . . none. habet versus cclxxx.
Liber *Sapientiae* . capp. xlviii. habet versus i. dcc.
Ecclesiasticus . . capp. cxxvii. habet versus ii. dcc.
Praefatio.
Dabreiamin, lib. prim. . none. hab. (sic)
Paralypominon (lib. sec.) . none. none.
Praefatio.
Liber *Ezrae* . . . . . —— ——
Prologus.
Hester (with add.) . . . none. habet versus v. dcc.
Praefatio.
Tobias . . . . . none. none.
Prologus.
Judith . . . . . —— habet versus i. c.
Liber *Machabr.* prim. . . . lxi. none.
Machabr. liber sec. . . . lv. ——
Praef. ad Damasum.
Argumentum.
Canones.
Prologus.
Mattheus . . . capp. lxxxi. habet vers. ii. dcc.
Marcus . . . . capp. xlvi. hab. v. i. dcc.
Lucas . . . . capp. lxxiii. vers. iii. dccc.
Johannes . . . capp. xxxv. vers. i. dccc.
Lib. *Actuum Apost.* capp. lxxiiii. habet vers. iii. dc.
Prologus septem Epistolarum Can.
Epistl. *Scī. Jacobi* . . capp. xx. none.
Epistl. *Scī. Petri prim.* capp. xx. ——
Epistl. *Scī. Petri sec.* . capp. xi. ——
Epistl. *Scī. Joh. prim.* . capp. xx. ——
Epistl. *Scī. Joh. sec.* . capp. v. ——
Epistl. *Scī. Joh. tert.* . capp. v. ——
Epistl. *Scī. Jud.* . . . capp. vii. ——
Epla. *ad Romanos* . . capp. li. habet versus dccccxi
Epla. *ad Cor. prim.* . capp. lxxii. none.
Epla. *ad Cor. sec.* . capp. xxviii. hab. vers. ccxcii.
Epla. *ad Galathas* . capp. xxxvii. habet versus ccxiii.
Epla. *ad Ephesios* . . capp. xxxi. habet versus cccxvii
Epla. *ad Philippenses* . capp. xviiii. none.
Epla. *ad Thess. prim.* . capp. xxv. habet versus ccxiii.
Epla. *ad Thess. sec.* . capp. viiii. none.
Epla. *ad Colosenses* . capp. xxxi. none.
Epla. *ad Tim. prim.* . capp. xxx. vers. ccxxx.
Epla. *ad Tim. sec.* . . capp. xxv. none.
Epla. *ad Tit.* . . . . capp. x. none.
Epla. *ad Philem.* . . capp. iiii. none
Epla. *ad Hebr.* . . capp. xxxviiii. none.
Epla. *ad Laodicenses* . . none. none.
Apocalypsis . . . . capp. xxv. habet versus i. dcco.

An *argumentum* is given before each of the books of

V. THE HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT.—25. It was a noble omen for the future progress of printing that the first book which issued from the press was the Bible; and the splendid pages of the Mazarin Vulgate (Mainz, Gutenburg and Fust) stand yet unsurpassed by the latest efforts of typography. This work is referred to about the year 1455, and presents the common text of the 15th century. Other editions followed in rapid succession (the first with a date, Mainz, 1462, Fust and Schoiffer), but they offer nothing of critical interest. The first collection of various readings appears in a Paris edition of 1504, and others followed at Venice and Lyons in 1511, 1513; but Cardinal Ximenes (1502-1517) was the first who seriously revised the Latin text (" . . . . contulimus cum quamplurimis exemplaribus venerandae vetustatis; sed his maxime, quae in publica Complutensis nostrae Universitatis bibliotheca reconduntur, quae supra octingentesimum abhinc annum litteris Gothicis conscripta, ea sunt sinceritate ut nec apicis lapsus possit in eis deprehendi," *Praef.*)[n], to which he assigned the middle place of honour in his Polyglott between the Hebrew and Greek texts [comp. NEW TESTAMENT, p. 521]. The Complutensian text is said to be more correct than those which preceded it, but still it is very far from being pure. This was followed in 1528 (2nd edition 1532) by an edition of R. Stephens, who had bestowed great pains upon the work, consulting three MSS. of high character and the earlier editions, but as yet the best materials were not open for use. About the same time various attempts were made to correct the Latin from the original texts (Erasmus, 1516;[o] Pagninus, 1518-28; Card. Cajetanus; Steuchius, 1529; Clarius, 1542), or even to make a new Latin version (Jo. Campensis, 1533). A more important edition of R. Stephens followed in 1540, in which he made use of twenty MSS. and introduced considerable alterations into his former text. In 1541 another edition was published by Jo. Benedictus at Paris, which was based on the collation of MSS. and editions, and was often reprinted afterwards. Vercellone speaks much more highly of the *Biblia Ordinaria*, with glosses, &c., published at Lyons, 1545, as giving readings in accordance with the oldest MSS., though the sources from which they are derived are not given (*Variæ Lect.* xcix.). The course of controversy in the 16th century exaggerated the importance of the differences in the text and interpretation of the Vulgate, and the confusion called for some remedy. An authorized edition became a necessity for the Romish Church, and, however gravely later theologians may have erred in explaining the policy or intentions of the Tridentine Fathers on this point, there can be no doubt that (setting aside all reference to the *original* texts) the principle of their decision—the preference, that is, of the oldest Latin text to any later Latin version—was substantially right.[p]

The Sixtine and Clementine Vulgates.—26. The first session of the Council of Trent was held on Dec. 13th, 1545. After some preliminary arrangements the Nicene Creed was formally promulgated as the foundation of the Christian faith on Feb. 4th, 1546, and then the Council proceeded to the question of the authority, text, and interpretation of Holy Scripture. A committee was appointed to report upon the subject, which held private meetings from Feb. 20th to March 17th. Considerable varieties of opinion existed as to the relative value of the original and Latin texts, and the final decree was intended to serve as a compromise.[q] This was made on April 8th, 1546, and consisted of two parts, the first of which contains the list of the canonical books, with the usual anathema on those who refuse to receive it; while the second, " On the Edition and Use of the Sacred Books," contains no anathema, so that its contents are not articles of faith.[r] The wording of the decree itself contains

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the N. T. except the Catholic Epistles and the Ep. to the Laodiceans, and the whole MS. closes with sixty-eight hexameter Latin verses.

The divisions agree generally with *Brit. Mus.* Harl. 2805, and *Lambeth* 3, 4. In the Vallicellian Alcuin MS. (comp. p. 1710 D) the apocryphal *Ep. to the Laodiceans* is not found; but it occurs in the same position in the great Bible in the King's Library (1 E. vii. viii.), with four *capitula*.

Many examples of the various divisions into *capitula* are given at length by Thomasius, *Opera*, i. ed. Vezzosi, *Romae*, 1747. The divisions of the principal MSS. which the writer has examined are given below, §30.

Bentley gives the following stichometry from *Cod. Sangerm.* (g):—

Ep. ad Rom., *Scripta de Chorintho.* *Versos* DCCCC. (so two other of B.'s MSS.).
ad Cor. i., *Scripta de Philipis.* *Versus* DCCCLXX.
ad Cor. ii., *Scripta de Macedoniâ.* *Versus* DLXX. (sic).
ad Galat., *Scripta de urbe Roma.* *Versi* CCLXIIIXC. (sic).
ad Ephes., *Scripta de urbe Roma.* *Versus* CCCXII.
ad Philip., *Scripta de urbe Roma.* *Versi* CCCL.
ad Coloss., *Scripta de urbe Roma.* *Versi* CCVIII.
ad Thess. i., *Scripta de Athenis.* *Versi* CLXIIII.
ad Thess. ii., *Scripta de urbe Roma.* *Versus* CVIII.
ad Tim. i., *Scripta de Lauditia.* *Versus* CCXXX.
ad Tim. ii., *Scripta a Roma.* *Versus* CLXXII.
ad Tit., *Scripta de Nicopolin.* *Versus* LXVII.
ad Philem., *Scripta de urbe Roma.* *Versus* XXXIIII.
ad Hebr., *Scripta de Roma.* *Versus* DCC.

No verses are given from this MS. for the other books.

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[n] The copy which is here alluded to is still in the library at Alcala, but the writer is not aware that it has been re-examined by any scholar. There is also a second copy of the Vulgate of the 12th cent. A list of Biblical MSS. at Alcala is given in Dr. Tregelles' *Printed Text of N. T.*, pp. 15-18.

[o] Erasmus himself wished to publish the Latin text as he found it in MSS.; but he was dissuaded by the advice of a friend, " urgent rather than wise " (" amici consiliis improbis verius quam felicibus ").

[p] Bellarmin justly insists on this fact, which has been strangely overlooked in later controversies (*De Verbo Dei*, x. ap. Van Ess, §27): " Nec enim Patres [Tridentini] fontium ullam mentionem fecerunt. Sed solum ex tot latinis versionibus, quae nunc circumferuntur, unam delegerunt, quam ceteris anteponerent . . . . . antiquam novis, probatam longo usu recentibus adhuc, ac ut sic loquar crudis . . . . "

[q] The original authorities are collected and given at length by Van Ess, §17.

[r] Insuper eadem Sacrosancta Synodus considerans non parum *utilitatis* accedere posse ecclesiæ Dei, si ex omnibus *latinis* editionibus, quæ circumferuntur sacrorum librorum, quaenam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat, statuit et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quae longo tot seculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in *publicis* lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur; et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis praetextu audeat vel praesumat. . . Sed et impressoribus modum. . . . imponere volens. . . . decrevit et statuit ut posthac sacra scriptura *potissimum* vero haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio quam emendatissime imprimatur

several marks of the controversy from which it arose, and admits of a far more liberal construction than later glosses have affixed to it. In affirming the authority of the 'Old Vulgate' it contains no estimate of the value of the original texts. The question decided is simply the relative merits of the current *Latin* versions ("si ex omnibus Latinis versionibus quae circumferuntur . . . ."[s]), and this only in reference to *public* exercises. The object contemplated is the advantage (utilitas) of the Church, and not anything essential to its constitution. It was further enacted, as a check to the licence of printers, that "Holy Scripture, but *especially* the old and common (Vulgate) edition (evidently without excluding the original texts), should be printed as correctly as possible." In spite, however, of the comparative caution of the decree, and the interpretation which was affixed to it by the highest authorities, it was received with little favour, and the want of a standard text of the Vulgate practically left the question as unsettled as before. The decree itself was made by men little fitted to anticipate the difficulties of textual criticism, but afterwards these were found to be so great that for some time it seemed that no authorized edition would appear. The theologians of Belgium did something to meet the want. In 1547 the first edition of Hentenius appeared at Louvain, which had very considerable influence upon later copies. It was based upon the collation of Latin MSS. and the Stephanic edition of 1540. In the Antwerp Polyglott of 1568-72 the Vulgate was borrowed from the Complutensian (Vercellone, *Var. Lect.* ci.); but in the Antwerp edition of the Vulgate of 1573-4 the text of Hentenius was adopted with copious additions of readings by Lucas Brugensis. This last was designed as the preparation and temporary substitute for the Papal edition: indeed it may be questioned whether it was not put forth as the "correct edition required by the Tridentine decree" (comp. Lucas Brug. ap. Vercellone, cii.). But a Papal board was already engaged, however desultorily, upon the work of revision. The earliest trace of an attempt to realise the recommendations of the Council is found fifteen years after it was made. In 1561 Paulus Manutius (son of Aldus Manutius) was invited to Rome to superintend the printing of Latin and Greek Bibles (Vercellone, *Var. Lect.* &c., i. Prol. xix. *n.*). During that year and the next several scholars (with Sirletus at their head) were engaged in the revision of the text. In the pontificate of Pius V. the work was continued, and Sirletus still took a chief part in it (1569, 1570, Vercellone, *l. c.* xx. *n.*), but it was currently reported that the difficulties of publishing an authoritative edition were insuperable. Nothing further was done towards the revision of the Vulgate under Gregory XIII., but preparations were made for an edition of the LXX. This appeared in 1587, in the second year of the pontificate of Sixtus V., who had been one of the chief promoters of the work. After the publication of the LXX., Sixtus immediately devoted himself to the production of an edition of the Vulgate. He was himself a scholar, and his imperious genius led him to face a task from which others had shrunk. "He had felt," he says, "from his first accession to the papal throne (1585), great grief, or even indignation (indigne ferentes), that the Tridentine decree was still unsatisfied;" and a board was appointed, under the presidency of Card. Carafa, to arrange the materials and offer suggestions for an edition. Sixtus himself revised the text, rejecting or confirming the suggestions of the board by his absolute judgment; and when the work was printed he examined the sheets with the utmost care, and corrected the errors with his own hand.[t] The edition appeared in 1590, with the famous constitution *Aeternus ille* (dated March 1st, 1589) prefixed, in which Sixtus affirmed with characteristic decision the plenary authority of the edition for all future time. "By the fulness of Apostolical power" (such are his words) "we decree and declare that this edition . . . . approved by the authority delivered to us by the Lord, is to be received and held as true, lawful, authentic, and unquestioned, in all public *and private* discussion, reading, preaching, and explanation."[t] He further forbade expressly the publication of various readings in copies of the Vulgate, and pronounced that all readings in other editions and MSS. which vary from those of the revised text "are to have no credit or authority for the future" (ea in iis quae huic nostrae editioni non consenserint, nullam in posterum fidem, nullamque auctoritatem habitura esse decernimus). It was also enacted that the new revision should be introduced into all missals and service-books; and the greater excommunication was threatened against all who in any way contravened the constitution. Had the life of Sixtus been prolonged, there is no doubt but that his iron will would have enforced the changes which he thus peremptorily proclaimed; but he died in Aug. 1590, and those whom he had alarmed or offended took immediate measures to hinder the execution of his designs. Nor was this without good reason. He had changed the readings of those whom he had employed to report upon the text with the most arbitrary and unskilful hand; and it was scarcely an exaggeration to say that his precipitate "self-reliance had brought the Church into the most

[s] The original words are both interesting and important: "Nos . . . . ipsius Apostolorum Principis auctoritate confisi . . . . haudquaquam gravati sumus . . . . hunc quoque non mediocrem accuratae lucubrationis laborem suscipere, atque ea omnia perlegere quae alii collegerant aut seserant, diversarum lectionum rationes perpendere, sanctorum doctorum sententias recognoscere: quae quibus anteferenda essent dijudicare, adeo ut in hoc laboriosissimae emendationis curriculo, in quo operam quotidianam, eamque pluribus noris collocandam duximus, aliorum quidem labor fuerit in consulendo, noster autem in eo quod ex pluribus esset optimum deligendo: ita tamen ut veterem multis in Ecclesia abhinc saeculis receptam lectionem omnino retinuerimus. Novam interea Typographiam in Apostolico Vaticano Palatio nostro . . . . . exstruximus . . . . ut in ea emendatum jam Bibliorum volumen excuderetur: eaque res quo magis incorrupte perficeretur, nostra nos ipsi manu correximus, si qua praeter vitia obrepserant, et quae confusa aut facile confundi posse videbantur . . . . distinximus" (Hody, p. 496; Van Ess, p. 273).

[t] ". . . . . ex certa nostra scientia, deque Apostolicae potestatis plenitudine statuimus ac declaramus, eam Vulgatam sacrae, tam veteris, quam novi Testamenti paginae Latinam editionem, quae pro authentica a Concilio Tridentino recepta est, sine ulla dubitatione, aut controversia censendam esse hanc ipsam, quam nunc, prout optime fieri poterit, emendatam et in Vaticana Typographia impressam in universa Christiana Republica, atque in omnibus Christiani orbis Ecclesiis legendam evulgamus, decernentes eam . . . . pro vera, legitima authentica et indubitata, in omnibus publicis privatisque disputationibus, lectionibus, praedicationibus, et explanationibus recipiendam et tenendam esse."

serious peril."[a] During the brief pontificate of Urban VII. nothing could be done; but the reaction was not long delayed. On the accession of Gregory XIV. some went so far as to propose that the edition of Sixtus should be absolutely prohibited; but Bellarmin suggested a middle course. He proposed that the erroneous alterations of the text which had been made in it ("quae *male mutata* erant") "should be corrected with all possible speed and the Bible reprinted under the name of Sixtus, with a prefatory note to the effect that errors (aliqua *errata*) had crept into the former edition by the carelessness of the printers."[x] This pious fraud, or rather daring falsehood,[y] for it can be called by no other name, found favour with those in power. A commission was appointed to revise the Sixtine text, under the presidency of the Cardinal Colonna (Columna). At first the commissioners made but slow progress, and it seemed likely that a year would elapse before the revision was completed (Ungarelli, in Vercellone, *Proleg.* lviii.). The mode of proceedings was therefore changed, and the commission moved to Zagarolo, the country seat of Colonna; and, if we may believe the inscription which still commemorates the event, and the current report of the time, the work was completed in *nineteen* days. But even if it can be shown that the work extended over six months, it is obvious that there was no time for the examination of new authorities, but only for making a rapid revision with the help of the materials already collected. The task was hardly finished when Gregory died (Oct. 1591), and the publication of the revised text was again delayed. His successor, Innocent IX., died within the same year, and at the beginning of 1592 Clement VIII. was raised to the popedom. Clement entrusted the final revision of the text to Toletus, and the whole was printed by Aldus Manutius (the grandson) before the end of 1592. The Preface, which is moulded upon that of Sixtus, was written by Bellarmin, and is favourably distinguished from that of Sixtus by its temperance and even modesty. The text, it is said, had been prepared with the greatest care, and though not absolutely perfect was at least (what is no idle boast) more correct than that of any former edition. Some readings indeed, it is allowed, had, though wrong, been left unchanged, to avoid popular offence.[z] But yet even here Bellarmin did not scruple to repeat the fiction of the intention of Sixtus to recal his edition, which still disgraces the front of the Roman Vulgate by an apology no less needless than untrue.[a] Another edition followed in 1593, and a third in 1598, with a triple list of errata, one for each of the three editions. Other editions were afterwards published at Rome (comp. Vercellone, civ.), but with these corrections the history of the authorized text properly concludes.

27. The respective merits of the Sixtine and Clementine editions have been often debated. In point of mechanical accuracy, the Sixtine seems to be clearly superior (Van Ess, 365 ff.), but Van Ess has allowed himself to be misled in the estimate which he gives of the critical value of the Sixtine readings. The collections lately published by Vercellone[b] place in the clearest light the strange and uncritical mode in which Sixtus dealt with the evidence and results submitted to him. The recommendations of the Sixtine correctors are marked by singular wisdom and critical tact, and in almost every case where Sixtus departs from them he is in error. This will be evident from a collation of the readings in a few chapters as given by Vercellone. Thus in the first four chapters of Genesis the Sixtine correctors are right against Sixtus: i. 2. 27, 31; ii. 18, 20; iii. 1, 11, 12, 17, 21, 22; iv.

[a] Bellarmin to Clement VIII.: "Novit beatitudo vestra cui se totamque ecclesiam discrimini commiserit Sixtus V. dum *juxta propriae doctrinae sensus* sacrorum bibliorum emendationem aggressus est; nec satis scio an gravius unquam periculum occurrerit" (Van Ess, p. 290).

[x] The following is the original passage quoted by Van Ess from the first edition of Bellarmin's *Autobiography* (p. 291), anno 1591: "Cum Gregorius XIV. cogitaret quid agendum esset de bibliis a Sixto V. editis, in quibus erant *permulta perperam mutata*, non deerant viri graves, qui censerent ea biblia esse publice prohibenda, sed N. (Bellarminus) coram pontifice demonstravit, biblia illa non esse prohibenda, sed esse ita corrigenda, ut salvo honore Sixti V. pontificis biblia illa emendata proderentur, quod fieret si quam celerrime tollerentur *quae male mutata erant*, et biblia recuderentur sub nomine ejusdem Sixti, et addita praefatione qua significaretur in prima editione Sixti *prae festinatione irrepsisse aliqua errata*, vel typographorum vel aliorum incuria, et sic N. reddidit Sixto pontifici bona pro malis." The last words refer to Sixtus' condemnation of a thesis of Bellarmin, in which he denied "Papam esse dominum directum totius orbis;" and it was this whole passage, and not the Preface to the Clementine Vulgate, which cost Bellarmin his canonization (Van Ess, from the original documents, pp. 291-318). It will be observed that Bellarmin first describes the errors of the Sixtine edition really as *deliberate alterations*, and then proposes to represent them as *errors*.

[y] The evidence collected by Van Ess (pp. 285 ff.), and even the cautious admissions of Ungarelli and Vercellone (pp. xxxix.-xliv.), will prove that this language is not too strong.

[z] This fact Bellarmin puts in stronger light when writing to Lucas Brugensis (1603) to acknowledge his critical collations on the text of the Vulgate: "De libello ad me misso gratias ago, sed scias velim biblia vulgata non esse a nobis accuratissime castigata, multa enim de industria justis de causis pertransivimus, quae correctione indigere videbantur."

[a] The original text of the passages here referred to is full of interest: "Sixtus V. . . . opus tandem confectum typis mandari jussit. Quod cum jam esset excusum et ut in lucem emitteretur, idem Pontifex operam daret [implying that the edition was *not* published], animadvertens non pauca in Sacra Biblia preli vitia irrepsisse, quae iterata diligentia indigere viderentur, totum opus sub incudem revocandum censuit atque decrevit [of this there is not the faintest shadow of proof]. . . . . Accipe igitur, Christiane lector . . . . . ex Vaticana typographia veterem ac vulgatam sacrae scripturae editionem, quanta fieri potuit diligentia castigatam: quam quidem sicut omnibus numeris absolutam, pro humanâ imbecillitate affirmare difficile est, ita ceteris omnibus quae ad hanc usque diem prodierunt emendatiorem, purioremque esse, minime dubitandum. . . . . In hac tamen pervulgata lectione sicut nonnulla consulto mutata, ita etiam alia, quae mutanda videbantur, consulto immutata relicta sunt, tum quod ita faciendum esse ad offensionem populorum vitandam S. Hieronymus non semel admonuit tum quod . . . ." The candour of these words contrasts strangely with the folly of later champions of the edition.

In consequence of a very amusing mistranslation of a phrase of Hug, it has been commonly stated in England that this Preface *gained*, instead of *cost*, Bellarmin his canonization: (Hug, *Einl.* i. 490, "Welche ihn um seine Heiligsprechung gebracht haben soll"). The real offence lay in the words quoted above (note u).

[b] The most important of these is the *Codex Carafianus*, a copy of the Antwerp edition of 1583, with the MS. corrections of the Sixtine board. This was found by Ungarelli in the Library of the Roman College of SS. Blaise and Charles. Comp. Vercellone, *Praef.* xi.

1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 19; and on the other hand Sixtus is right against the correctors in i. 15. The Gregorian correctors, therefore (whose results are given in the Clementine edition), in the main simply restored readings adopted by the Sixtine board and rejected by Sixtus. In the Book of Deuteronomy the Clementine edition follows the Sixtine correctors where it differs from the Sixtine edition: i. 4, 19, 31; ii. 21; iv. 6, 22, 28, 30, 33, 39; v. 24; vi. 4; viii. 1; ix. 9; x. 3; xi. 3; xii. 11, 12, 15, &c.; and every change (except probably vi. 4; xii. 11, 12) is right; while on the other hand in the same chapters there are, as far as I have observed, only two instances of variation without the authority of the Sixtine correctors (xi. 10, 32). But in point of fact the Clementine edition errs by excess of caution. Within the same limits it follows Sixtus against the correctors wrongly in ii. 33; iii. 10, 12, 13, 16, 19, 20; iv. 10, 11, 28, 42; vi. 3; xi. 28; and in the whole book admits in the following passages arbitrary changes of Sixtus: iv. 10; v. 24; vi. 13; xii. 15, 32; xviii. 10, 11; xxix. 23.[e] In the N. T., as the report of the Sixtine correctors has not yet been published, it is impossible to say how far the same law holds good; but the following comparison of the variations of the two editions in continuous passages of the Gospels and Epistles will show that the Clementine, though not a pure text, is yet very far purer than the Sixtine, which often gives Old Latin readings, and sometimes appears to depend simply on patristic authority[d] (*i. e.* pp. ll.):—

Sixtine.	*Clementine.*
Matt. i. 23, vocabitur (pp. ll.)	— vocabunt.
ii. 5, Juda (gat. mm. &c.)	— Judae.
13, surge, accipe (?)	— surge et accipe.
iii. 2, appropinquabit (iv. 17), (MSS. Gallic. pp. ll.).	— appropinquavit.
3, de quo dictum est (tol. it.).	— qui dictus est.
10, arboris (Tert.).	— arcorum.
iv. 6, ut . . . tollant (it.).	— et . . . tollent.
7, Jesus rursum.	— Jesus: Rursum.
15, Galilaeae (it. am. &c.).	— Galilaea.
16, ambulabat (?)	— sedebat.
v. 11, vobis homines (gat. mm. &c.).	— vobis.
30, abscinde (?).	— abscide.
40, in judicio (it.).	— judicio.
vi. 7, eth. faciunt (it.)	— ethnici.
30, enim (it.).	— autem.
vii. 1, et non judicabimini, nolite condemnare et non condemnabimini (?)	— ut non judicemini.
4, sine, frater (it. pp. ll.).	— sine.
23, a me omnes (it. pp. ll.).	— a me.
Sixtine.	*Clementine.*
Matt. vii. 25, supra (pp. ll. tol. &c.).	— super.
29. scribae (It.).	— scribae eorum.
viii. 9, alio (it. am. &c.).	— alii.
12, ubi (pp. ll.).	— ibi.
18, jussit discipulos (it.).	— jussit.
20, caput suum (it. tol.).	— caput.
28, venisset Jesus (it.).	— venisset.
32, magno impetu (it.).	— impetu.
33, haec omnia (?).	— omnia.
34, rogabant eum ut Jesus (?).	— rogabant ut.
Ephes. i. 15, in Christo J. (pp. ll. Bodl.).	— in Domino J.
21, dominationem (?).	— et dominationem
ii. 1, vos convivificavit (pp. ll.).	— vos.
11, vos eratis (pp. ll. Bodl. &c.).	— vos.
—, dicebamini (pp. ll.).	— dicimini.
12, qui (pp. ll. Bodl. &c.).	— quod.
22, Spiritu Sancto (pp. ll. Sang. &c.).	— Spiritu.
iii. 8, mihi enim (pp. ll.).	— mihi.
16, virtutem (it.).	— virtute.
—, in interiore homine (pp. ll. Bodl.).	— in interiorem hominem.
iv. 22, deponite (it.)	— deponere.
30, in die (pp. ll. Bodl. &c.).	— in diem.
v. 26, mundans eam (pp. ll.).	— mundans.
27, in gloriosam (?).	— gloriosam.
vi. 15, in praeparationem (it.).	— in praeparatione.
20, in catena ista (it.?).	— in catena ita.

(Some of the readings of Bodl. (§13, (3) ϵ_2) are added. *It.* is used, as is commonly done, for the old texts generally; and the notation of the MSS. is that usually followed.)

28. While the Clementine edition was still recent some thoughts seem to have been entertained of revising it. Lucas Brugensis made important collections for this purpose, but the practical difficulties were found to be too great, and the study of various readings was reserved for scholars (Bellarmin. ad Lucam Brug. 1606). In the next generation use and controversy gave a sanctity to the authorized text. Many, especially in Spain, pronounced it to have a value superior to the originals, and to be inspired in every detail (comp. Van Ess, 401, 402; Hody, III. ii. 15); but it is useless to dwell on the history of such extravagancies, from which the Jesuits at least, following their great champion Bellarmin, wisely kept aloof. It was a more serious matter that the universal acceptance of the papal text checked the critical study of the materials on which it was professedly based. At length, however, in 1706. Martianay published a new, and in

[e] The common statement that the Clementine edition follows the revision of Alcuin, while the Sixtine gives the true text of Jerome, is apparently a mere conjectural assertion. In Deuteronomy, Sixtus gives the Alcuinian reading in the following passages: i. 19; iv. 30, 33; xxi. 6; and I have not observed one passage where the Clementine text agrees with that of Alcuin unless that of Sixtus does also.

Passages have been taken from the Pentateuch, because in that Vercellone has given complete and trustworthy materials. The first Book of Samuel, in which the later corruptions are very extensive, gives results generally of the same character. Great and obvious interpolations are preserved both in the Sixtine and Clementine editions: iv. 1; v. 6; x. 1; xiii. 15; xiv. 22, 41; xv. 3, 12; xvii. 36; xx. 15 (chiefly from the LXX.). The Sixtine text gives the old reading displaced from the Clementine: iii. 2, 3; iv. 1, 4; vii. 10 (?); ix. 1 (?), 25. The Clementine restores the old reading against Sixtus i. 9, 19; ii. 11, 17, 26, 30 iv. 9 (?), (21); vi. 9; ix. 7; x. 12; xii. 6, 11, 15, 23; xiii 18; xiv. 2 (?), 14, 15. Thus in fifteen chapters Clement alone gives the old readings sixteen times, Sixtus alone five times. Vercellone, in the second part of his Variae Lectiones, which was published after this article was printed, promises a special discussion of the interpolations of 1 Sam., which were, as might have been expected, expunged by the Sixtine correctors. Vercellone *ad* 1 Reg. iv. 1.

[d] The variations between the Sixtine and Clementine editions were collated by T. James, *Bellum papale, s. concordia discors* . . . . Lond. 1600; and more completely with a collation of the Clementine editions, by H. de Buker top, *Lux de luce*, lib. iii. pp. 315 ff. Vercellone, correcting earlier critics, reckons that the whole number of variations between the two revisions is about 3000 (*Prolegg* xlviii. *nota*).

the main better text, chiefly from original MSS., in his edition of Jerome. Vallarsi added fresh collations in his revised issue of Martianay's work, but in both cases the collations are imperfect, and it is impossible to determine with accuracy on what MS. authority the text which is given depends. Sabatier, though professing only to deal with the Old Latin, published important materials for the criticism of Jerome's Version, and gave at length the readings of Lucas Brugensis (1743). More than a century elapsed before anything more of importance was done for the text of the Latin version of the O. T., when at length the fortunate discovery of the original revision of the Sixtine correctors again directed the attention of Roman scholars to their authorised text. The first-fruits of their labours are given in the volume of Vercellone already often quoted, which has thrown more light upon the history and criticism of the Vulgate than any previous work. There are some defects in the arrangement of the materials, and it is unfortunate that the editor has not added either the authorised or corrected text; but still the work is such that every student of the Latin text must wait anxiously for its completion.

29. The neglect of the Latin text of the O. T. is but a consequence of the general neglect of the criticism of the Hebrew text. In the N. T. far more has been done for the correction of the Vulgate, though even here no critical edition has yet been published. Numerous collations of MSS., more or less perfect, have been made. In this, as in many other points, Bentley pointed out the true path which others have followed. His own collation of Latin MSS. was extensive and important (comp. Ellis, *Bentleii Critica Sacra*, xxxv. ff.).[e] Griesbach added new collations, and arranged those which others had made. Lachmann printed the Latin text in his larger edition, having collated the *Codex Fuldensis* for the purpose. Tischendorf has laboured among Latin MSS. only with less zeal than among Greek. And Tregelles has given in his edition of the N. T. the text of *Cod. Amiatinus* from his own collation with the variations of the Clementine edition. But in all these cases the study of the Latin was merely ancillary to that of the Greek text.

[e] The materials which Bentley collected (see p. 1711, note [f]) are an invaluable help for investigation, but they will not supersede it. It is, indeed, impossible to determine on what principle he inserted or omitted variations. Sometimes he notes with the greatest care discrepancies of orthography, and at other times he neglects important differences of text. Thus in John i. 18-51 he gives correctly 23 variations of the Cambridge MS. (Kk. i, 24) and omits 51; and in Luke i. 1-39 he gives 13 variations of St. Chad's Gospels and omits 30; and there is nothing in the character of the readings recorded which can have determined the selection, as the variations which are neglected are sometimes noted from other MSS., and are in themselves of every degree of importance. A specimen from each of the volumes which contain his collations will show the great amount of labour which he bestowed upon the work; and, hitherto, no specimen has been published. The student may find it interesting to compare the variations noted with those in Table B.

Coll. SS. Trin. Cambr., B. 17, 5.	Mark ix. 45-49.
	2 ϕ 1
1 2 ρ μ ξ	Et si pes tuus te scandal-
	ϕ
eum μ	izat, amputa *illum*: bonum
	2 $\phi\pi\mu$1 ϕ
1 2 o ρ γ ψ C *clo* μ	est tibi *clau*dum introire
	vitam aeternam, quam duos
	pedes habentem mitti
	gehennam ignis inextinguibilis: [ubi vermis eorum
[ ] *del.* τ	
	$\mu\phi$
rie ρ χ γ C ▲eorum ψ	non moritur, et ignis ▲ non
	$\mu\phi$
gue o ρ γ C	extin*guitur*. Quod si oculus
del. α e o π μ ϕ *eie* ρ	tuus scandalizat te *ei*[*c*]ce
	2 $\mu\phi$ 1
1 2 ρ C *cae* χ	eum: bonum est tibi *lu*cum
	introire in regnum Dei, quam
	duos oculos habentem mitti
	in gehennam ignis:] ubi
	ϕ
rie ρ μ χ ν	vermis eorum non mo*ri*tur,
	ϕ $\phi\mu$
stin μ *gue* o ρ ν	et ignis non *extinguitur*.
	$\rho\phi$
del. ξ ▲ni oπ	*Omnis* [enim] igne
	ϕ
	‖ *salietur*, et omnis victima
	oμ 2
[ ] *del.* $\epsilon\pi\rho\sigma\tau\psi\zeta$ M H ξ χ C▲	[sale] salietur. Bonum est
	1
1 2 C	s▲ quod si sal insulsum
	fuerit, in quo illud condietis?

Coll. SS. Trin. Cambr. (B. 17. 5.)	Mark ix. 45-49.
	Mμ
▲ter χ *sal* : : : : ϕ sic	Habete in▲ vobis *sal*, et
salem α e o π σ τ H ξ χ	pacem habete inter vos.
	‖ omnes enim igne examinantur μ.

In this excerpt α—ϕ (except γ) represent French MSS. collated chiefly by T. Walker; M, H, the MSS. in the Brit. Mus. marked *Harl.* 2788, *Harl.* 2826 respectively; ξ, the Gospels of St. Chad; χ, the Gospels of Mac Regol; γ, the Gospels of St. John C. Oxon. (comp. the lists p. 1692, seq.).

Coll. SS. Trin. Cambr. (B. 17, 14.)	Mark ix. 45-49.
	2 EHOTD
ϕ ξ 1 2 P K	Et si pes tuus te scandal-
	izat, amputa illum: bonum
	2 1 F
1 2 D *clo* E	est tibi *clau*dum introire in
	vitam aeternam, quam duos
	pedes habentem mitti in ge-
δ K T P B (semper)	hennam ignis inexstinguibilis: ubi vermis eorum non
rie Z.	mo*ri*tur, et ignis non exstin-
	F
gue Z. [ ] *del.* Z.	*gui*tur. [Quod si oculus tuus scandalizat te, ejice eum: bonum est tibi luscum introire in regnum Dei, quam
▲K inextinguibilis (erased)	duos oculos habentem mitti
rie Z (erased) em Y	in gehen*nam* ignis▲, ubi ver-
gue Z (erased)	mis eorum non mo*ri*tur, et
▲eorum K (erased)	ignis▲ non exstin*gui*tur.]
	YED EPBF
ni O *alli* H B (sic)	Omnis enim igne *salie*tur et
	E
D ϕ Y ξ Z F *del.* O B P H K	omnis victima [sale] *salie*-
	tur. Bonum est sal: quod si
lum P *sal* P K	sal in*sulsum* fuerit, in quo
	DZEHOY
dietur (corr. -is) E.	*illud* condi*etis*? Habete in
	THPDKξYϕ
Z R salem B D E	vobis *sat*, et pacem habete inter vos.

The collations in this volume are, as will be seen, somewhat confused. Many are in Bentley's hand, who has added numerous emendations of the Latin text in B. 17. 14. Thus, on the same page from which this example is taken, we find: Mark ix. 20, *ab infantia*. fo. leg. *ab infanti*. παιδιόθεν. x. 14, *Quos quum videret*. forte leg. Quod cū videret (sic a p. m. O: a later note). x. 38, *Et baptismum quo ego*. leg. *Aut baptisma*, quod ego. For the MSS. quoted, see the lists already referred to.

Probably from the great antiquity and purity of the *Codd. Amiatinus* and *Fuldensis*, there is comparatively little scope for criticism in the revision of Jerome's Version; but it could not be an unprofitable work to examine more in detail than has yet been done the several phases through which it has passed, and the causes which led to its gradual corruption. (A full account of the editions of the Vulgate is given by Masch [Le Long], Bibliotheca Sacra, 1778-90. Copies of the Sixtine and Clementine editions are in the Library of the British Museum.)

VI. THE MATERIALS FOR THE REVISION OF JEROME'S TEXT.—30. Very few Latin MSS. of the O. T. have been collated with critical accuracy. The Pentateuch of Vercellone (*Romae*, 1860) is the first attempt to collect and arrange the materials for determining the Hieronymian text in a manner at all corresponding with the importance of the subject. Even in the N. T. the criticism of the Vulgate text has always been made subsidiary to that of the Greek, and most of the MSS. quoted have only been examined cursorily. In the following list of MSS., which is necessarily very imperfect, the notation of Vercellone (from whom most of the details, as to the MSS. which he has examined, are derived) has been followed as far as possible; but it is much to be regretted that he marks the readings of MSS. Correctoria and editions in the same manner.

i. *MSS. of Old Test. and Apocrypha.*

A (*Codex Amiatinus*, Bibl. Laurent. Flor.) at Florence, written about the middle of the 6th cent. (cir. 541, Tischdf.) with great accuracy, so that both in age and worth it stands first among the authorities for the Hieronymian text. It contains Jerome's Psalter from the Hebrew, and the whole Latin Bible, with the exception of Baruch. The variations from the Clementine text in the N. T. have been edited by F. F. Fleck (1840); and Tischendorf and Tregelles separately collated the N. T. in 1843 and 1846, the former of whom published a complete edition (1850; 2nd ed. 1854) of this part of the MS., availing himself also of the collation of Tregelles. The O. T. has been now collated by Vercellone and Palmieri for Vercellone's *Variae Lectiones* (Vercellone, i. p. lxxxiv.). The MS. was rightly valued by the Sixtine correctors, who in many places follow its authority alone, or when only feebly supported by other evidence: *e. g.* Gen. ii. 18, v. 26, vi. 21, vii. 3, 5, ix. 18, 19, x. 1.

B (*Codex Toletanus*, Bibl. Eccles. Tolet.), at Toledo, written in Gothic letters about the 8th cent. The text is generally pure, and closely approaches to that of A, at least in O. T. A collation of this MS. with a Louvain edition of the Vulgate (1569, fol.) was made by Christopher Palomares by the command of Sixtus V., and the Sixtine correctors set a high value upon its readings: *e. g.* Gen. vi. 4 The collation of Palomares was published by Bianchini (*Vindiciae*, pp. lv. ff.), from whom it has been reprinted by Migne (*Hieron. Opp.* x. 875 ff.). Vercellone has made use of the original collation preserved in the Vatican Library, which is not always correctly transcribed by Bianchini; and at the same time he had noted the various readings which have been neglected owing to the difference between the Louvain and Clementine texts. The MS. contains all the Latin Bible (the Psalter from the Hebrew), with the exception of Baruch. A new collation of the MS. is still desirable; and for the N. T. at least the work is one which might easily be accomplished.

C (*Codex Paullinus*, v. *Carolinus*, Romae, Mon. S. Benedict. ap. Basil. S. Paulli extr. moenia), a MS. of the whole Latin Bible, with the exception of Baruch. Vercellone assigns it to the 9th century. It follows the recension of Alcuin, and was one of the MSS. used by the original board appointed by Pius IV. for the revision of the Vulgate. It has been collated by Vercellone.

D (*Codex Vallicellianus* olim *Statianus*, Romae, Bibl. Vallicell. Orat. B. vi.), an Alcuinian MS. of the Bible also used by the Roman correctors, of the same date (or a little older) and character as C. Comp. Vallarsi, *Praef. ad Hieron.* ix. 15 (ed. Migne), and note h, p. 1703. Collated by Vercellone.

E (*Codex Ottobonianus* olim *Cervinianus*, Vatic. 60), a MS. of a portion of the O. T., imperfect at the beginning, and ending with Judg. xiii. 20. It is of the 8th century, and gives a text older than Alcuin's recension. It contains also important fragments of the Old Version of Genesis and Exodus published by Vercellone in his *Variae Lectiones*, i. Coll. by Vercellone.

F (Romae, Coll. SS. Blasii et Caroli), a MS. of the entire Latin Bible of the 10th century. It follows, in the main, the recension of Alcuin, with some variations, and contains the Roman Psalter. Coll. by Vercellone.

G (Romae, Coll. SS. Blasii et Caroli), a MS. of the 13th century, of the common late type. Coll. by Vercellone.

H, L, P, Q, are used by Vercellone to mark the readings given by Martianay, Hentenius, Castellanus, and R. Stephanus, in editions of the Vulgate.

I, Saec. xiii. Collated in part by C. J. Bauer, Eichhorn, *Repertorium*, xvii.

K (Monast. SS. Trin. Cavae), a most important MS. of the whole Bible, belonging to the monastery of La Cava, near Salerno. An exact copy of it was made for the Vatican Library (num. 8484) by the command of Leo XII., and this has been used by Vercellone for the books after Leviticus. For the three first books of the Pentateuch he had only an imperfect collation. The MS. belongs to the 6th or 7th century (Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibl.* i. 2, 7; *Spicil. Rom.* ix. Praef. xxiii.), and presents a peculiar text. Tischendorf has quoted it on 1 John v. 7, 8.

M, N, O, are Correctoria in the Vatican Library.

R, S (Romae, Coll. SS. Blasii et Caroli), Saec. xiv., of the common late type given in the editions of the 15th century. T. Saec. x., xi.; U. Saec. xii., two MSS. of the type of the recension of Alcuin.

V (Romae, Coll. SS. Blasii et Caroli), Saec. xiii., akin to F.

These MSS., of which Vercellone promises complete collations thus represent the three great types, of the Hieronymian text: the original text in various stages of decadence (A, B, K); the recension of Alcuin (C, D, F, T, U, V); and the current later text (E, G, R, S). But though perhaps no MS. will ever surpass A in general purity, it is to be hoped that many more MSS., representing the ante-Alcuinian text, may yet be examined.

31. Martianay, in his edition of the *Divina Bibliotheca*, quotes, among others, the following MSS., but he uses them in such a way that it is impossible to determine throughout the reading of any particular MS.:—

Codex Memmianus, Saec. x.
Codex Carcassonensis, Saec. x.

1 Brit. Mus.– Harl. 1775.

CODNE
ETNONIBIT
QUISEXDUOBUSFECITUO
·LUNTATEMPATRIS
DICUNTNOUIPRIMUS
DICITILLISIHS
AMENDICOUOBIS
QUIAPUBLICANIETME

2 Brit. Mus.– Addit. 5463.

AIT, EODNE
ETNONIBIT
QUISEXDUOB·FECITUO
LUNTATEMPATRIS
DICUNT, NOUISSIMUS

3 Stonyhurst– (St. Cuthbert's, St. John.)

NON HABEMUS REGEM
NISI CAESAREM
TUNCERGO TRADIDITEIS ILLUM
UT CRUCIFIGERETUR
SUSCEPERUNT AUTEM IHM
ET DUXERUNT
ET BAIOLANS SIBI CRUCEM

4 Oxon. Bodl.– 348 (Seld 30)

ETAIT EUNUCHUS ECCEAQUA QUIS ME
PROHIBET BAPTIZARI DIXIT PHILIPPUS
SICREDIS EXTOTOCORDELICET
ETRESPONDENS AIT CREDODIFILIU
ESSE IHM XPM ETIUS SIT STARE

Codex Sangermanensis (1), Saec. x.
Codex Regius, 3563-4.
Codex Sangermanensis (2), a fragment.
Codex Narbonensis. (*Index MSS. Codd.* Hieron. ix. pp. 135 ff. ed. Migne.)

To these, Vallarsi, in his revised edition, adds a collation, more or less complete, of other MSS. for the Pentateuch (Joshua, Judges)—of

Cod. Palatinus, 3.
Cod. Urbinas.

For the Books of Samuel and Kings.

Cod. Veronensis, a MS. of the very highest value. (Comp. Vallarsi, *Praef.* 19 ff. ed. Migne.)

For the Psalms.

Codd. Reg. Suec. ii. 1286.
Cod. Vatic. 154.
Cod. S. Crucis (or 104, *Cisterciensis*), (the most valuable).

For Daniel.

Cod. Palat. 3.
Cod. Vatic. 333.

For Esther, Tobit, and Judith.

Cod. Reg. Suec. 7.
Cod. Vatic. Palat. 24.

But of all these only special readings are known. Other MSS. which deserve examination are:—

1. *Brit. Mus.* Addit. 10, 546. Saec. ix. (Charlemagne's Bible) an Alcuinian copy. Comp. p. 1704, note [m].

2. *Brit. Mus.* Reg. 1 E, vii. viii. Saec. ix. x. (Bentley's MS. R).[f]

3. *Brit. Mus.* Addit. 24,142. Saec. ix. x. (Important: apparently taken from a much older copy. The Psalter is Jerome's Version of the Hebrew. The Apocryphal books are placed after the Hagiographa, with the heading: *Incipit quartus ordo eorum librorum qui in Veteri Testamento extra Canonem Hebraeorum sunt.* The MS. begins Gen. xlix. 6.)

4. *Brit. Mus.* Harl. 2805 to Psalms with some lacunae. Saec. ix.

5. *Brit. Mus.* Egerton 1046. Saec. viii. Prov. Eccles. Cant. Sap. Ecclus. (with some lacunae) Good Vulgate.

6. *Lambeth*, 3, 4. Saec. xii.

32. ii. *MSS. of the N. T.*

A, B, C, D, F, &c., as enumerated before. To these must be added the *Codex Fuldensis* of the whole N. T., which, however, contains the Gospels in the form of a Harmony. The text of the MS. is of nearly equal value with that of A. and both seem to have been derived from the same source (Tischdf. *Prolegg. Cod. Am.* p. xxiii.). The MS. has been collated by Lachmann and Buttmann, and a complete edition is in preparation by E. Ranke.

Other Vulgate MSS. of parts of the N. T. have been examined more or less carefully. Of the *Gospels*, Tischendorf (*Proleg.* ccxlix. ff.) gives a list of a considerable number, which have been examined very imperfectly. Of the more important of these the best known are:—

For. Prag. (at Prague and Venice). Published by Bianchini, in part after Dobrowsky.

Harl. (Brit. Mus. *Harl.* 1775). Saec. vii. Coll in part by Griesbach (*Symb. Crit.* i. 305 ff.).

Per. Fragments of St. Luke, edited by Bianchini.

Brit. Mus. *Cotton.* Nero D, iv. Saec. viii. (Bentl. Y). The Lindisfarne (St. Cuthbert) Gospels with interlinear Northumbrian gloss. Ed. by Stevenson, for *Surtees Society* (St. Matt.; St. Mark). The Northumbrian gloss by Bouterwek, 1857. Stevenson has added a collation of the Latin of the Rushworth Gospels [g] (p. 1695, No. δ).

The following, among many others in the United Kingdom, deserve examination:[h]—

(1.) Of the Gospels.

1. Brit. Mus. *Harl.* 1775. Saec. vii. (Griesbach's *Harl.* Bentley's Z). A new and

[f] Bentley procured collations of upwards of sixty English and French Latin MSS. of the N. T., which are still preserved among his papers in Trin. Coll. Cambridge, B. 17, 5, and B. 17, 14. A list of these, as given by Bentley, is printed in Ellis's *Bentleii Critica Sacra*, pp. xxxv. ff. I have identified and noticed the English MSS. below (comp. p. 1712). Of Bibles Bentley gives more or less complete collations of the N. T. from Paris. *Bibl. Reg.* 3562 (A.D. 876); 3561, Saec. ix.; 3563-4, Saec. ix.; 3564[2], Saec. ix., x. All appear to be Alcuinian.

Sir F. Madden has given a list of the chief MSS. of the Latin Bible (19 copies) in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1836, pp. 580 ff. This list, however, might be increased.

[g] For all critical purposes the Latin texts of this edition are worthless. In one chapter taken at random (Mark viii.) there are *seventeen* errors in the text of the Lindisfarne MS., including the omission of one line with the corresponding gloss.

[h] The accompanying Plates will give a good idea of the external character of some of the most ancient and precious Latin MSS. which the writer has examined. For permission to take the tracings, from which the facsimiles were made, his sincere thanks are due to the various Institutions in whose charge the MSS. are placed.

Pl. i. *fig.* 1. *Brit. Mus.* Harl. 1775, Matt. xxi. 30, 31, *Eo domine—et me[retrices]*. This MS. (like figs. 2, 3) exhibits the arrangement of the text in lines (*versus*, στίχοι). The original reading *novissimus* has been changed by a late hand into *primus*. A characteristic error of sound will be noticed, ibit for ivit (*b* for *v*), which occurs also in fig. 2.

Fig. 2. *Brit. Mus.* Add. 5463. Matt. xxi. 30, 31, *ait—novissimus*. This magnificent MS. shews the beginning of contraction (*duob'*) and punctuation

Fig. 3. *Stonyhurst.* John xix. 15-17, *non habemus—crucem*. This MS., unlike the former, seems to have been prepared for private use. It is written throughout with the greatest regularity and care. The large capitals probably indicate the beginnings of *membra* (κῶλα). The words are here separated.

Fig. 4. *Oxf. Bodl.* 3418. Acts viii. 36, 37, *et ait—stare*.

Pl. ii. *Fig.* 1. *Cambr. Univ. Libr.* Kk. i. 24. John v. 4, *sanus fiebat—homo ibi*. This MS. offers a fine example of the semi-uncial "Irish" character, with the characteristic dotted capitals, which seems to have been used widely in the 8th century throughout Ireland and central and northern England. The text contains a most remarkable instance of the incorporation of a marginal gloss into the body of the book (*hoc in Grecis exemplaribus non habetur*), without any mark of separation by the original hand. This clause also offers a distinct proof of the revision of the copy from which the MS. was derived by Greek MSS. The contraction for *autem* is worthy of notice.

Fig. 2. *Brit. Mus. Reg.* 1 B. vii. Another type of "Saxon" writing.

Figs. 3, 4. *Brit. Mus.* Harl. 1023. Matt. xxvii. 49, with the addition *Alius autem—et sanguis*. Ibid. 1802. Matt. xxi. 30, 31, *et non iit—pupli[cani]*. Two characteristic specimens of later Irish writing. The contractions for *eum, autem, ejus, et, aqua*, in fig 3, and for *et, non, enim, quia* in fig. 4, are noticeable.

Fig. 5. *Hereford Gospels.* John i. 3, 4, *factum est—comprachendent unt*. Probably a British type of the "Irish" character. The symbol for *est* (÷), and the *ch* for *h*, are to be observed.

complete collation of this most precious MS. is greatly to be desired. It contains the *Prefaces*, *Canons*, and *Sections*, with blank places for the *Capitula*.[i] (Plate I., fig. 1.)

2. Brit. Mus. *Reg.* 1 E. vi. Saec. vii. (Bentley's P). A very important English MS., with many old readings, *Praef. Can.* (no Sections), *Cap.* Mt. xxviii. Mc. xii. (?) Lc. xx. Joh. xiv. Supposed to have formed part of the *Biblia Gregoriana*: Westwood, *Archaeological Journal*, xl. p. 292.
3. Brit. Mus. *Reg.* 1 B. vii. Saec. viii. (Bentley's H). Another very important MS., preserving an old text.[k] *Praef. Can.* (Sect.) *Cap.* Mt. lxxxvii. (sic). Mc. xlvi. Lc. xciv. Joh. xlv. (Plate II., fig. 2.)
4. Brit. Mus. *Cotton.* Otho C V. Saec. viii. (Fragments of Matt. and Mark. Bentley's φ). Injured by fire: restored and mounted, 1848. The complement of 24.
5. Brit. Mus. *Addit.* 5463. Saec. viii. (Bentley's F). A magnificent (Italian) uncial MS. with many old readings. *Praef.-Can.* (Sect.) *Cap.* Mt. xxviii. Mc. xiii. Lc. xx. Joh. xiv. (Plate I., fig. 2.)
6. Brit. Mus. *Harl.* 2788. Saec. viii., ix. (Codex aureus i. Bentley's M_2). Good Vulgate.
7. Brit. Mus. *Harl.* 2797. Saec. viii. ix. (Codex aureus ii.) Vulgate of late type.
8. Brit. Mus. *Reg.* 2 A. xx. Saec. viii. (Lectiones quaedam ex Evangeliis.) Good Vulgate.
9. Brit. Mus. *Harl.* 2790, cir. 850. A fine copy, with some old readings.
10. Brit. Mus. *Harl.* 2795. Saec. ix. (In red letters.) Vulgate of late type.
11. Brit. Mus. *Harl.* 2823. Saec. ix. Good Vulgate, with *versus*.
12. Brit. Mus. *Harl.* 2826. Saec. ix. viii. (Bentley's H_2). Good Vulgate.
13. Brit. Mus. *Reg.* 1 A, xviii. Saec. ix. x. (Cod. Athelstani. Bentley's O). Many old and peculiar readings.
14. Brit. Mus. *Reg.* 1 D. iii. Saec. x. Like 13, but most carelessly written.
15. Brit. Mus. *Addit.* 11,848 Saec. ix. Carefully written and corrected. Closely resembling 20.
16. Brit. Mus. *Addit.* 11,849. Saec. ix. Vulgate of late type.
17. Brit. Mus. *Egerton*, 768. Saec. ix. (St. Luke and St. John.) Some important readings.
18. Brit. Mus. *Egerton*, 873. Saec. ix. Good Vulgate. *Praef. Can.* (Sect.) *Cap.* Matt xxviii. Mc. xiii. Lc. xxi. Joh. xiv.
19. Brit. Mus. *Addit.* 9381. Saec. ix. From St. Petroc's, Bodmin. Some peculiar readings. *Praef. Can.* (Sect.) *Tituli.* Mt. cclii. (*Cap.* lxxxiv. *versus* IIDCC.). Mc. clxxxv. Lc. cccxl. Joh. ccxxvi.
20. Brit. Mus. *Cotton.* Tib. A, ii. Saec. x. (The Coronation Book. Bentley's E). Many old readings in common with 1, 3, 5, but without great interpolations.[m]
21. Brit. Mus. *Reg.* 1 D. ix. Saec. xi. (Canute's Book. Bentley's A). Good Vulgate.
22. Cambridge *Univ. Libr.* Ll. i. 10. (Passio et Resurrectio ex iv. Evv.). Saec. viii. Written (apparently) for Ethelwald, Bp. of Lindisfarne.
23. Cambridge, *C. C. C. Libr.* cclxxxvi. (iv. Gospels, with Eusebian Canons.) Saec. vi., vii. Supposed by many to have been sent by Gregory the Great to Augustine. *Cap.* Matt. xxviii. Mark xiii. Luke xx. John xiv. Vulgate with many old readings. It has been corrected by a very pure Vulgate text. Described and some readings given by J. Goodwin, *Publ. of Cambr. Antiquarian Society*, 1847.[n]
24. Cambridge, *C. C. C. Libr.* cxcvii. (Fragments of St. John and St. Luke, extending over John i. 1–x. 29, and Luke iv. 5–xxiii. 26, with Eusebian Canons.) Saec. viii. The fragments of St. John were published by J. Goodwin, *l. c.* A curiously mixed text, forming a connecting link between the "Irish" text and the Vulgate, but without any great interpolations. See No. 4. Comp. p. 1694.
25. Cambridge, *Trin. Coll.* B. 10, 4, iv.

[i] The varying divisions into *capitula* probably indicate different families of MSS., and deserve attention, at least in important MSS. The terms *breviarium, capitula, breves*, appear to be used quite indiscriminately. One term is often given at the beginning and another at the end of the list. *Brit. Mus.* Addit. 9381 gives *tituli* (a division into *smaller* sections) as well as *capitula*.

[k] This MS. contains the addition, after Matt. xx. 28, in the following form:—

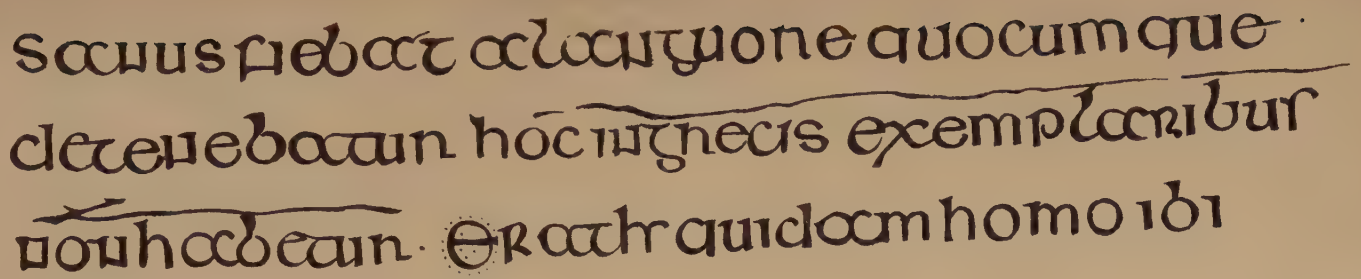
Vos autem quaeritis de *modico*
crescere et de *maximo minui*
Cum autem introieretis
ad coenam vocati
Nolite recumbere in *supe*
rioribus locis [veniat
Ne forte *dignior* te super
et accedens *is* qui te *invitavit*
Dicat tibi adhuc *inferius*
accede et confundaris
Si autem *recubueris in in*
feriori loco et *venerit* hu
milior te
Dicet tibi qui te *invitabit*
accede adhuc superius et
erit tibi *hoc* utilius.

The same addition is given in the first hand of Oxford *Bodl.* 857, and in the second hand of B.M. *Add.* 24,142, with the following variations: *introieritis, advenerit, invitavit.* In B.M. *Reg.* A. xviii. the variations are much more considerable: *pusillo, majori minores esse, introeuntes autem et rogati ad coenam, locis eminentioribus, clarior*, om. *is, ad coenam vocavit, deorsum, in l. inf. rec., supervenerit, dd coenam vocavit, adhuc sursum accede*, om. *hoc.*

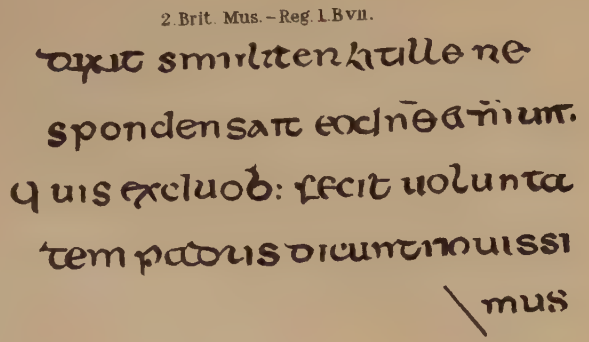
[m] Bentley has also given a collation of another Cottonian MS. (Otho, B. ix.) very similar to this, which almost perished in the fire in 1731. Mr. E. A. Bond, Deputy Keeper of the MSS., to whose kindness the writer is greatly indebted for important help in examining the magnificent collection of Latin MSS. in the British Museum, has shown him fragments of a few leaves of this MS. which were recovered from the wreck of the fire. By a singular error Bentley calls this MS., and not Tib. A. ii., the *Coronation Book*. Comp. Smith, *Cotton. Cat.*

[n] A complete edition of this text, with collations of London *Brit. Mus.* Harl. 1775. *Reg.* 1 E. vi., 1 B. vii.; *Addit.* 5463; Oxford, *Bodl.* 857, is, I believe, in preparation by the Rev. G. Williams, Fellow of King's College Cambridge.

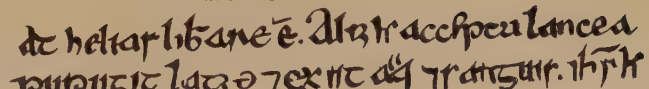
1 Cantabr. Univ. Libr. Ff. 1. 24.



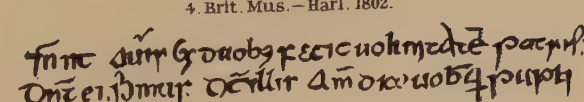
2. Brit. Mus. – Reg. 1. B vii.



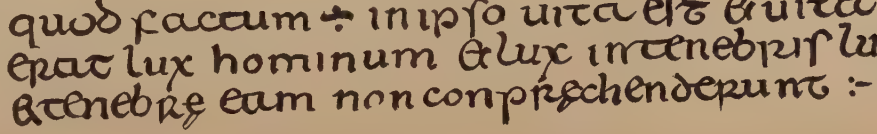
3. Brit. Mus. – Harl. 1023.



4. Brit. Mus. – Harl. 1802.



5. Hereford Gospels.



Gospels, Saec. ix. (*Cap.*) Matt. xxvii. Mc. xiii. Lc. xxi. Joh. xiv. Good Vulgate, with some old readings. (Bentley's T.)

26. Cambridge, *Coll. D. Joh.* C. 23. The Bendish Gospels, Saec. ix. Good Vulgate, very carefully written.
27. Oxford. *Bodl.* 857 (D. 2, 14). Saec. vii. Begins, Matt. iv. 14, ut adim.—ends John xxi. 15, with a lacuna from Matt. viii. 29, dicentes — ix. 18, defuncta est. *Sect. Praef.* (*Cap.*) Mc. xiii. Lc. xx. Joh. xiv. Closely akin to 23.[o]
28. Durham, "Codex Evangeliorum plus mille annorum, litteris capitalibus ex Bibliotheca Dunelmensi." (Bentley's K.) Ends John i. 27.
29. Durham, "Codex Evangeliorum plus mille annorum, sed imperfectus." (Bentley's ξ.) Begins Mark i. 12. Two very important MSS. Both have many old readings in common with 1, 3, 4, 5.
30. Stonyhurst, *St. Cuthbert's St. John*, found in 1105 at the head of St. Cuthbert when his tomb was opened. Saec. vii. Very pure Vulgate, agreeing with *Cod. Am.* in many very remarkable readings: *e.g.* i. 15, *dixi vobis*; ii. 4, *tibi et mihi*; iv. 10, *respondit Jesus dixit*; iv. 16, *et veni*, om. *huc*, &c.[p] (Plate I. fig. 3.)

(2.) Of the Acts and Epistles and Apoc.:—

1. Oxford, Bodl. *Seld.* 30 (Acts). See §12, (2). (Plate I. fig. 4.)
2. Oxford, Bodl. *Laud.* E, 67 (Epp. Paul). See §12, (2).
3. Brit. Mus., *Harl.* 1772. (Epp. Paul. et Cath. (except 3 Jo. Jud.) Apoc.). Saec. viii. Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* i. 326 ff., a most important MS. (Bentley's M.) See §12, (2).
4. Brit. Mus. *Harl.* 7551. (Fragm. of Cath. Epp. and St. Luke.) Saec. viii. (Bentley's ω, γ.)
5. Brit. Mus. *Addit.* 11,852. Saec. ix. Epp Paul. Act. Cath. Epp. Apoc. Good Vulgate.[q]
6. Brit. Mus. *Reg.* 1 A. xvi. Saec. xi. Good Vulgate.
7. Cambridge, *Coll. SS. Trin.* B. 10, 5. Saec. ix. (Collated by F. J. A. Hort. Bentley's S.) In Saxon letters; akin to 2.[r]
8. Cambridge, *Coll. SS. Trin. Cod. Aug.* (F_2) Published by F. H. Scrivener, 1859.[s]
9. "Codex ecclesiae Lincolniensis 800 annorum." (Bentley's ξ, Act. Apoc.)
10. Brit. Mus. *Reg.* 2 F. i. Saec. xii. (Bentley's B.) Paul. Epp. xiv. cum commentario. Many old readings.

A Lectionary quoted by Sabatier (Saec. viii.), and the Mozarabic Liturgy, are also of great critical value.

In addition to MSS. of the Vulgate, the Anglo-Saxon Version which was made from it is an important help towards the criticism of the text. Of this the *Heptateuch* and *Job* were published by E. Thwaites, Oxfd. 1699; the (Latin-Saxon) *Psalter*, by J. Spelman, 1640, and B. Thorpe, 1835; the *Gospels*, by Archbp. Parker, 1571, T. Marshall, 1665, and more satisfactorily by B. Thorpe, 1842, and *St. Matt.* by J. M. Kemble (and C. Hardwick) with two Anglo-Saxon texts, formed on a collation of five MSS., and the Lindisfarne text and gloss. Comp. also the Frankish Version of the Harmony of Ammonius, ed. Schmeller, 1841.

VII. THE CRITICAL VALUE OF THE LATIN VERSIONS.—33. The Latin Version, in its various forms, contributes, as has been already seen, more or less important materials for the criticism of the original texts of the Old and New Testaments, and of the Common and Hexaplaric texts of the LXX. The bearing of the Vulgate on the LXX. will not be noticed here, as the points involved in the inquiry more properly belong to the history of the LXX. Little, again, need be said on the value of the

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o By a very strange mistake Tischendorf describes this MS. as "multorum Ni. 7 L. fragmentorum."

p It may be interesting to give a rough classification of these MSS., all of which the writer has examined with more or less care. Many others of later date may be of equal value; and there are several early copies in private collections (as at Middlehill) and at Dublin (*e.g.* the (Vulgate) *Book of St. Columba*, Saec. vii. Westwood, *Pal. Sacra*) which he has been obliged to leave unexamined.

Group i. *Vulgate text approaching closely on the whole to the Cod. Amiat.*: 6, 8, 11, 12, 18, 21, 22, 25, 26, 30.
Group ii. *Vulgate text of a later type*: 7, 10, 16.
Group iii. *A Vulgate text mainly with old readings*: 1, 9, 17, 19, 23, 27.
Group iv. *A mixed text, in which the old readings are numerous and important*: 2, 3, 4 (24), 5, 13, 14, 15, 20, 23, 29.

A more complete collation might modify this arrangement, but it is (I believe) approximately true.

q This MS. contains the Epistle to the Laodicenes after that to the Hebrews, and also the addition 1 Joh. v. 7, in the following form: *Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant spṡ, et aqua, et sanguis, et tres unum sunt. Sicut in coelo tres sunt, pater verbum et spṡ, et tres unum sunt.* It is remarkable that the two other oldest authorities in support of this addition, also support the Epistle to the Laodicenes—the MS. of La Cava, and the *Speculum* published by Mai.

r A fragment containing prefatory excerpts to a copy of St. Paul's epistles written in a hand closely resembling this is found B.M. *Cotton.* Vitell. C. viii.

s From an examination of Bentley's unpublished collations, it may be well to add that of the eighteen French MSS., which he caused to be compared with the Clementine text (*Lutet. Paris.* apud *Claudium Sonnium*, MDCXXVIII. See Trin. Coll. Camb. B. 17, 5), the following are the most important, and would repay a complete collation. The writer has retained Bentley's notation: some of the MSS. may probably have passed into other collections.

α. *S. Germani a Pratis* Saec. viii. Gold uncials on purple vellum. Matt. vi. 2, *ut*—to end. Mark ix. 47, *eice*—xi. 13, *vidisset*. xii. 23, *resurrexerint*—to end. Good Vulgate.
μ. *S. Germani a Pratis.* (g' of Tischdf. &c.) A very important MS., containing part of O.T., the whole of N.T. (of Gallican text?), and "*tria folia Pastoris.*" Existing collations are very incomplete. At the end of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which precedes the Shepherd, the MS. has (according to Bentley) the following note: *Explicit ad Hebraeos Lege cum pace. Bibliotheca Hieronimi Presbiteri Bethleem secundum Graecum ex emendatis. mie exemplaribus conlatus* (sic).
ν. *S. Germani a Pratis*, 1, 2, A.D. 809.
ο. *Bibl. Regiae*, Paris. 3706. 4 Gosp. Saec. ix. Many old readings.
π. *Bibl. Regiae*, Paris. 3706 (2.3). 4 Gosp., with some lacunae. Saec. viii. Many old readings.
ρ. *S. Martini Turonensis.* Lit. aureis. Saec. viii. An important MS. (Gallican?). Comp. p. 1695, note s

translation of Jerome for the textual criticism of the O. T. As a whole his work is a remarkable monument of the substantial identity of the Hebrew text of the 4th century with the present Masoretic text; and the want of trustworthy materials for the exact determination of the Latin text itself, has made all detailed investigation of his readings impossible or unsatisfactory. The passages which were quoted in the premature controversies of the 16th and 17th centuries, to prove the corruption of the Hebrew or Latin text, are commonly of little importance as far as the text is concerned. It will be enough to notice those only which are quoted by Whitaker, the worthy antagonist of Bellarmin (*Disputation on Scripture*, pp. 165, ff., ed. Park. Soc.).

Gen. i. 30, *om.* all green herbs (in Vet. L.);
iii. 15, *Ipsa* conteret caput tuum. There seems good reason to believe that the original reading was *ipse*. Comp. Vercellone, *ad loc.* See also Gen. iv. 16.
iii. 17, in opere tuo. בעבורך for בעבורך.
iv. 16, *om.* Nod, which is specially noticed in Jerome's *Quaest. Hebr.*
vi. 6, *add.* et praecavens in futurum. The words are a gloss, and not a part of the Vulgate text.
viii. 4, *vicesimo* septimo, *for* septimo *decimo*. So LXX.
Id. 7, egrediebatur et *non* revertebatur. The *non* is wanting in the best MSS. of the Vulgate, and has been introduced from the LXX.
xi. 13, *trecentis* tribus, for quadringentis tribus. So LXX.
ix. 1, fundetur sanguis illius. *Om.* "by man."
xxxvii. 2. Sedecim for septemdecim. Probably a transcriptural error.
xxxix. 6, *om.* "Wherefore he left—Joseph."
xl. 5, *om.* "The butler—prison."
xlix. 10. Comp. Vercellone *ad loc.*
33, *om.*

In xxiv. 6, xxvii. 5, xxxiv. 29, the variation is probably in the rendering only. The remaining passages, ii. 8; iii. 6; iv. 6, 13, 26; vi. 3; xiv. 3; xvii. 16; xix. 18; xxi. 9; xxiv. 22; xxv. 34; xxvii. 33; xxxi. 32; xxxviii. 5, 23: xlix. 22, contain differences of interpretation; and in xxxvi. 24, xli. 45, the Vulgate appears to have preserved important traditional renderings.

34. The examples which have been given show the comparatively narrow limits within which the Vulgate can be used for the criticism of the Hebrew text. The Version was made at a time when the present revision was already established; and the freedom which Jerome allowed himself in rendering the sense of the original, often leaves it doubtful whether in reality a various reading is represented by the peculiar form which he gives to a particular passage. In the N. T. the case is far different. In this the critical evidence of the Latin is separable into two distinct elements, the evidence of the Old Latin and that of the Hieronymian revision. The latter, where it differs from the former, represents the received Greek text of the 4th century, and so far claims a respect (speaking roughly) equal to that due to a first-class Greek MS.; and it may be fairly concluded, that any reading opposed to the combined testimony of the oldest Greek MSS. and the true Vulgate text, either arose later than the 4th century, or was previously confined within a very narrow range. The *corrections* of Jerome do not carry us back beyond the age of existing Greek MSS., but, at the same time, they supplement the original testimony of MSS. by an independent witness. The *substance* of the Vulgate, and the copies of the Old Latin, have a more venerable authority The origin of the Latin Version dates, as has been seen, from the earliest age of the Christian Church. The translation, as a whole, was practically fixed and current more than a century before the transcription of the oldest Greek MS. Thus it is a witness to a text more ancient, and, therefore, *caeteris paribus*, more valuable, than is represented by any other authority, unless the Peshito in its present form be excepted. This primitive text was not, as far as can be ascertained, free from serious corruptions (at least in the synoptic Gospels) from the first, and was variously corrupted afterwards. But the corruptions proceeded in a different direction and by a different law from those of Greek MSS., and, consequently, the two authorities mutually correct each other. What is the nature of these corruptions, and what the character and value of Jerome's revision, and of the Old Latin, will be seen from some examples to be given in detail.

35. Before giving these, however, one preliminary remark must be made. In estimating the critical value of Jerome's labours, it is necessary to draw a distinction between his different works. His mode of proceeding was by no means uniform; and the importance of his judgment varies with the object at which he aimed. The three versions of the Psalter represent completely the three different methods which he followed. At first he was contented with a popular revision of the current text (the *Roman* Psalter); then he instituted an accurate comparison between the current text and the original (the *Gallican* Psalter); and in the next place he translated independently, giving a direct version of the original (the *Hebrew* Psalter). These three methods follow one another in chronological order, and answer to the wider views which Jerome gradually gained of the functions of a biblical scholar. The revision of the N. T. belongs unfortunately to the first period. When it was made, Jerome was as yet unused to the task, and he was anxious not to arouse popular prejudice. His aim was little more than to remove obvious interpolations and blunders; and in doing this he likewise introduced some changes of expression which softened the roughness of the old version, and some which seemed to be required for the true expression of the sense (*e. g.* Matt. vi. 11, *supersubstantialem* for *quotidianum*). But while he accomplished much, he failed to carry out even this limited purpose with thorough completeness. A rendering which he commonly altered was still suffered to remain in some places without any obvious reason (*e. g.* μυστήριον, δοξάζω, ἀφανίζω); and the textual emendations which he introduced (apart from the removal of glosses) seem to have been made after only a partial examination of Greek copies, and those probably few in number. The result was such as might have been expected. The greater corruptions of the Old Latin, whether by addition or omission, are generally corrected in the Vulgate. Sometimes, also, Jerome gives the true reading in details which had been lost in the Old Latin: Matt. i. 25, *cognoscebat*; ii 23, *prophetas*; v. 22, *om.* εἰκῇ; ix. 15, *lugere*, John iii. 8; Luke ii. 33, ὁ πατήρ; iv. 12: but not rarely he leaves a false reading uncorrected (Matt. ix. 28, vobis; x. 42), or adopts a false reading where the true one was also current; Matt.

xvi. 6; xviii. 29; xix. 4; John i. 3, 16; vi. 64. Even in graver variations he is not exempt from error. The famous *pericope*, John vii. 53–viii. 11, which had gained only a partial entrance into the Old Latin, is certainly established in the Vulgate. The additions in Matt. xxvii. 35, Luke iv. 19, John v. 4, 1 Pet. iii. 22, were already generally or widely received in the Latin copies, and Jerome left them undisturbed. The same may be said of Mark xvi. 9-20; but the "heavenly testimony" (1 John v. 7), which is found in the editions of the Vulgate, is, beyond all doubt, a later interpolation, due to an African gloss; and there is reason to believe that the interpolations in Acts viii. 37, ix. 5, were really erased by Jerome, though they maintained their place in the mass of Latin copies.

36. Jerome's revision of the Gospels was far more complete than that of the remaining parts of the N. T. It is, indeed, impossible, except in the Gospels, to determine any substantial difference in the Greek texts which are represented by the Old and Hieronymian Versions. Elsewhere the differences, as far as they can be satisfactorily established, are differences of expression and not of text; and there is no sufficient reason to believe that the readings which exist in the best Vulgate MSS., when they are at variance with other Latin authorities, rest upon the deliberate judgment of Jerome. On the contrary, his Commentaries show that he used copies differing widely from the recension which passes under his name, and even expressly condemned as faulty in text or rendering many passages which are undoubtedly part of the Vulgate. Thus in his Commentary on the Galatians he condemns the additions, iii. 1, *veritati non obedire*; v. 21, *homicidia*; and the translations, i. 16, *non acquievi carni et sanguini* (for *non contuli cum carne et sanguine*); v. 9, *modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit* (for *modicum fermentum totam conspersionem fermentat*); v. 11, *evacuatum est* (for *cessavit*); vi. 3, *seipsum* (seipse) *seducit* (for *mentem suam decipit*). And in the text of the Epistle which he gives there are upwards of fifty readings which differ from the best Vulgate text, of which about ten are improvements (iv. 21; v. 13, 23; vi. 13, 15, 16, &c.), as many more inferior readings (iv. 17, 26, 30, &c.), and the remainder differences of expression: *malo* for *nequam*, *recto pede incedunt* for *recte ambulant*, *rursum* for *iterum*. The same differences are found in his Commentaries on the other Epistles: *ad Ephes.* i. 6; iii. 14; iv. 19; v. 22, 31: *ad Tit.* iii. 15. From this it will be evident that the Vulgate text of the Acts and the Epistles does not represent the critical opinion of Jerome, even in the restricted sense in which this is true of the text of the Gospels. But still there are some readings which may with probability be referred to his revision: Acts xiii. 18, *mores eorum sustinuit* for *nutrivit* (*aluit*) *eos*. Rom. xii. 11, *Domino* for *tempori*. Eph. iv. 19, *illuminabit te Christus* for *continges Christum*. Gal. ii. 5, *neque ad horam cessimus* for *ad horam cessimus*. 1 Tim. v. 19, add. *nisi sub duobus aut tribus testibus*.

37. The chief corruptions of the Old Latin consist in the introduction of glosses. These, like the corresponding additions in the *Codex Bezae* (D_1), are sometimes indications of the venerable antiquity of the source from which it was derived, and seem to carry us back to the time when the evangelic tradition had not yet been wholly superseded by the written Gospels. Such are the interpolations at Matt. iii. 15; xx. 28; Luke iii. 22 (compare also Luke i. 46; xii. 38); but more frequently they are derived from parallel passages, either by direct transference of the words of another evangelist, or by the reproduction of the substance of them. These interpolations are frequent in the synoptic Gospels; Matt. iii. 3; Mark xvi. 4; Luke i. 29, vi. 10; ix. 43, 50, 54; xi. 2; and occur also in St. John vi. 56, &c. But in St. John the Old Latin more commonly errs by defect than by excess. Thus it omits clauses certainly or probably genuine: iii. 31; iv. 9; v. 36; vi. 23; viii. 58, &c. Sometimes, again, the renderings of the Greek text are free: Luke i. 29; ii. 15; vi. 21. Such variations, however, are rarely likely to mislead. Otherwise the Old Latin text of the Gospels is of the highest value. There are cases where some Latin MSS. combine with one or two other of the most ancient witnesses to support a reading which has been obliterated in the mass of authorities: Luke vi. 1; Mark xvi. 9 ff.; v. 3; and not unfrequently (comp. § 35) it preserves the true text which is lost in the Vulgate: Luke xiii. 19; xiv. 5; xv. 28.

38. But the places where the Old Latin and the Vulgate have separately preserved the true reading are rare, when compared with those in which they combine with other ancient witnesses against the great mass of authorities. Every chapter of the Gospels will furnish instances of this agreement, which is often the more striking because it exists only in the original text of the Vulgate, while the later copies have been corrupted in the same way as the later Greek MSS.: Mark ii. 16; iii. 25 (?); viii. 13, &c.; Rom. vi. 8; xvi. 24, &c. In the first few chapters of St. Matthew, the following may be noticed: i. 18 (*bis*); ii. 18; iii. 10; v. 4, 5, 11, 30, 44, 47; vi. 5, 13; vii. 10, 14, 29; viii. 32 (x. 8), &c. It is useless to multiply examples which occur equally in every part of the N. T.: Luke ii. 14, 40; iv. 2, &c.; John i. 52; iv. 42, 51; v. 16; viii. 59; xiv. 17, &c.; Acts ii. 30, 31, 37, &c.; 1 Cor. i. 1, 15, 22, 27, &c. On the other hand, there are passages (comp. § 35) in which the Latin authorities combine in giving a false reading: Matt. vi. 15; vii. 10; viii. 28 (?), &c.; Luke iv. 17; xiii. 23, 27, 31, &c.; Acts iii. 20, &c.; 1 Tim. iii. 16, &c. But these are comparatively few, and commonly marked by the absence of all Eastern corroborative evidence. It may be impossible to lay down definite laws for the separation of readings which are due to free rendering, or carelessness, or glosses, but in practice there is little difficulty in distinguishing the variations which are due to the idiosyncrasy (so to speak) of the Version from those which contain real traces of the original text. And when every allowance has been made for the rudeness of the original Latin, and the haste of Jerome's revision, it can scarcely be denied that the Vulgate is not only the most venerable but also the most precious monument of Latin Christianity. For ten centuries it preserved in Western Europe a text of Holy Scripture far purer than that which was current in the Byzantine Church; and at the revival of Greek learning, guided the way towards a revision of the late Greek text, in which the best biblical critics have followed the steps of Bentley, with ever-deepening conviction of the supreme importance of the coincidence of the earliest Greek and Latin authorities.

39. Of the *interpretative* value of the Vulgate little need be said. There can be no doubt that in dealing with the N. T., at least, we are now

in possession of means infinitely more varied and better suited to the right elucidation of the text than could have been enjoyed by the original African translators. It is a false humility to rate as nothing the inheritance of ages. If the investigation of the laws of language, the clear perception of principles of grammar, the accurate investigation of words, the minute comparison of ancient texts, the wide study of antiquity, the long lessons of experience, have contributed nothing towards a fuller understanding of Holy Scripture, all trust in Divine Providence is gone. If we are not in this respect far in advance of the simple peasant or half-trained scholar of North Africa, or even of the laborious student of Bethlehem, we have proved false to their example, and dishonour them by our indolence. It would be a thankless task to quote instances where the Latin Version renders the Greek incorrectly. Such faults arise most commonly from a servile adherence to the exact words of the original, and thus that which is an error in rendering proves a fresh evidence of the scrupulous care with which the translator generally followed the text before him. But while the interpreter of the N. T. will be fully justified in setting aside without scruple the authority of early versions, there are sometimes ambiguous passages in which a version may preserve the traditional sense (John i. 3, 9, viii. 25, &c.) or indicate an early difference of translation; and then its evidence may be of the highest value. But even here the judgment must be free. Versions supply authority for the text, and opinion only for the rendering.

VIII. THE LANGUAGE OF THE LATIN VERSIONS. — 40. The characteristics of Christian Latinity have been most unaccountably neglected by lexicographers and grammarians. It is, indeed, only lately that the full importance of provincial dialects in the history of languages has been fully recognised, and it may be hoped that the writings of Tertullian, Arnobius, and the African Fathers generally, will now at length receive the attention which they justly claim. But it is necessary to go back one step further, and to seek in the remains of the Old Latin Bible the earliest and the purest traces of the popular idioms of African Latin. It is easy to trace in the patristic writings the powerful influence of this venerable Version; and, on the other hand, the Version itself exhibits numerous peculiarities which were evidently borrowed from the current dialect. Generally it is necessary to distinguish two distinct elements both in the Latin Version and in subsequent writings: (1) Provincialisms and (2) Graecisms. The former are chiefly of interest as illustrating the history of the Latin language; the latter as marking, in some degree, its power of expansion. Only a few remarks on each of these heads, which may help to guide inquiry, can be offered here; but the careful reading of some chapters of the Old Version (*e. g.* Psalms, Ecclus., Wisdom, in the modern Vulgate) will supply numerous illustrations.[t]

(1.) *Provincialisms.*—41. One of the most interesting facts in regard to the language of the Latin Version is the reappearance in it of early forms which are found in Plautus or noted as archaisms by grammarians. These establish in a signal manner the vitality of the popular as distinguished from the literary idiom, and, from the great scarcity of memorials of the Italian dialects, possess a peculiar value. Examples of *words*, *forms*, and *constructions* will show the extent to which this phenomenon prevails.

(α) *Words*:
Stultiloquium, *multiloquium*, *vaniloquus* (Plautus); *stabilimentum* (id.); *datus* (subst. id.); *condignus* (id.); *aratiuncula* (id.); *versipellis* (id.); *saturitas* (id.); *stacte* (id.); *cordatus* (Ennius); *custoditio* (Festus); *decipula*, *dejero* (Plautus); *exentero* (id.); *scius* (Pac.) *mino* (to *drive*, Festus).

(β) *Forms*:
Deponents as Passive: *consolor*, *hortor*, *promereor* (Heb. xiii. 16); *ministror*.
Irregular inflections: *partibor absconsus* conversely, *exies*, &c.
tapetia (Plautus), *haec* (fem. pl.)
Unusual forms: *pascua* (fem.); *murmur* (masc.); *sal* (neut.); *retia* (sing.); *certor*, *odio*, *cornum*, *placor* (subst.), *dulcor*.

(γ) *Constructions*:
Emigro with acc. (Ps. lxi. 7, emigrabit te de tabernaculo); *dominor* with *gen.*; *noceo* with *acc.*; *sui*, *suus* for *ejus*, &c.; *non* for *ne* prohibitive; *capit* impers.

42. In addition to these there are many other peculiarities which evidently belong to the African (or common) dialect, and not merely to the Christian form of it. Such are the words *minorare*, *minoratio*, *improperium*, *framea* (a sword), *ablactatio*, *annualis*, *alleviare*, *pectusculum*, *antemurale*, *panifica*, *paratura*, *tortura*, *tribulare* (met.), *tribulatio*, *vilefacere*, *veredarius*, *viare*, *victualia*, *virectum* (viretum), *vitulamen*, *volatilia* (subst.), *quaternio*, *reclinatorium*, *scrutinium*, *sponsare*, *stratoria* (subst.), *sufferentia*, *sufficientia*, *superabundantia*, *sustinentia*, *cartallus*, *cassidile*, *collactaneus*, *condulcare*, *genimen*, *grossitudo*, *refectio* (κατάλυμα), *exterminium*, *defunctio* (decease), *substantia* (abs.), *incolatus*.

New verbs are formed from adjectives: *pessimare*, *proximare*, *approximare*, *assiduare*, *pigritari*, *salvare* (*salvator*, *salvatio*), *obviare*, *jucundare*, and especially a large class in *-fico*: *mortifico*, *vivifico*, *sanctifico*, *glorifico*, *clarifico*, *beatifico*, *castifico*, *gratifico*, *fructifico*.

Other verbs worthy of notice are: *appropriare*, *appretiare*, *tenebrescere*, *indulcare*, *implanare* (plānus), *manicare*.

In this class may be reckoned also many

(1) New substantives derived from adjectives: *possibilitas*, *praeclaritas*, *paternitas*, *praescientia*, *religiositas*, *nativitas*, *supervacuitas*, *magnalia*.

or verbs: *requietio*, *respectio*, *creatura*, *subitatio*, *extollentia*.

(2) New verbals: *accensibilis*, *acceptabilis*, *docibilis*, *productilis*, *passibilis*, *receptibilis*, *reprehensibilis*, *suadibilis*, *subjectibilis*, *arreptitius*; and participial forms: *pudoratus*, *angustiatus*, *timoratus*, *sensatus*, *disciplinatus*, *magnatus*, *linguatus*.

[t] Card. Wiseman (*Two Letters*, &c., republished in *Essays*, i. pp. 46 64) has examined this subject in some detail, and the writer has fully availed himself of his examples, in addition to those which he had himself collected. The *Thesaurus* of Faber (ed. 1749) is the most complete for Ecclesiastical Latin; and Dutripon's Concordance is, as far as the writer has observed, complete for the authorised Clementine text.

(3) New adjectives: *animaequus, temporaneus, unigenitus, querulosus*; and adverbs, *terribiliter, unanimiter, spiritualiter, cognoscibiliter, fiducialiter.*

The series of *negative* compounds is peculiarly worthy of notice: *immemoratio, increditio, inconsummatio; inhonorare; inauxiliatus, indeficiens, inconfusibilis, importabilis.*

Among the characteristics of the late stage of a language must be reckoned the excessive frequency of compounds, especially formed with the prepositions. These are peculiarly abundant in the Latin Version, but in many cases it is difficult to determine whether they are not direct translations of the late LXX. forms, and not independent forms: e. g. *addecimare, adinvenire -ntio, adincrescere, pereffluere, permundare, propurgare, superexaltare, superinvalescere, supererogare, reinvitare, rememoratio, repropitiari, subinferre.* Of these many are the direct representatives of Greek words: *superadulta* (1 Cor. vii. 36), *superseminare* (Matt. xiii. 25), *comparticipes, concaptivus, complantatus*, &c. (supersubstantialis, Matt. vi. 11); and others are formed to express distinct ideas: *subcinericius, subnervare*, &c.[a]

(2.) *Graecisms.*—43. The "simplicity" of the Old Version necessarily led to the introduction of very numerous Septuagintal or N. T. forms, many of which have now passed into common use. In this respect it would be easy to point out the difference which exists between Jerome's own work and the original translation, or his revision of it. Examples of Greek words are: *zelare, perizoma, python, pythonissa, proselytus, prophetes -tissa -tizare -tare, poderis, pompatice, thesaurizare, anathematizare, agonizare, agonia, aromatizare, angelus -icus, peribolus, pisticus, probatica, papyrio, pastophoria, telonium, eucharis, acharis, romphaea, bravium, dithalassus, doma* (*thronus*), *thymiatorium, tristega, scandalum, sitarcia, blasphemare*, &c., besides the purely technical terms: *patriarcha, Parasceve, Pascha, Paracletus.* Other words based on the Greek are: *aporior, angurio, apostatare, apostolatus, acedior* (ἀκηδία).

Some close renderings are interesting: *amodo* (ἀπὸ τούτου), *propitiatorium* (ἱλαστήριον), *inidipsum* (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ), *rationale* (λογεῖον, Ex. xxviii. 15, &c.), *scenofactorius* (Acts xviii. 3), *seminiverbius* (Acts xvii. 18), *subintroductus* (Gal. ii. 4), *supercertari* (Jude 3), *civilitus* (Acts xxii. 28), *intentator malorum* (Jam. i. 13). To this head also must be referred such constructions as *zelare* with *accus.* (ζηλοῦν τινα); *facere* with *inf.* (ποιεῖν . . . γενέσθαι); *potestas* with *inf.* (ἐξουσία ἀφιέναι); the use of the *inf.* to express an end (Acts vii. 43, ἐποιήσατε προσκυνεῖν) or a result (Luke i. 25, ἐπεῖδεν ἀφελεῖν, *respexit auferre*); the introduction of *quia* for ὅτι in the sense of *that* (Luke i. 58, *audierunt . . . quia*), or for ὅτι *recitativum* (Matt. vii. 23, *Confitebor illis quia . . .*); the dat. with *assequi* (Luke i. 3, παρακολουθεῖν V. L.); the use of the *gen.* with the comparative (John i. 50, *majora horum*); and such Hebraisms as *vir mortis* (1 K. ii. 26). Comp. § 6.

Generally it may be observed that the Vulgate Latin bears traces of a threefold influence derived from the original text; and the modifications of form which are capable of being carried back to this source, occur yet more largely in modern languages, whether in this case they are to be referred to the plastic power of the Vulgate on the popular dialect, or, as is more likely, we must suppose that the Vulgate has preserved a distinct record of powers which were widely working in the times of the Empire on the common Latin. These are (1) an extension of the use of prepositions for simple cases, *e. g.* in the renderings of ἐν, Col. iii. 17, *facere in* verbo, &c.; (2) an assimilation of pronouns to the meaning of the Greek article, *e. g.* 1 John i. 2, *ipsa* vita; Luke xxiv. 9, *illis* undecim, &c.; and (3) a constant employment of the definitive and epithetic genitive, where classical usage would have required an adjective, *e. g.* Col. i. 13, filius *caritatis suae*; iii. 12, viscera *misericordiae.*

44. The peculiarities which have been enumerated are found in greater or less frequency throughout the Vulgate. It is natural that they should be most abundant and striking in the parts which have been preserved least changed from the Old Latin, the Apocrypha, the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. Jerome, who, as he often says, had spent many years in the schools of grammarians and rhetoricians, could not fail to soften down many of the asperities of the earlier version, either by adopting variations already in partial use, or by correcting faulty expressions himself as he revised the text. An examination of a few chapters in the Old and New Versions of the Gospels will show the character and extent of the changes which he ventured to introduce:—Luke i. 60, *οὐχί, non*, Vet. L. *nequaquam*, Vulg.; *id.* 65, ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ὀρεινῇ, *in omni montana*, Vet. L. *super omnia montana*, Vulg.; ii. 1, *profiteretur, professio*, Vet. L. *describeretur, descriptio*, Vulg.; *id.* 13, *exercitus caelestis*, Vet. L. *militiae caelestis*, Vulg.; *id.* 34, *quod contradicetur*, Vet. L. *cui contr.* Vulg.; *id.* 49, *in propria Patris mei*, Vet. L. *in his quae patris mei sunt*, Vulg. Some words he seems to have changed constantly, though not universally: e. g. *obauditio, obaudio* (obedientia, obedio); *mensurare* (metiri); *dilectio* (caritas); *sacramentum* (mysterium), &c. And many of the most remarkable forms are confined to books which he did not revise: *elucidare, inaltare* (jucundari); *fumigabundus, illamentatus, indisciplinatus, insuspicabilis*; *exsecramentum* (*exterminium*), *gaudimonium*; *extollentia, honorificentia*; *horripilatio, inhonoratio.*

45. Generally it may be said that the Scriptural idioms of our common language have come to us mainly through the Latin; and in a wider view the Vulgate is the connecting link between classical and modern languages. It contains elements which belong to the earliest stage of Latin, and exhibits (if often in a rude form) the flexibility of the popular dialect. On the other hand, it has furnished the source and the model for a large portion of current Latin derivatives. Even a cursory examination of the characteristic words which have been given will show how many of them, and how many corresponding forms, have passed into living languages.[a]

[a] It would be interesting to trace the many striking parallelisms between the Vulgate and the African Appuleius (e. g. *incredibilis* (act.) *ineffugibilis, molestare*, &c.), or the Spanish Seneca (e. g. *inquietudo, impunitus*, &c.).

[a] Probably the most remarkable example of the influence of theology upon popular language, is the entire suppression of the correlatives of *verbum* in all the Romance languages. The forms occur in the religious technical sense (the Word), but otherwise they are replaced by the representatives of *parabola* (parola, parole &c.). Compare Diez, *Etym. Wörtb.* 253.

To follow out this question in detail would be out of place here; but it would furnish a chapter in the history of language fruitful in results and hitherto unwritten. Within a more limited range, the authority of the Latin Versions is undeniable, though its extent is rarely realised. The vast power which they have had in determining the theological terms of Western Christendom can hardly be overrated. By far the greater part of the current doctrinal terminology is based on the Vulgate, and, as far as can be ascertained, was originated in the Latin Version. *Predestination, justification, supererogation* (*supererogo*), *sanctification, salvation, mediator, regeneration, revelation, visitation* (met.), *propitiation*, first appear in the Old Vulgate. *Grace, redemption, election, reconciliation, satisfaction, inspiration, scripture*, were devoted there to a new and holy use. *Sacrament* (*μυστήριον*) and *communion* are from the same source; and though *baptism* is Greek, it comes to us from the Latin. It would be easy to extend the list by the addition of *orders, penance, congregation, priest*. But it can be seen from the forms already brought forward that the Latin Versions have left their mark both upon our language and upon our thoughts; and if the right method of controversy is based upon a clear historical perception of the force of words, it is evident that the study of the Vulgate, however much neglected, can never be neglected with impunity. It was the Version which alone they knew who handed down to the Reformers the rich stores of mediaeval wisdom; the Version with which the greatest of the Reformers were most familiar, and from which they had drawn their earliest knowledge of Divine truth. [B. F. W.]

VULTURE. The rendering in A. V. of the Heb. דַּיָּה (*dayyâh*) and דָּאָה; and also in Job xxviii. 7, of אַיָּה, *ayyâh*; elsewhere, in Lev. xi. 14, and Deut. xiv. 13, more correctly rendered "kite:" LXX. *γύψ* and *ἴκτινος*, Vulg. *vultur*; except in Is. xxxiv. 15, where LXX. read *ἔλαφος*, and Vulg. correctly *milvus*.

There seems no doubt but that the A. V. translation is incorrect, and that the original words refer to some of the smaller species of raptorial birds, as kites or buzzards. דַּיָּה is evidently synonymous with Arab. حدية, *h'dayah*, the vernacular for the "kite" in North Africa, and without the epithet "red" for the black kite especially. Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 2, 195) explains it *Vultur niger*. The Samaritan and all other Eastern Versions agree in rendering it "kite." אַיָּה (*ayyâh*) is yet more certainly referable to this bird, which in other passages it is taken to represent. Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. b. 2, c. 8, p. 193) says it is the same bird which the Arabs call يايا (*yaya*) from its cry; but does not state what species this is, supposing it apparently to be the magpie, the Arab name for which, however, is العقعاق, *el agaag*.

There are two very different species of bird comprised under the English term vulture: the griffon (*Gyps fulvus*, Sav.), Arab. نسر, *nesser*; Heb. נֶשֶׁר, *nesher*; invariably rendered "eagle" by A. V.; and the *percnopter*, or Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*, Sav.), Arab. رخمة, *rakhma*; Heb. רָחָם, *âchâm*; rendered "gier-eagle" by A. V.

The identity of the Hebrew and Arabic terms in these cases can scarcely be questioned. However degrading the substitution of the ignoble vulture for the royal eagle may at first sight appear in many passages, it must be borne in mind that the griffon is in all its movements and characteristics a majestic and royal bird, the largest and most powerful which is seen on the wing in Palestine, and far surpassing the eagle in size and power. Its only rival in these respects is the Bearded Vulture or Lammergeyer, a more uncommon bird everywhere, and which, since it is not, like the griffon, bald on the head and neck, cannot be referred to as *nesher* (see Mic. i. 16). Very different is the slovenly and cowardly Egyptian vulture, the familiar scavenger of all Oriental towns and villages, protected for its useful habits, but loathed and despised, till its name has become a term of reproach like that of the dog or the swine.

If we take the Heb. *ayyâh* to refer to the red kite (*milvus regalis*, Temm.), and *dayyâh* to the black kite (*milvus ater*, Temm.), we shall find the piercing sight of the former referred to by Job (xxviii. 7), and the gregarious habits of the latter by Isaiah (xxxiv. 15). Both species are inhabitants of Palestine, the red kite being found all over the country, as formerly in England, but nowhere in great numbers, generally soaring at a great height over the plains, according to Dr. Roth, and apparently leaving the country in winter. The black kite, which is so numerous everywhere as to be gregarious, may be seen at all times of the year, hovering over the villages and the outskirts of towns, on the look-out for offal and garbage, which are its favourite food. Vulture-like, it seldom, unless pressed by hunger, attacks living animals. It is therefore never molested by the natives, and builds its nest on trees in their neighbourhood, fantastically decorating it with as many rags of coloured cloth as it can collect.

There are three species of vulture known to inhabit Palestine:—

1. The Lammergeyer (*Gypaetos barbatus*, Cuv.), which is rare everywhere, and only found in desolate mountain regions, where it rears its young in the depth of winter among inaccessible precipices. It is looked upon by the Arabs as an eagle rather than a vulture.

2. The Griffon (*Gyps fulvus*, Sav.), mentioned above, remarkable for its power of vision and the great height at which it soars. Aristotle (*Anim. Hist.* vi. 5) notices the manner in which the griffon scents its prey from afar, and congregates in the wake of an army. The same singular instinct was remarked in the Russian war, when vast numbers of this vulture were collected in the Crimea, and remained till the end of the campaign in the neighbourhood of the camp, although previously they had been scarcely known in the country. "Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together" (Matt. xxiv. 28); "Where the slain are, there is she" (Job xxxix. 30). The writer observed this bird universally distributed in all the mountainous and rocky districts of Palestine, and especially abundant in the south-east. Its favourite breeding-places are between Jerusalem and Jericho, and all round the Dead Sea.

The third species is the Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*, Sav.), often called Pharaoh's hen, observed in Palestine by Hasselquist and all subsequent travellers, and very numerous everywhere. Two other species of very large size, the

eared and cinereous vultures (*Vultur nubicus*, Smith, and *Vultur cinereus*, L.), although inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, and probably also of the south-east of Palestine, have not yet been noted in collections from that country. [H. B. T.]

W

WAGES.[a] The earliest mention of wages is of a recompence not in money but in kind, to Jacob from Laban (Gen. xxix. 15, 20, xxx. 28, xxxi. 7, 8, 41). This usage was only natural among a pastoral and changing population like that of the tent-dwellers of Syria. In Egypt, money payments by way of wages were in use, but the terms cannot now be ascertained (Ex. ii. 9). The only mention of the rate of wages in Scripture is found in the parable of the householder and vineyard (Matt. xx. 2), where the labourer's wages are set at one denarius per day, probably = 7½*d.*, a rate which agrees with Tobit v. 14, where a drachma is mentioned as the rate per day, a sum which may be fairly taken as equivalent to the denarius, and to the usual pay of a soldier (ten *asses* per diem) in the later days of the Roman republic (Tac. *Ann.* i. 17; Polyb. vi. 39). It was perhaps the traditional remembrance of this sum as a day's wages that suggested the mention of "drachmas wrung from the hard hands of peasants" (Shakspeare, *Jul. Caes.* iv. 3). In earlier times it is probable that the rate was lower, as until lately it was throughout India. In Scotland we know that in the last century a labourer's daily wages did not exceed sixpence (Smiles, *Lives of Engineers*, ii. 96). But it is likely that labourers, and also soldiers, were supplied with provisions (Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, §130, vol. ii. p. 190, ed. Smith), as is intimated by the word ὀψώνια, used in Luke iii. 14, and 1 Cor. ix. 7, and also by Polybius, vi. 39. The Mishnah (*Baba metzia*, vii. 1, §5), speaks of victuals being allowed or not according to the custom of the place, up to the value of a denarius, *i. e.* inclusive of the pay.

The Law was very strict in requiring daily payment of wages (Lev. xix. 13; Deut. xxiv. 14, 15); and the Mishnah applies the same rule to the use of animals (*Baba metzia*, ix. 12). The employer who refused to give his labourers sufficient victuals is censured (Job xxiv. 11), and the iniquity of withholding wages is denounced (Jer. xxii. 13; Mal. iii. 5; James v. 4).

Wages in general, whether of soldiers or labourers, are mentioned (Hag. i. 6; Ez. xxix. 18, 19; John iv. 36). Burckhardt mentions a case in Syria resembling closely that of Jacob with Laban—a man who served eight years for his food, on condition of obtaining his master's daughter in marriage, and was afterwards compelled by his father-in-law to perform acts of service for him (*Syria*, p. 297). [H. W. P.]

WAGGON. [CART and CHARIOT.] The Oriental waggon or *arabah* is a vehicle composed of two or three planks fixed on two solid circular blocks of wood, from two to five feet in diameter, which serve as wheels. To the floor are sometimes attached wings, which splay outwards like the side of a wheelbarrow. For the conveyance of passengers, mattresses or clothes are laid in the bottom, and the vehicle is drawn by buffaloes or oxen (Arundell, *Asia Minor*, ii. 191, 235, 238; Olearius, *Trav.* p. 309; Ker Porter, *Trav.* ii. 533.) Egyptian carts or waggons, such as were sent to convoy Jacob (Gen. xlv. 19, 21, 27), are described under CART. The covered waggons for conveying the materials of the tabernacle were probably constructed on Egyptian models. They were each drawn by two oxen (Num. vii. 3, 8). Herodotus mentions a four-wheeled Egyptian vehicle (ἅμαξα) used for sacred purposes (Her. ii. 63). [H. W. P.]

WALLS.[b] Only a few points need be noticed in addition to what has been said elsewhere on wall-construction, whether in brick, stone, or wood. [BRICKS; HANDICRAFT; MORTAR.] 1. The practice common in Palestine of carrying foundations down to the solid rock, as in the case of the Temple, and in the present day with structures intended to be permanent (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, §3; Luke vi. 48; Robinson, ii. 338; *Col. Ch. Chron.* (1857), p. 459). The pains taken by the ancient builders to make good the foundations of their work may still be seen, both in the existing substructions and in the number of old stones used in more modern constructions. Some of these stones—ancient, but of uncertain date—are from 20 feet to 30 feet 10 inches long, 3 feet to 6 feet 6 inches broad, and 5 feet to 7 feet 6 inches thick (Rob. i. 233, 282, 286, iii. 228). As is the case in numberless instances of Syrian buildings, either old or built of old materials, the edges and sometimes the faces of these stones are "bevelled" in flat grooves. This is commonly supposed to indicate work at least as old as the Roman period (Rob. i. 261, 286, ii. 75, 76, 278, 353, iii. 52, 58, 84, 229, 461, 493, 511; Fergusson, *Hdbk. of Arch.* p. 288). On the contrary side, see *Col. Ch. Chron.* (1858), p. 350.

But the great size of these stones is far exceeded by some of those at Baalbek, three of which are each about 63 feet long; and one, still lying in the quarry, measures 68 feet 4 inches in length, 17 feet 2 inches broad, and 14 feet 7 inches thick. Its weight can scarcely be less than 600 tons (Rob. iii. 505, 512; Volney, *Trav.* ii. 241).

2. A feature of some parts of Solomon's buildings, as described by Josephus, corresponds remarkably to the method adopted at Nineveh of encrusting or veneering a wall of brick or stone with slabs of a more costly material, as marble or alabaster (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 5, §2; Fergusson, *Hdbk.* 202, 203).

3. Another use of walls in Palestine is to support mountain roads or terraces formed on the sides

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[a] 1. מַשְׂכֹּרֶת, שָׂכָר; μισθός; *merces.*

2. פְּעֻלָּה; μισθός; *opus*: wages for work done, from פָּעַל, "work" (Ges. p. 1117).

[b] 1. אֲשִׁרְנָה; χορηγία; *muri*: only in Ezr. v. 3.

2. (*a*) גָּדֵר; φραγμός; *maceria.* (*b*) גְּדֵר; φραγμοί; *macerie.* (*c*) גְּדֵרָה; διάστημα, φραγμός; *sepes.*

3. חוֹמָה; τεῖχος; *murus.*

4. חֵיל; δύναμις; *virtus*: also προτείχισμα; *agger.*

5. חוּץ and חֵיץ; τοῖχος; *paries.*

6. חָרוּץ; περίτειχος; *muri*: only in Dan. ix. 25.

7. (*a*) כֹּתֶל. (*b*) כְּתַל, Chald.; τοῖχος; *paries.*

8. קִיר; τοιχος; *paries.*

9. שׁוּר; τεῖχος; *murus.*

of hills for purposes of cultivation (Rob. ii. 493, iii. 14, 45).

4. The "path of the vineyards" (Num. xxii. 24) is illustrated by Robinson as a pathway through vineyards, with walls on each side (*B. R.* ii. 80; Stanley, *S. and P.* 102, 420; Lindsay, *Trav.* p. 239; Maundrell, *Early Trav.* p. 437). [WINDOW.] [H.W.P.]

WANDERING IN THE WILDERNESS.

[WILDERNESS OF WANDERING.]

WAR. The most important topic in connexion with war is the formation of the army, which is destined to carry it on. This has been already described under the head of ARMY, and we shall therefore take up the subject from the point where that article leaves it. Before entering on a war of aggression the Hebrews sought for the Divine sanction by consulting either the Urim and Thummim (Judg. i. 1, xx. 27, 28; 1 Sam. xiv. 37, xxiii. 2, xxviii. 6, xxx. 8), or some acknowledged prophet (1 K. xxii. 6; 2 Chr. xviii. 5). The heathens betook themselves to various kinds of divination for the same purpose (Ez. xxi. 21). Divine aid was further sought in actual warfare by bringing into the field the Ark of the Covenant, which was the symbol of Jehovah Himself (1 Sam. iv. 4-18, xiv. 18), a custom which prevailed certainly down to David's time (2 Sam. xi. 11; comp. Ps. lxviii. 1, 24). During the wanderings in the wilderness the signal for warlike preparations was sounded by priests with the silver trumpets of the sanctuary (Num. x. 9, xxxi. 6). Formal proclamations of war were not interchanged between the belligerents; but occasionally messages either deprecatory or defiant were sent, as in the cases of Jephthah and the Ammonites (Judg. xi. 12-27), Ben-hadad and Ahab (1 K. xx. 2), and again Amaziah and Jehoash (2 K. xiv. 8). Before entering the enemy's district spies were sent to ascertain the character of the country and the preparations of its inhabitants for resistance (Num. xiii. 17; Josh. ii. 1; Judg. vii. 10; 1 Sam. xxvi. 4). When an engagement was imminent a sacrifice was offered (1 Sam. vii. 9, xiii. 9), and an inspiriting address delivered either by the commander (2 Chr. xx. 20) or by a priest (Deut. xx. 2). Then followed the battle-signal, sounded forth from the silver trumpets as already described, to which the host responded by shouting the war-cry (1 Sam. xvii. 52; Is. xlii. 13; Jer. l. 42; Ez. xxi. 22; Am. i. 14). The combat assumed the form of a number of hand-to-hand contests, depending on the qualities of the individual soldier rather than on the disposition of masses. Hence the high value attached to fleetness of foot and strength of arm (2 Sam. i. 23, ii. 18; 1 Chr. xii. 8). At the same time various strategic devices were practised, such as the ambuscade (Josh. viii. 2, 12; Judg. xx. 36), surprise (Judg. vii. 16), or circumvention (2 Sam. v. 23). Another mode of settling the dispute was by the selection of champions (1 Sam. xvii.; 2 Sam. ii. 14), who were spurred on to exertion by the offer of high reward (1 Sam. xvii. 25, xviii. 25; 2 Sam. xviii. 11; 1 Chr. xi. 6). The contest having been decided, the conquerors were recalled from the pursuit by the sound of a trumpet (2 Sam. ii. 28, xviii. 16, xx. 22).

The siege of a town or fortress was conducted in the following manner:—A line of circumvallation[a] was drawn round the place (Ez. iv. 2; Mic. v. 1), constructed out of the trees found in the neighbourhood (Deut. xx. 20), together with earth and any other materials at hand. This line not only cut off the besieged from the surrounding country, but also served as a base of operations for the besiegers. The next step was to throw out from this line one or more "mounts" or "banks"[b] in the direction of the city (2 Sam. xx. 15; 2 K. xix. 32; Is. xxxvii. 33), which was gradually increased in height until it was about half as high as the city wall. On this mound or bank towers[c] were erected (2 K. xxv. 1; Jer. lii. 4; Ez. iv. 2, xvii. 17, xxi. 22, xxvi. 8), whence the slingers and archers might attack with effect. Battering-rams[d] (Ez. iv. 2, xxi. 22) were brought up to the walls by means of the bank, and scaling-ladders might also be placed on it. Undermining the walls, though practised by the Assyrians (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 371), is not noticed in the Bible: the reference to it in the LXX. and Vulg., in Jer. li. 58, is not warranted by the original text. Sometimes, however, the walls were attacked near the foundation, either by individual warriors who protected themselves from above by their shields (Ez. xxvi. 8), or by the further use of such a machine as the *Helepolis*,[e] referred to in 1 Macc. xiii. 43. Burning the gates was another mode of obtaining ingress (Judg. ix. 52). The water-supply would naturally be cut off, if it were possible (Jud. vii. 7). The besieged, meanwhile, strengthened and repaired their fortifications (Is. xxii. 10), and repelled the enemy from the wall by missiles (2 Sam. xi. 24), by throwing over beams and heavy stones (Judg. ix. 53; 2 Sam. xi. 21; Joseph. *B. J.* v. 3, §3, 6, §3), by pouring down boiling oil (*B. J.* iii. 7, §28), or lastly by erecting fixed engines for the propulsion of stones and arrows (2 Chr. xxvi. 15). [ENGINE.] Sallies were also made for the purpose of burning the besiegers' works (1 Macc. vi. 31; *B. J.* v. 11, §4), and driving them away from the neighbourhood. The foregoing operations receive a large amount of illustration from the representations of such scenes on the Assyrian slabs. We there see the "bank" thrown up in the form of an inclined plane, with the battering-ram hauled up on it assaulting the walls: moveable towers of considerable elevation brought up, whence the warriors discharge their

[a] מָצוֹר, lit. an "enclosing" or "besieging," and hence applied to the wall by which the siege was effected.

[b] סֹלְלָה. Saalschütz (*Archäol.* ii. 504) understands this term of the scaling-ladder, comparing the cognate *sullâm* Gen. xxviii. 12), and giving the verb *shâphac*, which accompanies *sollâh*, the sense of a "hurried advancing" of the ladder.

[c] דּוּךְ. Some doubt exists as to the meaning of this term. The sense of "turrets" assigned to it by Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 330) has been objected to on the ground that the word always appears in the singular number, and in connexion with the expression "round about" the city. Hence the sense of "circumvallation" has been assigned to it by Michaelis, Keil (*Archäol.* ii. 303) and others. It is difficult, however, in this case, to see any distinction between the terms *dâyêk* and *mâtzôr*. The expression "round about" may refer to the custom of casting up banks at different points: the use of the singular in a collective sense forms a greater difficulty.

[d] כָּרִים

[e] This is described by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 4 §10) as a combination of the *testudo* and the battering ram, by means of which the besiegers broke through the lower part of the wall, and thus "leaped into the city," not from above, as the words *primâ facie* imply, but from below.

arrows into the city: the walls undermined, or attempts made to destroy them by picking to pieces the lower courses: the defenders actively engaged in archery, and averting the force of the battering-ram by chains and ropes: the scaling-ladders at length brought, and the conflict become hand-to-hand (Layard's *Nin.* ii. 366-374).

The treatment of the conquered was extremely severe in ancient times. The leaders of the host were put to death (Josh. x. 26; Judg. vii. 25), with the occasional indignity of decapitation after death (1 Sam. xvii. 51; 2 Macc. xv. 30; Joseph. *B. J.* i. 17, §2). The bodies of the soldiers killed in action were plundered (1 Sam. xxxi. 8; 2 Macc. viii. 27): the survivors were either killed in some savage manner (Judg. ix. 45; 2 Sam. xii. 31; 2 Chr. xxv. 12), mutilated (Judg. i. 6; 1 Sam. xi. 2), or carried into captivity (Num. xxxi. 26; Deut. xx. 14). Women and children were occasionally put to death with the greatest barbarity (2 K. viii. 12, xv. 16; Is. xiii. 16, 18; Hos. x. 14, xiii. 16; Am. i. 13; Nah. iii. 10; 2 Macc. v. 13): but it was more usual to retain the maidens as concubines or servants (Judg. v. 30; 2 K. v. 2). Sometimes the bulk of the population of the conquered country was removed to a distant locality, as in the case of the Israelites when subdued by the Assyrians (2 K. xvii. 6), and of the Jews by the Babylonians (2 K. xxiv. 14, xxv. 11). In addition to these measures, the towns were destroyed (Judg. ix. 45; 2 K. iii. 25; 1 Macc. v. 28, 51, x. 84), the idols and shrines were carried off (Is. xlvi. 1, 2), or destroyed (1 Macc. v. 68, x. 84); the fruit-trees were cut down, and the fields spoiled by overspreading them with stones (2 K. iii. 19, 25); and the horses were lamed (2 Sam. viii. 4; Josh. xi. 6, 9). If the war was carried on simply for the purpose of plunder or supremacy, these extreme measures would hardly be carried into execution; the conqueror would restrict himself to rifling the treasuries (1 K. xiv. 26; 2 K. xiv. 14, xxiv. 13), or levying contributions (2 K. xviii. 14).

The Mosaic law mitigated to a certain extent the severity of the ancient usages towards the conquered. With the exception of the Canaanites, who were delivered over to the ban of extermination by the express command of God, it was forbidden to the Israelites to put to death any others than males bearing arms: the women and children were to be kept alive (Deut. xx. 13, 14). In a similar spirit of humanity the Jews were prohibited from felling fruit-trees for the purpose of making siege-works (Deut. xx. 19). The law further restricted the power of the conqueror over females, and secured to them humane treatment (Deut. xxi. 10-14). The majority of the savage acts recorded as having been practised by the Jews were either in retaliation for some gross provocation, as instanced in the cases of Adoni-bezek (Judg. i. 6, 7), and of David's treatment of the Ammonites (2 Sam. x. 2-4, xii. 31; 1 Chr. xx. 3); or else they were done by lawless usurpers, as in Menahem's treatment of the women of Tiphsah (2 K. xv. 16). The Jewish kings generally appear to have obtained credit for clemency (1 K. xx. 31).

The conquerors celebrated their success by the erection of monumental stones (1 Sam. vii. 12; 2 Sam. viii. 13, where, instead of "gat him a name," we should read "*set up a memorial*"), by hanging up trophies in their public buildings (1 Sam. xxi. 9, xxxi. 10; 2 K. xi. 10), and by triumphal songs and dances, in which the whole population took part (Ex. xv. 1-21; Judg. v.; 1 Sam. xviii. 6-8; 2 Sam. xxii.; Jud. xvi. 2-17; 1 Macc. iv. 24). The death of a hero was commemorated by a dirge (2 Sam. i. 17-27; 2 Chr. xxxv. 25), or by a national mourning (2 Sam. iii. 31). The fallen warriors were duly buried (1 K. xi. 15), their arms being deposited in the grave beside them (Ez. xxxii. 27), while the enemies' corpses were exposed to the beasts of prey (1 Sam. xvii. 44; Jer. xxv. 33). The Israelites were directed to undergo the purification imposed on those who had touched a corpse, before they entered the precincts of the camp or the sanctuary (Num. xxxi. 19). The disposal of the spoil has already been described under BOOTY. [W. L. B.]

WASHING THE HANDS AND FEET. The particular attention paid by the Jews to the cleansing of the hands and feet, as compared with other parts of the body, originated in the social usages of the East. As knives and forks were dispensed with in eating, it was absolutely necessary that the hand, which was thrust into the common dish, should be scrupulously clean; and again, as sandals were ineffectual against the dust and heat of an Eastern climate, washing the feet on entering a house was an act both of respect to the company and of refreshment to the traveller. The former of these usages was transformed by the Pharisees of the New Testament age into a matter of ritual observance (Mark vii. 3), and special rules were laid down as to the times and manner of its performance. The neglect of these rules by our Lord and His disciples drew down upon Him the hostility of that sect (Matt. xv. 2; Luke xi. 38). Whether the expression πυγμῇ used by St. Mark has reference to any special regulation may perhaps be doubtful; the senses "oft" (A. V.), and "diligently" (Alford), have been assigned to it, but it may possibly signify "with the fist," as though it were necessary to close the one hand, which had already been cleansed, before it was applied to the unclean one. This sense appears preferable to the other interpretations of a similar character, such as "up to the wrist" (Lightfoot); "up to the elbow" (Theophylact); "having closed the hand" which is undergoing the washing (Grot.; Scalig.). The Pharisaical regulations on this subject are embodied in a treatise of the Mishnah, entitled *Yadaim*, from which it appears that the ablution was confined to the hand (2, §3), and that great care was needed to secure perfect purity in the water used. The ordinary, as distinct from the ceremonial, washing of hands before meals is still universally prevalent in Eastern countries (Lane, i. 190; Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 63).

Washing the feet did not rise to the dignity of a ritual observance, except in connexion with the services of the sanctuary (Ex. xxx. 19, 21). It held a high place, however, among the rites of hospitality. Immediately that a guest presented himself at the tent-door, it was usual to offer the necessary materials for washing the feet (Gen. xviii. 4, xix. 2, xxiv. 32, xliii. 24; Judg. xix. 21; comp. Hom. *Od.* iv. 49). It was a yet more complimentary act, betokening equally humility and affection, if the host actually performed the office for his guest (1 Sam. xxv. 41; Luke vii. 38, 44; John xiii. 5-14; 1 Tim. v. 10). Such a token of hospitality is still occasionally exhibited in the East, either by the host, or by his deputy (Robinson's *Res.* ii. 229; Jowett's *Res.* pp. 78, 79). The feet were again washed before retiring to bed (Cant. v. 3). A symbolical significance is attached in John

xiii. 10 to washing the feet as compared with bathing the whole body, the former being partial (νίπτω), the latter complete (λούω), the former oft-repeated in the course of the day, the latter done once for all; whence they are adduced to illustrate the distinction between occasional sin and a general state of sinfulness. After being washed, the feet were on festive occasions anointed (Luke vii. 38; John xii. 3). The indignity attached to the act of washing another's feet, appears to have been extended to the vessel used (Ps. lx. 8). [W. L. B.]

WATCHES OF NIGHT (אַשְׁמֹרָה: φυλακή). The Jews, like the Greeks and Romans, divided the night into military watches instead of hours, each watch representing the period for which sentinels or pickets remained on duty. The proper Jewish reckoning recognised only three such watches, entitled the first or "beginning of the watches"[a] (Lam. ii. 19), the middle watch[b] (Judg. vii. 19), and the morning watch[c] (Ex. xiv. 24; 1 Sam. xi. 11). These would last respectively from sunset to 10 P.M.; from 10 P.M. to 2 A.M.; and from 2 A.M. to sunrise. It has been contended by Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* in Matt. xiv. 25) that the Jews really reckoned four watches, three only of which were in the dead of the night, the fourth being in the morning. This, however, is rendered improbable by the use of the term "middle," and is opposed to Rabbinical authority (Mishnah, *Berach.* 1, §1; Kimchi, on Ps. lxiii. 7; Rashi, on Judg. vii. 19). Subsequently to the establishment of the Roman supremacy, the number of watches was increased to four, which were described either according to their numerical order, as in the case of the "fourth watch" (Matt. xiv. 25; comp. Joseph. *Ant.* v. 6, §5), or by the terms "even, midnight, cock-crowing, and morning" (Mark xiii. 35). These terminated respectively at 9 P.M., midnight, 3 A.M., and 6 A.M. Conformably to this, the guard of soldiers was divided into four relays (Acts xii. 4), showing that the Roman régime was followed in Herod's army. Watchmen appear to have patrolled the streets of the Jewish towns (Cant. iii. 3, v. 7; Ps. cxxvii. 1,[d] where for "waketh" we should substitute "watcheth;" Ps. cxxx. 6). [W. L. B.]

WATER OF JEALOUSY (Num. v. 11-31), (מֵי הַמָּרִים, "waters of bitterness," sometimes with הַמְאָרְרִים added, as "causing a curse" (אָרָר, ὕδωρ τοῦ ἐλεγμοῦ; Philo, ii. 310, πότος ἐλέγχου).

[a] רֹאשׁ אַשְׁמֹרוֹת. [b] אַשְׁמֹרֶת הַתִּיכוֹנָה.
[c] אַשְׁמֹרֶת הַבֹּקֶר. [d] שִׁקַּר.

[e] Yet being an offering to "bring iniquity to remembrance" (v. 15), it is ceremonially rated as a "sin offering;" hence no oil is to be mixed with the meal before burning it, nor any frankincense to be placed upon it when burnt, which same rule was applied to "sin offerings" generally (Lev. v. 11). With meat offerings, on the contrary, the mixture of oil and the imposition of frankincense were prescribed (ii. 1, 2, 7, 14, 15).

[f] Probably not the "water of separation" for purification, mixed with the ashes of the red heifer, for as its ceremonial property was to defile the pure and to purify the unclean (Num. xix. 21) who touched it, it could hardly be used in a rite the object of which was to establish the innocence of the upright or discover the guilt of the sinner, without the symbolism jarring. Perhaps water from the laver of the sanctuary is intended.

[g] The words נֹפֶל, לִנְפֹּל, נַפָּלָה, rendered in the A. V. by the word "rot," rather indicate, according to Gesen. *s. v.* נָפַל, to "become or make lean." Michaelis thought ovarian dropsy was intended by the symptoms. Josephus says, τοῦ τε σκέλους ἐκπεσόντος αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ὑδέρου καταλαμβάνοντος (*Ant.* iii. 11, §6).

The ritual prescribed consisted in the husband's bringing the woman before the priest, and the essential part of it is unquestionably the oath to which the "water" was subsidiary, symbolical, and ministerial. With her he was to bring the tenth part of an ephah of barley-meal as an offering. Perhaps the whole is to be regarded from a judicial point of view, and this "offering" in the light of a court-fee.[e] God Himself was suddenly invoked to judge, and His presence recognised by throwing a handful of the barley-meal on the blazing altar in the course of the rite. In the first instance, however, the priest "set her before the Lord" with the offering in her hand. The Mishnah (*Sotah*) prescribes that she be clothed in black with a rope girdle around her waist; and from the direction that the priest "shall uncover her head" (ver. 18), it would seem she came in veiled, probably also in black. As she stood holding the offering, so the priest stood holding an earthen vessel of holy water[f] mixed with the dust from the floor of the sanctuary, and declaring her free from all evil consequences if innocent, solemnly devoted her in the name of Jehovah to be "a curse and an oath among her people," if guilty, further describing the exact consequences ascribed to the operation of the water in the "members" which she had "yielded as servants to uncleanness"[g] (vers. 21, 22, 27; comp. Rom. vi. 19; and Theodoret, *Quaest.* x. *in Num.*). He then "wrote these curses in a book, and blotted them out with the bitter water," and, having thrown, probably at this stage of the proceedings, the handful of meal on the altar, "caused the woman to drink" the potion thus drugged, she moreover answering to the words of his imprecation, "Amen, Amen." Josephus adds, if the suspicion was unfounded, she obtained conception, if true, she died infamously. This accords with the sacred text, if she "be clean, then shall she be free and *shall conceive seed*" (ver. 28), words which seem to mean that when restored to her husband's affection she should be blessed with fruitfulness; or, that if conception had taken place *before* her appearance, it would have its proper issue in child-bearing, which, if she had been unfaithful, would be intercepted by the operation of the curse. It may be supposed that a husband would not be forward to publish his suspicions of his own injury, unless there were symptoms of apparent conception,[h] and a risk of a child by another being presented to him as his own. In this case

[h] This is somewhat supported by the rendering in the A. V. of the words וְהוּא לֹא נִתְפָּשָׂה, v. 13, by "neither she be taken *with the manner*," the italicised words being added as explanatory, without any to correspond in the original, and pointing to the sudden cessation of "the manner" or "custom of women" (Gen. xviii. 11, xxxi. 35) i. e. the menstrual flux, suggesting, in the case of a woman not past the age of child-bearing, that conception had taken place. If this be the sense of the original, the suspicions of the husband would be so far based upon a fact. It seems, however, also possible that the words may be an extension of the sense of those immediately preceding, וְעֵד אֵין בָּהּ, when the connected tenour would be, "and there be no witness against her, and she be not taken," i. e. taken in the fact; comp. John viii. 4, αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατειλήφθη ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ μοιχευομένη.

the woman's natural apprehensions regarding her own gestation would operate very strongly to make her shrink from the potion, if guilty. For plainly, the effect of such a ceremonial on the nervous system of one so circumstanced, might easily go far to imperil her life, even without the precise symptoms ascribed to the water. Meanwhile the rule would operate beneficially for the woman, if innocent, who would be during this interval under the protection of the court to which the husband had himself appealed, and so far secure against any violent consequence of his jealousy, which had thus found a vent recognized by law. Further, by thus interposing a period of probation the fierceness of conjugal jealousy might cool. On comparing this argument with the further restrictions laid down in the treatise *Sotah* tending to limit the application of this rite, there seems grave reason to doubt whether recourse was ever had to it in fact. [ADULTERY.] The custom of writing on a parchment words cabalistic or medical relating to a particular case, and then washing them off, and giving the patient the water of this ablution to drink, has descended among Oriental superstitions to the present day, and a sick Arab would probably think this the most natural way of "taking" a prescription. See, on the general subject, Groddeck *de vett. Hebr. purgat. castitatis* in Ugol. *Thesaur.* (Winer). The custom of such an ordeal was probably traditional in Moses' time, and by fencing it round with the wholesome awe inspired by the solemnity of the prescribed ritual, the lawgiver would deprive it to a great extent of its barbarous tendency, and would probably restrain the husband from some of the ferocious extremities to which he might otherwise be driven by a sudden fit of jealousy, so powerful in the Oriental mind. On the whole it is to be taken, like the permission to divorce by a written instrument, rather as the mitigation of a custom ordinarily harsh, and as a barrier placed in the way of uncalculating vindictiveness. Viewing the regulations concerning matrimony as a whole, we shall find the same principle animating them in all their parts—that of providing a legal channel for the course of natural feelings where irrepressible, but at the same time of surrounding their outlet with institutions apt to mitigate their intensity, and so assisting the gradual formation of a gentler temper in the bosom of the nation. The precept was given "because of the hardness of their hearts," but with the design and the tendency of softening them. (See some remarks in Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.*) [H. H.]

WATER OF SEPARATION. [PURIFICATION.]

WAVE-OFFERING (תְּנוּפָה, "a waving," from נוּף, "to wave," תְּנוּפָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, "a waving before Jehovah"). This rite, together with that of "heaving" or "raising" the offering, was an inseparable accompaniment of peace-offerings. In such the right shoulder, considered the choicest part of the victim, was to be "heaved," and viewed as holy to the Lord, only eaten therefore by the priest; the breast was to be "waved," and eaten by the worshipper. On the second day of the Passover a sheaf of corn, in the green ear, was to be waved, accompanied by the sacrifice of an unblemished lamb of the first year, from the performance of which ceremony the days till Pentecost were to be counted. When that feast arrived, two loaves, the first-fruits of the ripe corn, were to be offered with a burnt-offering, a sin-offering, and two lambs of the first year for a peace-offering. These likewise were to be waved.

The Scriptural notices of these rites are to be found in Ex. xxix. 24, 28; Lev. vii. 30, 34, viii. 27, ix. 21, x. 14, 15, xxiii. 10, 15, 20; Num. vi 20, xviii. 11, 18, 26-29, &c.

We find also the word תְּנוּפָה applied in Ex. xxxviii. 24, to the gold offered by the people for the furniture of the sanctuary. It is there called זְהַב הַתְּנוּפָה. It may have been waved when presented, but it seems not impossible that תְּנוּפָה had acquired a secondary sense so as to denote "free-will offering." In either case we must suppose the ceremony of waving to have been known to and practised by the Israelites before the giving of the Law.

It seems not quite certain from Ex. xxix. 26, 27, whether the waving was performed by the priest or by the worshipper with the former's assistance. The Rabbinical tradition represents it as done by the worshipper, the priest supporting his hands from below.

In conjecturing the meaning of this rite, regard must be had, in the first instance, to the kind of sacrifice to which it belonged. It was the accompaniment of peace-offerings. These not only, like the other sacrifices, acknowledged God's greatness and His right over the creature, but they witnessed to a ratified covenant, an established communion between God and man. While the sin-offering merely removed defilement, while the burnt-offering gave entirely over to God of His own, the victim being wholly consumed, the peace-offering, as establishing relations between God and the worshipper, was participated in by the latter, who ate, as we have seen, of the breast that was waved. The Rabbis explain the heaving of the shoulder as an acknowledgment that God has His throne in the heaven, the waving of the breast that He is present in every quarter of the earth. The one rite testified to His eternal majesty on high, the other to His being among and with His people.

It is not said in Lev. xxiii. 10-14, that a peace-offering accompanied the wave-sheaf of the Passover. On the contrary, the only bloody sacrifice mentioned in connexion with it is styled a burnt-offering. When, however, we consider that everywhere else the rite of waving belongs to a peace-offering, and that besides a sin and a burnt-offering, there was one in connexion with the wave-loaves of Pentecost (Lev. xxiii. 19), we shall be wary of concluding that there was none in the present case. The significance of these rites seems considerable. The name of the month Abib, in which the Passover was kept, means the month of the green ear of corn, the month in which the great produce of the earth has come to the birth. In that month the nation of Israel came to the birth; each succeeding Passover was the keeping of the nation's birthday. Beautifully and naturally, therefore, were the two births—that of the people into national life; that of their needful sustenance into yearly life—combined in the Passover. All first-fruits were holy to God: the first-born of men, the first-produce of the earth. Both principles were recognized in the Passover. When, six weeks after, the harvest had ripened, the first-fruits of its matured produce were similarly to be dedicated to God. Both were waved, the rite which attested the Divine presence and working all around us being surely most appropriate and significant in their case. [F. G.]

WAY. This word has now in ordinary parlance so entirely forsaken its original sense (except in combination, as in "highway," "causeway"), and is so uniformly employed in the secondary or metaphorical sense of a "custom" or "manner," that it is difficult to remember that in the Bible it most frequently signifies an actual road or track. Our translators have employed it as the equivalent of no less than eighteen distinct Hebrew terms. Of these, several had the same secondary sense which the word "way" has with us. Two others (אֹרַח and נָתִיב) are employed only by the poets, and are commonly rendered "path" in the A. V. But the term which most frequently occurs, and in the majority of cases signifies (though it also is now and then used metaphorically) an actual road, is דֶּרֶךְ, *derec*, connected with the German *treten* and the English "tread." It may be truly said that there is hardly a single passage in which this word occurs which would not be made clearer and more real if "road to" were substituted for "way of." Thus Gen. xvi. 7, "the spring on the road to Shur;" Num. xiv. 24, "the road to the Red Sea;" 1 Sam. vi. 12, "the road to Bethshemesh;"[a] Judg. ix. 37, "the road to the oak[a] of Meonenim;" 2 K. xi. 19, "the road to the gate." It turns that which is a mere general expression into a substantial reality. And so in like manner with the word ὁδός in the New Testament, which is almost invariably translated "way." Mark x. 32, "They were on the road going up to Jerusalem;" Matt. xx. 17, "and Jesus took the twelve disciples apart in the road"—out of the crowd of pilgrims who, like themselves, were bound for the Passover.

There is one use of both *derec* and ὁδός which must not be passed over, viz. in the sense of a religious course. In the Old Test. this occurs but rarely, perhaps twice: namely in Amos viii. 14, "the manner of Beersheba," where the prophet is probably alluding to some idolatrous rites then practised there; and again in Ps. cxxxix. 24, "look if there be any evil way," any idolatrous practices, "in me, and lead me in the everlasting way." But in the Acts of the Apostles ὁδός, "the way," "the road," is the received, almost technical, term for the new religion which Paul first resisted and afterwards supported. See Acts ix. 2, xix. 9, 23, xxii. 4, xxiv. 14, 22. In each of these the word "that" is an interpolation of our translators, and should have been put into italics, as it is in xxiv. 22.

The religion of Islam is spoken of in the Koran as "the path," (*et tarîk*, iv. 66), and "the right path" (i. 5; iv. 174). Gesenius (*Thes.* 353) has collected examples of the same expression in other languages and religions. [G.]

WEAPONS. [ARMS.]

WEASEL (חֹלֶד, *chôled*: γαλῆ: *mustela*) occurs only in Lev. xi. 29, in the list of unclean animals. According to the old versions and the Talmud, the Heb. *chôled* denotes "a weasel" (see Lewysohn, *Zool. des Talm.* p. 91, and Buxtorf, *Lex. v. Rab. et Talm.* p. 756); but if the word is identical with the Arabic *chuld* (خلد) and the Syriac *chuldo* (ܚܘܠܕܐ), as Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 435) and others have endeavoured to show, there is no doubt that "a mole" is the animal indicated. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 474), however, has the following very true observation: "Satis constat animalium nomina persaepe in hac lingua hoc in alia cognata aliud, id vero simile, animal significare." He prefers to render the term by "Weasel."

Moles are common enough in Palestine; Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 120), speaking of the country between Jaffa and Rama, says he had never seen in any place the ground so cast up by moles as in these plains. There was scarce a yard's length between each mole-hill. It is not improbable that both the *Talpa europaea* and the *T. caeca*, the blind mole of which Aristotle speaks (*Hist. Anim.* i. 8, §3), occur in Palestine, though we have no definite information on this point. The family of *Mustelidae* also is doubtless well represented. Perhaps it is better to give to the Heb. term the same signification which the cognate Arabic and Syriac have, and understand a "mole" to be denoted by it. [MOLE.] [W. H.]

WEAVING (אָרַג). The art of weaving appears to be coeval with the first dawning of civilization. In what country, or by whom it was invented, we know not; but we find it practised with great skill by the Egyptians at a very early period, and hence the invention was not unnaturally attributed to them (Plin. vii. 57). The "vestures of fine linen" such as Joseph wore (Gen. xli. 42) were the product of Egyptian looms, and their quality, as attested by existing specimens, is pronounced to be not inferior to the finest cambric of modern times (Wilkinson, ii. 75). The Israelites were probably acquainted with the process before their sojourn in Egypt; but it was undoubtedly there that they attained the proficiency which enabled them to execute the hangings of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxxv. 35; 1 Chr. iv. 21), and other artistic textures. At a later period the Egyptians were still famed for their manufactures of "fine" (*i. e.* hackled) flax and of *chôrî*,[b] rendered in the A. V. "networks," but more probably a *white* material either of linen or cotton (Is. xix. 9). From them the Tyrians procured the "fine linen with broidered work" for the sails of their vessels (Ez. xxvii. 7), the handsome character of which may be inferred from the representations of similar sails in the Egyptian paintings (Wilkinson, ii. 131, 167). Weaving was carried on in Egypt, generally, but not universally, by men (Herod. ii. 35; comp. Wilkinson, ii. 84). This was the case also among the Jews about the time of the Exodus (1 Chr. iv. 21), but in later times it usually fell to the lot of the females to supply the household with clothing (1 Sam. ii. 19; 2 K. xxiii. 7), and an industrious housewife would produce a surplus for sale to others (Prov. xxxi. 13, 19, 24).

The character of the loom and the process of weaving can only be inferred from incidental notices. The Egyptian loom was usually upright, and the weaver stood at his work. The cloth was fixed sometimes at the top, sometimes at the bottom, so that the remark of Herodotus (ii. 85) that the Egyptians, contrary to the usual practice, pressed the woof downwards, must be received with reservation (Wilkinson, ii. 85). That a similar variety of usage prevailed among the Jews, may be inferred from the remark of St. John (xix. 23), that the seamless coat was woven "from the top" (ἐκ τῶν

[a] This is more obscure in the A. V. even than the others.—"Come along by the plain of Meonenim."

[b] חֹרִי.

ὑφαθεν). Tunics of this kind were designated by the Romans *rectae*, implying that they were made at an upright loom at which the weaver stood to his work, thrusting the woof upwards (Plin. viii. 74). The modern Arabs use a procumbent loom, raised above the ground by short legs (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 67). The Bible does not notice the loom itself, but speaks of the beam [c] to which the warp was attached (1 Sam. xvii. 7; 2 Sam. xxi. 19); and of the pin [d] to which the cloth was fixed, and on which it was rolled (Judg. xvi. 14). We have also notice of the shuttle,[e] which is described by a term significant of the act of weaving (Job vii. 6); the thrum [f] or threads which attached the web to the beam (Is. xxxviii. 12, *margin*); and the web [g] itself (Judg. xvi. 14; A. V. "beam"). Whether the two terms in Lev. xiii. 48, rendered "warp" [z] and "woof," [h] really mean these, admits of doubt, inasmuch as it is not easy to see how the one could be affected with leprosy without the other: perhaps the terms refer to certain kinds of texture (Knobel, *in loc.*). The shuttle is occasionally dispensed with, the woof being passed through with the hand (Robinson's *Bib. Res.* i. 169). The speed with which the weaver used his shuttle, and the decisive manner in which he separated the web from the thrum when his work was done, supplied vivid images, the former of the speedy passage of life (Job vii. 6), the latter of sudden death (Is. xxxviii. 12).

The textures produced by the Jewish weavers were very various. The coarser kinds, such as tent-cloth, sackcloth, and the "hairy garments" of the poor were made of goat's or camel's hair (Ex. xxvi. 7; Matt. iii. 4). Wool was extensively used for ordinary clothing (Lev. xiii. 47; Prov. xxvii. 26, xxxi. 13; Ez. xxvii. 18), while for finer work flax was used, varying in quality, and producing the different textures described in the Bible as "linen" and "fine linen." The mixture of wool and flax in cloth intended for a garment was interdicted (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11). With regard to the ornamental kinds of work, the terms *rikmah*, "needlework," and *ma'ăsêh chôshêb*, "the work of the cunning workman," have been already discussed under the head of EMBROIDERER, to the effect that both kinds were produced in the loom, and that the distinction between them lay in the addition of a device or pattern in the latter, the *rikmah* consisting simply of a variegated stuff without a pattern. We may further notice the terms: (1) *shâbats* [i] and *tashbêts* [k] applied to the robes of the priest (Ex. xxviii. 4, 39), and signifying *tesselated* (A. V. "broidered"), *i. e.* with depressions probably of a square shape worked in it, similar to the texture described by the Romans under the term *scutulatus* (Plin. viii. 73; Juv. ii. 97); this was produced in the loom, as it is expressly said to be the work of the weaver (Ex. xxxix. 27). (2) *Mâshzâr* [l] (A. V. "twined"), applied to the fine linen out of which the curtains of the tabernacle and the sacerdotal vestments were made (Ex. xxvi. 1, xxviii. 6, &c.): in this texture each thread consisted of several finer threads twisted together, as is described to have been the case with the famed corslet of Amasis (Herod. iii. 47). (3) *Mishbetsôth zâhâb* [m] (A. V "of wrought gold"), textures in which gold thread was interwoven (Ps. xlv. 13). The Babylonians were particularly skilful in this branch of weaving, and embroidered groups of men or animals on the robes (Plin. viii. 74; Layard, *Nin.* ii. 418): the "goodly Babylonish garment" secreted by Achan was probably of this character (Josh. vii. 21). The sacerdotal vestments are said to have been woven in one piece without the intervention of any needlework to join the seams (Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 7, §4). The "coat without seam" (χιτὼν ἄρραφος) worn by Jesus at the time of his crucifixion (John xix. 23), was probably of a sacerdotal character in this respect, but made of a less costly material (Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 72). [W. L. B.]

WEDDING. [MARRIAGE.]

WEEK (שָׁבוּעַ, or שָׁבֻעַ, from שֶׁבַע, "seven," a heptad of any thing, but particularly used for a period of seven days: ἑβδομάς: *septimana*). We have also, and much oftener, שבעה, or שבעת ימים.

Whatever controversies exist respecting the origin of the week, there can be none about the great antiquity, on particular occasions at least, among the Shemitic races, of measuring time by a period of seven days. This has been thought to be implied in the phrase respecting the sacrifices of Cain and Abel (Gen. iv. 3), "in process of time," literally "at the end of days." It is to be traced in the narrative of the subsidence of the Flood (Gen. viii. 10), "and he stayed yet other seven days;" and we find it recognized by the Syrian Laban (Gen. xxix. 27), "fulfil her week." It is needless to say that this division of time is a marked feature of the Mosaic law, and one into which the whole year was parted, the Sabbath sufficiently showing that. The week of seven days was also made the key to a scale of seven, running through the Sabbatical years up to that of jubilee. [See SABBATH; SABBATICAL YEAR; and JUBILEE, YEAR OF.]

The origin of this division of time is a matter which has given birth to much speculation. Its antiquity is so great, its observance so wide-spread, and it occupies so important a place in sacred things, that it has been very generally thrown back as far as the creation of man, who on this supposition was told from the very first to divide his time on the model of the Creator's order of working and resting. The week and the Sabbath are, if this be so, as old as man himself; and we need not seek for reasons either in the human mind or the facts with which that mind comes in contact, for the adoption of such a division of time, since it is to be referred neither to man's thoughts nor to man's will. A purely theological ground is thus established for the week and for the sacredness of the number seven. They who embrace this view support it by a reference to the six days' creation and the Divine rest on the seventh, which they consider to have been made known to man from the very first.

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[c] מְנוֹר; so called from its resemblance to a ploughman's yoke.

[d] מַשְׁכֶּת. This term is otherwise understood of the warp, as in the LXX. and the Vulgate (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 890).

[e] אֶרֶג. The same word describes both the web and the shuttle.

[f] דַּלָּה. [g] שְׁתִי. [h] עֵרֶב.

[i] שַׁבֵּץ. [k] תַּשְׁבֵּץ. [l] מְשִׁזָר.

[m] מִשְׁבְּצוֹת זָהָב.

and by an appeal to the exceeding prevalence of the hebdomadal division of time from the earliest age—an argument the force of which is considered to be enhanced by the alleged absence of any natural ground for it.

To all this, however, it may be objected that we are quite in the dark as to when the record of the six days' creation was made known, that as human language is used and human apprehensions are addressed in that record, so the week being already known, the perfection of the Divine work and Sabbath may well have been set forth under the figure of one, the existing division of time moulding the document, instead of the document giving birth to the division; that old and wide-spread as is the recognition of that division, it is not universal; that the nations which knew not of it were too important to allow the argument from its prevalency to stand; and that so far from its being without ground in nature, it is the most obvious and convenient way of dividing the month. Each of these points must now be briefly considered:—

1st. That the week rests on a theological ground may be cheerfully acknowledged by both sides; but nothing is determined by such acknowledgment as to the original cause of adopting this division of time. The records of creation and the fourth commandment give no doubt the ultimate and therefore the deepest ground of the weekly division, but it does not therefore follow that it was not adopted for lower reasons before either was known. Whether the week gave its sacredness to the number seven, or whether the ascendency of that number helped to determine the dimensions of the week, it is impossible to say. The latter fact, the ancient ascendency of the number seven, might rest on divers grounds. The planets, according to the astronomy of those times, were seven in number; so are the notes of the diatonic scale; so also many other things naturally attracting observation.

2ndly. The prevalence of the weekly division was indeed very great, but a nearer approach to universality is required to render it an argument for the view in aid of which it is appealed to. It was adopted by all the Shemitic races, and, in the later period of their history at least, by the Egyptians. Across the Atlantic we find it, or a division all but identical with it, among the Peruvians. It also obtains now with the Hindoos, but its antiquity among them is matter of question. It is possible that it was introduced into India by the Arabs and Mohammedans. So in China we find it, but whether universally or only among the Buddhists admits of doubt. (See, for both, Priaulx's *Questiones Mosaicae*, a work with many of the results of which we may be well expected to quarrel, but which deserves, in respect not only of curious learning, but of the vigorous and valuable thought with which it is impregnated, to be far more known than it is.) On the other hand, there is no reason for thinking the week known till a late period either to Greeks or Romans.

3rdly. So far from the week being a division of time without ground in nature, there was much to recommend its adoption. Where the days were named from planetary deities, as among first the Assyrians and Chaldees, and then the Egyptians, there of course each period of seven days would constitute a whole, and that whole might come to be recognized by nations that disregarded or rejected the practice which had shaped and determined it. But further, the week is a most natural and nearly an exact quadripartition of the month, so that the quarters of the moon may easily have suggested it.

It is beside the purpose of this article to trace the hebdomadal division among other nations than the Hebrews. The week of the Bible is that with which we have to do. Even if it were proved that the planetary week of the Egyptians, as sketched by Dion Cassius (*Hist. Rom.* xxxvii. 18), existed at or before the time of the Exodus, the children of Israel did not copy that. Their week was simply determined by the Sabbath; and there is no evidence of any other day, with them, having either had a name assigned to it, or any particular associations bound up with it. The days seemed to have been distinguished merely by the ordinal numerals, counted from the Sabbath. We shall have indeed to return to the Egyptian planetary week at a later stage of our inquiry, but our first and main business, as we have already said, is with the week of the Bible.

We have seen in Gen. xxix. 27, that it was known to the ancient Syrians, and the injunction to Jacob, "fulfil her week," indicates that it was in use as a fixed term for great festive celebrations. The most probable exposition of the passage is, that Laban tells Jacob to fulfil Leah's *week*, the proper period of the nuptial festivities in connexion with his marriage to her, and then he may have Rachel also (comp. Judg. xiv.). And so too for funeral observance, as in the case of the obsequies of Jacob, Joseph "made a mourning for his father seven days" (Gen. l. 10). But neither of these instances, any more than Noah's procedure in the ark, go further than showing the custom of observing a term of seven days for any observance of importance. They do not prove that the whole year, or the whole month, was thus divided at all times, and without regard to remarkable events.

In Exodus of course the week comes into very distinct manifestation. Two of the great feasts—the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles—are prolonged for seven days after that of their initiation (Exod. xii. 15-20, &c.), a custom which remains in the Christian Church, in the rituals of which the remembrances and topics of the great festivals are prolonged till what is technically called the *octave*. Although the Feast of Pentecost lasted but one day, yet the time for its observance was to be counted by weeks from the Passover, whence one of its titles, "the Feast of Weeks."

The division by seven was, as we have seen, expanded so as to make the seventh month and the seventh year Sabbatical. To whatever extent the laws enforcing this may have been neglected before the Captivity, their effect, when studied, must have been to render the words שָׁבוּעַ, ἑβδομάς, *week*, capable of meaning a seven of years almost as naturally as a seven of days. Indeed the generality of the word would have this effect at any rate. Hence their use to denote the latter in prophecy, more especially in that of Daniel, is not mere arbitrary symbolism, but the employment of a not unfamiliar and easily understood language. This is not the place to discuss schemes of prophetic interpretation, nor do we propose giving our opinion of any such, but it is connected with our subject to remark that, whatever be the merits of that which in Daniel and the Apocalypse understands a year by a *day*, it cannot be set aside as forced and unnatural. Whether days were or were not intended to be thus understood in the places in question, their being so would have been a congruous, and we may say

logical attendant on the scheme which counts weeks of years, and both would have been a natural computation to minds familiar and occupied with the law of the Sabbatical year.

In the N. T. we of course find such clear recognition of and familiarity with the week as needs scarcely be dwelt on. Sacred as the division was, and stamped deep on the minds and customs of God's people, it now received additional solemnity from our Lord's last earthly Passover gathering up His work of life into a week.

Hence the Christian Church, from the very first, was familiar with the week. St. Paul's language (1 Cor. xvi. 2, *κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων*) shows this. We cannot conclude from it that such a division of time was observed by the inhabitants of Corinth generally; for they to whom he was writing, though doubtless the majority of them were Gentiles, yet knew the Lord's Day, and most probably the Jewish Sabbath. But though we can infer no more than this from the place in question, it is clear that if not by this time, yet very soon after, the whole Roman world had adopted the hebdomadal division. Dion Cassius, who wrote in the 2nd century, speaks of it as both universal and recent in his time. He represents it as coming from Egypt, and gives two schemes, by one or other of which he considers that the planetary names of the different days were fixed (Dion Cassius, xxvii. 18). Those names, or corresponding ones, have perpetuated themselves over Christendom, though no associations of any kind are now connected with them, except in so far as the whimsical conscience of some has quarrelled with their Pagan origin, and led to an attempt at their disuse. It would be interesting, though foreign to our present purpose, to inquire into the origin of this planetary week. A deeply-learned paper in the *Philological Museum*, by the late Archdeacon Hare,[a] gives the credit of its invention to the Chaldees. Dion Cassius was however pretty sure to have been right in tracing its adoption by the Roman world to an Egyptian origin. It is very striking to reflect that while Christendom was in its cradle, the law by which she was to divide her time came without collusion with her into universal observance, thus making things ready for her to impose on mankind that week on which all Christian life has been shaped—that week grounded on no worship of planetary deities, nor dictated by the mere wish to quadripartite the month, but based on the earliest lesson of revelation, and proposing to man his Maker's model as that whereby to regulate his working and his rest—that week which once indeed in modern times it has been attempted to abolish, because it was attempted to abolish the whole Christian faith, but which has kept, as we are sure it ever will keep, its ground, being bound up with that other, and sharing therefore in that other's invincibility and perpetuity. [F. G.]

WEEKS, FEAST OF. [PENTECOST.]

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

I. WEIGHTS.

Introduction.—It will be well to explain briefly the method of inquiry which led to the conclusions stated in this article, the subject being intricate, and the conclusions in many main particulars different from any at which other investigators have arrived. The disagreement of the opinions respecting ancient weights that have been formed on the evidence of the Greek and Latin writers shows the importance of giving the first place to the evidence of monuments. The evidence of the Bible is clear, except in the case of one passage, but it requires a monumental commentary. The general principle of the present inquiry was to give the evidence of the monuments the preference on all doubtful points, and to compare it with that of literature, so as to ascertain the purport of statements which otherwise appeared to be explicable in two, or even three, different ways. Thus, if a certain talent is said to be equal to so many Attic drachms, these are usually explained to be drachms on the old, or Commercial, standard, or on Solon's reduced standard, or again on the further reduced standard equal to that of Roman denarii of the early emperors; but if we ascertain from weights or coins the weight of the talent in question, we can decide with what standard it is compared, unless the text is hopelessly corrupt.

Besides this general principle, it will be necessary to bear in mind the following postulates.

1. All ancient Greek systems of weight were derived, either directly or indirectly, from an Eastern source.

2. All the older systems of ancient Greece and Persia, the Aeginetan, the Attic, the Babylonian, and the Euboïc, are divisible either by 6000, or by 3600.

3. The 6000th or 3600th part of the talent is a divisor of all higher weights and coins, and a multiple of all lower weights and coins, except its two-thirds.

4. Coins are always somewhat below the standard weight.

5. The statements of ancient writers as to the relation of different systems are to be taken either as indicating original or current relation. When a set of statements shows a special study of metrology we must infer original relation; isolated statements may rather be thought to indicate current relation. All the statements of a writer, which are not borrowed, probably indicate either the one or the other kind of relation.

6. The statements of ancient writers are to be taken in their seemingly-obvious sense, or discarded altogether as incorrect or unintelligible.

7. When a certain number of drachms or other denominations of one metal are said to correspond to a certain number of drachms or other denominations of another metal, it must not be assumed that the system is the same in both cases.

Some of these postulates may seem somewhat strict, but it must be recollected that some, if not all, of the systems to be considered have a mutual relation that is very apt to lead the inquirer to visionary results if he does not use great caution in his investigations.

The information respecting the Hebrew weights that is contained in direct statements necessitates an examination of the systems used by, or known to, the Greeks as late as Alexander's time. We begin with such an examination, then state the direct data for the determination of the Hebrew system or systems, and finally endeavour to effect that determination, adding a comparative view of all our main results.

1. *Early Greek talents.*—Three principal systems were used by the Greeks before the time of Alexander, those of the Aeginetan, the Attic, and the Euboïc talents.

[a] *Philolog. Mus.* vol. i.

1. The Aeginetan talent is stated to have contained 60 minae, and 6000 drachms. The following points are incontestably established on the evidence of ancient writers. Its drachm was heavier than the Attic, by which, when unqualified, we mean the drachm of the full monetary standard, weighing about 67·5 grains Troy. Pollux states that it contained 10,000 Attic drachms and 100 Attic minae. Aulus Gellius, referring to the time of Demosthenes, speaks of a talent being equal to 10,000 drachms, and, to leave no doubt, says they would be the same number of denarii, which in his own time were equal to current reduced Attic drachms, the terms drachms and denarii being then used interchangeably. In accordance with these statements, we find a monetary system to have been in use in Macedonia and Thrace, of which the drachm weighs about 110 grs., in very nearly the proportion required to the Attic (6 : 10 :: 67·5 : 112·5).

The silver coins of Aegina, however, and of many ancient Greek cities, follow a lower standard, of which the drachm has an average maximum weight of about 96 grs. The famous Cyzicene staters of electrum appear to follow the same standard as the coins of Aegina, for they weigh about 240 grs., and are said to have been equal in value to 28 Attic drachms of silver, a Daric, of 129 grs., being equal to 20 such drachms, which would give the Cyzicenes (20 : 129 :: 28 : 180) three-fourths of gold, the very proportion assigned to the composition of electrum by Pliny. If we may infer that the silver was not counted in the value, the Cyzicenes would be equal to low didrachms of Aegina. The drachm obtained from the silver coins of Aegina has very nearly the weight, 92 3 grs., that Boeckh assigns to that of Athens before Solon's reduction, of which the system continued in use afterwards as the Commercial talent. The coins of Athens give a standard, 67·5 grs., for the Solonian drachm that does not allow, taking that standard for the basis of computation, a higher weight for the ante-Solonian drachm than about that computed by Boeckh.

An examination of Mr. Burgon's weights from Athens, in the British Museum, has, however, induced us to infer a higher standard in both cases. These weights bear inscriptions which prove their denominations, and that they follow two systems. One weighing 9980 grs. troy has the inscription MNA ΑΓΟΡ (*μνᾶ ἀγοραῖος?*), another weighing 7171, simply MNA. We have therefore two systems evidently in the relation of the Commercial Attic, and Solonian Attic (9980 : 7171 :: 138·88 : 99·7 instead of 100), a conclusion borne out by the fuller data given a little later (§ I. 2). The lower weight is distinguished by ΔΕΜΟ on a weight of 3482 (×2 = 6964) grs., and by $\frac{\text{ΞΔ}}{\text{ΟΔ}\neg\text{Ο}}$ on one of 884 (×8 = 7072): its mina was therefore called *δημοσία*. The identity of these two systems, the Market and the Popular, with the Commercial and Solonian of Athens, is therefore evident, and we thus obtain a higher standard for both Attic talents. From the correct relation of the weights of the two minae given above, we may compute the drachms of the two talents at about 99·8 and 71·7 grs. The heavier standard of the two Attic systems afforded by these weights reduces the difficulty that is occasioned by the difference of the two Aeginetan standards.

We thus obtain the following principal standards of the Aeginetan weight.

a. The Macedonian talent, or Aeginetan of the writers, weighing about 660,000 grs., containing 60 minae and 6000 drachms.

b. The Commercial talent of Athens, used for the coins of Aegina, weighing, as a monetary talent, never more than about 576,000 grs., reduced from a weight-talent of about 598.800, and divided into the same principal parts as the preceding.

It may be objected to this opinion, that the coins of Aegina should rather give us the true Aeginetan standard than those of Macedonia, but it may be replied, that we know from literature and monuments of but two Greek systems heavier than the ordinary or later Attic, and that the heavier of these systems is sometimes called Aeginetan, the lighter, which bears two other names, never.

2. The Attic talent, when simply thus designated, is the standard weight introduced by Solon, which stood to the older or Commercial talent in the relation of 100 to 138⅓. Its average maximum weight, as derived from the coins of Athens and the evidence of ancient writers, gives a drachm of about 67·5 grs.; but Mr. Burgon's weights, as already shown, enable us to raise this sum to 71·7. Those weights have also enabled us to make a very curious discovery. We have already seen that two minae, the Market and the Popular, are recognized in them, one weight, having the inscription MNA ΑΓΟΡ (*μνᾶ ἀγοραῖος?*), weighing 9980 grs., and another, inscribed MNA (*μνᾶ [δημοσία]*), weighing 7171 grs., these being in almost exactly the relation of the Commercial and ordinary Attic minae *δημόσιαι*. There is no indication of any third system, but certain of the marks of value prove that the lower system had two talents, the heavier of which was double the weight of the ordinary talent. No. 9 has the inscription TETAPT, "the quarter," and weighs 3218 grs., giving a unit of 12872 grs.; no. 14, inscribed $\frac{\text{EMIT}}{\text{ETAP'}}$ the "half-quarter," weighs 1770 grs., giving a unit of 14160 grs. We thus obtain a mina twice that of Solon's reduction. The probable reason for the use of this larger Solonian talent will be shown in a later place (§ IV.). These weights are of about the date of the Peloponnesian War. (See Table A.)

From these data it appears that the Attic talent weighed about 430,260 grs. by the weights, and that the coins give a talent of about 405,000 grs., the latter being apparently the weight to which the talent was reduced after a time, and the maximum weight at which it is reckoned by ancient writers. It gradually lost weight in the coinage, until the drachm fell to about 57 grs. or less, thus coming to be equivalent to, or a little lighter than, the denarius of the early Caesars. It is important, when examining the statements of ancient writers, to consider whether the full monetary weight of the drachm, mina, or talent, or the weight after this last reduction, is intended. There are cases, as in the comparison of a talent fallen into disuse, where the value in Attic drachms or denarii so described is evidently used with reference to the full Attic monetary weight.

3. The Euboïc talent, though used in Greece, is also said to have been used in Persia, and there can be no doubt of its Eastern origin. We therefore reserve the discussion of it for the next section (§ II., 2).

II. *Foreign talents of the same period.*—Two foreign systems of the same period, besides the Hebrew, are mentioned by ancient writers, the Babylonian talent and the Euboïc, which Herodotus

A.—TABLE OF MR. BURGON'S WEIGHTS FROM ATHENS.

All these weights are of lead, except nos. 15 and 38, which are of bronze.

No.	Weight Grs. troy.	Inscription.	Type.	Condition.[5]	Value Attic Commercial.[6]	Excess or deficiency	Value Attic Solonian.[7]	Excess or deficiency.
1	9980	ΜΝΑ ΑΓΟΡ	Dolphin	A	Mina	. .	. .	. .
2	9790		Id.	D	(Mina)	−190	. .	. .
3	7171	ΜΝΑ	Id.	A	. .	. .	. .	. .
4	7048		Id.	d	. .	. .	Mina	. .
5	4424		Diota	B	. .	. .	(Mina)	−123
6	3874		Tortoise	B	. .	. .	⅛ MINA ?	−356·6
7	3482	ΔΕΜΟ	Id.[1]	B	. .	. .	¼ MINA ?	+288·5
8	3461		Turtle	B	. .	. .	¼ Mina	−103·5
9	3218	ΤΕΤΑΡΤ	Tortoise	A ? or D ?	. .	. .	¼ Mina	−124·5
10	2959		Half diota	d	. .	. .	⅜ MINA	−367·5
11	2865	ΜΟ	Turtle	B	. .	. .	⅜ MINA ?	+ 90·6
12	2210	ΔΕΜΟ	Half diota	C	. .	. .	½ MINA ?	− 3·4
13	1872		Half turtle	B	. .	. .	½ MINA	−180·3
14	1770	ΕΜΙΤΕΤΑΡ	Half tortoise	B	. .	. .	⅝ MINA	+ 79·2
15	1698		Crescent	B ?	⅝ Mina ?	−298	⅝ MINA	− 22·7
16	1648		. .	B	⅝ Mina ?	−348	. .	. .
17	1603	Γ M	. .	B ? or D ?	⅝ Mina ?	−393	. .	. .
18	1348	Β	. .	A	. .	. .	. .	. .
							2 deca-drachms.	− 86·2
19	1271	ΜΟ	Quarter diota[2]	B	. .	. .	1/12 MINA ?	+ 35·8
20	1172	ΔΗ	Crescent	B	. .	. .	1/12 MINA ?	− 23·1
21	1171		Crescent	B	. .	. .	1/12 MINA ?	− 24·1
22	1082		Half turtle[3]	B	1/10 Mina ?	+ 84	⅛ Mina ?	−113·1
23	1045	ΔΕΜΟ	Crescent	E	. .	. .	⅛ Mina ?	−150·1
24	988	ΔΕΜΟ	Diota in wreath[4]	B	. .	. .	⅛ Mina ?	+ 91·6
25	928·5	ΔΕΜΟ	Owl, A. in field[4]	C	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	+ 32·1
26	924		Half crescent and star	B	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	+ 27·6
27	915·5		. .	D ?	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	+ 19·1
28	910·5		. .	B	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	+ 14·1
29	901		Quarter diota	B	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	+ 4·6
30	889	Δ . . O	. .	d	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	− 7·3
31	884	ΔΕ ΟΓΔΟ	. .	C ?	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	− 12·3
32	869		Rose	C ?	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	− 27·3
33	859	ΔΕΜΟ	Uncertain obj. in wreath[4]	d	. .	. .		
34	845		Half crescent	B	. .	. .	⅛ Mina	− 37·3
35	756·5	Δ	. .	D ?	4 didrachms	−41·9	¼ Mina ?	− 51·3
36	541·5		. .	B	. .	. .		
37	527·5	Τ	. .	B	⅛ of ½ mina ?	+28·5	8 drachms ?	− 32·1
38	450		. .	B ?	5 drachms ?	−49	. .	. .
39	411		. .	B	4 drachms ?	+11·8	6 drachms ?	+ 19·7
40	388		. .	B ?	4 drachms ?	−11·2	6 drachms ?	− 19·2
							5 drachms ?	+ 29·4

[1] Countermark, tripod. [2] Countermark, prow. [3] Turtle, headless ? [4] Countermark.
[5] Explanation of signs: A, Scarcely injured. B, A little weight lost. C, More than a little lost. D, Much weight lost. d, Much corroded. E, Very much weight lost. When two signs are given, the former is the more probable. [6] The weight of the Commercial Attic mina is here assumed to be about 9980 grs. [7] The weight of the Solonian Attic mina is here assumed to be about 7171 grs. The heavier talent is indicated by capital letters.

B.—TABLE OF WEIGHTS FROM NINEVEH.

Two weights in the series are omitted in this table: one is a large duck representing the same weight as no. 1, but much injured; the other is a small lion, of which the weight is doubtful, as it cannot be decided whether it was adjusted with one or two rings.

No.	Form and Material.	Phœnician Inscription.	Cuneiform Inscription.	Marks of Value	Condition.[1]	Weight. Grs. troy.	Computed Weight.	Division of Gt. T.	Division of Lesser T
1	Duck stone	. .	XXX Manehs	. .	A	233,300	239,760	..	½
2	,, ,,	. .	X Manehs	. .	B	77,500	79,920	..	⅙
3	,, ,,	. .	. .	. .	B	15,000	15,984	..	..
4	Lion bronze	XV Manehs	. .	. .	B	230,460	239,760	¼	..
5	,, ,,	V Manehs	V Manehs	. .	B	77,820	79,920	1/12	..
6	,, ,,	III Manehs	III Manehs	. .	C	44,196	47,952	1/20	..
7	,, ,,	II Manehs	II Manehs	. .	A	30,744	31,968	1/30	..
8	,, ,,	II Manehs	II Manehs	. .	B	29,796	Id.	1/30	..
9	,, ,,	II Manehs	. .	. .	B	14,604	15,984	..	1/30
10	,, ,,	. .	. .	. .	A	15,984	Id.	..	..
11	,, ,,	Maneh	Maneh	. .	B	14,724	Id.	1/60	..
12	,, ,,	. .	. .	. .	B	10,272	?	..	..
13	,, ,,	Maneh	Maneh	. .	B	7,224	7,992	..	1/60
14	,, ,,	Maneh	Maneh	. .	B	7,404	Id.	..	1/60
15	,, ,,	. .	. .	. .	B	3,708	3,996	..	.
16	,, ,,	Fifth	. .	. .	B	3,060	3,196	⅛ M	..
17	,, ,,	Quarter	. .	. .	B	3,648	3,996	⅛ M	..
18	Duck stone	. .	. .	IIIII	C	2,904	3,196	..	..
19	,, ,,	. .	. .	IIIII	B	2,748	Id.	..	.
20	,, ,,	. .	.	IIIIIII	B	1,968	2,131	..	..

[1] A, Well preserved. B, Somewhat injured. C, Much injured.

relates to have been used by the Persians of his time respectively for the weighing of their silver and gold paid in tribute.

1. The Babylonian talent may be determined from existing weights found by Mr. Layard at Nineveh. These are in the forms of lions and ducks, and are all upon the same system, although the same denominations sometimes weigh in the proportion of 2 to 1. On account of their great importance we insert a table, specifying their weights, inscriptions, and degree of preservation. (See Table B, previous page.)

From these data we may safely draw the following inferences.

The weights represent a double system, of which the heavier talent contained two of the lighter talents.

The heavier talent contained 60 manehs. The maneh was divided into thirtieths and sixtieths. We conclude the units having these respective relations to the maneh of the heavy talent to be divisions of it, because in the case of the first a thirtieth is a more likely division than a fifteenth, which it would be if assigned to the lighter talent, and because, in the case of the second, eight sixtieths is a more likely division than eight thirtieths.

The lighter talent contained 60 manehs. According to Dr. Hincks, the maneh of the lighter talent was divided into sixtieths, and these again into thirtieths. The sixtieth is so important a division in any Babylonian system, that there can be no doubt that Dr. Hincks is right in assigning it to this talent, and moreover its weight is a value of great consequence in the Babylonian system as well as in one derived from it. Besides, the sixtieth bears a different name from the sixtieth of the heavier talent, so that there must have been a sixtieth in each, unless, but this we have shown to be unlikely, the latter belongs to the lighter talent, which would then have had a sixtieth and thirtieth. The following table exhibits our results.

	Heavier Talent.			Grs. troy.
$\frac{1}{60}$ Maneh				266·4
2	$\frac{1}{30}$ Maneh			532·8
60	30	Maneh		15,984
3600	1800	60	Talent	959,040
	Lighter Talent.			
$\frac{1}{30}$ of $\frac{1}{60}$ Manch				4·44
30	$\frac{1}{60}$ Maneh			133·2
1800	60	Maneh		7,992
108000	3600	60	Talent	479,520

Certain low subdivisions of the lighter talent may be determined from smaller weights, in the British Museum, from Babylonia or Assyria, not found with those last described. These are, with one exception, ducks, and have the following weights, which we compare with the multiples of the smallest subdivision of the lighter talent.

Smaller Babylonian or Assyrian Weights.		Thirtieths of Sixtieth of Maneh.	
	Grs. troy.	Unit, 4·44	Supposed unit, 4′.
1. Duck, marked II, wt.	329	80. 355·2	320
2. „	120	30. 133·2	120
3. „	119		
4. „	100	25. 111	100
5. „	87+	22. 97·6	88
6. Weight like short stepper.	83	21. 93·2	84
7. Duck.	80+	20. 88·8	80
8. „	40−	10. 44·4	40
9. „	34−	8. 35·5	32
10. „	19	5. 22·2	20

Before comparing the evidence of the coins which we may suppose to have been struck according to the Babylonian talent, it will be well to ascertain whether the higher or lower talent was in use, or whether both were, in the period of the Persian coins.

Herodotus speaks of the Babylonian talent as not greatly exceeding the Euboïc, which has been computed to be equivalent to the Commercial Attic, but more reasonably as nearly the same as the ordinary Attic. Pollux makes the Babylonian talent equal to 7000 Attic drachms. Taking the Attic drachm at 67·5 grs., the standard probably used by Pollux, the Babylonian talent would weigh 472,500, which is very near the weight of the lighter talent. Aelian says that the Babylonian talent was equal to 72 Attic minae, which, on the standard of 67·5 to the drachm, gives a sum of 486,000. We may therefore suppose that the lighter talent was generally, if not universally, in use in the time of the Persian coins.

Herodotus relates that the king of Persia received the silver tribute of the satrapies according to the Babylonian talent, but the gold, according to the Euboïc. We may therefore infer that the silver coinage of the Persian monarchy was then adjusted to the former, the gold coinage to the latter, if there was a coinage in both metals so early. The oldest coins, both gold and silver, of the Persian monarchy, are of the time of Herodotus, if not a little earlier; and there are still more ancient pieces, in both metals, of the same weights as Persian gold and silver coins, which are found at or near Sardes, and can scarcely be doubted to be the coinage of Croesus, or of another Lydian king of the 6th century. The larger silver coins of the Persian monarchy, and those of the satraps, are of the following denominations and weights:—

	Grs. troy.
Piece of three sigli	253·5
Piece of two sigli	169
Siglos	84·5

The only denomination of which we know the name is the siglos, which as having the same type as the Daric, appears to be the oldest Persian silver coin. It is the ninetieth part of the maneh of the lighter talent, and the 5400th of that talent. The piece of three sigli is the thirtieth part of that maneh, and the 1800th of the talent. If there were any doubt as to these coins being struck upon the Babylonian standard, it would be removed in the next part of our inquiry, in which we shall show that the relation of gold and silver occasioned these divisions.

2. The Euboïc talent, though bearing a Greek name, is rightly held to have been originally an Eastern system. As it was used to weigh the gold sent as tribute to the king of Persia, we may infer that it was the standard of the Persian gold money; and it is reasonable to suppose that the coinage of Euboea was upon its standard. If our result as to the talent, when tested by the coins of Persia and Euboea, confirms this inference and supposition, it may be considered sound.

We must now discuss the celebrated passage of Herodotus on the tribute of the Persian satrapies. He there states that the Babylonian talent contained 70 Euboïc minae (iii. 89). He specifies the amount of silver paid in Babylonian talents by each province, and then gives the sum of the silver according to the Euboïc standard, reduces the gold paid to its equivalent in silver, reckoning the former at

thirteen times the value of the latter, and lastly gives the sum total. His statements may be thus tabulated:—

Sum of items, silver.	Equivalent in E. T. at 70 minae=B. T.	Equivalent stated.	Difference.
1740 B. T.	= 9030 E. T.	9540 E. T.	+ 510
Gold tribute.	Equivalent at 13 to 1.		
360 E. T.	4680 E. T.	Id.	
Total . . .	13,710 E. T.	14,220	
Total stated	14,560	14,560	
Difference .	+850	+340.	

It is impossible to explain this double error in any satisfactory manner. It is, however, evident that in the time of Herodotus there was some such relation between the Babylonian and Euboïc talents as that of 11·66 to 10. This is so near 12 to 10 that it may be inquired whether ancient writers speak of any relative value of gold to silver about this time that would make talents in this proportion easy for exchange, and whether, if such a proportion is stated, it is confirmed by the Persian coins. The relative value of 13 to 1, stated by Herodotus, is very nearly 12 to 1, and seems as though it had been the result of some change, such as might have been occasioned by the exhaustion of the surface-gold in Asia Minor, or a more careful working of the Greek silver-mines. The relative value 12 to 1 is mentioned by Plato (*Hipparch.*). About Plato's time the relation was, however, 10 to 1. He is therefore speaking of an earlier period. Supposing that the proportion of the Babylonian and Euboïc talents was 12 to 10, and that it was based upon a relative value of 12 to 1, what light do the Persian coins throw upon the theory? If we take the chief or only Persian gold coin, the Daric, assuming its weight to be 129 grs., and multiply it by 12, we obtain the product 1548. If we divide this product as follows, we obtain as aliquot parts the weights of all the principal and heavier Persian silver coins:—

1548 ÷ 6 = 258 three sigli.
÷ 9 = 172 two sigli.
÷ 18 = 86 sigli.

On these grounds we may suppose that the Euboïc talent was to the Babylonian as 60 to 72, or 5 to 6. Taking the Babylonian maneh at 7992 grs., we obtain 399,600 for the Euboïc talent.

This result is most remarkably confirmed by an ancient bronze weight in the form of a lion discovered at Abydos in the Troad, and bearing in Phoenician characters the following inscription: אסכרן לקבל סחריא זי כספא, "Approved," or "found correct, on the part of the satrap who is appointed over the silver," or "money." It weighs 396,000 grs., and is supposed to have lost one or two pounds weight. It has been thought to be a weight of 50 Babylonian minae, but it is most unlikely that there should have been such a division of the talent, and still more that a weight should have been made of that division without any distinctive inscription. If, however, the Euboïc talent was to the Babylonian in the proportion of 5 to 6, 50 Babylonian minae would correspond to a Euboïc talent, and this weight would be a talent of that standard. We have calculated the Euboïc talent at 399,600 grs., this weight is 396,000, or 3600 deficient, but this is explained by the supposed loss of one (5760) or two (11,520) pounds weight.[a]

We have now to test our result by the Persian gold money, and the coins of Euboea.

The principal, if not the only, Persian gold coin is the Daric, weighing about 129 grs. This, we have seen, was the standard coin, according to which the silver money was adjusted. Its double in actual weight is found in the silver coinage, but its equivalent is wanting, as though for the sake of distinction. The double is the thirtieth of the maneh of the lighter or monetary Babylonian talent, of which the Daric is the sixtieth, the latter being, in our opinion, a known division. The weight of the sixtieth is, it should be observed, about 133·2 grs., somewhat in excess of the weight of the Daric, but ancient coins are always struck below their nominal weight. The Daric was thus the 3600th part of the Babylonian talent. It is nowhere stated how the Euboïc talent was divided, but if we suppose it to have contained 50 minae, then the Daric would have been the sixtieth of the mina, but if 100 minae, the thirtieth. In any case it would have been the 3000th part of the talent. As the 6000th was the chief division of the Aeginetan and Attic monetary talents, and the 3000th, of the Hebrew talent according to which the sacred tribute was paid, and as an Egyptian talent contained 6000 such units, no other principal division of the chief talents, save that of the Babylonian into 3600, being known, this is exactly what we should expect.

The coinage of Euboea has hitherto been the great obstacle to the discovery of the Euboïc talent. For the present we speak only of the silver coins, for the only gold coin we know is later than the earliest notices of the talent, and it must therefore have been in Greece originally, as far as money was concerned, a silver talent. The coins give the following denominations, of which we state the average highest weights and the assumed true weights, compared with the assumed true weights of the coins of Athens:—

Coins of Euboea.		Coins of Athens.	
Highest weight.	Assumed true weight.	Assumed true weight.	
	258	Tetradrachm	270
121	129	Didrachm	135
85	86		
63	64·5	Drachm	67·5
43	43	Tetrobolon	45

It must be remarked that the first Euboïc denomination is known to us only from two very early coins of Eretria, in the British Museum, which may possibly be Attic, struck during a time of Athenian supremacy, for they are of about the weight of very heavy Attic tetradrachms.

It will be perceived that though the weights of all denominations, except the third in the Euboïc list, are very near the Attic, the system of division is evidently different. The third Euboïc denomination is identical with the Persian siglos, and indicates the Persian origin of the system. The second piece is, however, identical with the Daric. It would seem that the Persian gold and silver systems of division were here combined; and this might perfectly have been done, as the Daric, though a division of the gold talent, is also a division of the

[a] Since this was written we have ascertained that M. de Vogüé has supposed this lion to be a Euboïc talent (*Revue Archéologique*, n. s. Jan. 1862). See also *Archaeological Journal*, 1830, Sept. pp. 199, 200.

silver talent. As we have noticed, the Daric is omitted in the Persian silver coinage for some special reason. The relation of the Persian and Greek systems may be thus stated:

Persian silver, Babylonian.	Persian gold, Euboïc.	Greek Euboïc. Actual weight.	Assumed.
253·5			258
169			
	129	121	129
84·5		85	86
		63	64·5
		43	43

The standard weights of Persian silver coins are here assumed from the highest average weight of the siglos. We hold that the coins of Corinth probably follow the Euboïc system.

The only gold coin of Euboea known to us has the extraordinary weight of 49·4 grs. It is of Carystus, and probably in date a little before Alexander's time. It may be upon a system for gold money derived from the Euboïc, exactly as the Euboïc was derived from the Babylonian, but it is not safe to reason upon a single coin.

3. The talents of Egypt have hitherto formed a most unsatisfactory subject. We commence our inquiry by stating all certain data.

The gold and silver coins of the Ptolemies follow the same standard as the silver coins of the kings of Macedon to Philip II. inclusive, which are on the full Aeginetan weight. The copper coins have been thought to follow the same standard, but this is an error.

The ancient Egyptians are known to have had two weights, the MeN or UTeN, containing ten smaller weights bearing the name KeT, as M. Chabas has proved. The former name, if rightly read MeN, is a maneh or mina, the latter, according to the Copts, was a drachm or didrachm (ⲕⲓϯ: ⲕⲓⲧⲉ, ⲥⲕⲓⲧⲉ S. drachma, didrachma, the last form not being known to have the second signification). A weight, inscribed "Five KeT," and weighing 698 grs., has been discovered. It probably originally weighed about 700 (*Revue Archéologique*, n. s.). We can thus determine the KeT to have weighed about 140 grs., and the MeN or UTeN about 1400. An examination of the copper coins of the Ptolemies has led us to the interesting discovery that they follow this standard and system. The following are all the heavier denominations of the copper coins of the earlier Ptolemies, and the corresponding weights: the coins vary much in weight, but they clearly indicate their standard and their denominations:—

EGYPTIAN COPPER COINS, AND WEIGHTS.

Coins.	*Weights.*
	Grs.
A cir.	1400. MeN, or UTeN (Maneh?)
B cir.	700. 5 KeT.
C cir.	280. (2 KeT).
D cir.	140. KeT.
E cir.	70. (½ KeT).

We must therefore conclude that the gold and silver standard of the Ptolemies was different from the copper standard, the latter being that of the ancient Egyptians. The two talents, if calculated from the coins, which in the gold and silver are below the full weight, are in the proportion of about 10 (gold and silver) to 13 (copper); or, if calculated from the higher correct standard of the gold and silver system, in the proportion of about 10 to 12·7: we shall speak as to the exchange in a later place (§ III.).

It may be observed that the difficulty of explaining the statements of ancient writers as to the Egyptian, Alexandrian, or Ptolemaic talent or talents, probably arises from the use of two systems which could be easily confounded, at least in their lower divisions.

4. The Carthaginian talent may not be as old as the period before Alexander, to which we limit our inquiry, yet it reaches so nearly to that period that it cannot be here omitted. Those silver coins of the Carthaginians which do not follow the Attic standard seem to be struck upon the standard of the Persian coins, the Babylonian talent. The only clue we have, however, to the system is afforded by a bronze weight inscribed משקל מנה, and weighing 321 grammes = 4956·5 grs. (Dr. Levy in *Zeitschrift Deutsch. morgenl. Gesellsch.* xiv. p. 710). This sum is divisible by the weights of all the chief Carthaginian silver coins, except the "decadrachm," but only as sevenths, a system of division we do not know to have obtained in any ancient talent. The Carthaginian gold coins seem also to be divisions of this mina on a different principle.

III. *The Hebrew talent or talents and divisions.*—The data we have obtained enable us to examine the statements respecting the Hebrew weights with some expectation of determining this difficult question. The evidence may be thus stated.

1. A talent of silver is mentioned in Exodus, which contained 3000 shekels, distinguished as "the holy shekel," or "shekel of the sanctuary." The number of Israelite men who paid the ransom of half a shekel a-piece was 603,550, and the sum paid was 100 talents and 1775 shekels of silver (Ex. xxx. 13, 15, xxxviii. 25-28), whence we easily discover that the talent of silver contained 3000 shekels (603,550 ÷ 2 = 301,775 shekels − 1775 = 300,000 ÷ 100 talents = 3000 shekels to the talent).

2. A gold maneh is spoken of, and, in a parallel passage, shekels are mentioned, three manehs being represented by 300 shekels, a maneh therefore containing 100 shekels of gold.

3. Josephus states that the Hebrew talent of gold contained 100 minae (*λυχνία ἐκ χρυσοῦ.... σταθμὸν ἔχουσα μνᾶς ἑκατὸν, ἃς Ἑβραῖοι μὲν καλοῦσι κίγχαρες, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενον γλῶσσαν σημαίνει τάλαντον. Ant.* iii. 6, §7).

4. Josephus states that the Hebrew mina of gold was equal to two librae and a half (*δοκὸν ὁλοσφυρήλατον χρυσῆν, ἐκ μνῶν τριακοσίων πεποιημένην. ἡ δὲ μνᾶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἰσχύει λίτρας δύο καὶ ἥμισυ. Ant.* xiv. 7, §1). Taking the Roman pound at 5050 grs., the maneh of gold would weigh about 12,625 grs.

5. Epiphanius estimates the Hebrew talent at 125 Roman pounds, which, at the value given above, are equal to about 631,250 grs.

6. A difficult passage in Ezekiel seems to speak of a maneh of 50 or 60 shekels: "And the shekel [shall be] twenty gerahs: twenty shekels, five and twenty shekels, fifteen shekels, shall be your maneh" (xlv. 12). The ordinary text of the LXX. gives a series of small sums as the Hebrew, though differing in the numbers, but the Alex. and Vat. MSS. have 50 for 15 (*εἴκοσι ὀβολοί, πέντε σίκλοι, πέντε καὶ σίκλοι δέκα, καὶ πεντήκοντα σίκλοι ἡ μνᾶ ἔσται ὑμῖν*). The meaning would be, either that

there were to be three manehs, respectively containing 20, 25, and 15 shekels, or the like, or else that a sum is intended by these numbers (20+25+15)=60, or possibly 50. But it must be remembered that this is a prophetical passage.

7. Josephus makes the gold shekel a Daric (*Ant.* iii. 8, §10).

From these data it may be reasonably inferred, (1.) that the Hebrew gold talent contained 100 manehs, each of which again contained 100 shekels of gold, and, basing the calculation on the stated value of the maneh, weighed about 1,262,500 grs., or, basing the calculation on the correspondence of the gold shekel to the Daric, weighed about 1,290,000 grs. (129×100×100), the latter being probably nearer the true value, as the 2½ librae may be supposed to be a round sum, and (2.) that the silver talent contained 3000 shekels, and is probably the talent spoken of by Epiphanius as equal to 125 Roman pounds, or 631,250 grs., which would give a shekel of 210·4 grs. It is to be observed that, taking the estimate of Josephus as the basis for calculating the maneh of the former talent, and that of Epiphanius for calculating the latter, their relation is exactly 2 to 1, 50 manehs at 2½ pounds, making 125 pounds. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that two talents of the same system are referred to, and that the gold talent was exactly double the silver talent.

Let us now examine the Jewish coins.

1. The shekels and half-shekels of silver, if we take an average of the heavier specimens of the Maccabaean issue, give the weight of the former as about 220 grs. A talent of 3000 such shekels would weigh about 660,000 grs. This result agrees very nearly with the weight of the talent given by Epiphanius.

2. The copper coins are generally without any indications of value. The two heaviest denominations of the Maccabaean issue, however, bear the names "half" (חצי), and "quarter" (רבע). M. de Saulcy gives the weights of three "halves" as, respectively, 251·6 grs. (16·3 grammes), 236·2 (15·3), and 219·2 (14·2). In Mr. Wigan's collection are two "quarters," weighing, respectively, 145·2 grs. and 118·9 grs.; the former being, apparently, the one "quarter" of which M. de Saulcy gives the weight as 142· (9·2 grammes). We are unable to add the weights of any more specimens. There is a smaller coin of the same period, which has an average weight, according to M. de Saulcy, of 81·8 grs. (5·3 grammes). If this be the third of the "half," it would give the weight of the latter at 245·4 grs. As this may be thought to be slender evidence, especially so far as the larger coins are concerned, it is important to observe that it is confirmed by the later coins. From the copper coins mentioned above, we can draw up the following scheme, comparing them with the silver coins.

Copper Coins.			Silver Coins.		
	Average weight.	Supposed weight.		Average weight.	Supposed weight.
Half	235·4	250	Shekel	220	Id.
Quarter	132·0	125	Half shekel	110	Id.
(Sixth).	81·8	83·3	[Third]	73·3.	

It is evident from this list that the copper "half" and "quarter" are half and quarter shekels, and are nearly in the relation to the silver like denominations of 2 to 1. But this relation is not exact, and it is therefore necessary to ascertain further, whether the standard of the silver talent can be raised, if not, whether the gold talent can be more than twice the weight of the silver, and, should this explanation be impossible, whether there is any ground for supposing a third talent with a shekel heavier than two shekels of the silver.

The silver shekel of 220 grs., gives a talent of 660,000 grs.: this is the same as the Aeginetan, which appears to be of Phoenician origin. There is no evidence of its ever having had a higher shekel or didrachm.

The double talent of 1,320,000 grs., gives a Daric of 132 grs., which is only 1 gr. and a small fraction below the standard obtained from the Babylonian talent.

The possibility of a separate talent for copper depends upon the relations of the three metals.

The relation of gold to silver in the time of Herodotus was 1 : 13. The early relation upon which the systems of weights and coins used by the Persian state were founded was 1 : 12. Under the Ptolemies it was 1 : 12·5. The two Hebrew talents, if that of gold were exactly double that of silver, would have been easy for exchange in the relation of 1 : 12, 1 talent of gold corresponding to 24 talents of silver. The relation of silver to copper can be best conjectured from the Ptolemaic system. If the Hebrews derived this relation from any neighbouring state, Egypt is as likely to have influenced them as Syria; for the silver coinage of Egypt was essentially the same as that of the Hebrews, and that of Syria was different. Besides, the relation of silver and copper must have been very nearly the same in Syria and Palestine as in Egypt during the period in which the Jewish coinage had its origin, on account of the large commerce between those countries. It has, we venture to think, been satisfactorily shown by Letronne that the relation of silver to copper under the Ptolemies was 1 : 60, a mina of silver corresponding to a talent of copper. It has, however, been supposed that the drachm of copper was of the same weight as that of gold and silver, an opinion which we have proved to be incorrect in an earlier part of this article (§II. 3). An important question now arises. Is the talent of copper, when spoken of in relation to that of silver, a talent of weight or a talent of account?—in other words, Is it of 6000 actual drachms of 140 grs. each, or of 6000 drachms of account of about 110 grs. or a little less? This question seems to be answered in favour of the former of the two replies by the facts, (1) that the copper coins being struck upon the old Egyptian weight, it is incredible that so politic a prince as the first Ptolemy should have introduced a double system of reckoning, which would have given offence and occasioned confusion; (2) that the ancient Egyptian name of the monetary unit became that of the drachm, as is shown by its being retained with the sense drachm and didrachm by the Copts (§II. 3); and had there been two didrachms of copper, that on the Egyptian system would probably have retained the native name. We are of opinion, therefore, that the Egyptian copper talent was of 6000 copper drachms of the weight of 140 grs. each. But this solution still leaves a difficulty. We know that the relation of silver to copper was 1 : 60 in drachms, though 1 : 78 or 80 in weight. In a modern state the actual relation would force itself into the position of the official relation, and 1 : 60 would become 1 : 78 or 80; but this was not necessarily the case in an ancient country in so peculiar a condition as Egypt. Alexandria and a

few other towns were Greek, the rest of the country purely Egyptian; and it is quite possible that, while the gold and silver coinage was current in the Greek towns, the Egyptians may have refused to take anything but copper on their own standard. The issue of copper coins above their value would have been a sacrifice to the exchequer, if given in exchange for gold or silver, rough or coined; but they might have been exclusively paid out for salaries and small expenditure, and would have given an enormous profit to the government, if repaid in small taxes. Supposing that a village paid a silver mina in taxes collected from small proprietors, if they had only copper the government would receive in excess 180,000 grs., or not much less than a fifth of the whole amount. No one who is conversant with the East in the present day will deny the possibility of such a state of things in Egypt under the Ptolemies. Our decision may be aided by the results of the two theories upon the relations of the metals.

Nominal relation .	A 1 =	R 12·5 =	Æ 60
	(Stater)	(Mina)	(Talent)
	A 1 =		Æ 750
Relation in weight	A 1 =	R 12·5 =	Æ {78 / 80
	A 1 =		Æ {975 / 1000

It must be remembered that, in endeavouring to determine which of these two relations is the correct one, we must be guided by the evidence of antiquity, not by the mathematical proportions of the results, for we are now not dealing with coins, but with relations only originally in direct connection with systems of coinage.

Letronne gives the relation of silver to copper among the Romans, at the end of the Third Punic War, as 1 : 112, reduced from 1 : 83·3, both much higher values of the former metal than 1 : 60. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the relation of 1 : 80 is that which prevailed in Egypt under the Ptolemies, and so at the time at which the first Jewish coins were struck, that of Simon the Maccabee.

We may therefore suppose that the Hebrew talents of silver and copper were exchangeable in the proportion of about 1 : 80, and, as we have seen that the coins show that their shekels were of the relative weight 1 : 2+, we may take as the basis of our computation the supposition that 50 shekels of silver were equal to a talent of copper, or 100 = 1 talent double the former. We prefer the former relation as that of the Egyptian system.

220×50=11,000 grs.	×60=660,000	÷1500=440	÷2=220	
	×70 770,000		513·3	256·6
	×72 792,000		528	264
	×75 825,000		550	275
	×80 880,000		586·6	293·3

Of these results, the first is too low, and the fourth and fifth too high, the second and third agreeing with our approximative estimate of the shekel and half-shekel of copper. It is, however, possible that the fourth result may be the true one, as some coins give very nearly this standard. Which is the right system can only be inferred from the effect on the exchange, although it must be remembered that very awkward exchanges of silver and copper may have obtained wherever copper was not an important metal. Thus at Athens 8 pieces of brass went to the obolus, and 7 lepta to the piece of brass. The former relation would be easy

of computation, the latter very inconvenient. Among the Jews, the copper coinage was of more importance: at first of accurate fabric and not very varying weight, afterwards the only coinage. Its relation to the silver money, and afterwards to the Egyptian and Phoenician currency of the same weight, must therefore have been correct. On this ground, we should prefer the relation of silver to copper 1 : 72, giving a talent of 792,000 grs. or nearly twice the Euboïc. The agreement is remarkable, but may be fortuitous.

Our theory of the Hebrew coinage would be as follows:—

Gold . . . Shekel or Daric (foreign) 129 grs.

Silver . . Shekel 220, Half-shekel 110.

Copper . Half (-shekel) 264, Quarter (-shekel) 132, (Sixth-shekel) 88.

We can now consider the weights.

The gold talent contained 100 manehs, and 10,000 shekels.

The silver talent contained 3000 shekels, 6000 bekas, and 60,000 gerahs.

The copper talent probably contained 1500 shekels.

The "holy shekel," or "shekel of the sanctuary" (שֶׁקֶל הַקֹּדֶשׁ), is spoken of both of the gold (Ex. xxxviii. 24) and silver (25) talents of the time of the Exodus. We also read of "the king's weight" (אֶבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ, 2 Sam. xiv. 26). But there is no reason for supposing different systems to be meant.

The significations of the names of the Hebrew weights must be here stated.

The talent (כִּכָּר) means "a circle," or "globe," probably "an aggregate sum."

The shekel (שֶׁקֶל) signifies simply "a weight."

The beka (בֶּקַע) or half-shekel, signifies "a division," or "half."

The "quarter-shekel" (רֶבַע שֶׁקֶל) is once mentioned (1 Sam. ix. 8).

The gerah (גֵּרָה) signifies "a grain," or "bean."

IV. *The history and relations of the principal ancient talents.*—It is necessary to add a view of the history and relations of the talents we have discussed in order to show what light our theories throw upon these matters. The inquiry must be prefaced by a list of the talents:—

A. Eastern Talents.

Hebrew gold. .	1,320,000	Hebrew silver . .	660,000
Babylonian (silver)	959,040	Babylonian lesser (silver) . . .	479,520
Egyptian	840,000	Persian gold . . .	399,600
Hebrew copper? .	792,000?		

B. Greek Talents.

Aeginetan	660,000
Attic Commercial	598,800
Attic Commercial, lowered	558,900
Attic Solonian, double	860,520
Attic Solonian, ordinary	430,260
Attic Solonian, lowered	405,000
Euboïc	387,000+

We omit the talent of the coins of Aegina, as a mere monetary variety of the Aeginetan, through the Attic Commercial.

We take the Hebrew to be the oldest system of weight. Apart from the evidence from its relation to the other systems, this may be almost proved by our finding it to obtain in Greece, in Phoenicia, and

in Judaea, as the oldest Greek and Phoenician system, and as the Jewish system. As the Jewish system, it must have been of far greater antiquity than the date of the earliest coin struck upon it. The weight according to which the ransom was first paid must have been retained as the fixed legal standard. It may seem surprising, when we remember the general tendency of money to depreciate, of which such instances as those of the Athenian silver and the English gold will occur to the reader, that this system should have been preserved, by any but the Hebrews, at its full weight, from the time of the Exodus to that of the earliest Greek coins upon the Aeginetan standard, a period probably of not much less than a thousand years; but we may cite the case of the solidus of the Roman and Byzantine emperors, which retained its weight from its origination under Constantine the Great until the fall of Constantinople, and its purity from the time of Constantine until that of Alexius Comnenus; and again the long celebrity of the sequin of Venice and the florin of Florence for their exact weight. It must be remembered, moreover, that in Phoenicia, and originally in Greece, this system was that of the great trading nation of antiquity, who would have had the same interest as the Venetians and Florentines in maintaining the full monetary standard. There is a remarkable evidence in favour of the antiquity of this weight in the circumstance that, after it had been depreciated in the coins of the kings and cities of Macedon, it was restored in the silver money of Philip II. to its full monetary standard.

The Hebrew system had two talents for the precious metals in the relation of 2 : 1. The gold talent, apparently not used elsewhere, contained 100 manehs, each of which contained again 100 shekels, there being thus 10,000 of these units, weighing about 132 grs. each, in the talent.

The silver talent, also known as the Aeginetan, contained 3000 shekels, weighing about 220 grs. each. One gold talent appears to have been equal to 24 of these. The reason for making the talent of gold twice that of silver was probably merely for the sake of distinction.

The Babylonian talent, like the Hebrew, consisted of two systems, in the relation of 2 to 1, upon one standard. It appears to have been formed from the Hebrew by reducing the number of units from 10,000 to 7200. The system was altered by the maneh being raised so as to contain 120 instead of 100 units, and the talent lowered so as to contain 60 instead of 100 manehs. It is possible that this talent was originally of silver, as the exchange, in their common unit, with the Hebrew gold, in the relation of 1 : 12, would be easy, 6 units of the gold talent passing for 72 of the silver, so that 10 gold units would be equal to a silver maneh, which may explain the reason of the change in the division of the talent.

The derivation, from the lighter Babylonian talent, of the Euboïc talent, is easily ascertained. Their relation is that of 6 : 5, so that the whole talents could be readily exchanged in the relation of 12 : 1; and the units being common, their exchange would be even more easy.

The Egyptian talent cannot be traced to any other. Either it is an independent system, or, perhaps, it is the oldest talent and parent of the rest. The Hebrew copper talent is equally obscure. Perhaps it is the double of the Persian gold talent.

The Aeginetan talent, as we have seen, was the same as the lesser or silver Hebrew talent. Its introduction into Greece was doubtless due to the Phoenicians. The Attic Commercial was a degradation of this talent, and was itself further degraded to form the Attic Solonian. The Aeginetan talent thus had five successive standards (1, Original Aeginetan; 2, Attic Commercial; 3, Id. lowered; 4, Attic Solonian; 5, Id. lowered) in the following relations:—

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
6 :	5·44 :	5· :	3·9 :	3·6
	6·	:	4·3	
		6· :		4·3

The first change was probably simply a degradation. The second may have been due to the influence of a Graeco-Asiatic talent of Cyzicus or Phocaea, of which the stater contained about 180 grs. of gold, although weighing, through the addition of 60 grs. of silver, about 240 grs., thus implying a talent in the relation to the Aeginetan of about 5 : 6. Solon's change has been hitherto an unresolved enigma. The relation of the two Attic talents is so awkward that scarcely any division is common to them in weight, as may be inferred from the data in the table of Athenian weights that we have given. Had the heavier talent been divided into quarters, and the lighter into thirds, this would not have been the case. The reason of Solon's change is therefore to be looked for in the influence of some other talent. It has been supposed that this talent was the Euboïc, but this theory is destroyed by our discovery that the Attic standard of the oldest coins is below the weight-standard of about the time of the Peloponnesian War, and thus that the reduction of Solon did not bring the weights down to the Euboïc standard. If we look elsewhere we see that the heavier Solonian weight is almost the same in standard as the Egyptian, the didrachm of the former exceeding the unit of the latter by no more than about 3 grs. This explanation is almost proved to be the true one by the remarkable fact that the Attic Solonian talent, apparently unlike all other Greek talents, had a double talent, which would give a drachm instead of a didrachm, equivalent to the Egyptian unit. At the time of Solon nothing would be more likely than such an Egyptian influence as this explanation implies. The commercial relations of Egypt and Greece, through Naucratis, were then active; and the tradition or myth of the Egyptian origin of the Athenians was probably never stronger. The degradation of the Attic Solonian talent was no doubt effected by the influence of the Euboïc, with the standard of which its lower standard is probably identical.

The principal authorities upon this subject are:—Boeckh's *Metrologische Untersuchungen*; Mommsen's *Geschichte des Römischen Münzwesens*; and Hussey's *Ancient Weights*. Don V. Vazquez Queipo's *Essai sur les Systèmes Métriques et Monétaires des Anciens Peuples* also contains much information. The writer must express his obligations to Mr. de Salis, Mr. Vaux, and Mr. E. Wigan, and more especially to his colleagues Mr. Madden and Mr. Coxe, for valuable assistance. [R. S. P.]

II. MEASURES.

The most important topic to be discussed in connexion with the subject of the Hebrew measures is their relative and absolute value. Another topic, of secondary importance perhaps, but possessing at

independent interest of its own, demands a few prefatory remarks, viz., the origin of these measures, and their relation to those of surrounding countries. The measures of length are chiefly derived from the members of the human body, which are happily adapted to the purpose from the circumstance that they exhibit certain definite proportions relatively to each other. It is unnecessary to assume that a system founded on such a basis was the invention of any single nation: it would naturally be adopted by all in a rude state of society. Nevertheless, the particular parts of the body selected for the purpose may form more or less a connecting link between the systems of various nations. It will be observed in the sequel that the Hebrews restricted themselves to the fore-arm, to the exclusion of the foot and also of the pace, as a proper measure of length. The adoption of foreign names is also worthy of remark, as showing a probability that the measures themselves were borrowed. Hence the occurrence of words of Egyptian extraction, such as *hin* and *ephah*, and probably *ammah* (for "cubit"), inclines us to seek for the origin of the Hebrew scales both of length and capacity in that quarter. The measures of capacity, which have no such natural standard as those of length, would more probably be settled by conventional usage, and the existence of similar measures, or of a similar scale of measures in different nations, would furnish a strong probability of their having been derived from some common source. Thus the coincidence of the Hebrew bath being subdivided into 72 logs, and the Athenian *metrêtês* into 72 *xestae*, can hardly be the result of chance; and, if there further exists a correspondence between the ratios that the weights bear to the measures, there would be still further evidence of a common origin. Boeckh, who has gone fully into this subject in his *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, traces back the whole system of weights and measures prevalent among the civilized nations of antiquity to Babylon (p. 39). The scanty information we possess relative to the Hebrew weights and measures as a connected system, precludes the possibility of our assigning a definite place to it in ancient metrology. The names already referred to lead to the inference that Egypt rather than Babylonia was the quarter whence it was derived, and the identity of the Hebrew with the Athenian scales for liquids furnishes strong evidence that these had a community of origin. It is important, however, to observe in connexion with this subject, that an identity of ratios does not involve an identity of absolute quantities, a distinction which very possibly escaped the notice of early writers, who were not unnaturally led to identify the measures in their absolute values, because they held the same relative positions in the several scales.

We divide the Hebrew measures into two classes, according as they refer to length or capacity, and subdivide each of these classes into two, the former into measures of length and distance, the latter into liquid and dry measures.

1. Measures of length.

(1.) The denominations referring to length were derived for the most part from the arm and hand. We may notice the following four as derived from this source:—(*a*) The *etsba*,[a] or finger's breadth, mentioned only in Jer. lii. 21. (*b*) The *tephach*,[b] or hand breadth (Ex. xxv. 25; 1 K. vii. 26; 2 Chr. iv. 5), applied metaphorically to a short period of time in Ps. xxxix. 5. (*c*) The *zereth*,[c] or span, the distance between the extremities of the thumb and the little finger in the extended hand (Ex. xxviii. 16; 1 Sam. xvii. 4; Ez. xliii. 13), applied generally to describe any small measure in Is. xl. 12. (*d*) The *ammâh*,[d] or cubit, the distance from the elbow to the extremity of the middle finger. This occurs very frequently in the Bible in relation to buildings, such as the Ark (Gen. vi. 15), the Tabernacle (Ex. xxvi., xxvii.), and the Temple (1 K. vi. 2; Ez. xl., xli.), as well as in relation to man's stature (1 Sam. xvii. 4; Matt. vi. 27), and other objects (Esth. v. 14; Zech. v. 2). In addition to the above we may notice:—(*e*) The *gômed*,[e] lit. a *rod*, applied to Eglon's dirk (Judg. iii. 16). Its length is uncertain, but it probably fell below the cubit, with which it is identified in the A. V. (*f*) The *kâneh*,[f] or reed (compare our word "cane"), for measuring buildings on a large scale (Ez. xl. 5-8, xli. 8, xlii. 16-19).

Little information is furnished by the Bible itself as to the relative or absolute lengths described under the above terms. With the exception of the notice that the reed equals six cubits (Ez. xl. 5), we have no intimation that the measures were combined in anything like a scale. We should, indeed, infer the reverse from the circumstance that Jeremiah speaks of "four fingers," where according to the scale, he would have said "a hand breadth;" that in the description of Goliath's height (1 Sam. xvii. 4), the expression "six cubits and a span," is used instead of "six cubits and a half;" and that Ezekiel mentions "span" and "half a cubit" in close juxtaposition (xliii. 13, 17), as though they bore no relation to each other either in the ordinary or the long cubit. That the denominations held a certain ratio to each other, arising out of the proportions of the members in the body, could hardly escape notice; but it does not follow that they were ever worked up into an artificial scale. The most important conclusion to be drawn from the Biblical notices, is to the effect that the cubit, which may be regarded as the standard measure, was of varying length, and that, in order to secure accuracy, it was necessary to define the kind of cubit intended, the result being that the other denominations, if combined in a scale, would vary in like ratio. Thus in Deut. iii. 11, the cubit is specified to be "after the cubit of a man;" in 2 Chr. iii. 3 "after the first," or rather "after the older[g] measure;" and in Ez. xli. 8, "a great cubit," or literally "a cubit to the joint," which is further defined in xl. 5, to be "a cubit and an hand breadth." These expressions involve one of the most knotty points of Hebrew archaeology, viz., the number and the respective lengths of the Scriptural cubits. That there was more than one cubit, is clear; but whether there were three, or only two, is not so clear. We shall have occasion to refer to this topic again

[a] אֶצְבַּע. [b] טֶפַח. [c] זֶרֶת.

[d] אַמָּה. This term is generally referred to a Coptic origin, being derived from a word, *mahe* or *mahi*, signifying the "fore-arm," which with the article prefixed becomes *emmahi* (Boeckh, p. 265). Gesenius, however, refers it to the Hebrew word signifying "mother," as though the fore-arm were in some sense the "mother of the arm" (*Thes* p. 110).

[e] גֹּמֶד. [f] קָנֶה.

[g] That the expression רִאשׁוֹנָה applies to priority of time, as well as of order, is clear from many passages, as *e. g.*, 2 K. xvii. 34; Ezr. iii. 12; Hagg. ii. 3.

for the present we shall confine ourselves to the consideration of the expressions themselves. A cubit "after the cubit of a man," implies the existence of another cubit, which was either longer or shorter than it, and from analogy it may be taken for granted that this second cubit would be the longer of the two. But what is meant by the "*ammâh* of a man"? Is it the *cubitus* in the anatomical sense of the term, in other words, the bone of the fore-arm between the elbow and the wrist? or is it the full cubit in the ordinary sense of the term, from the elbow to the extremity of the middle finger? What, again, are we to understand by Ezekiel's expression, "cubit to the joint"? The term *atstsîl*,[h] is explained by Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 144) of the *knuckles*, and not of the "armholes," as in the A. V. of Jer. xxxviii. 12, where our translators have omitted all reference to the word *yâdêcâ*, which follows it. A "cubit to the knuckles" would imply the space from the elbow to the knuckles, and as this cubit exceeded by a handbreadth the ordinary cubit, we should infer that it was contradistinguished from the cubit that reached only to the wrist. The meaning of the word is, however, contested: Hitzig gives it the sense of a *connecting wall* (*Comm. on Jer.*). Sturmius (*Sciagr.* p. 94) understands it of the *edge* of the walls, and others in the sense of a *wing* of a building (Rosenmüller, *Schol. in Jer.*). Michaelis on the other hand understands it of the knuckles (*Supplem.* p. 119), and so does Saalschütz (*Archäol.* ii. 165). The expressions now discussed, taken together, certainly favour the idea that the cubit of the Bible did not come up to the full length of the cubit of other countries. A further question remains to be discussed, viz., whether more than two cubits were in vogue among the Hebrews. It is generally conceded that the "former" or "older" measure of 2 Chr. iii. 3, was the Mosaic or legal cubit, and that the modern measure, the existence of which is implied in that designation, was somewhat larger. Further, the cubit "after the cubit of a man" of Deut. iii. 11, is held to be a *common* measure in contradistinction to the Mosaic one, and to have fallen below this latter in point of length. In this case, we should have three cubits —the common, the Mosaic or old measure, and the new measure. We turn to Ezekiel and find a distinction of another character, viz., a long and a short cubit. Now, it has been urged by many writers, and we think with good reason, that Ezekiel would not be likely to adopt any other than the old orthodox Mosaic standard for the measurements of his ideal temple. If so, his long cubit would be identified with the *old* measure, and his short cubit with the one "after the cubit of a man," and the *new* measure of 2 Chr. iii. 3 would represent a still longer cubit than Ezekiel's long one. Other explanations of the prophet's language have, however, been offered: it has been sometimes assumed that, while living in Chaldea, he and his countrymen had adopted the long Babylonian cubit (Jahn, *Archaeol.* §113); but in this case his short cubit could not have belonged to the same country, inasmuch as the difference between these two amounted to only three fingers (Herod. i. 178). Again, it has been explained that his short cubit was the ordinary Chaldean measure, and the long one the Mosaic measure (Rosenmüller, *in Ez.* xl. 5); but this is unlikely on account of the respective lengths of the Babylonian and the Mosaic cubits, to which we shall hereafter refer. Independently of these objections, we think that the passages previously discussed (Deut. iii. 11; 2 Chr. iii. 3) imply the existence of three cubits. It remains to be inquired whether from the Bible itself we can extract any information as to the length of the Mosaic or legal cubit. The notices of the height of the altar and of the height of the lavers in the Temple are of importance in this respect. In the former case three cubits is specified (Ex. xxvii. 1), with a direct prohibition against the use of steps (Ex. xx. 26); in the latter, the height of the base on which the laver was placed was three cubits (1 K. vii. 27). If we adopt the ordinary length of the cubit (say 20 inches), the heights of the altar and of the base would be 5 feet. But it would be extremely inconvenient, if not impossible, to minister at an altar, or to use a laver placed at such a height. In order to meet this difficulty without any alteration of the length of the cubit, it must be assumed[1] that an inclined plane led up to it, as was the case with the loftier altar of the Temple (Mishn. *Midd.* 3, §1, 3). But such a contrivance is contrary to the spirit of the text; and, even if suited to the altar, would be wholly needless for the lavers. Hence Saalschütz infers that the cubit did not exceed a Prussian foot, which is less than an English foot (*Archäol.* ii. 167). The other instances adduced by him are not so much to the point. The molten sea was not designed for the purpose of bathing (though this impression is conveyed by 2 Chr. iv. 6 as given in the A. V.), and therefore no conclusion can be drawn from the depth of the water in it. The height of Og, as inferred from the length of his bedstead (9 cubits, Deut. iii. 11), and the height of Goliath (6 cubits and a span, 1 Sam. xvii. 4), are not inconsistent with the idea of a cubit about 18 inches long, if credit can be given to other recorded instances of extraordinary stature (Plin. vii. 2, 16; Herod. i. 68; Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 4, §5). At the same time the rendering of the LXX. in 1 Sam. xvii. 4, which is followed by Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 9, §1), and which reduces the number of cubits to four, suggests either an error in the Hebrew text, or a considerable increase in the length of the cubit in later times.

The foregoing examination of Biblical notices has tended to the conclusion that the cubit of early times fell far below the length usually assigned to it; but these notices are so scanty and ambiguous that this conclusion is by no means decisive. We now turn to collateral sources of information, which we will follow out as far as possible in chronological order. The earliest and most reliable testimony as to the length of the cubit is supplied by the existing specimens of old Egyptian measures. Several of these have been discovered in tombs, carrying us back at all events to 1700 B.C., while the Nilometer at Elephantine exhibits the length of the cubit in the time of the Roman emperors. No great difference is exhibited in these measures, the longest being estimated at about 21 inches, and the shortest at about 20½, or exactly 20·4729 inches (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 258). They are divided into 28 digits,

h אֶצֶל.

1 Knobel assumes that there were steps, and that the prohibition in Ex. xx. 26 emanates from an author who wrote in ignorance of the previous directions (*Comm.* on Ex. xxvii. 1)

and in this respect contrast with the Mosaic cubit, which, according to Rabbinical authorities, was divided into 24 digits. There is some difficulty in reconciling this discrepancy with the almost certain fact of the derivation of the cubit from Egypt. It has been generally surmised that the Egyptian cubit was of more than one length, and that the sepulchral measures exhibit the shorter as well as the longer by special marks. Wilkinson denies the existence of more than one cubit (*Anc. Eg.* ii. 257-259), apparently on the ground that the total lengths of the measures do not materially vary. It may be conceded that the measures are intended to represent the same length, the variation being simply the result of mechanical inaccuracy; but this does not decide the question of the double cubit, which rather turns on the peculiarities of notation observable on these measures. For a full discussion of this point we must refer the reader to Thenius's essay in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for 1846, pp. 297-342. Our limits will permit only a brief statement of the facts of the case, and of the views expressed in reference to them. The most perfect of the Egyptian cubit measures are those preserved in the Turin and Louvre Museums. These are unequally divided into two parts, the one on the right hand containing 15, and the other 13 digits. In the former part the digits are subdivided into aliquot parts from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{16}$, reckoning from right to left. In the latter part the digits are marked on the lower edge in the Turin, and on the upper edge in the Louvre measure. In the Turin measure the three left-hand digits exceed the others in size, and have marks over them indicating either fingers or the numerals 1, 2, 3. The four left-hand digits are also marked off from the rest by a double stroke, and are further distinguished by hieroglyphic marks supposed to indicate that they are digits of the old measure. There are also special marks between the 6th and 7th, and between the 10th and 11th digits of the left-hand portion. In the Louvre cubit two digits are marked off on the lower edge by lines running in a slightly transverse direction, thus producing a greater length than is given on the upper side. It has been found that each of the three above specified digits in the Turin measure $= \frac{1}{24}$ of the whole length, less these three digits; or, to put it in another form, the four left-hand digits $= \frac{1}{6}$ of the 25 right-hand digits: also that each of the two digits in the Louvre measure $= \frac{1}{24}$ of the whole length, less these two digits; and further, that twice the left half of either measure = the whole length of the Louvre measure, less the two digits. Most writers on the subject agree in the conclusion that the measures contain a combination of two, if not three, kinds of cubit. Great difference of opinion, however, is manifested as to particulars. Thenius makes the difference between the royal and old cubits to be no more than two digits, the average length of the latter being 484·289[k] millimètres, or 19·066 inches, as compared with 523·524 millimètres, or 20·611 inches and 523·millimètres, or 20·591 inches, the lengths of the Turin and Louvre measures respectively. He accounts for the additional two digits as originating in the practice of placing the two fingers crossways at the end of the arm and hand used in measuring,

so as to mark the spot up to which the cloth or other article has been measured. He further finds in the notation of the Turin measure, indications of a third or ordinary cubit 23 digits in length. Another explanation is that the old cubit consisted of 24 old or 25 new digits, and that its length was 462 millimètres, or 18·189 inches; and again, others put the old cubit at 24 new digits, as marked on the measures. The relative proportions of the two would be, on these several hypotheses, as 28 : 26, as 28 : 25, and as 28 : 24.

The use of more than one cubit appears to have also prevailed in Babylon, for Herodotus states that the "royal" exceeded the "moderate" cubit (*πῆχυς μέτριος*) by three digits (i. 178). The appellation "royal," if borrowed from the Babylonians, would itself imply the existence of another; but it is by no means certain that this other was the "moderate" cubit mentioned in the text. The majority of critics think that Herodotus is there speaking of the ordinary Greek cubit (Boeckh, p. 214), though the opposite view is affirmed by Grote in his notice of Boeckh's work (*Class. Mus.* i. 28). Even if the Greek cubit be understood, a further difficulty arises out of the uncertainty whether Herodotus is speaking of digits as they stood on the Greek or on the Babylonian measure. In the one case the proportions of the two would be as 8 : 7, in the other case as 9 : 8. Boeckh adopts the Babylonian digits (without good reason, we think), and estimates the Babylonian royal cubit at 234·2743 Paris lines, or 20·806 inches (p. 219). A greater length would by assigned to it according to the data furnished by M. Oppert, as stated in Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 315; for if the cubit and foot stood in the ratio of 5 : 3, and if the latter contained 15 digits, and had a length of 315 millimètres, then the length of the ordinary cubit would be 525 millimètres, and of the royal cubit, assuming, with Mr. Grote, that the cubits in each case were Babylonian, 588 millimètres, or 23·149 inches.

Reverting to the Hebrew measures, we should be disposed to identify the *new* measure implied in 2 Chr. iii. 3 with the full Egyptian cubit; the "old" measure and Ezekiel's cubit with the lesser one, either of 26 or 24 digits; and the "cubit of a man" with the third one of which Thenius speaks. Boeckh, however, identifies the Mosaic measure with the full Egyptian cubit, and accounts for the difference in the number of digits on the hypothesis that the Hebrews substituted a division into 24 for that into 28 digits, the size of the digits being of course increased (pp. 266, 267). With regard to the Babylonian measure, it seems highly improbable that either the ordinary or the royal cubit could be identified with Ezekiel's short cubit (as Rosenmüller thinks), seeing that its length on either of the computations above offered exceeded that of the Egyptian cubit.

In the Mishnah the Mosaic cubit is defined to be one of six palms (*Celim*, 17, §10). It is termed the moderate[l] cubit, and is distinguished from a lesser cubit of five palms on the one side (*Celim*, *ib.*), and on the other side from a larger one, consisting, according to Bartenora (*in Cel.* 17, §9), of six palms and a digit. The palm consisted, accord-

[k] The precise amount of 484·289 is obtained by taking the mean of the four following amounts:—$\frac{26}{25}$ of 523·524, the total length of the Turin measure, = 486·130; twice the left-hand division of the same measure, = 480·792; the length of the 26 digits on the Louvre measure, = 488·375; and twice the left-hand division of the same = 483·860.

[l] אמה בינונית.

ing to Maimonides (*ibid.*), of four digits; and the digit, according to Arias Montanus (*Ant.* p. 113), of four barleycorns. This gives 144 barleycorns as the length of the cubit, which accords with the number assigned to the *cubitus justus et mediocris* of the Arabians (Boeckh, p. 246). The length of the Mosaic cubit, as computed by Thenius (after several trials with the specified number of barleycorns of middling size, placed side by side), is 214·512 Paris lines, or 19·0515 inches (*St. u. Kr.* p. 110). It seems hardly possible to arrive at any very exact conclusion by this mode of calculation. Eisenschmid estimated 144 barleycorns as equal to 238·35 Paris lines (Boeckh, p. 269), perhaps from having used larger grains than the average. The writer of the article on "Weights and Measures" in the *Penny Cyclopaedia* (xviii. 198) gives, as the result of his own experience, that 38 average grains make up 5 inches, in which case 144 = 18·947 inches; while the length of the Arabian cubit referred to is computed at 213·058 Paris lines (Boeckh, p. 247). The Talmudists state that the Mosaic cubit was used for the edifice of the Tabernacle and Temple, and the lesser cubit for the vessels thereof.[m] This was probably a fiction; for the authorities were not agreed among themselves as to the extent to which the lesser cubit was used, some of them restricting it to the golden altar, and parts of the brazen altar (Mishnah, *Cel.* 17, §10). But this distinction, fictitious as it may have been, shows that the cubits were not regarded in the light of *sacred* and *profane*, as stated in works on Hebrew archaeology. Another distinction, adopted by the Rabbinists in reference to the palm, would tend to show that they did not rigidly adhere to any definite length of cubit: for they recognised two kinds of palms, one wherein the fingers lay loosely open, which they denominated a *smiling* palm; the other wherein the fingers were closely compressed, and styled the *grieving* palm (Carpzov, *Appar.* pp. 674, 676).

The conclusions to be drawn from the foregoing considerations are not of the decisive character that we could wish. For while the collateral evidence derived from the practice of the adjacent countries and from later Jewish authorities favours the idea that the Biblical cubit varied but little from the length usually assigned to that measure, the evidence of the Bible itself is in favour of one considerably shorter. This evidence is, however, of so uncertain a character, turning on points of criticism and on brief notices, that we can hardly venture to adopt it as our standard. We accept therefore, with reservation, the estimate of Thenius, and from the cubit we estimate the absolute length of the other denominations according to the proportions existing between the members of the body, the cubit equalling two spans (compare Ex. xxv. 3, 10, with Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 6, §§5, 6), the span three palms, and the palm four digits.

					Inches.
Digit	. . . . .	. . . .	. . .	. .	·7938
4	Palm	. . . . .	. . .	. .	3·1752
12	3	Span . .	. .	. .	9·5257
24	6	2	Cubit .	. .	19·0515
144	36	12	6	Reed .	114·3090

[m] Hence they were denominated אמה הבנין, "cubit of the building," and הכלים א", "cubit of the vessels."

Land and area were measured either by the cubit (Num. xxxv. 4, 5; Ez. xl. 27) or by the reed (Ez. xlii. 20, xliii. 17, xlv. 2, xlviii. 20; Rev. xxi. 16). There is no indication in the Bible of the use of a square measure by the Jews.[n] Whenever they wished to define the size of a plot, they specified its length and breadth, even if it were a perfect square, as in Ez. xlviii. 16. The difficulty of defining an area by these means is experienced in the interpretation of Num. xxxv. 4, 5, where the suburbs of the Levitical cities are described as reaching outward from the wall of the city 1000 cubits round about, and at the same time 2000 cubits on each side from without the city. We can hardly understand these two measurements otherwise than as applying, the one to the width, the other to the external boundary of the suburb, the measurements being taken respectively perpendicular and parallel to the city walls. But in this case it is necessary to understand the words rendered "from without the city," in ver. 5, as meaning *to the exclusion of* the city, so that the length of the city wall should be added in each case to the 2000 cubits. The result would be that the size of the areas would vary, and that where the city walls were unequal in length, the sides of the suburb would be also unequal. For instance, if the city wall was 500 cubits long, then the side of the suburb would be 2500 cubits; if the city wall were 1000 cubits, then the side of the suburb would be 3000 cubits. Assuming the existence of two towns, 500 and 1000 cubits square, the area of the suburb would in the former case = 6,000,000 square cubits, and would be 24 times the size of the town; while in the latter case the suburb would be 8,000,000 square cubits, and only 8 times the size of the town. This explanation is not wholly satisfactory, on account of the disproportion of the suburbs as compared with the towns: nevertheless any other explanation only exaggerates this disproportion. Keil, in his comment on Josh. xiv. 4, assumes that the city wall was in all cases to be regarded as 1000 cubits long, which with the 1000 cubits outside the wall, and measured in the same direction as the wall, would make up the 2000 cubits, and would give to the side of the suburb in every case a length of 3000 cubits. The objection to this view is that there is no evidence as to an uniform length of the city walls, and that the suburb might have been more conveniently described as 3000 cubits on each side. All ambiguity would have been avoided if the size of the suburb had been decided either by absolute or relative acreage; in other words, if it were to consist in all cases of a certain fixed acreage outside the walls, or if it were made to vary in a certain ratio to the size of the town. As the text stands, neither of these methods can be deduced from it.

(2.) The measures of distance noticed in the Old Testament are the three following:—(*a*) The *tsa'ad*,[o] or pace (2 Sam. vi. 13), answering generally to our yard. (*b*) The *Cibrath hâârets*,[p] rendered in the A. V. "a little way" or "a little piece of ground" (Gen. xxxv. 16, xlviii. 7; 2 K. v. 19). The expression appears to indicate some definite distance, but we are unable to state with precision what that distance was. The LXX. retains the Hebrew word

[n] The term "acre" occurs in the A. V. as the equivalent for *maănah* (מַעֲנָה) in 1 Sam. xiv. 14, and for *zemed* (צֶמֶד) in Is v 10. The latter term also occurs in the passage first quoted, and would with more consistency be rendered *acre* instead of "yoke." It means such an amount of land as a yoke of oxen would plough in a day. *Maănah* means a *furrow*.

[o] צַעַד. [p] כִּבְרַת הָאָרֶץ.

in the form Χαβραθά, as though it were the name of a place, adding in Gen. xlviii. 7 the words κατὰ τὸν ἱππόδρομον, which is thus a second translation of the expression. If a certain distance was intended by this translation, it would be either the ordinary length of a race-course, or such a distance as a horse could travel without being over-fatigued, in other words, a stage. But it probably means a locality, either a race-course itself, as in 3 Macc. iv. 11, or the space outside the town walls where the race-course was usually to be found. The LXX. gives it again in Gen. xlviii. 7 as the equivalent for Ephrath. The Syriac and Persian versions render *cibrath* by parasang, a well-known Persian measure, generally estimated at 30 stades (Herod. ii. 6, v. 53), or from 3½ to 4 English miles, but sometimes at a larger amount, even up to 60 stades (Strab. xi. 518). The only conclusion to be drawn from the Bible is that the *cibrath* did not exceed and probably equalled the distance between Bethlehem and Rachel's burial-place, which is traditionally identified with a spot 1½ mile north of the town. (*c*) The *derec yôm*,[q] or *mahălac yôm*,[r] a day's journey, which was the most usual method of calculating distances in travelling (Gen. xxx. 36, xxxi. 23; Ex. iii. 18, v. 3; Num. x. 33, xi. 31, xxxiii. 8; Deut. i. 2; 1 K. xix. 4; 2 K. iii. 9; Jon. iii. 3; 1 Macc. v. 24, 28, vii. 45; Tob. vi. 1), though but one instance of it occurs in the New Testament (Luke ii. 44). The distance indicated by it was naturally fluctuating according to the circumstances of the traveller or of the country through which he passed. Herodotus variously estimates it at 200 and 150 stades (iv. 101, v. 53): Marinus (*ap. Ptol.* i. 11) at 150 and 172 stades; Pausanias (x. 33, §2) at 150 stades; Strabo (i. 35) at from 250 to 300 stades; and Vegetius (*De Re Mil.* i. 11) at from 20 to 24 miles for the Roman army. The ordinary day's journey among the Jews was 30 miles; but when they travelled in companies only 10 miles: Neapolis formed the first stage out of Jerusalem, according to the former, and Beeroth according to the latter computation (Lightfoot, *Exerc. in Luc.* ii. 44). It is impossible to assign any distinct length to the day's journey: Jahn's estimate of 33 miles, 172 yards, and 4 feet, is based upon the false assumption that it bore some fixed ratio to the other measures of length.

In the Apocrypha and New Testament we meet with the following additional measures:—(*d*) The Sabbath-day's journey,[s] already discussed in a separate article. (*e*) The *stadion*,[t] or "furlong," a Greek measure introduced into Asia subsequently to Alexander's conquest, and hence first mentioned in the Apocrypha (2 Macc. xi. 5, xii. 9, 17, 29), and subsequently in the New Testament (Luke xxiv. 13; John vi. 19, xi. 18; Rev. xiv. 20, xxi. 16). Both the name and the length of the stade were borrowed from the footrace course at Olympia. It equalled 600 Greek feet (Herod. ii. 149), or 125 Roman paces (Plin. ii. 23), or 606¾ feet of our measure. It thus falls below the furlong by 53¼ feet. The distances between Jerusalem and the places Bethany, Jamnia, and Scythopolis, are given with tolerable exactness at 15 stades (John xi. 18), 240 stades (2 Macc. xii. 9), and 600 stades (2 Macc xii. 29). In 2 Macc. xi. 5 there is an evident error either of the author or of the text, in respect to the position of Bethsura, which is given as only 5 stades from Jerusalem. The Talmudists describe the stade under the term *rés*,[u] and regarded it as equal to 625 feet and 125 paces (Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 679). (*f*) The Mile,[x] a Roman measure, equalling 1000 Roman paces, 8 stades, and 1618 English yards [MILE].

2. Measures of capacity.

The measures of capacity for liquids were:—(*a*) The log[y] (Lev. xiv. 10, &c.), the name originally signifying a "basin." (*b*) The hin,[z] a name of Egyptian origin, frequently noticed in the Bible (Ex. xxix. 40, xxx. 24; Num. xv. 4, 7, 9; Ez. iv. 11, &c.). (*c*) The bath,[a] the name meaning "measured," the largest of the liquid measures (1 K. vii. 26, 38; 2 Chr. ii. 10; Ezr. vii. 22; Is. v. 10). With regard to the relative values of these measures we learn nothing from the Bible, but we gather from Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 8, §3) that the bath contained 6 hins (for the bath equalled 72 *xestae* or 12 *choës*, and the hin 2 *choës*), and from the Rabbinists that the hin contained 12 logs (Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 685). The relative values therefore stand thus:—

Log	Hin	Bath
12		
72	6	

The dry measure contained the following denominations:—(*a*) The cab,[b] mentioned only in 2 K. vi. 25, the name meaning literally *hollow* or *concave*. (*b*) The omer,[c] mentioned only in Ex. xvi. 16-36. The same measure is elsewhere termed *issârôn*,[d] as being the tenth part of an ephah (comp. Ex. xvi. 36), whence in the A. V. "tenth deal" (Lev. xiv. 10, xxiii. 13; Num. xv. 4, &c.). The word omer implies a *heap*, and secondarily a *sheaf*. (*c*) The *sêâh*,[e] or "measure," this being the etymological meaning of the term, and appropriately applied to it, inasmuch as it was the ordinary measure for household purposes (Gen. xviii. 6; 1 Sam. xxv. 18; 2 K. vii. 1, 16). The Greek equivalent occurs in Matt. xiii. 33; Luke xiii. 21. The seah was otherwise termed *shâlîsh*,[f] as being the third part of an ephah (Is. xl. 12; Ps. lxxx. 5). (*d*) The ephah,[g] a word of Egyptian origin, and of frequent recurrence in the Bible (Ex. xvi. 36; Lev. v. 11, vi. 20; Num. v. 15, xxviii. 5; Judg. vi. 19; Ruth ii. 17; 1 Sam. i. 24, xvii. 17; Ez. xlv. 11, 13, 14, xlvi. 5, 7, 11, 14). (*e*) The *lethec*,[h] or "half-homer," literally meaning what is *poured out*: it occurs only in Hos. iii. 2. (*f*) The homer meaning *heap* (Lev. xxvii. 16; Num. xi. 32; Is. v. 10; Ez. xlv. 13). It is elsewhere termed cor,[k] from the circular vessel in which it was measured (1 K. iv. 22, v. 11; 2 Chr. ii. 10, xxvii. 5; Ezr. vii. 22; Ez. xlv. 14). The Greek equivalent occurs in Luke xvi. 7.

The relative proportions of the dry measures are to a certain extent expressed in the names *issârôn*, meaning a tenth, and *shâlîsh*, a third. In addition we have the Biblical statement that the omer

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q דֶּרֶךְ יוֹם. r מַהֲלַךְ יוֹם.
s σαββάτου ὁδός. t στάδιον.
u רֵיס. x μίλιον.
y לֹג. z הִין. a בַּת.
b כַּב. c עֹמֶר. d עֶשָׂרוֹן.
e סְאָה; σάτον. f שְׁלִישׁ.
g אֵיפָה. h לֶתֶךְ; ἡμίσεσις.
i חֹמֶר. k כֹּר: κόρος.

is the tenth part of the ephah (Ex. xvi. 36), and that the ephah was the tenth part of a homer, and corresponded to the bath in liquid measure (Ez. xlv. 11). The Rabbinists supplement this by stating that the ephah contained three seahs, and the seah six cabs (Carpzov, p. 683). We are thus enabled to draw out the following scale of relative values:—

Cab	Omer	Seah	Ephah	Homer
1½	1			
6	3⅓	1		
18	10	3	1	
180	100	30	10	1

The above scale is constructed, it will be observed, on a combination of decimal and duodecimal ratios, the former prevailing in respect to the omer, ephah, and homer, the latter in respect to the cab, seah, and ephah. In the liquid measure the duodecimal ratio alone appears, and hence there is a fair presumption that this was the original, as it was undoubtedly the most general, principle on which the scales of antiquity were framed (Boeckh, p. 38). Whether the decimal division was introduced from some other system, or whether it was the result of local usage, there is no evidence to show.

The absolute values of the liquid and dry measures form the subject of a single inquiry, inasmuch as the two scales have a measure of equal value, viz. the bath and the ephah (Ez. xlv. 11): if either of these can be fixed, the conversion of the other denominations into their respective values readily follows. Unfortunately the data for determining the value of the bath or ephah are both scanty and conflicting. Attempts have been made to deduce the value of the bath from a comparison of the dimensions and the contents of the molten sea as given in 1 K. vii. 23-26. If these particulars had been given with greater accuracy and fulness, they would have furnished a sound basis for a calculation; but, as the matter now stands, uncertainty attends every statement. The diameter is given as 10 cubits, and the circumference as 30 cubits, the diameter being stated to be "from one brim to the other." Assuming that the vessel was circular, the proportions of the diameter and circumference are not sufficiently exact for mathematical purposes, nor are we able to decide whether the diameter was measured from the internal or the external edge of the vessel. The shape of the vessel has been variously conceived to be circular and polygonal, cylindrical and hemispherical, with perpendicular and with bulging sides. The contents are given as 2000 baths in 1 K. vii. 26, and 3000 baths in 2 Chr. iv. 5, the latter being probably a corrupt text. Lastly, the length of the cubit is undefined, and hence every estimate is attended with suspicion. The conclusions drawn have been widely different, as might be expected. If it be assumed that the form of the vessel was cylindrical (as the description *primâ facie* seems to imply), that its clear diameter was 10 cubits of the value of 19·0515 English inches each, and that its full contents were 2000 baths, then the value of the bath would be 4·8965 gallons; for the contents of the vessel would equal 2,715,638 cubic inches, or 9,793 gallons. If, however, the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 3, §5), as to the hemispherical form of the vessel, be adopted, then the estimate would be reduced. Saigey, as quoted by Boeckh (p. 261), on this hypothesis calculates the value of the bath at 18·086 French litres, or 3·9807 English gallons. If, further, we adopt Saalschütz's view as to the length of the cubit, which he puts at 15 Dresden inches at the highest, the value of the bath will be further reduced, according to his calculation, to 10¼ Prussian quarts, or 2·6057 English gallons; while at his lower estimate of the cubit at 12 inches, its value would be little more than one-half of this amount (*Archäol.* ii. 171). On the other hand, if the vessel bulged, and if the diameter and circumference were measured at the neck or narrowest part of it, space might be found for 2000 or even 3000 baths of greater value than any of the above estimates. It is therefore hopeless to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion from this source. Nevertheless we think the calculations are not without their use, as furnishing a certain amount of presumptive evidence. For, setting aside the theory that the vessel bulged considerably, for which the text furnishes no evidence whatever, all the other computations agree in one point, viz. that the bath fell far below the value placed on it by Josephus, and by modern writers on Hebrew archaeology generally, according to whom the bath measures between 8 and 9 English gallons.

We turn to the statements of Josephus and other early writers. The former states that the bath equals 72 *xestae* (*Ant.* viii. 2, §9), that the hin equals 2 Attic *choës* (*Ib.* iii. 8, §3, 9, §4), that the seah equals 1½ Italian *modii* (*Ib.* ix. 4, §5), that the cor equals 10 Attic *medimni* (*Ib.* xv. 9, §2), and that the issaron or omer equals 7 Attic *cotylae* (*Ib.* iii. 6, §6). It may further be implied from *Ant.* ix. 4, §4, as compared with 2 K. vi. 25, that he regarded the cab as equal to 4 *xestés*. Now, in order to reduce these statements to consistency, it must be assumed that in *Ant.* xv. 9, §2, he has confused the *medimnus* with the *metrêtés*, and in *Ant.* iii. 6, §6, the *cotylé* with the *xestes*. Such errors throw doubt on his other statements, and tend to the conclusion that Josephus was not really familiar with the Greek measures. This impression is supported by his apparent ignorance of the term *metrêtés*, which he should have used not only in the passage above noticed, but also in viii. 2, §9, where he would naturally have substituted it for 72 *xestae*, assuming that these were Attic *xestae*. Nevertheless his testimony must be taken as decisively in favour of the identity of the Hebrew bath with the Attic *metrêtés*. Jerome (*in Matt.* xiii. 33) affirms that the seah equals 1½ *modii*, and (*in Ez.* xlv. 11) that the cor equals 30 *modii*,—statements that are glaringly inconsistent, inasmuch as there were 30 seahs in the cor. The statements of Epiphanius in his treatise *De Mensuris* are equally remarkable for inconsistency. He states (ii. 177) that the cor equals 30 *modii*: on this assumption the bath would equal 51 *sextarii*, but he gives only 50 (p. 178): the seah would equal 1 *modius*, but he gives 1¼ *modii* (p. 178), or, according to his estimate of 17 *sextarii* to the *modius*, 21¼ *sextarii*, though elsewhere he assigns 56 *sextarii* as its value (p. 182): the omer would be 5$\frac{1}{10}$ *sextarii*, but he gives 7½ (p. 182), implying 45 *modii* to the cor: and, lastly, the ephah is identified with the Egyptian *artabe* (p. 182), which was either 4½ or 3⅓ *modii*, according as it was in the old or the new measure, though according to his estimate of the cor it would only equal 3 *modii*. Little reliance can be placed on statements so loosely made, and the question arises whether the identification of the bath with the *metrêtés* did not arise

out of the circumstance that the two measures held the same relative position in the scales, each being subdivided into 72 parts, and, again, whether the assignment of 30 *modii* to the cor did not arise out of there being 30 seahs in it. The discrepancies can only be explained on the assumption that a wide margin was allowed for a long measure, amounting to an increase of 50 per cent. This appears to have been the case from the definitions of the seah or *σάτον* given by Hesychius, *μόδιος γέμων, ἤγουν, ἓν ἥμισυ μέδιον Ἰταλικόν*, and again by Suidas, *μόδιον ὑπερπεπληρωμένον, ὡς εἶναι μόδιον ἕνα καὶ ἥμισυν.* Assuming, however, that Josephus was right in identifying the bath with the *metrêtês*, its value would be, according to Boeckh's estimate of the latter (pp. 261, 278), 1993·95 Paris cubic inches, or 8·7053 English gallons, but according to the estimate of Bertheau (*Gesch.* p. 73) 1985·77 Paris cubic inches, or 8·6696 English gallons.

The Rabbinists furnish data of a different kind for calculating the value of the Hebrew measures. They estimated the log to be equal to six hen eggs, the cubic contents of which were ascertained by measuring the amount of water they displaced (Maimonides, *in Cel.* 17, §10). On this basis Thenius estimated the log at 14·088 Paris cubic inches, or ·06147 English gallon, and the bath at 1014·39 Paris cubic inches, or 4·4286 gallons (*St. u. Kr.* pp. 101, 121). Again, the log of water is said to have weighed 108 Egyptian drachmae,[1] each equalling 61 barleycorns (Maimonides, *in Peah*, 3, §6, ed. Guisius.). Thenius finds that 6588 barleycorns fill about the same space as 6 hen eggs (*St. u. Kr.* p. 112). And again, a log is said to fill a vessel 4 digits long, 4 broad, and $2\frac{7}{10}$ high (Maimonides, *in Pruef. Menachoth*). This vessel would contain 21·6 cubic inches, or ·07754 gallon. The conclusion arrived at from these data would agree tolerably well with the first estimate formed on the notices of the molten sea.

As we are unable to decide between Josephus and the Rabbinists, we give a double estimate of the various denominations, adopting Bertheau's estimate of the *metrêtês*:—

	(*Josephus.*) Gallons.		(*Rabbinists.*) Gallons.
Homer or Cor .	86·696	or	44·286
Ephah or Bath .	8·6696	or	4·4286
Seah	2·8898	or	1·4762
Hin	1·4449	or	·7381
Omer	·8669	or	·4428
Cab	·4816	or	·246
Log	·1204	or	·0615

In the New Testament we have notices of the following foreign measures:—(*a*) The *metrêtês*[m] (John ii. 6; A. V. "firkin") for liquids. (*b*) The *choenix*[n] (Rev. vi. 6; A. V. "measure"), for dry goods. (*c*) The *xestês*,[o] applied, however, not to the particular measure so named by the Greeks, but to any small vessel, such as a cup (Mark vii. 4, 8; A. V. "pot"). (*d*) The *modius*, similarly applied to describe any vessel of moderate dimensions (Matt. v. 15; Mark iv. 21; Luke xi. 33; A. V. "bushel"); though properly meaning a Roman measure, amounting to about a peck.

The value of the Attic *metrêtês* has been already stated to be 8·6696 gallons, and consequently the amount of liquid in six stone jars, containing on the average $2\frac{1}{2}$ *metrêtae* each, would exceed 110 gallons (John ii. 6). Very possibly, however, the Greek term represents the Hebrew *bath*, and if the bath be taken at the lower estimate assigned to it, the amount would be reduced to about 60 gallons. Even this amount far exceeds the requirements for the purposes of legal purification, the tendency of Pharisaical refinement being to reduce the amount of water to a minimum, so that a quarter of a log would suffice for a person (Mishnah, *Yad.* 1, §1). The question is one simply of archaeological interest as illustrating the customs of the Jews, and does not affect the character of the miracle with which it is connected. The *choenix* was $\frac{1}{48}$ of an Attic *medimnus*, and contained nearly a quart. It represented the usual amount of corn for a day's food, and hence a *choenix* for a penny, or *denarius*, which usually purchased a bushel (Cic. *Verr.* iii. 81), indicated a great scarcity (Rev. vi. 6).

With regard to the use of fair measures, various precepts are expressed in the Mosaic law and other parts of the Bible (Lev. xix. 35, 36; Deut. xxv. 14, 15; Prov. xx. 10; Ez. xlv. 10), and in all probability standard measures were kept in the Temple, as was usual in the other civilized countries of antiquity (Boeckh, p. 12).

The works chiefly referred to in the present article are the following:—Boeckh, *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, 1838; *Classical Museum*, vol. i.; *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for 1846; Mishnah, ed. Surenhusius; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, 2 vols. 1854; Epiphanius, *Opera*, 2 vols. ed. Petavius. [W. L. B.]

WELL.[a] The difference between a well (*Bĕêr*) and a cistern (*Bôr*) [CISTERN], consists chiefly in the use of the former word to denote a receptacle for water springing up freshly from the ground, while the latter usually denotes a reservoir for rain-water (Gen. xxvi. 19, 32; Prov. v. 15; John iv. 14).

The special necessity of a supply of water (Judg. i. 15) in a hot climate has always involved among Eastern nations questions of property of the highest importance, and sometimes given rise to serious contention. To give a name to a well denoted a right of property, and to stop or destroy one once dug was a military expedient, a mark of conquest or an encroachment on territorial right claimed or existing in its neighbourhood. Thus the well Beersheba was opened, and its possession attested with special formality by Abraham (Gen. xxi. 30, 31). In the hope of expelling Isaac from their neighbourhood, the Philistines stopped up the wells which had been dug in Abraham's time and called by his name, an encroachment which was stoutly resisted by the followers of Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 15-33; see also 2 K. iii. 19; 2 Chr. xxvi. 10; Burckhardt, *Notes*, ii. 185, 194, 204, 276). The Kuran notices abandoned wells as signs of desertion (Sur. xxii.). To acquire wells which they had not themselves dug, was one of the marks of favour foretold to the Hebrews on their entrance into Canaan (Deut. vi. 11). To possess one is noticed as a mark of in-

[1] In the table the weight of the log is given as 104 drachms; but in this case the contents of the log are supposed to be wine. The relative weights of water and wine were as 27 : 26.

[m] μετρητής. [n] χοῖνιξ.
[o] ξέστης.

[a] 1. בְּאֵר; φρεαρ: *puteus*; in four places "pit."
2. בּוֹר; λάκκος; *cisterna*; usually "pit." [PIT.]
3. מַעְיָן; usually "fountain." [FOUNTAIN.]
4. מְקוֹר. [FOUNTAIN; SPRING.]

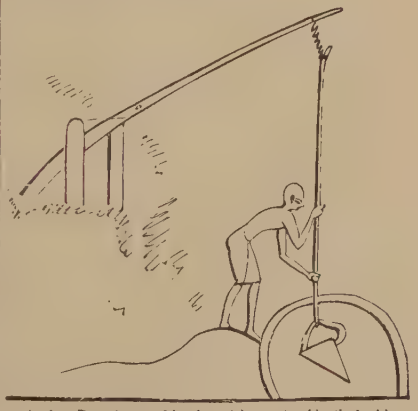
dependence (Prov. v. 15), and to abstain from the use of wells belonging to others, a disclaimer of interference with their property (Num. xx. 17, 19, xxi. 22). Similar rights of possession, actual and hereditary, exist among the Arabs of the present day. Wells, Burckhardt says, in the interior of the Desert, are exclusive property, either of a whole tribe, or of individuals whose ancestors dug the wells. If a well be the property of a tribe, the tents are pitched near it, whenever rain-water becomes scarce in the desert; and no other Arabs are then permitted to water their camels. But if the well belongs to an individual, he receives presents from all strange tribes who pass or encamp at the well, and refresh their camels with the water of it. The property of such a well is never alienated; and the Arabs say, that the possessor is sure to be fortunate, as all who drink of the water bestow on him their benedictions (*Notes on Bed.* i. 228, 229; comp. Num. xxi. 17, 18, and Judg. i. 15).

It is thus easy to understand how wells have become in many cases links in the history and landmarks in the topography both of Palestine and of the Arabian Peninsula. The well once dug in the rocky soil of Palestine might be filled with earth or stones, but with difficulty destroyed, and thus the wells of Beersheba, and the well near *Nâbulus*, called Jacob's well, are among the most undoubted witnesses of those transactions of sacred history in which they have borne, so to speak, a prominent part. On the other hand, the wells dug in the sandy soil of the Arabian valleys, easily destroyed, but easily renewed, often mark, by their ready supply, the stations at which the Hebrew pilgrims slaked their thirst, or, as at Marah, were disappointed by the bitterness of the water. In like manner the stations of the Mohammedan pilgrims from Cairo and Damascus to Mecca (the Hadj route) are marked by the wells (Robinson, i. 66, 69, 204, 205, ii. 283; Burckhardt, *Syria*, 318, 472, 474; App. III. 656, 660; Shaw, *Trav.* 314; Niebuhr, *Descrip. de l'Ar.*, 347, 348; Wellsted, *Trav.* ii. 40, 43, 64, 457, App.).

Wells in Palestine are usually excavated from the solid limestone rock, sometimes with steps to descend into them (Gen. xxiv. 16; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 232; *Col. Ch. Chron.* 1858, p. 470). The brims are furnished with a curb or low wall of stone, bearing marks of high antiquity in the furrows worn by the ropes used in drawing water (Rob. i. 204). This curb, as well as the stone cover, which is also very usual, agrees with the directions of the Law, as explained by Philo and Josephus, viz. as a protection against accident (Ex. xxi. 33; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8, §37; Philo, *De Spec. Leg.* iii. 27, ii. 324, ed. Mangey; Maundrell, in *E. Trav.* 435). It was on a curb of this sort that our Lord sat when He conversed with the woman of Samaria (John iv. 6), and it was this, the usual stone cover, which the woman placed on the mouth of the well at Bahurim (2 Sam. xvii. 19), where A. V. weakens the sense by omitting the article.[b] Sometimes the wells are covered with cupolas raised on pillars (Burckhardt, App. V. p. 665).

The usual methods for raising water are the following:—1. The rope and bucket, or water-skin (Gen. xxiv. 14-20; John iv. 11). When the well is deep the rope is either drawn over the curb by the man or woman, who pulls it out to the distance of its full length, or by an ass or ox employed in the same way for the same purpose. Sometimes a pulley or wheel is fixed over the well to assist the work (Robinson, i. 204, ii. 248; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Ar.* 137, pl. 15; *Col. Ch. Chron.* 1859, p. 350; Chardin, *Voy.* iv. 98; Wellsted, *Trav.* i. 280). 2. The sakiyeh, or Persian wheel. This consists of a vertical wheel furnished with a set of buckets or earthen jars, attached to a cord passing over the wheel, which descend empty and return full as the wheel revolves. On the axis of the wheel revolves a second wheel parallel to it, with cogs which turn a third wheel set horizontally at a sufficient height from the ground to allow the animal used in turning it to pass under. One or two cows or bulls are yoked to a pole which passes through the axis of this wheel, and as they travel round it turn the whole machine (Num. xxiv. 7; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 163; Niebuhr, *Voy.* i. 120; *Col. Ch. Chron.* 1859, p. 352; Shaw, p. 291, 408). 3. A modification of the last method, by which a man, sitting opposite to a wheel furnished with buckets, turns it by drawing with his hands one set of spokes prolonged beyond its circumference, and pushing another set from him with his feet (Niebuhr, *Voy.* i. p. 120, pl. 15; Robinson, ii. 22, iii. 89). 4. A method very common, both in ancient and modern Egypt, is the shadoof, a simple contrivance consisting of a lever moving on a pivot, which is loaded at one end with a lump of clay or some other weight, and has at the other a bowl or bucket. This is let down into the water, and, when raised, emptied into a receptacle above (Niebuhr, *Voy.* i. 120; Lane, *M. E.* ii. 163; Wilkinson. *A. E.* i. 35, 72, ii. 4).

Wells are usually furnished with troughs of wood or stone,[c] into which the water is emptied for the use of persons or animals coming to the wells. In modern times an old stone sarcophagus is often used for this purpose. The bucket is very commonly of skin (Burckhardt, *Syria*, 63; Robinson, i. 204, ii. 21, 315, iii. 35, 89, 109, 134; Lord Lindsay, *Trav.* 235, 237; Wilkinson, *A. E.* l. c.; Gen. xxiv. 20; Ex. ii. 16).



Ancient Egyptian machine for raising water, identical with the *shadoof* of the present day. (Wilkinson.)

Unless machinery is used, which is commonly worked by men, women are usually the water-carriers. They carry home their water-jars on their heads (Lindsay, p. 236). Great contentions often occur at the wells, and they are often, among

[b] הַפּוֹסֶךְ; τὸ ἐπικάλυμμα; *velamen*.

[c] שִׁקֻּת; ποτιστήριον; *canalis*.

Bedouins, favourite places for attack by enemies (Ex. ii. 16, 17; Judg. v. 11; 2 Sam. xxiii. 15, 16; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 63; *Notes on Bed.* i. 228; *Col. Ch. Chron.* 1859, p. 473; Lane, *M. E.* i. 252; Robinson, iii. 153). [H. W. P.]

WHALE. As to the signification of the Hebrew terms *tan* (תַּן or תָּן) and *tannîn* (תַּנִּין), variously rendered in the A. V. by "dragon," "whale," "serpent," "sea-monster," see DRAGON. It remains for us in this article to consider the transaction recorded in the Book of Jonah, of that prophet having been swallowed by some "great fish" (דָּג גָּדוֹל), which in Matt. xii. 40 is called κῆτος, rendered in our version by "whale."

Much criticism has been expended on the Scriptural account of Jonah being swallowed by a large fish; it has been variously understood as a literal transaction, as an entire fiction or an allegory, as a poetical mythus or a parable. With regard to the remarks of those writers who ground their objections upon the *denial of miracle*, it is obvious that this is not the place for discussion; the question of Jonah in the fish's belly will share the same fate as any other miracle recorded in the Old Testament.

The reader will find in Rosenmüller's *Prolegomena* several attempts by various writers to explain the Scriptural narrative, none of which, however, have anything to recommend them, unless it be in some cases the ingenuity of the authors, such as for instance that of Godfrey Less, who supposed that the "fish" was no animal at all, but a ship with the figure of a fish painted on the stern, into which Jonah was received after he had been cast out of his own vessel! Equally curious is the explanation of G. C. Anton, who endeavoured to solve the difficulty, by supposing that just as the prophet was thrown into the water, the dead carcase of some large fish floated by, into the belly of which he contrived to get, and that thus he was drifted to the shore! The opinion of Rosenmüller, that the whole account is founded on the Phoenician fable of Hercules devoured by a sea-monster sent by Neptune (Lycophron, *Cassand.* 33), although sanctioned by Gesenius, Winer, Ewald, and other German writers, is opposed to all sound principles of Biblical exegesis. It will be our purpose to consider what portion of the occurrence partakes of a natural, and what of a miraculous nature.

In the first place then, it is necessary to observe, that the Greek word κῆτος, used by St. Matthew, is not restricted in its meaning to "a whale," or any *Cetacean*; like the Latin *cete* or *cetus*, it may denote any sea-monster, either "a whale," or "a shark," or "a seal," or "a tunny of enormous size" (see Athen. p. 303 B, ed. Dindorf; *Odys.* xii. 97, iv. 446, 452; *Il.* xx. 147). Although two or three species of whale are found in the Mediterranean Sea, yet the "great fish" that swallowed the prophet, cannot properly be identified with any *Cetacean*, for, although the Sperm whale (*Catodon macrocephalus*) has a gullet sufficiently large to admit the body of a man, yet it can hardly be the fish intended; as the natural food of Cetaceans consists of small animals, such as medusae and crustacea.

Nor again, can we agree with Bishop Jebb (*Sacred Literature*, pp. 178, 179), that the κοιλία of the Greek Testament denotes the back portion of a whale's mouth, in the cavity of which the prophet was concealed; for the whole passage in Jonah is clearly opposed to such an interpretation.

The only fish, then, capable of swallowing a man would be a large specimen of the White Shark (*Carcharias vulgaris*), that dreaded enemy of sailors, and the most voracious of the family of *Squalidae*. This shark, which sometimes attains the length of thirty feet, is quite able to swallow a man whole. Some commentators are sceptical on this point. It would, however, be easy to quote passages from the writings of authors and travellers in proof of this assertion; we confine ourselves to two or three extracts. The shark "has a large gullet, and in the belly of it are sometimes found the bodies of men half eaten, sometimes *whole and entire*" (*Nature Displayed*, iii. p. 140). But less the Abbé Pluche should not be considered sufficient authority, we give a quotation from Mr. Couch's recent publication, *A History of the Fishes of the British Islands*. Speaking of white sharks, this author, who has paid much attention to the habits of fish, states that "they usually cut asunder any object of considerable size and thus swallow it; but if they find a difficulty in doing this, there is no hesitation in passing into the stomach even what is of enormous bulk; and the formation of the jaws and throat render this a matter of but little difficulty." Ruysch says that the whole body of a man in armour (*loricatus*), has been found in the stomach of a white shark; and Captain King, in his Survey of Australia, says he had caught one which could have swallowed a man with the greatest ease. Blumenbach mentions that a whole horse has been found in a shark, and Captain Basil Hall reports the taking of one in which, besides other things, he found the whole skin of a buffalo which a short time before had been thrown overboard from his ship (i. p. 27). Dr. Baird of the British Museum (*Cyclop. of Nat. Sciences*, p. 514), says that in the river Hooghly below Calcutta, he had seen a white shark swallow a bullock's head and horns entire, and he speaks also of a shark's mouth being "sufficiently wide to receive the body of a man." Wherever therefore the Tarshish, to which Jonah's ship was bound, was situated, whether in Spain, or in Cilicia or in Ceylon, it is certain that the common white shark might have been seen on the voyage. The *C. vulgaris* is not uncommon in the Mediterranean; it occurs, as Forskål (*Descript. Animal.* p. 20) assures us, in the Arabian Gulf, and is common also in the Indian Ocean. So far for the *natural* portion of the subject. But how Jonah could have been swallowed whole *unhurt*, or how he could have existed for any time in the shark's belly, it is impossible to explain by simply natural causes. Certainly the preservation of Jonah in a fish's belly is not more remarkable than that of the three children in the midst of Nebuchadnezzar's "burning fiery furnace."

Naturalists have recorded that sharks have the habit of throwing up again whole and alive the prey they have seized (see Couch's *Hist. of Fishes*, i. p. 33). "I have heard," says Mr. Darwin, "from Dr. Allen of Forres, that he has frequently found a Diodon floating alive and distended in the stomach of a shark; and that on several occasions he has known it eat its way out, not only through the coats of the stomach, but through the sides of the monster which has been thus killed." [W. H.]

WHEAT. The well-known valuable cereal, cultivated from the earliest times, and frequently mentioned in the Bible. In the A. V. the Heb.

words *bar* (בַּר or בָּר), *dâgân* (דָּגָן), *rîphôth* (ריפות), are occasionally translated "wheat;" but there is no doubt that the proper name of this cereal, as distinguished from "barley," "spelt," &c., is *chittâh* (חִטָּה; Chald. חִנטִין, *chintîn*). As to the former Hebrew terms see under CORN. The first mention of wheat occurs in Gen. xxx. 14, in the account of Jacob's sojourn with Laban in Mesopotamia. Much has been written on the subject of the origin of wheat, and the question appears to be still undecided. It is said that the *Triticum vulgare* has been found wild in some parts of Persia and Siberia, apparently removed from the influence of cultivation (*English Cyclop.* art. "Triticum"). Again, from the experiments of M. Esprit Fabre of Agde it would seem that the numerous varieties of cultivated wheat are merely improved transformations of *Aegilops ovata* (*Journal of the Royal Agricult. Soc*, No. xxxiii. p. 167-180). M. Fabre's experiments, however, have not been deemed conclusive by some botanists (see an interesting paper by the late Prof. Henfrey in No. xli. of the *Journal* quoted above). Egypt in ancient times was celebrated for the growth of its wheat; the best quality, according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xviii. 7), was grown in the Thebaid; it was all bearded, and the same varieties, Sir G. Wilkinson writes (*Anc. Egypt.* ii. 39, ed. 1854), "existed in ancient as in modern times, among which may be mentioned the seven-eared quality described in Pharaoh's dream" (Gen. xli. 22). This is the so-called mummy-wheat, which, it has been said, has germinated after the lapse of thousands of years; but it is now known that the whole thing was a fraud. Babylonia was also noted for the excellence of its wheat and other cereals. "In grain," says Herodotus (i. 193), "it will yield commonly two hundred fold, and at its greatest production as much as three hundred fold. The blades of the wheat and barley-plants are often four fingers broad." But this is a great exaggeration. (See also Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* viii. 7.) Modern writers, as Chesney and Rich, bear testimony to the great fertility of Mesopotamia. Syria and Palestine produced wheat of fine quality and in large quantities (Ps. cxlvii. 14, lxxxi. 16, &c.). There appear to be two or three kinds of wheat at present grown in Palestine, the *Triticum vulgare* (var. *hybernum*), the *T. spelta* [see RYE], and another variety of bearded wheat which appears to be the same as the Egyptian kind, the *T. compositum*. In the parable of the sower our Lord alludes to grains of wheat which in good ground produce a hundred fold (Matt. xiii. 8). "The return of a hundred for one," says Trench, "is not unheard of in the East, though always mentioned as something extraordinary." Laborde says "there is to be found at Kerek a species of hundred wheat which justifies the text of the Bible against the charges of exaggeration of which it has been the object." The common *Triticum vulgare* will sometimes produce one hundred grains in the ear. Wheat is reaped towards the end of April, in May, and in June, according to the differences of soil and position; it was sown either broadcast, and then ploughed in or trampled in by cattle (Is. xxxii. 20), or in rows, if we rightly understand Is. xxviii. 25, which seems to imply that the seeds were *planted* apart in order to insure larger and fuller ears. The wheat was put into the ground in the winter, and some time after the barley; in the Egyptian plague of hail, consequently, the barley suffered, but the wheat had not appeared, and so escaped injury. Wheat was ground into flour; the finest qualities were expressed by the term "fat of kidneys of wheat," חֵלֶב כִּלְיוֹת חִטָּה (Deut. xxxii. 14). Unripe ears are sometimes cut off from the stalks, roasted in an oven, masned and boiled, and eaten by the modern Egyptians (Sonnini, *Trav.*). Rosenmüller (*Botany of the Bible*, p. 80), with good reason, conjectures that this dish, which the Arabs call *Ferik*, is the same as the *geres carmel* (גֶּרֶשׂ כַּרְמֶל) of Lev. ii. 14 and 2 K. iv. 42. The Heb. word *Kâli* (קָלִי, Lev. ii. 14) denotes, it is probable, *roasted* ears of corn, still used as food in the East. An "ear of corn" was called *Shibbôleth* (שִׁבֹּלֶת), the word which betrayed the Ephraimites (Judg. xii. 1, 6), who were unable to give the sound of *sh*. The curious expression in Prov. xxvii. 22, "though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him," appears to point to the custom of mixing the grains of inferior cereals with wheat; the meaning will then be, "Let a fool be ever so much in the company of wise men, yet he will continue a fool." Maurer (*Comment.* l. c.) simply explains the passage thus: "Quomodocunque tractaveris stultum non patietur se emendari." [Compare articles CORN; AGRICULTURE; BARLEY.] [W. H.]

WHIRLWIND (סוּפָה; סְעָרָה). The Hebrew terms *sûphâh* and *se'ârâh* convey the notion of a violent wind or hurricane, the former because such a wind *sweeps away* every object it encounters, the latter because the objects so swept away are *tossed about* and *agitated*. In addition to this, Gesenius gives a similar sense to *galgal*,[a] in Ps. lxxvii. 18 (A. V. "heaven"), and Ez. x. 13 (A. V. "wheel"). Generally, however, this last term expresses one of the effects of such a storm in *rolling* along chaff, stubble, or such light articles (*Thes.* p. 288). It does not appear that any of the above terms express the specific notion of a *whirl*-wind, *i. e.* a gale moving violently round on its own axis—and there is no warrant for the use of the word in the A. V. of 2 K. ii. 11. The most violent winds in Palestine come from the east; and the passage in Job xxxvii. 9, which in the A. V. reads, "Out of the south cometh the whirlwind," should rather be rendered, "Out of his chamber," &c. The whirlwind is frequently used as a metaphor of violent and sweeping destruction. Cyrus' invasion of Babylonia is compared to a southerly gale coming out of the wilderness of Arabia (Is. xxi. 1; comp. Knobel, *in loc.*), the effects of which are most prejudicial in that country. Similar allusions occur in Ps. lviii. 9; Prov. i. 27, x. 25; Is. xl. 24 Dan. xi. 40. [W. L. B.]

WIDOW (אַלְמָנָה: χήρα: *vidua*). Under the Mosaic dispensation no legal provision was made for the maintenance of widows. They were left dependent partly on the affection of relations, more especially of the eldest son, whose birthright, or extra share of the property, imposed such a duty upon him, and partly on the privileges accorded to other distressed classes, such as a participation in the triennial third tithe (Deut. xiv. 29, xxvi. 12). in leasing (Deut. xxiv. 19-21), and in religious

[a] גִּלְגַּל.

feasts (Deut. xvi. 11, 14). In the spirit of these regulations a portion of the spoil taken in war was assigned to them (2 Macc. viii. 28, 30). A special prohibition was laid against taking a widow's garments in pledge (Deut. xxiv. 17), and this was practically extended to other necessaries (Job xxiv. 3). In addition to these specific regulations, the widow was commended to the care of the community (Ex. xxii. 22; Deut. xxvii. 19; Is. i. 17; Jer. vii. 6, xxii. 3; Zech. vii. 10), and any neglect or oppression was strongly reprobated (Job xxii. 9, xxiv. 21; Ps. xciv. 6; Is. x. 2; Ez. xxii. 7; Mal. iii. 5; Ecclus. xxxv. 14, 15; Bar. vi. 38; Matt. xxiii. 14). In times of danger widows were permitted to deposit their property in the treasury of the Temple (2 Macc. iii. 10). With regard to the remarriage of widows, the only restriction imposed by the Mosaic law had reference to the contingency of one being left childless, in which case the brother of the deceased husband had a right to marry the widow (Deut. xxv. 5, 6; Matt. xxii. 23-30). [MARRIAGE.] The high-priest was prohibited from marrying a widow, and in the ideal polity of the prophet Ezekiel the prohibition is extended to the ordinary priests (Ez. xliv. 22).

In the Apostolic Church the widows were sustained at the public expense, the relief being daily administered in kind, under the superintendence of officers appointed for this special purpose (Acts vi. 1-6). Particular directions are given by St. Paul as to the class of persons entitled to such public maintenance (1 Tim. v. 3-16). He would confine it to the "widow indeed" (*ἡ ὄντως χήρα*), whom he defines to be one who is left alone in the world (*μεμονωμένη*), without any relations or Christian friends responsible for her support (vers. 3-5, 16). Poverty combined with friendlessness thus formed the main criterion of eligibility for public support; but at the same time the character of the widow—her piety and trustfulness—was to be taken into account (ver. 5). Out of the body of such widows a certain number were to be enrolled (*καταλεγέσθω*; A. V. "taken into the number"), the qualifications for such enrolment being (1.) that they were not under sixty years of age; (2.) that they had been "the wife of one man," probably meaning *but once married*; and (3.) that they had led useful and charitable lives (vers. 9, 10). The object of the enrolment is by no means obvious. If we were to form our opinion solely on the qualifications above expressed, we should conclude that the enrolled widows formed an ecclesiastical order, having duties identical with or analogous to those of the deaconesses of the early Church. For why, if the object were of an eleemosynary character, should the younger or twice-married widows be excluded? The weight of modern criticism is undoubtedly in favour of the view that the enrolled widows held such an official position in the Church (Alford, De Wette, Lange, &c., in 1 Tim. v. 9, 10). But we can perceive no ground for isolating the passage relating to the enrolled widows from the context, or for distinguishing these from the "widows indeed" referred to in the preceding and succeeding verses. If the passage be read as a whole, then the impression derived from it will be that the enrolment was for an eleemosynary purpose, and that the main condition of enrolment was, as before, poverty. The very argument which has been adduced in favour of the opposite view, in reality equally favours this one; for why should unmarried or young women be excluded from an ecclesiastical order? The practice of the early Church proves that they were not excluded. The author of the *Apostolical Constitutions* lays down the rule that virgins should be generally, and widows only exceptionally, appointed to the office of deaconess (vi. 17, §4); and though the directions given to Timothy were frequently taken as a model for the appointment of deaconesses, yet there was great diversity of practice in this respect (Bingham's *Ant.* ii. 22, §§ 2-5). On the other hand, the restrictions contained in the Apostolic directions are not inconsistent with the eleemosynary view, if we assume, as is very possible, that the enrolled widows formed a *permanent* charge on the public funds, and enjoyed certain privileges by reason of their long previous services, while the remainder, who were younger, and might very possibly remarry, would be regarded in the light of temporary and casual recipients. But while we thus believe that the primary object of the enrolment was simply to enforce a more methodical administration of the Church funds, it is easy to understand how the order of widows would obtain a quasi-official position in the Church. Having already served a voluntary diaconate, and having exhibited their self-control by refraining from a second marriage, they would naturally be looked up to as models of piety to their sex, and would belong to the class whence deaconesses would be chiefly drawn. Hence we find the term "widow" (*χήρα*) used by early writers in an extended sense, to signify the adoption of the conditions by which widows, enrolled as such, were bound for the future. Thus Ignatius speaks of "virgins who were called widows" (*παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας*; *Ep. ad Smyrn.* 13); and Tertullian records the case of a virgin who was placed on the roll of widows (*in viduatu*) while yet under twenty years of age (*De Vel. Virg.* 9). It is a further question in what respect these virgins were called "widows." The annotations on Ignatius regard the term as strictly equivalent to "deaconess" (*Patres Apost.* ii. 441, ed. Jacobson), but there is evidently another sense in which it may be used, viz. as betokening *celibacy*, and such we believe to have been its meaning, inasmuch as the abstract term *χηρεία* is used in the sense of *continence, or unmarried state*, in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (*παρθένος μὴ φέρουσα τὴν ἐν νεότητι χηρείαν*; *δῶρον ἔχουσα χηρείας*, iii. 1, §§1, 2). We are not therefore disposed to identify the widows of the Bible either with the deaconesses or with the *πρεσβύτιδες* of the early Church, from each of which classes they are distinguished in the work last quoted (ii. 57, §8, viii. 13, §4). The order of widows (*τὸ χηρικόν*) existed as a separate institution, contemporaneously with these offices, apparently for the same eleemosynary purpose for which it was originally instituted (*Const. Apost.* iii. 1, §1, iv. 5, §1). [W. L. B.]

WIFE. [MARRIAGE.]

WILD BEASTS. [BEASTS, Appendix A.]

WILDERNESS OF THE WANDERING. The historical magnitude of the Exodus as an event, including in that name not only the exit from Egypt, but the passage of the sea and desert, and the entry into Canaan, and the strange scenery in which it was enacted, no less than the miraculous agency sustained throughout forty years, has given to this locality an interest which is heightened, if possible, by the constant retrospect taken by the great Teacher of the New Testament and His apos

ties, of this portion of the history of the race of Israel, as full of spiritual lessons necessary for the Christian Church throughout all ages. Hence this region, which physically is, and has probably been for three thousand years or more, little else than a barren waste, has derived a moral grandeur and obtained a reverential homage which has spread with the diffusion of Christianity. Indeed, to Christian, Jew, and Moslem it is alike holy ground. The mystery which hangs over by far the greater number of localities, assigned to events even of first-rate magnitude, rather inflames than allays the eagerness for identification; and the result has been a larger array of tourists than has probably ever penetrated any other country of equal difficulty. Burckhardt, Niebuhr, Seetzen, Laborde and Linant, Rüppell, Raumer, Russegger, Lepsius, Henniker, Wellsted, Fazakerley, and Miss Martineau, are conspicuous amongst those who have contributed since the close of the last century to deepen, to vivify, and to correct our impressions, besides the earlier works of Monconys in the 17th century, and Hasselquist and Pococke in the 18th; whilst Wilson, Stewart, Bartlett, Bonar, Olin, Bertou, Robinson, and Stanley, have added a rich detail of illustration reaching to the present day. And thus it is at length "possible by the internal evidence of the country itself to lay down, not indeed the actual route of the Israelites in every stage, but in almost all cases, the main alternatives between which we must choose, and in some cases, the very spots themselves." Yet with all the material which now lies at the disposal of the topographical critic, there is often a real poverty of evidence where there seems to be an abundance; and the single lines of information do not weave up into a fabric of clear knowledge. "Hitherto no one traveller has traversed more than one, or at most two routes of the Desert, and thus the determination of these questions has been obscured; first, by the tendency of every one to make the Israelites follow his own track; and secondly, by his inability to institute a just comparison between the facilities or difficulties which attend the routes which he has not seen. This obscurity will always exist till some competent traveller has explored the whole Peninsula. When this has been fairly done, there is little doubt that some of the most important topographical questions now at issue will be set at rest" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 33).

I. The uncertainties commence from the very starting-point of the route of the Wandering. It is impossible to fix the point at which in "the wilderness of Etham" (Num. xxxiii. 6, 7) Israel, now a nation of freemen, emerged from that sea into which they had passed as a nation of slaves. But, slippery as is the physical ground for any fixture of the miracle to a particular spot, we may yet admire the grandeur and vigour of the image of baptism which Christianity has appropriated from those waters. There their freedom was won; "not of themselves, it was the gift of God," whose Presence visibly preceded, and therefore St. Paul says, "they were baptized in the cloud," and not only "in the sea." The fact that from "Etham in the edge of the wilderness," their path struck across the sea (Ex. xiii. 20), and from the sea into the same wilderness of Etham, seems to indicate the upper end of the furthest tongue of the Gulf of Suez as the point of crossing, for here, as is probable, rather than lower down the same, the district on either side would for a short distance on both shores have the same name. There seems reason also to think that this gulf had then, as also at Ezion-Geber [EZIONGEBER], a further extension northward than at present, owing to the land having upheaved its level. This action seems to have been from early times the predominant one, and traces of it have recently been observed.[a] Thus it is probable as a result of the same agency that the sea was even then shallow, and the sudden action of a tidal sea in the *cul-de-sac* of a narrow and shallow gulf is well-known. Our own Solway Firth is a familiar example of the rise and rush of water, surprising at times, especially when combined with the action of a strong wind, even those habitually cognizant of its power. Similarly by merely venturing, it seems, below high-water mark, our own King John lost his baggage, regalia, and treasures in the estuary of The Wash. Pharaoh's exclamation, "they are entangled (נְבֻכִים)[b] in the land," merely expresses the perplexity in which such a multitude having, from whatever cause, no way of escape, would find themselves. "The wilderness hath shut them in," refers merely, it is probable, to his security in the belief that, having reached the flat of the waste, they were completely at the mercy of a chariot force, like his, and rather excludes than implies the notion of mountains.[c] The direction of the wind is "east" in the Hebrew (בְּרוּחַ קָדִים), but in the LXX. "south" (*νότῳ*), in Ex. xiv. 21. On a local question the probable authority of the latter, executed in Egypt near the spot, is somewhat enhanced above its ordinary value. The furthest tongue of the gulf, now supposed dry, narrows to a strait some way below, *i. e.* south of its northern extremity, as given in Laborde's map (*Commentary on Exod.*), and then widens again.[d] In such a narrow pass the action of the water would be strongest when "the sea returned," and here a wind anywhere between E.[e] and S.S.E., to judge from that map, would produce nearly the same effect; only the more nearly due E. the more it would meet the sea at right angles.[e] The probability is certainly that Pharaoh, seeing his bondmen, now all but within his clutch, yet escaping from it, would in the darkness of night, especially as he had spurned calmer counsels and remonstrances before, pursue with headlong rashness, even although, to a sober judgment guided by experience, the risk was plain.

[a] See a pamphlet by Charles T. Beke, Ph.D., "A Few Words with Bishop Colenso," 4, 5.

[b] Compare the use of the same word, of a multitude of men or cattle, in Joel, i. 18, to express *ἐν ἀπορίᾳ εἶναι*, without reference to egress or direction of course, merely for want of food.

[c] Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 15, §3) speaks of the obstruction of precipitous and impassable mountains, but when we consider his extravagant language of the height of the buildings of the temple, it is likely that much more, when speaking in general terms of a spot so distant, such expressions may be set down as simply rhetorical.

[d] Dr. Stanley (*S. & P.* 36) thinks that this supposed extension "depends on arguments which have not yet been thoroughly explored."

[e] If the wind were direct S. it would at some points favour the notion that "the passage was not a transit but a short circuit, returning again to the Egyptian shore, and then pursuing their way round the head of the gulf," an explanation favoured "by earlier Christian commentators, and by almost all the Rabbinical writers" (*S. & P.* 36). The landing-place would on this view be considerably north of the point of entering the sea.

There is a resemblance in the names Migdol and the "ancient 'Magdolum,' twelve miles S. of Pelusium, and undoubtedly described as 'Migdol' by Jeremiah and Ezekiel" (Jer. xliv. 1, xlvi. 14; Ezek. xxix. 10, xxx. 6; *S. & P.* 37), also between the same and the modern *Mŭktala*, "a gentle slope through the hills" towards Suez; and Pi-Hahiroth perhaps is *'Ajrûd*. The "wilderness of Etham" probably lay on either side adjacent to the now dry trough of the northern end of the gulf. Dr. Stewart (*Tent and Khan*, 64) thinks the name Etham traceable in the *Wady Ahthi*, on the Arabian shore, but this and the preceding *'Ajrûd* are of doubtful identity. The probability seems on the whole to favour the notion that the crossing lay to the N. of the *Jebel 'Atâkah*, which lies on the Egyptian side S. of Suez, and therefore neither the *Ayûn Mûsa*,[g] nor, much less, the *Hummâm Pharaûn*, further down on the eastern shore—each of which places, as well as several others, claims in local legend to be the spot of landing—will suit. Still, these places, or either of them, may be the region where "Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea-shore" (Ex. xiv. 30). The crossing-place from the Egyptian *Wady Tawârik* to the *'Ayûn Mûsa* has been supported, however, by Wilson, Olin, Dr. Stewart (*Tent and Khan*, 56), and others. The notion of *Mŭktala* being Migdol will best suit the previous view of the more northerly passage. The "wilderness of Shur," into which the Israelites "went out" from the Red Sea, appears to be the eastern and south-eastern continuation of that of Etham, for both in Ex. xv. 22, and in Num. xxxiii. 8, they are recorded to have "gone three days in the wilderness," indicated respectively in the two passages as that of Shur and that of Etham. From the expression in Ex. xiii. 20, "Etham, the edge of the wilderness," the habitable region would seem to have ended at that place. Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 7, §3) seems to identify Pelusium with Shur, comp. 1 Sam. xv. 7; but probably, he merely uses the former term in an approximate sense, as a landmark well-known to his readers; since Shur is described as "over against, or before, Egypt" (Gen. xxv. 18), being perhaps the same as Sihor, similarly spoken of in Josh. xiii. 3; Jer. ii. 18. When so described, we may understand "Egypt" to be taken in a strict sense as excluding Goshen and the Arabian nome. [GOSHEN.] Shur "before Egypt," whatever the name may have meant, must probably be viewed as lying eastward of a line drawn from Suez to Pelusium; and the wilderness named from it or from Etham, extended three days' journey (for the Israelites) from the head of the gulf, if not more. It is evident that, viewed from Egypt, the wilderness might easily take its name from the last outpost of the habitable region, whether town or village, whereas in other aspects it might have a name of its own, from some landmark lying in it. Thus the Egyptians may have known it as connected with Etham, and the desert inhabitants as belonging to Shur; while from his residence in Egypt and sojourn with Jethro, both names may have been familiar to Moses. However this may be, from Suez eastward, the large desert tract, stretching as far east as the Ghor and Mount Seir, *i. e.* from 32° 40′ to 35° 10′ E. long., begins. The 31st parallel of latitude, nearly traversing *El 'Arish*, the "River of Egypt," on the Mediterranean, and the southernmost extremity of the Dead Sea, may be taken roughly to represent its northern limit, where it really merges imperceptibly into the "south country" of Judah. It is scarcely called in Scripture by any one general name, but the "wilderness of Paran" most nearly approximates to such a designation, though lost, short of the Egyptian or western limit, in the wilderness of Shur, and perhaps, although not certainly, curtailed eastward by that of Zin. On the south side of the *et-Tîh* range, a broad angular band runs across the Peninsula with its apex turned southward, and pointing towards the central block of granite mountains. This is a tract of sand known as the *Debbet er-Ramleh* or *Ramlah*, but which name is omitted in Kiepert's map. The long horizontal range and the sandy plain together form a natural feature in marked contrast with the pyramidal configuration of the southern or Sinaitic region. The "wilderness of Sinai" lies of course in that southern region, in that part which, although generally elevated, is overhung by higher peaks. How far this wilderness extended is uncertain. The Israelites only traversed the north-western region of it. The "wilderness of Sin" was their passage into it from the more pleasant district of coast Wadys with water-springs which succeeded to the first-traversed wilderness of Shur or Etham, where no water was found. Sin may probably be identified with the coast strip, now known as *el-Kâa*, reaching from a little above the *Jebel Feirân*, or as nearly as possible on the 29th parallel of latitude,[h] down to and beyond *Tûr* on the Red Sea. They seem to have only dipped into the "Sin" region at its northern extremity, and to have at once moved from the coast towards the N.W. upon Sinai (Ex. xv. 22-27, xvi. 1; Num. xxxiii. 8-11). It is often impossible to assign a distinct track to this vast body—a nation swarming on the march. The fact, of many, perhaps most, of the ordinary avenues being incapable of containing more than a fraction of them, would often have compelled them to appropriate all or several of the modes of access to particular points, between the probabilities of which the judgment of travellers is balanced.[h] Down the coast, however,

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A warm spring, the temperature of which is given by Mr. Hamilton (*Sinaï, the Hedjaz and Soudan*, 14) as being 83° Fahrenheit. "Robinson found the water here salt, and yielding a hard deposit, yet the Arabs called these springs 'sweet:' there are several of them" (Seetzen, *Reisen*, iii. pt. iii. 431). The *Hummâm* ("warm baths") *Pharaûn* are similar springs, lying a little W. of S. from *Wady Useit*, on the coast close to whose edge rises the precipitous *Jebel Hummâm*, so called from them, and here intercepting the path along the shore. The Rev. R. S. Tyrwhitt, who made the desert journey in February, 1863, says that there *may* be a warm spring out of the twelve or thirteen which form the *Ayûn Mûsa*, but that the water of the larger well is cold, and that he drank of it.

[g] North of this limit lies the most southern wady which has been fixed upon by any considerable number of authorities for Elim, from which the departure was taken into the wilderness of Sin. Seetzen, but he alone, suggests that Elim is to be found in a warm spring in a northerly direction from *Tûr*, at a very slight distance, which waters the extensive date-palm plantations there. If this were so *Tûr* itself would have certainly been included in the radius of the camp; but it is unlikely that they went so far south.

[h] It may be worth while to notice that the same observations apply to the battle in Rephidim with Amalek. To look about for a battle-field large enough to give sufficient space for two hosts worthy of representing Israel and Amalek, and to reject all sites where this possibility is not obvious, is an unsafe method of criticism

from Etham or the Suez region southwards, the course is broad and open, and there the track would be more definite and united. Before going into the further details of this question, a glance may be taken at the general configuration of the *et-Tîh* region, computed at 40 parasangs, or about 140 miles, in length, and the same in breadth by Jakût, the famous geographer of Hamah (Seetzen, *Reisen*, iii. 47). For a description of the rock desert of Sinai, in which nature has cast, as it were, a pyramid of granite, culminating at *Um Shaumer*, 9300 feet above sea-level, but cloven and sulcated in every direction by wadys into minor blocks, see SINAI.

II. The twin Gulfs of Suez and 'Akabah, into which the Red Sea separates, embrace the Peninsula on its W. and E. sides respectively. One or other of them is in sight from almost all the summits of the Sinaitic cluster, and from the highest points both branches. The eastern coast of the Gulf of Suez is strewn with shells, and with the forests of submarine vegetation which possibly gave the whole sea its Hebrew appellation of the "Sea of Weeds." The "huge trunks" of its "trees of coral may be seen even on the dry shore;" while at *Tûr*, cabins are formed of madrepores gathered from it, and the *débris* of conchylia lie thickly heaped on the beach.[i] Similar "coralline forests" are described (*S. and P.* 83) as marking the coast of the Gulf of 'Akabah. The northern portion of the whole Peninsula is a plateau bounded southwards by the range of *et-Tîh*, which droops across it on the map with a curve somewhat like that of a slack chain, whose points of suspension are, westwards, Suez, and eastward, but further south, some "sandstone cliffs, which shut off"[k] this region from the Gulf of 'Akabah. The north-western member of this chain converges with the shore of the Gulf of Suez, till the two run nearly parallel. Its eastern member throws off several fragments of long and short ridges towards the Gulf of 'Akabah and the northern plateau called from it *et-Tîh*. The *Jebel Dillât* (Burckhardt, *Dhelel*) is the most southerly of the continuations of this eastern member (Seetzen, *Reisen*, iii. pt. iii. 413). The greatest elevation in the *et-Tîh* range is attained a little W. of the meridian 34°, near its most southerly point; it is here 4654 feet above the Mediterranean. From this point the watershed of the plateau runs obliquely between N. and E. towards Hebron; westward of which line, and northward from the westerly member of *Jebel et-Tîh*, the whole wady-system is drained by the great *Wady el-'Arish*, along a gradual slope to the Mediterranean. The shorter and much steeper slope eastward partly converges into the large ducts of *Wadys Fikreh* and *el-Jeib*, entering the Dead Sea's south-western angle through the southern wall of the Ghôr, and partly finds an outlet nearly parallel, but further to the S., by the *Wady Jerafeh* into the 'Arabah. The great depression of the Dead Sea (1300 feet below the Mediterranean) explains the greater steepness of this eastern slope. In crossing this plateau, Seetzen found that rain and wind had worked depressions in parts of its flat, which contained a few shrubs or isolated bushes. This flat rose here and there in heights steep on one side, composed of white chalk with frequent lumps of flint embedded (iii. 48). The plateau has a central point in the station [m] *Khan Nûkhl*, so named from the date-trees which once adorned its wady, but which have all disappeared. This point is nearly equidistant from Suez westward, 'Akabah eastward, *el-'Arish* northward, and the foot of *Jebel Mûsa* southward. It lies half a mile N. of the "Hadj-route," between Suez and 'Akabah, which traverses "a boundless flat, dreary and desolate" (*ibid.* 56), and is 1494 [n] feet above the Mediterranean—nearly on the same meridian as the highest point before assigned to *et-Tîh*. On this meridian also lies *Um Shaumer* farther south, the highest point of the entire Peninsula, having an elevation of 9300 feet, or nearly double that of *et-Tîh*. A little to the W. of the same meridian lies *el-'Arish*, and the southern cape, *Rûs Mohammed*, is situated about 34° 17′. Thus the parallel 31°, and the meridian 34°, form important axes of the whole region of the Peninsula. A full description of the wilderness of *et-Tîh* is given by Dr. Robinson (i. 177, 8, 199), together with a memorandum of the travellers who explored it previously to himself.

On the eastern edge of the plateau to the N. of the *et-Tîh* range, which is raised terrace-wise by a step from the level of the Ghôr, rises a singular second, or, reckoning that level itself, a third plateau, superimposed on the general surface of the *et-Tîh* region. These Russegger (*Map*) distinguishes as three terraces in the chalk ridges. Dr. Kruse, in his *Anmerkungen* on Seetzen's travels (iii. pt. iii. 410), remarks that the *Jebel et-Tîh* is the *montes nigri*, or μέλανες of Ptolemy, in whose view that range descends to the extreme southern point of the Peninsula, thus including of course the Sinaitic region. This confusion arose from a want of distinct conception of geographical details. The name seems to have been obtained from the dark, or even black colour, which is observable in parts (see p. 1750, note [r]).

The Hadj-route from Suez to 'Akabah, crossing the Peninsula in a direction a little S. of E., may stand for the chord of the arc of the *et-Tîh* range the length of which latter is about 120 miles. This slope, descending northwards upon the Mediterranean, is of limestone (*S. and P.* 7), covered with coarse gravel interspersed with black flints and drift (Russegger's *Map*). But its desolation has not always been so extreme, oxen, asses, and sheep having once grazed in parts of it where now only the camel is found. Three passes through the *et-Tîh* range are mentioned by Robinson (i. p. 123; comp. 561-3, App. xxii.)—*er-Râkineh*, the western; *el-Mureikhy*, the eastern; and *el-Wûrsah*, between

The most reticulated mass of wadys in the whole peninsula, if deemed worth fighting for, would form a battle-ground for all practical purposes, though not properly a "field" of battle, and the battle might decisively settle supremacy within certain limits, although no regular method of warfare might be applicable, and the numbers actually engaged might be inconsiderable. It would perhaps resemble somewhat more closely a street fight for the mastery of a town.

[i] Stanley, *S. & P.* 5; Hamilton, *Sinai, the Hedjaz, and Soudan*, 14.

[k] Stanley, *S. & P.* 8.

[m] Seetzen, who crossed this route 6 hours to the E. of this station, says that this road, and not the range of *et-Tîh*, is the political division of the country, all the country to the S. of the road being reckoned as the *Tûr*, and that northwards as appertaining to Syria (*Reisen*, iii. 410-11, comp. p. 58). His course lay between the route from Hebron to 'Akabah, and that from Hebron to Suez. He went straight southwards to *Feirân*; a route which no traveller has followed since.

[n] This measurement is a mean between that given in Stanley (map, *S. & P.* 5), and Russegger's estimate, as given by Seetzen (*Reisen*, iii. pt. iii. 411).

the two. These all meet S. of *Ruhaibeh* (Rehoboth, Gen. xxvi. 22 ?), in about N. lat. 31° 5′, E. long. 34° 42′, and thence diverge towards Hebron and Gaza. The eastern[o] is noted by Russegger as 4853 feet[p] above sea-level. Seetzen took the *et-Tîh* range for the "Mount Seir," passed on the way from Sinai (Horeb, Deut. i. 2) to Kadesh Barnea by the Israelites (*Reisen*, iii. 28; comp. *ibid.* Kruse's *Anmerkungen*, pt. iii. 417). It would form a conspicuous object on the left to the Israelites, going south-eastwards near the coast of the Gulf of Suez. Seetzen, proceeding towards Suez, *i. e.* in the opposite direction, mentions a high sandy plain (*Reisen*, iii. p. 111), apparently near *Wady Ghŭrŭndel*, whence its steep southern face was visible in a white streak stretching westwards and eastwards. Dr. Stanley (*S. and P.* 7) says, "however much the other mountains of the Peninsula vary in form or height, the mountains of the Tîh are always alike—always faithful to their tabular outline and blanched desolation."[q] They appear like "a long limestone wall." This traveller saw them, however, only "from a distance" (*ibid.* and note 2). Seetzen, who crossed them, going from Hebron to Sinai, says of the view from the highest ridge of the lower mountain-line: "What a landscape was that I looked down upon! On all sides the most frightful wilderness extended out of sight in every direction, without tree, shrub, or speck of green. It was an alternation of flats and hills, for the most part black as night, only the naked rock-walls on the hummocks and heights showed patches of dazzling whiteness[r] . . . . a striking image of our globe, when, through Phaeton's carelessness, the sun came too near to it" (*Reisen*, iii. p. 50). Similarly, describing the scenery of the *Wady el-Biâra*, by which he passed the *et-Tîh* range (see note[o] below), he says: "On the S. side rose a considerable range, desolate, craggy, and naked. All was limestone, chalk, and flint. The chalk cliffs gave the steep off-set of the *Tîh* range on its S. side the aspect of *a snow mountain*" (p. 62).

The other routes which traverse the Peninsula are, that from Hebron to Suez along the maritime plain, at a distance of from 10 to 30 miles from the sea, passing *el-'Arish*; that from Suez to *Tûr* along the coast of the Gulf of Suez through the *Kâa*; and that from 'Akabah, near Eziongeber, ascending the western wall of the 'Arabah through the *Wady el-Jeib*, by several passes, not far from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, towards Hebron, in a course here nearly N.W., then again N.[s] A modern mountain road has been partially constructed by Abbas Pasha in the pass of the *Wady Hebrân*, leading from the coast of the Gulf of Suez towards the convent commonly called St. Catharine's. The ascent from the trough of the 'Arabah (which is steeper-sided at its N.W. extremity than elsewhere), towards the general plateau is by the pass *el-Khŭrâr*, by which the level of that broad surface is attained. The smaller plateau rests obliquely upon the latter, abutting on the Dead Sea at Masada, where its side and that of the lower floor converge, and is reached by ascending through the higher *Nukb es-Sŭfa*. Its face, corresponding to the southern face of the *Tîh* plateau, looks considerably to the W. of S., owing to this obliquity, and is delineated like a well-defined mountain-wall in Kiepert's map, having at the S.E. angle a bold buttress in the *Jebel Mŭkhrâh*, and at the S.W. another in the *Jebel 'Arâif en-Nakah*, which stands out apparently in the wilderness like a promontory at sea. From the former mountain, its most southerly point, at about 30° 20′ N. L., the plateau extends northward a little east, till it merges in the southern slope of Judea, but at about 30° 50′ N. L., is cut nearly through by the *Wady Fikreh*, trenching its area eastward, and not quite meeting the *Wady Mŭrrâh*, which has its declivity apparently toward the *Wady el-'Arish* westward. The face of mountain-wall mentioned above may probably be "the mountain of the Amorites," or this whole higher plateau may be so (Deut. i. 7, 19, 20). A line drawn northwards from *Râs Mohammed* passes a little to the W. of *'Arâif en-Nakah*. A more precise description of some parts of this plateau has been given under KADESH.

On the whole, except in the *Debbet er-Ramleh*, sand is rare in the Peninsula. There is little or none on the sea-shore, and the plain *el-Kâa* on the S.W. coast is gravelly rather than sandy (*S. and P.* 8). Of sandstone on the edges of the granitic central mass there is no lack.[t] It is chiefly found between the chalk and limestone of *et-Tîh* and the southern rocky triangle of Sinai. Thus the *Jebel Dillâl* is of sandstone, in tall vertical cliffs, forming the boundary of *er-Ramleh* on the east side, and similar steep sandstone cliffs are visible in the same plain, lying on its N. and N.W. sides (Seetzen, iii. 66; comp. pt. iii. 413). In the *Wady Mokatteb* "the soft surface of these sandstone cliffs offered ready tablets" to the unknown wayfarers who wrote the "Sinaitic inscriptions." This stone gives in some parts a strong red hue to the nearer landscape, and softens into shades of the subtlest delicacy in the distance. Where the surface has been broken away, or fretted and eaten by the action of water, these hues are most vivid (*S. and P.* 10-12). It has been supposed that the Egyptians worked the limestone of *et-Tîh*, and that that material, as found in the pyramids, was there quarried. The hardness of the granite in the *Jebel et-Tûr* has been em-

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[o] Seetzen probably took this eastern pass, which leads out into the *Wady Berâh* (Seetzen, *El Biâra*, called also *El Schâide*, *Reisen*, iii. pt. iii. 411, Kruse's *Anmerkungen*, comp. iii. 62). He, however, shortly before crossing the range, came upon "a flat hill yielding wholesome pasture for camels, considerable numbers (Haufen) of which are met with here, also two herds of goats and some sheep" (iii. 60); not strictly confirming the previous statement, which is Dr. Robinson's.

[p] It is not easy to reconcile this statement with the figure (4645 ft.) given by Dr. Stanley (*S. & P.*, map, p. 5) apparently as the extreme height of the mountain *El-Odjme* (Stanley, *J. Edime*), since we might expect that the pass would be somewhat *lower* than the highest point, instead of *higher*. On this mountain, see p. 1767, note i.

[q] Seetzen (iii. 56) remarks that "the slope of the *et-Tîh* range shows an equal wildness" to that of the desert on its northern side.

[r] Comp. Dr. Stanley's description of the march down the *Wady Tayibeh* "between vast cliffs white on the one side, and on the other of a black calcined colour" (*S. & P.* 69).

[s] Nearly following this track in the opposite direction, i. e. to the S.E., Seetzen went from Hebron to *Mâara* (al. *Madurah*, or *Modera*), passing by *Maon*, *el-Kirmel* (the "Carmel" of Nabal's pasture-ground in 1 Sam. xxv. 2), and *Arûr* (*Reisen*, iii. 10-18).

[t] A remarkable sandstone mountain on the S.W. plain near the sea is the *Jebel Nakûs* ("bell"), said to be so called from the ringing sound made by the sand pouring over its cliffs (Stewart, *T. & K.* 386, comp. Russegger *Reisen*, iii. 277).

phatically noticed by travellers. Thus, in constructing recently the mountain road for Abbas Pasha, "the rocks" were found "obstinately to resist even the gunpowder's blast," and the sharp glass-like edges of the granite soon wear away the workmen's shoes and cripple their feet (Hamilton, *Sinai, the Hedjaz, and Soudan*, 17). Similarly, Laborde says (*Comm. on Num.* xxxiii. 36): "In my journey across that country (from Egypt, through Sinai to the Ghôr), I had carried from Cairo two pair of shoes; they were cut, and my feet came through; when I arrived at 'Akabah, luckily I found in the magazines of that fortress two other pair to replace them. On my return to Sinai, I was barefoot again. Hussein then procured me sandals half an inch thick, which, on my arrival in Cairo, themselves were reduced to nothing, though they had well-preserved my feet." Seetzen noticed on Mount St. Catherine that the granite was "fine-grained and very firm" (iii. 90). For the area of greatest relief in the surface of the whole Peninsula, see SINAI, §1, 2, 3. The name *Jebel et-Tûr* includes the whole cluster of mountains from *el-Fureiâ* on the N. to *Um Shaumer* on the S., and from *Mûsa* and *ed-Deir* on the E. to *Hum'r* and *Serbâl* on the W., including St. Catherine, nearly S.W. of *Mûsa*. By "Sinai" is generally understood the *Mûsa* plateau, between the *Wady Ledjâ* (Stanley, *Map*) and the *Wady Shueib* on its western and north-eastern flanks, and bounded north-westward by the *Wady er-Raheh*, and south-eastward by the *Wady Sebâyeh* (*Sebaiyeh*, Stanley, *ib.*). The Arabs give the name of *Tûr*—properly meaning a high mountain (Stanley, *S. and P.* 8)—to the whole region south of the Hadj-route from Suez to *'Akabah* as far as *Râs-Mohammed* (see above, p. 1749, note[m]). The name of *Tûr* is also emphatically given to the cultivable region lying S.W. of the *Jebel et-Tûr*. Its fine and rich date-palm plantation lies a good way southwards down the Gulf of Suez. Here opens on the sea the most fertile wady now to be found in the Peninsula (Burckhardt, *Arab.* ii. 362; Wellsted, ii. 9), receiving all the waters which flow down the range of Sinai westward[a] (Stanley, *S. and P.* 19).

III. A most important general question, after settling the outline of this "wilderness," is the extent to which it is capable of supporting animal and human life, especially when taxed by the consumption of such flocks and herds as the Israelites took with them from Egypt, and probably—though we know not to what extent this last was supplied by the manna—by the demand made on its resources by a host of from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 souls.[v] In answer to this question, "much," it has been observed (*S. and P.* 24), "may be allowed for the spread of the tribes of Israel far and wide through the whole Peninsula, and also for the constant means of support from their own flocks and herds Something, too, might be elicited from the undoubted fact that a population nearly, if not quite, equal to the whole permanent population of the Peninsula does actually pass through the desert, in the caravan of the 5000 African Pilgrims, on their way to Mecca. But, amongst these considerations, it is important to observe what indications there may be of the mountains of Sinai having ever been able to furnish greater resources than at present. These indications are well summed up by Ritter (*Sinai*, pp. 926, 927). There is no doubt that the vegetation of the wadys has considerably decreased. In part, this would be an inevitable effect of the violence of the winter torrents. The trunks of palm-trees washed up on the shore of the Dead Sea, from which the living tree has now for many centuries disappeared, show what may have been the devastation produced among those mountains where the floods, especially in earlier times, must have been violent to a degree unknown in Palestine; whilst the peculiar cause—the impregnation of salt—which has preserved the vestiges of the older vegetation there, has here, of course, no existence. The traces of such a destruction were pointed out to Burckhardt (*Arab.* 538) on the eastern side of Mount Sinai, as having occurred within half a century before his visit; also to Wellsted (ii. 15), as having occurred near Tûr in 1832. In part, the same result has followed from the reckless waste of the Bedouin tribes—reckless in destroying and careless in replenishing. A fire, a pipe, lit under a grove of desert trees, may clear away the vegetation of a whole valley.

"The acacia[x] trees have been of late years ruthlessly destroyed by the Bedouins for the sake of charcoal," which forms "the chief, perhaps it might be said the only traffic of the Peninsula" (*S. and P.* 24). Thus, the clearance of this tree in the mountains where it abounded once, and its decrease in the neighbour groups in which it exists still, is accounted for, since the monks appear to have aided the devastation. Vegetation, where maintained, nourishes water and keeps alive its own life; and no attempts to produce vegetation anywhere in this desert seem to have failed. "The gardens at the wells of Moses, under the French and English agents from Suez, and the gardens in the valleys of Jebel Mûsa, under the care of the Greek monks of the Convent of St. Catherine," are conspicuous examples (*Ib.* 26). Besides, a traveller

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[a] The following positions by East longitude from Paris are given in Seetzen, iii. pt. iii., *Anmerk.* 414:—

Suez, 29° 57′ 30″, Berghaus.
'Akabah, 28° 45′, Niebuhr; but 28° 55′ by others.
Convent St. Catherine, 28° 36′ 40″ 5‴, Seetzen and Zach; but 31° 37′ 54″ by Rüppell.
Sinai, 28° 46′.
Râs Mohammed, 27° 43′ 24″.

But there must be grave errors in the figures, since Suez is placed furthest to the east of all the places named, whereas it lies furthest to the west; also 'Akabah lies an entire degree, by Kiepert's map, to the east of the Convent, whereas it is here put at less than 9′; and *Râs Mohammed*, which lies further to the east than all these except 'Akabah, is placed to the west of them all.

[v] Dr. Stanley (*S. & P.* 24, note 1), following Ewald (*Geschichte*, ii. 61, 253, 259, 2nd edit.), says, "the most recent and the most critical investigation of this (the Israelitish) history inclines to adopt the numbers of 600,000 (males of the warlike age) as authentic."

[x] Dr. Stanley (25) thinks the ark and wooden utensils of the Tabernacle were of this timber. Seetzen (iii. 109) saw no trees nearly big enough for such service, and thinks it more probable that the material was obtained by purchase from travelling caravans; but it is not clear whether he thinks that the tree (*Mimosa Nilotica*) is in this wilderness below its usual size, or that not this but something else is the "Shittim-wood" of the A. V.

[y] So called, but the proper name appears to be τῆς ἁγίας μεταμορφώσεως, *i. e.* the Transfiguration of our Lord, represented in the great mosaic of Justinian, in the apse of its church, probably of his age, as is also the name (Tyrwhitt). The transfer of the body of St. Catherine thither from Egypt by angels is only one of the local legends; but its association appears to have predominated with travellers (Seetzen, iii. pt. iii. 414, 5).

in the 16th century calls the *Wady er-Raheh* in front of the Convent, now entirely bare, "a vast *green* plain."[a] In this wilderness, too, abode Amalek, "the first of the nations," powerful enough seriously to imperil the passage of the Israelites through it, and importantly contributing to subsequent history under the monarchy. Besides whom we have "king Arad the Canaanite, who dwelt in the south," *i. e.* apparently on the terrace of mountain overhanging the Ghôr near Masada on the Dead Sea, in a region now wholly desolate. If his people were identical with the Amorites or Canaanites of Num. xiv. 43; Deut. i. 44, then, besides the Amalekites of Ex. xvii. 8, we have *one* other host within the limits of what is now desert, who fought with Israel on equal or superior terms; and, if they are not identical, we have *two* such (Num. xiv. 40-45, xxi. 1, xxxiii. 40; Deut. i. 43, 44). These must have been "something more than a mere handful of Bedouins. The Egyptian coppermines, monuments, and hieroglyphics in *Sûrâbît el-Khadîm* and the *Wady Mûghâra*, imply a degree of intercourse between Egypt and the Peninsula" in a period probably older than the Exodus, "of which all other traces have long ceased. The ruined cities of Edom in the mountains east of the 'Arabah, and the remains and history of Petra itself, indicate a traffic and a population in these remote regions which now is almost inconceivable" (*S. & P.* 26). Even the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. showed traces of habitation, some of which still remain in ruined cells and gardens, &c., far exceeding the tale told by present facts. Seetzen, in what is perhaps as arid and desolate a region as any in the whole desert, asked his guide to mention all the neighbouring places whose names he knew. He received a list of sixty-three places in the neighbourhood of Madûrah, Petra, and 'Akabah, and of twelve more in the *Ghôr es-Saphia*, of which total of seventy-five all save twelve are now abandoned to the desert, and have retained nothing save their names —"a proof," he remarks, "that in very early ages this region was extremely populous, and that the furious rage with which the Arabs, both before and after the age of Mahomet, assailed the Greek emperors, was able to convert into a waste this blooming region, extending from the limit of the Hedjaz to the neighbourhood of Damascus" (*Reisen*, iii. 17, 18).

Thus the same traveller in the same journey from Hebron to *Madûrah*) entered a Wady called *el-Jemen*, where was no trace of water save moist spots in the sand, but on making a hole with the hand it was quickly full of water, good and drinkable (*ib.* 13). The same, if saved in a cistern, and served out by sluices, might probably have clothed the bare wady with verdure. This is confirmed by his remark (*ibid.* 83), that a blooming vegetation shows itself in this climate wherever there is water; as well as by the example of the tank system as practised in Hindostan. He also notices that there are quicksands in many spots of the *Debbet er-Ramleh*, which it is difficult to understand, unless as caused by accumulations of water (*ibid.* 67). Similarly in the desert *Wady el-Kudeis* between Hebron and Sinai, he found a spot of quicksand with sparse shrubs growing in it (*ib.* 48).

Now the question is surely a pertinent one, as compared with that of the subsistence of the flocks and herds of the Israelites during their wanderings, how the sixty-three perished communities named by Seetzen's guide can have supported themselves? It is pretty certain that fish cannot live in the Dead Sea,[a] nor is there any reason for thinking that these extinct towns or villages were in any large proportion near enough to its waters to avail themselves of its resources, even if such existed. To suppose that the country could ever have supported extensive coverts for game is to assume the most difficult of all solutions of the question. The creatures that find shelter about the rocks, as hares, antelopes, gazelles, jerboas, and the lizards that burrow in the sand (*el-Dsobb*), alluded to by this traveller in several places (iii. 67, comp. pt. ii., 415-442, and Laborde, *Comm. on Num.* xxxiii. 42), are far too few, to judge from appearances, to do more than eke out a subsistence, the staple of which must have been otherwise supplied; and the same remark will apply to such casual windfalls as swarms of edible locusts, or flights of quails. Nor can the memory of these places be probably connected with the distant period when Petra, the commercial metropolis of the Nabatheans, enjoyed the carrying trade between the Levant and Egypt westwards, and the rich communities further east. There is least of all reason for supposing that by the produce of mines, or by asphalt gathered from the Dead Sea, or by any other native commodities, they can ever have enjoyed a commerce of their own. We are thrown back, then, upon the supposition that they must in some way have supported themselves from the produce of the soil. And the produce for which it is most adapted is either that of the date-palm, or that to which earlier parallels point, as those of Jethro and the Kenites, and of the various communities in the southern border of Judah (Num. xxxiv. 4, 5; Josh. xv. 3, 4; 1 Sam. xxx. 27-31), viz. that of pasturage for flocks and herds, a possibility which seems solely to depend on adequately husbanding the water supplied by the rains. This tallies with the use of the word מִדְבָּר, for "wilderness," *i. e.* "a wide open space, with or without actual pasture, the country of the nomads, as distinguished from that of the agricultural and settled people" (*S. and P.* 486, *App.* §9).[b] There seems however to be implied in the name a capacity for pasturage, whether actually realized or not. This corresponds, too, with the "thin," or rather "transparent coating of vegetation," seen to clothe the greater part of the Sinaitic wilderness in the present day (*ibid.* 16, 22), and which furnishes an initial minimum from which human fostering hands might extend the prospect of possible resources up to a point as far in excess of present facts as were the numbers of the Israelitish host above the 6000 Bedouins computed now to form the population of the desert. As regards the date-palm, Hasselquist speaks as though it alone afforded the means of life to some existing Arab communities. Hamilton (*Sinai, &c.*, 17) says that

[a] Monconys quoted by Stanley, *S. and P.*

[a] Seetzen speaks in one place of a few shell-fish being seen along its southern shore. Compare Stanley, *S. & P.* 293. [SEA, THE SALT.]

[b] The word *Midbar* has been examined under the head of DESERT [vol. i. 429]. The writer of that article has nothing to add to it, except to call attention to the use of the term in Jer. ii. 1; where the prophet in two words gives an exact definition of a *Midbar*: "a land *not sown*"—that is, left to nature. [G.]

in his path by the *Wady Hebrân*, towards the modern Sinai, "small clumps of uncultivated date-trees rise between the granite walls of the pass, wherever the winter torrents have left sufficient detritus for their nourishment." And again, after describing the pass of the Convent, he continues, "beneath lies a veritable chaos, through which now trickles a slender thread of water, where in winter rushes down a boiling torrent"[c] (*ib.* 19). It is hardly too much to affirm that the resources of the desert, under a careful economy of nature's bounty, might be, to its present means of subsistence, as that winter torrent's volume to that summer streamlet's slender thread. In the *Wady Hebrân* this traveller found "a natural bath," formed in the granite by the *'Ain Hebrân*, called "the Christians' pool" (*ib.* 17). Two-thirds of the way up the *Jebel Mûsa* he came upon "a frozen streamlet" (*ib.* 30); and Seetzen, on the 14th of April, found snow lying about in sheltered clefts of the *Jebel Catharin*, where the rays of the sun could not penetrate (iii. 92). Hamilton encountered on the *Jebel Mûsa* a thunderstorm, with "heavy rain" (*Sinai, &c.*, 16). There seems on the whole no deficiency of precipitation. Indeed the geographical situation would rather bespeak a copious supply. Any southerly wind must bring a fair amount of watery vapour from the Red Sea, or from one of its expanding arms, which embrace the Peninsula on either side, like the blades of a forfex; while at no greater distance than 140 miles northward roll the waters of the Mediterranean, supplying, we may suppose, their quota, which the much lower ranges of the *Tîh* and *Odjme* cannot effectually intercept. Nor is there any such shelter from rain-clouds on either of the Gulfs of Suez and 'Akabah, as the long line of mountains on the eastern flank of Egypt, which screens the rain supply of the former from reaching the valley of the Nile. On the contrary, the conformation of the Peninsula, with the high wedge of granitic mountains at its core, would rather receive and condense the vapours from either gulf, and precipitate their bounty over the lower faces of mountain and troughs of wady, interposed between it and the sea. It is much to be regretted that the low intellectual condition of the monks[d] forbids any reasonable hope of adequate meteorological observations to check these merely probable arguments with reliable statements of fact; but in the absence of any such register, it seems only fair to take reasonable probabilities fully into view. Yet some significant facts are not wanting to redeem in some degree these probabilities from the ground of mere hypothesis. "In two of the great wadys" which break the wilderness on the coast of the Gulf of Suez, "*Ghŭrŭndel*, and *Useit*, with its continuation of the *Wâdy Tayibeh*, tracts of vegetation are to be found in considerable luxuriance." The wadys leading down from the Sinai range to the Gulf of 'Akabah "furnish the same testimony, in a still greater degree," as stated by Rüppell, Miss Martineau, Dr. Robinson, and Burckhardt. "In three spots, however, in the desert . . . this vegetation is brought by the concurrence of the general configuration of the country to a still higher pitch. By far the most remarkable collection of springs is that which renders the clusters of the *Jebel Mûsa* the chief resort of the Bedouin tribes during the summer heats. Four abundant sources in the mountains immediately above the Convent of St. Catherine must always have made that region one of the most frequented of the desert . . . Oases (analogous to that of Ammon in the western desert of the Nile) are to be found wherever the waters from the different wadys or hills, whether from winter streams or from such living springs as have just been described, converge to a common reservoir. One such oasis in the Sinaitic desert seems to be the palm-grove of *El-Wâdy* at *Tûr*, described by Burckhardt as so thick that he could hardly find his way through it (*S. and P.* 19, note 1; see Burckh. *Arab.* ii. 362). The other and the more important is the *Wâdy Feirân*, high up in the table-land of Sinai itself (*S. and P.* 18, 19)." Now, what nature has done in these favoured spots might surely be seconded[e] in others by an ample population, familiarized, to some extent, by their sojourn in Egypt with the most advanced agricultural experience of the then world, and guided by an able leader who knew the country, and found in his wife's family others who knew it even better than he (Num. x. 31). It is thus supposable that the language of Ps. cvii. 35-38, is based on no mere pious imagery, but on actual fact: "He turneth the wilderness into a standing water, and dry ground into water-springs. And there He maketh the hungry to dwell, that they may prepare a city for habitation; and sow the fields and plant vineyards, which may yield fruits of increase. He blesseth them so that they are multiplied greatly; and *suffereth not their cattle to decrease.*" And thus we may find an approximate basis of reality for the enhanced poetic images of Isaiah (xli. 19 lv. 13). Palestine itself affords abundant tokens of the resources of nature so husbanded, as in the artificial "terraces of which there are still traces to the very summits" of the mountains, and some of which still, in the Jordan valley, "are occupied by masses of vegetation" (*S. and P.* 138, 297). In favoured spots wild luxuriance testifies to the extent of the natural resources, as in the wadys of the coast, and in the plain of Jericho, where "far and wide extends the green circle of tangled thickets, in the midst of which are the hovels of the modern village, beside which stood, in ancient times, the great city of Jericho" (*ib.* 306). From this plain alone, a correspondent of the British

[c] There is no mistaking the enormous amount of rain which must fall on the Desert and run off uselessly into the sea. In February all the wadys had evidently had strong torrents down, and all across them from hill-side to hill-side. The whole surface of wide valleys was marked and ribbed like the bed of a stony and sandy stream in England. The great plain of *Murkhâh* was intersected in all directions by these torrents, draining the mountains about *Nukb Badera*. So all the wadys, wherever there was a decided fall. Major Macdonald (engaged at present in superintending the working of a turquoise bed at *Sûrâbît el-Khadîm*) said that after a sudden storm in the hills to the N., he had from two to three feet of water running furiously through his tents for three hours, in *Wady Mŭghâra*. Common industry in digging tanks would make all the wadys "blossom as the rose" (Tyrwhitt).

[d] See Dr. Stanley's estimate of the inmates of the convent (*S. & P.* 55, 56).

[e] Nay, it is possible that such works had already to some extent been undertaken on account of the mining colonies which certainly then existed at *Wady Mŭghâra* and *Sûrâbît el-Khadîm*, and were probably supported on the produce of the country, not sent on camels from Egypt (Tyrwhitt).

Consul at Jaffa asserts that he could feed the whole population of modern Syria (*Cotton Supply Reporter*, June 14, 1862). But a plantation redeemed from the wilderness is ever in the position of a besieged city; when once the defence of the human garrison is withdrawn, the fertility stimulated by its agency must obviously perish by the invasion of the wild. And thus we may probably suppose that, from numberless tracts, thus temporarily rescued from barrenness, in situations only moderately favourable, the traces of verdure have vanished, and the desert has reclaimed its own; or that there the soil only betrays its latent capacity by an unprofitable dampness of the sand.

Seetzen, on the route from Hebron to Sinai, after describing an "immense flinty plain," the "dreariest and most desolate solitude," observes that, "as soon as the rainy season is over and the warm weather sets in, the pits (of rain-water) dry up, and it becomes uninhabitable," as "there are no brooks or springs here" (iii. 55, 56). Dr. Stewart (*The Tent and the Khan*, 14, 15) says of the *Wady Ahthi*, which he would identify with Etham (Ex. xiii. 20; Num. xxxiii. 6), "sand-hills of considerable height separate it from the sea, and prevent the winter rains from running off rapidly. A considerable deposit of rich alluvial loam is the result, averaging from 2 to 4 inches in thickness, by sowing upon which immediately after the rains the Bedouins could certainly reap a profitable harvest; but they affect to despise all agricultural labour. . . . Yet," he adds, "the region never could have supplied food by its own natural vegetation for so great a multitude of flocks and herds as followed in the train of the Israelites." This seems rather a precipitate sentence; for one can hardly tell what its improved condition under ancient civilization may have yielded, from merely seeing what it now is, after being overrun for centuries by hordes of contemptuous Bedouins. Still, as regards the general question, we are not informed what numbers of cattle followed the Israelites out of Egypt. We only know that "flocks and herds" went with them, were forbidden to graze "before the mount" (Sinai), and shared the fortunes of the desert with their owners. It further appears that, at the end of the forty years' wandering, two tribes and a half were the chief, perhaps the only, cattle-masters. And, when we consider how greatly the long and sore bondage of Egypt must have interfered with their favourite pursuit during the eighty years of Moses' life before the Exodus, it seems reasonable to think that in the other tribes only a few would have possessed cattle on leaving Egypt. The notion of a people "scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt" (Ex. v. 12), in pursuit of wholly different and absorbing labour, being able generally to maintain their wealth as sheep-masters is obviously absurd. It is therefore supposable that Reuben, Gad, and a portion of Manasseh had, by remoteness of local position, or other favourable circumstances to us unknown, escaped the oppressive consequences to their flocks and herds which must have generally prevailed. We are not told that the lambs at the first passover were obtained from the flock of each family, but only that they were bidden to "*draw out* and *take* a lamb for an house" —a direction quite consistent in many, perhaps in most cases, with purchase. Hence it is probable that these two tribes and a half may have been the chief cattle-masters first as well as last. If they had enough cattle to find their pursuit in tending them, and the others had not, economy would dictate a transfer; and the whole multitude of cattle would probably fare better by such an arrangement than by one which left a few head scattered up and down in the families of different tribes. Nor is there any reason to think that the whole of the forty years' sojourn was spent in such locomotion as marks the more continuous portion of the narrative. The great gap in the record of events left by the statement of Deut. i. 46, "Ye abode in Kadesh many days," may be filled up by the supposition of quarters established in a favourable site, and the great bulk of the whole time may have been really passed in such stationary encampments. And here, if two tribes and a half only were occupied in tending cattle, some resource of labour, to avoid the embarrassing temptations of idleness in a host so large and so disposed to murmur, would be, in a human sense, necessary. Nor can any so probable an occupation be assigned to the remaining nine and a half tribes, as that of drawing from the wilderness whatever contributions it might be made to afford. From what they had seen in Egypt, the work of irrigation would be familiar to them, and from the prospect before them in Palestine the practice would at some time become necessary: thus there were on the whole the soundest reasons for not allowing their experience, if possible, to lapse. And, irrigation being supposed, there is little, if any, difficulty in supposing its results; to the spontaneousness of which ample testimony, from various travellers, has been cited above. At any rate it is unwise to decide the question of the possible resources of the desert from the condition to which the apathy and fastidiousness of the Bedouins have reduced it in modern times. On this view, while the purely pastoral tribes would retain their habits unimpaired, the remainder would acquire some slight probation in those works of the field which were to form the staple industry of their future country. But, if any one still insists that the produce of the desert, however supposably improved, could never have yielded support for *all* "the flocks and herds"—utterly indefinite as their number is—which were carried thither; this need not invalidate the present argument, much less be deemed inconsistent with the Scriptural narrative. There is nothing in the latter to forbid our supposing that the cattle perished in the wilderness by hundreds or by thousands. Even if the words of Ps. cvii. 38 be taken in a sense literally historical, they need mean no more than that, by the time they reached the borders of Palestine, the number so lost had, by a change of favourable circumstances, been replaced, perhaps even by capture from the enemy, over whom God, and not their own sword, had given them the victory. All that is contended for is, that the resources of the wilderness were doubtless utilized to the utmost, and that the flocks and herds, so far as they survived, were so kept alive. What those resources might amount to, is perhaps nearly as indefinite an inquiry as what was the number of the cattle. The difficulty would "find its level" by the diminution of the latter till it fell within the limits of the former; and in this balanced state we must be content to leave the question.

Nor ought it to be left out of view, in considering any arguments regarding the possible change in the character of the wilderness, that Egyptian policy certainly lay, on the whole, in favour of

extending the desolation to their own frontier on the Suez side: for thus they would gain the surest protection against invasion on their most exposed border; and as Egypt rather aimed at the development of a high internal civilization than an extension of influence by foreign conquest, such a desert frontier would be to Egypt a cheap defence. Thus we may assume that the Pharaohs, at any rate after the rise of the Assyrian empire, would discern their interest and would act upon it, and that the felling of wood and stopping of wells, and the obliteration, wherever possible, of oases, would systematically make the Peninsula untenable to a hostile army descending from the N.E. or the N.

IV. It remains to trace, so far as possible, the track pursued by the host, bearing in mind the limitation before stated, that a variety of converging or parallel routes must often have been required to allow of the passage of so great a number. Assuming the passage of the Red Sea to have been effected at some spot N. of the now extreme end of the Gulf of Suez, they would march from their point of landing a little to the E. of S. Here they were in the wilderness of Shur, and in it "they went three days and found no water." The next point mentioned is Marah. The *'Ain el-Hawâra* has been thought by most travellers since Burckhardt's time to be Marah. Between it and the *'Ayûn Mûsa* the plain is alternately gravelly, stony, and sandy, while under the range of *Jebel Wardân* (a branch of *et-Tîh*) chalk and flints are found. There is no water on the direct line of route (Robinson, i. 87-98). *Hawâra* stands in the lime and gypsum region which lines the eastern shore of the Gulf of Suez at its northern extremity. Seetzen (*Reisen*, iii. 117) describes the water as salt, with purgative qualities; but adds that his Bedouins and their camels drank of it. He argues, from its inconsiderable size, that it could not be the Marah of Moses. This, however, seems an inconclusive reason. [MARAH.] It would not be too near the point of landing assumed, as above, to be to the N. of the *'Ayûn Mûsa*, nor even, as Dr. Stewart argues (p. 55), too near for a landing at the *'Ayûn Mûsa* itself,[f] when we consider the incumbrances which would delay the host, and, especially whilst they were new to the desert, prevent rapid marches. But the whole region appears to abound in brackish or bitter springs (Seetzen, *ibid.* iii. 117, &c.; *Anmerk.* 430). For instance, about 1¾ hour nearer Suez than the *Wady Ghŭrŭndel* (which Lepsius took for Marah, but which Niebuhr and Robinson regard as more probably Elim), Seetzen (*ibid.* iii. 113, 114) found a *Wady e Tâl*, with a salt spring and a salt crust on the surface of its bed, the same, he thinks, as the spot where Niebuhr speaks of finding rock-salt. This corresponds in general proximity with Marah. The neighbouring region is described as a low plain girt with limestone hills, or more rarely chalk. For the consideration of the miracle of sweetening the waters, see MARAH. On this first section of their desert-march, Dr. Stanley (*S. and P.* 37) remarks, "There can be no dispute as to the general track of the Israelites after the passage (of the Red Sea). If they were to enter the mountains at all, they must continue in the route of all travellers, between the sea and the table-land of the *Tîh*, till they entered the low hills of *Ghŭrŭndel*. According to the view taken of the scene of the passage, Marah may either be at 'the springs of Moses,' or else at Hawâra or Ghŭrŭndel." He adds in a note, "Dr. Graul, however, was told . . . of a spring near *Tîh el-Amâra*, right (*i. e.* south) of Hawâra, so bitter that neither men nor camels could drink of it. From hence the road goes straight to *Wady Ghŭrŭndel*." Seetzen also inclines to view favourably the identification of *el-Amâra* with Marah. He gives it the title of a "wady," and precisely on this ground rejects the pretensions of *el-Hawâra* as being no "wady," but only a brook;[h] whereas, from the statement "they encamped" at Marah, Marah must, he argues, have been a wady.[i] It seems certain, however, that *Wady Ghŭrŭndel*—whether it be Marah, as Lepsius and (although doubtfully) Seetzen thought, or Elim as Niebuhr, Robinson, and Kruse—must have lain on the line of march, and almost equally certain that it furnished a camping station. In this wady Seetzen found more trees, shrubs, and bushes than he anywhere else saw in his journey from Sinai to Suez. He particularizes several date-palms and many tamarisks, and notes that the largest quantity of the vegetable manna, now to be found anywhere in the Peninsula, is gathered here (iii. 116) from the leaves of the last-named tree, which here grows "with gnarled boughs and hoary head; the wild acacia, tangled by its desert growth into a thicket, also shoots out its grey foliage and white blossoms over the desert" (Stanley, *S. and P.* 68). The "scenery" in this region becomes "a succession of watercourses"[k] (*ibid.*); and the *Wady Tayibeh*, connected with *Ghŭrŭndel* by *Useit*,[l] is so named from the goodly water and vegetation which it contains. These three wadys encompass on three sides the *Jebel Hummâm*; the sea, which it precipitously overhangs, being on the fourth. To judge from the configuration as given in the maps, there seems no reason why all three should not have combined to form Elim, or at any rate, as Dr. Stanley (*ibid.*) suggests, two of them. Only, from Num. xxxiii. 9, 10, as Elim appears *not* to have been on the sea

[f] Dr. Aitoun, quoted by Dr. Stewart (*l. c.*), it seems, denies this.

[g] In the *Wady Tâl* were found date-palms, wild trunkless tamarisks, and the white-flowering broom; also a small, sappy growth, scarce a hand high, called *el Szemmhh* by the Bedouins, which, when dried, is pounded by them and mixed with wheat for bread. It has a saltish-sour taste, and is a useful salad herb, belonging to the order *Mesembryanthemum*, Linn. (Seetzen, *ibid.*).

[h] Yet he apparently allows as possible that Marah may be found *in a brook* observed by Fürer a little to the N. of *Ghŭrŭndel* (iii. 117).

[i] There is, however, a remarkable difference between the indication of locality given by Seetzen to this wady, and the position ascribed to the *Tîh el-Amâra*, as above. For Seetzen (or rather Dr. Kruse, commenting on his journal) says, Robinson passed the wady *two hours nearer Suez* than *Hawâra*, and therefore so far to the north, *not south*, of it (*Reisen*, iii. pt. iii. 430-1). Hence it is possible that the *Tîh* and the *Wady el-Amâra* may be distinct localities, and the common name result from the common property of a briny or bitter spring. Kiepert's map (in Robinson, vol. i.) gives the two names *Amâra* and *Hawâra* close together, the former a little, but less than a mile, to the N.

[k] So Dr. Kruse notices that Dr. Robinson's Arabs who camped in *Ghŭrŭndel* found, at half an hour's distance from their camping ground, a flowing brook and copious fountains, such as they hitherto nowhere found in the peninsula (Seetzen, iii. pt. iii. 430).

[l] Robinson (i. 69) says that near this wady hot sulphureous springs were visited by Niebuhr, and are described by Russegger.

we must suppose that the encampment, if it extended into three wadys, stopped short of their seaward extremities. The Israelitish host would scarcely find in all three more than adequate ground for their encampment. Beyond (*i. e.* to the S.E. of *Ghŭrŭndel*), the ridges and spurs of limestone mountain push down to the sea, across the path along the plain (Robinson, i. 70, and *Map*).

This portion of the question may be summed up by presenting, in a tabular form, the views of some leading travellers or annotators, on the site of Elim:—

Wady Ghŭrŭndel.		*Wady Useit.*	Some warm springs north of *Tûr*, which feed the rich date-plantations of the convent there, Seetzen.
Niebuhr, Robinson, Kruse. [By Lepsius identified with Marah.]	One or both, Stanley.	Laborde "possibly," Robinson (i. 72).	

Dr. Kruse (*Anmerk.* 418) singularly takes the words of Ex. xv. 27, "they encamped there (in Elim) *by the waters*," as meaning "by the sea;" whereas, from Num. xxxiii. 9, 10, it appears they did not reach the sea till a stage further, although their distance from it previously had been but small.

From Elim, the next stage brought the people again to the sea. This fact, and the enviable position in respect of water supply, and consequent great fertility, enjoyed by *Tûr* on the coast, would make it seem probable that Tûr was the locality intended; but as it lies more than seventy miles, in a straight line, from the nearest probably assignable spot for Elim, such a distance makes it a highly improbable site for the next encampment. The probable view is that their seaside camp was fixed much nearer to the group of wadys viewed as embracing Elim, perhaps in the lower part of the *Wady Tayibeh*, which appears to have a point of juncture with the coast (Stanley, *S. and P.* 38). The account in Ex. xvi. knows nothing of this encampment by the sea, but brings the host at once into "the wilderness of Sin;" but we must bear in mind the general purpose of recording, not the people's history so much as God's dealings with them, and the former rather as illustrative of the latter, and subordinate thereto. The evident design however, in Num. xxxiii. being, to place on record their itinerary, this latter is to be esteemed as the *locus classicus* on any topographical questions, as compared with others having a less special relation to the track. The "wilderness of Sin" is an appellation no doubt representing some natural feature, and none more probably than the alluvial plain, which, lying at the edge of the sea, about the spot we now regard them as having reached begins to assume a significant appearance. The modern name for this is *el-Kâa*, identified by Seetzen[m] with this wilderness (iii. pt. iii. 412). Dr. Stanley[n] calls *el-Kâa*, at its initial point, "the plain of *Murkhâh*," and thinks it is probably this wilderness. Lower down the coast this plain expands into the broadest in the Peninsula, and somewhere in the still northern portion of it we must doubtless place the "Dophkah"[o] and "Alush" of Num. xxxiii. 12-14.

In the wilderness of Sin occurred the first murmuring for food, and the first fall of manna. The modern confection sold under that name is the exudation collected from the leaves of the tamarisk tree (*tamarix Orientalis*, Linn., Arab. *tarfa*, Heb. אֶשֶׁל) only in the Sinaitic valleys, and in no great abundance.[p] If it results from the punctures made in the leaf by an insect (the *coccus manniparus*, Ehrenberg) in the course of June, July, and August, this will not suit the time of the people's entering the region "on the fifteenth day of the second month after" their departure from Egypt (Ex. xvi. 1-8). It is said to keep as a hardened syrup for years (Laborde, *Comment Geogr.* on Ex. xvi. 13, 14), and thus does not answer to the more striking characteristics described in Ex. xvi. 14-26. [MANNA.] Seetzen thought that the gum Arabic, an exudation of the acacia, was the real manna of the Israelites; *i. e.* Seetzen regards the statement of "bread from heaven" as a fiction (*Reisen*, iii. 75-79). A caravan of a thousand persons is said by Hasselquist (*Voyages, &c., Materia Medica*, 298, transl. ed. 1766) to have subsisted solely on this substance for two months. In the same passage of Ex. (v. 13) quails are first mentioned.

In most portions of the earlier route it is more important to show the track than to fix the stations; and such an indication only can be looked for where nothing beyond the name of the latter is recorded. Supposing now that the alluvial plain, where it first begins to broaden to a significant size, is "the wilderness of Sin," all further questions, till we come to Sinai, turn on the situation assigned to Rephidim. If, as seems most likely, Rephidim be found at *Feirân* [REPHIDIM], it becomes almost certain that the track of the host lay to the north of *Serbâl*,[q] a magnificent five-peaked mountain, which some have thought to be Sinai, and which becomes first visible at the plain of *Murkhâh*. [SINAI.]

[m] He calls it the Wilderness of *Sîr*, but this is plainly a misprint for *Sin*.

[n] His map, however, omits the name *el-Kâa*. Robinson thinks the wilderness of Sin is the maritime plain southeast of *Murkhâh*, but not certainly including the latter.

[o] Seetzen thought that Dophkah might possibly be retraced in the name of a place in this region, *el Tobbacha* (Kruse). For Alush there is no conjecture.

[p] Seetzen compares it to the round beads obtained from the mastich; and says it is used as a purgative in Upper Egypt, and that it is supposed to be brought out by the great effect of heat on a sandy soil, since in Syria and elsewhere this tree has not the product.

[q] Dr. Stanley notices that possibly, viewing *Ghŭrŭndel* (or *Useit*, which lies beyond it, from Suez) as Elim, the host may have gone to the latter (the *further* point), and then have turned back to the lower part of *Ghŭrŭndel*, and *there* pitched by the "Red Sea." Then, he further remarks, it was open to them to take a northern course for Sinai (*Jebel Mûsa*), avoiding *Serbâl* and *Feirân* altogether (*S. & P* 38). But all this, he adds, seems "not likely." That route passes by *Surâbit el-Khâdim* to the *Jebel Mûsa*. Robinson, who went by this way, conjectured that *el-Khâdim* was a place of pilgrimage to the ancient Egyptians, and might have been the object of Moses' proposed journey of "three days into the wilderness" (i. 79). The best account of this locality by far, which the present contributor has met with, is that in the MS referred to at the end of this article. The writer dwells especially on the immense remains of mining operations, refuse of fuel, metal, &c., to be seen there; also on the entrenched camp at *Mŭghâra*, discovered recently by Major Macdonald, evidently a work of great labour and of capacity for a large garrison.

The tabernacle was not yet set up, nor the order of march organized, as subsequently (Num. x. 13, &c.), hence the words "track" or "route," as indicating a line, can only be taken in the most wide and general sense. The road slowly rises between the coast and *Feirân*, which has an elevation of just half the highest peak of the whole cluster. *Feirán* must have been gained by some road striking off from the sea-coast, like the *Wady Mokatteb*, which is now the usual route from Cairo thither, perhaps by several parallel or converging lines. Those who reject *Feirân* for Rephidim will have the onus of accounting for such a fruitful and blooming spot as, from its position, it must always have been, being left out of the route, and of finding some other site for Rephidim. Possibly *Tûr* itself might be Rephidim, but then not one of the sites generally discussed for Sinai will suit. It seems better then to take *Feirân*, or the adjacent valley of *es-Sheykh* in connexion with it, for Rephidim. The water may have been produced in one, and the battle have taken place in the other, of these contiguous localities; and the most direct way of reaching them from *el-Murkhâh* (the "wilderness of Sin") will be through the wadys *Shellâh* and *Mokatteb*. Dr. Stanley, who suggests the road by the S. of *Serbâl*, through *Wady Hebrân* [r] (Robinson, i. 95), as also a possible route to Sinai (*S. and P.* 38, 4), and designates it "the southern" one, omits to propose any alternative station for Rephidim; as he also does in the case of "the northern" route being accepted. That route has been already mentioned [page 1576, note q], but is of too remote a probability to require being here taken into view. The *Wady Mokatteb*, the "written," as its name imports, contains the largest number of inscriptions known as the Sinaitic. They are scratched on the friable surface of the sandstone masses which dot the valley on either side, some so high as to have plainly not been executed without mechanical aid and great deliberation. They are described or noticed by Dr. Robinson, Burckhardt, Laborde, Seetzen, and others, but especially by Dr. Stanley (*S. and P.* 57-62). [See on this subject SINAI, notes [n] and [o].]

V. Besides the various suggestions regarding Horeb and Sinai given under SINAI, one occurs in Dr. Kruse's *Anmerkungen* on Seetzen, which is worth recording here. Seetzen approached the *Jebel Músa* from the N., a little W., by a route which seems to have brought him into the region through which Dr. Robinson approached it from the N.W. On this Dr. Kruse remarks, "Horeb lay in the plain of Rephidim . . . a day's march short of (*vor*) Sinai, on a dry plain, which was extensive enough for a camping-ground, with a rock-fountain struck by Moses from the rock. This distance just hits the plain *es-Sheb* (*Seheb*, Kiepert's Map), which Robinson entered before reaching the foremost ridge of Sinai, and suits the peaked mountain *el-Orf*, in the highest point of this plain. That this plain, too, is large enough for fighting in (as mentioned Ex. xvii. 9), is plain from Robinson's statement (i. 141) of a combat between two tribes which took place there some years before his visit. Robinson, from this rocky peak, which I took for Horeb, in 1½ hour reached the spring *Gurbeh*, probably the one the opening of which was ascribed to Moses, and thence in another hour came to the steep pass *Nŭkb Hâwy*, to mount which he took 2¼ hours, and in 2¼ hours more, crossing the plain *er-Râheh*, arrived at the convent at the foot of Sinai. Seetzen's Arabs gave the name of *Orribe* [s] to a mountain reached before ascending the pass, no doubt the same as Robinson's *el-Orf* and the Horeb of Holy Writ" (*Reisen*, iii. pt. iii. 422; comp. 414). He seeks to reconcile this with Ex. xxxiii. 6, which describes the people, penitent after their disobedience in the matter of the golden calf, as "stripping themselves of their ornaments *by the Mount Horeb*," by supposing that they were by Moses led back again [t] from Sinai, where God had appeared to him, and immediately below which they had encamped, to Horeb in the plain of Rephidim. But this must have been a day's journey backward, and of such a retrograde movement the itinerary in Num. xxxiii. 14, 15, 16, has no trace. On the contrary, it says, "they removed from the desert of Sinai and pitched in Kibroth Hattaavah." Now, although they stayed a year in the wilderness of Sinai (Ex. xix. 1; Num. x. 11, 12), and need not be supposed to have had but one camping station all the time, yet Rephidim clearly appears to lie without the limits of that wilderness (Ex. xvii. 1, xix. 1, 2; Num. xxxiii. 15), and a return thither, being a departure from those limits, might therefore, we should expect, be noticed, if it took place; even though all the shiftings of the camp *within* the wilderness of Sinai might not be set down in the itinerary. Under SINAI an attempt is made to reconcile the "*rock in* Horeb" at Rephidim with a "*Mount* Horeb" (the same, in fact, as Sinai, though with a relative difference of view), by regarding "Horeb" as a designation descriptive of the ground, applicable, through similarity of local features, to either. If this be not admitted, we may perhaps regard the *Wady es-Sheykh*, a crescent concave southwards, whose western horn joins *Wady Feirân*, and whose eastern finds a south-eastern continuation in the plain *er-Râheh* (leading up to *Jebel Músa*, the probable Sinai), as *the* Horeb proper. This contains a rock called traditionally the "seat of Moses" (Schubert, *Reisen*, ii. 356). And this is to some extent confirmed by the fact that the wady which continues the plain *er-Râheh* to the N.W., forming with the latter a slightly obtuse angle, resumes the name of *es-Sheykh*. If we may suppose the name "Horeb," though properly applied to the crescent *Wady es-Sheykh*, which joins *Feirán*, to have had such an extension as would embrace *er-Râheh*, then the "rock *in* Horeb" might be a day's journey from the "Mount (of) Horeb." [u] This view, it may be observed, does not exclude that just referred to under SINAI, but merely removes it from resting

[r] Through the wilderness of *Kâa* (from its northern border) to the opening of *Wady Hebrân* into it is 5½ hours' journey. The manna tamarisk is found there; and some birds, called by Dr. Kruse "Wüstenhühnern," which he appears to think might be the quails of Scripture. Seetzen in his journal plainly sets down the "quails" as being wholly a mistake for locusts (*Reisen*, iii. pt. iii. 413, comp. 80).

[s] "Two hardly distinguishable mountains on either side of the way (from the *Wady Beitzarân*) were named *Oribe* and *Freuech*" (*Reisen*, iii. 69).

[t] He thinks the reason why they were thus countermanded was because "Horeb" was better supplied with water, but he does not show that the "spring *Gurbeh*" adequately meets this condition (*ib.* 422).

[u] The expression מֵהַר חוֹרֵב in Ex. xxxiii. 6 may probably be, like the expression הַר הָאֱלֹהִים, iii. 1, and that of בְּהַר יְהוּדָה, Josh. xxi. 11, &c., two nouns in regimen, the "mount *of* Horeb."

on the sense there proposed for "Horeb" (חוֹרֵב), as a local appellative, to more general grounds.

But whatever may be the case with other sacred localities, the identification of Sinai itself will probably never be free from obscurity. We seem to have adequate information regarding all the eminent mountains within the narrow compass to which our choice is reduced, and of all the important passes. Nor is it likely that any fresh clue of trustworthy local tradition will be unravelled, or any new light thrown on the text of the Scriptural statements. Somewhere in the granitic nucleus of lofty mountain-crests the answer, doubtless, lies.[y] For the grounds on which a slight preponderance of probability rests in favour of the *Jebel Mûsa*,[z] see SINAI. But even that preponderance mainly rests on the view that the numbers ascribed in our present text to the host of Israel are trustworthy. If further criticism should make this more doubtful than it now is, that will have the probable effect of making the question more vague rather than more clear than it is at present. "This degree of uncertainty is a great safeguard for the real reverence due to the place. As it is, you may rest on your general conviction and be thankful" (*S. & P.* 76). The tradition which has consecrated the *Jebel Mûsa* can, we know, be traced to its source in a late year. It has the taint of modernism and the detective witness of the older tradition of *Serbâl*. Dr. Stanley thinks it "doubtful whether the scene of the giving of the Law, as we now conceive it, ever entered into the minds of those who fixed the traditional site. The consecrated peak of the *Jebel Mûsa* was probably revered simply as the spot where Moses saw the vision of God, without reference to any more general event" (*S. & P.* 76), and this is likely to have been equally true of *Serbâl* before it. The Eastern mind seized on the spot as one of devout contemplation by the one retired saint; the Western searches for a scene which will bring the people perceptibly into the region of that Presence which the saint beheld.

Certain vivid impressions left on the minds of travellers seem to bespeak such remarkable features for the rocks of this cluster, and they are generally so replete with interest, that a few leading details of the aspect of principal mountains may find place here. Approaching the granitic nucleus from the N. side, Seetzen found himself "ever between two high wild and naked cliffs of granite." All possible forms of mountains blended in the view of the group, conical and pointed, truncated, serrated, and rounded (*Reisen*, iii. 69, 67). Immediately previous to this he had been upon the perpendicular sandstone cliffs, which in *el-Dillâl* bounded the sandy plain *er-Ramleh* on the eastern side, whilst similar steep sandstone cliffs lay on the N. and N.W. On a nearer view small bright quartz-grit (*Quarzkiesel*), of whitish-yellow and reddish hue, was observed in the coarse-grained sandstone. Dr. Stanley, approaching from the N.W., from *Wady Shellâl* through Wadys *Sidri* and *Feirân*, found the rocks of various orders more or less interchanged and intermixed. In the first, "red tops resting on dark-green bases closed the prospect in front," doubtless both of granite. Contrast with this the description of *Jebel Mûsa*, as seen from Mount St. Catherine (*ibid.* 77), "the *reddish* granite of its *lower* mass, ending in the grey *green* granite of the *peak* itself." *Wady Sidri* lies "between red granite mountains descending precipitously on the sands," but just in the midst of it the granite is exchanged for sandstone, which last forms the rock-tablets of the *Wady Mokatteb*, lying in the way to *Wady Feirân*. This last is full of "endless windings," and here "began the curious sight of the mountains, streaked from head to foot, as if with boiling streams of dark red matter poured over them, the igneous fluid squirted upwards as they were heaved from the ground." . . . "The colours tell their own story, of chalk and limestone and sandstone and granite." Besides these, "huge cones of white clay and sand are at intervals planted along these mighty watercourses (the now dry wadys), apparently the original alluvial deposit of some tremendous antediluvian torrent, left there to stiffen into sandstone" (71). The *Wady Feirân* is bounded southwards by the *Jebel Nediyeh* and the *Jebel Serbâl*, which extend westwards to the maritime plain, and eastward to the Sinaitic group, and on whose further or southern side lies the widest part of *el-Kâa*, previously noticed as the "Wilderness of Sin." Seetzen remarks that *Jebel Feirân* is not an individual mountain, but, like Sinai, a conspicuous group (*Reisen*, iii. 107; comp. pt. iii. 413).

Serbâl rises from a lower level than the Sinaitic group, and so stands out more fully. Dr. Stewart's account of its summit confirms that of Burckhardt. The former mounted from the northern side a narrow plateau at the top of the easternmost peak. A block of grey granite crowns it and several contiguous blocks form one or two grottoes, and a circle of loose stones rests in the narrow plateau at the top (*The Tent and the Khan*, 117, 118). The "five peaks," to which "in most points of view it is reducible, at first sight appear inaccessible, but are divided by steep ravines filled with fragments of fallen granite." Dr. Stanley mounted "over smooth blocks of granite to the top of the third or central peak," amid which "innumerable shrubs like sage or thyme, grew to the very summit." Here, too, his ascent was assisted by loose stones arranged by human hands. The peak divides into "two eminences," on "the highest of which, as on the back of some petrified tortoise, you stand, and overlook the whole peninsula" (*S. & P.* 71, 72). Russegger says "the stone of the peak of Serbâl is porphyry" (*Reisen*, iii. 276). Dr. Stewart mentions the extensive view from its summit of the mountains "which arise from the western shore of

[y] The *Tabula Peutingeraria* gives in the interior of the Sinaitic peninsula a wilderness indicated as "desertum ubi xl. annos erraverunt filii Israelis ducente Moyse," and marks therein a three-peaked mountain, with the words, "hic legem acceperunt in monte Syna." Dr. Kruse thinks the "three peaks" mean Sinai (*i. e.* the *Jebel Mûsa*), *Ag. Episteme* and the *Jebel Hum'r* (Seetzen, *Reisen*, iii. pt. iii. 421).

[z] Dr. Kruse says, "This highest S.E. point of Sinai is undisputably the 'mountain of the Lord' of Holy Writ, the modern Mount St. Catherine. The N.W. part of Sinai is, however, now named *Chorif* by the monks, not by the Arabs, probably in order to combine Horeb with Sinai, by which name they denote the most south-easterly point. The 'plain' or 'wilderness' of Sinai can be nothing else than the high plain situated on the northern steep declivity surrounded by the three before-named peaks of Sinai, the opposite plateau of *Jebel Fureiâ*, and E. and W. some low ridges. It is now called the plain *Râheh*, and is, according to Robinson's measurement, quite large enough to hold two millions of Israelites who here encamped together" (*ibid.* 422).

the Gulf of 'Akabah," seen in the N.E., and of the Sinaitic range, "closely packed" with the intermediate *Jebel Wateiâh*, "forming the most confused mass of mountain tops that can be imagined" (114, 115). His description of the ascent of the eastern peak is formidable. He felt a rarity of the air, and often had to climb or crawl flat on the breast. It was like "the ascent of a glacier, only of smooth granite, instead of ice." At a quarter of an hour from the summit he also "found a stair of blocks of granite, laid one above another on the surface of the smooth slippery rock" (113). On the northern summit are visible the remains of a building, "granite fragments cemented with lime and mortar," and "close beside it three of those mysterious inscriptions," implying "that this summit was frequented by unknown pilgrims who used those characters" (*S. and P.* 72).

The approach to *Jebel Mûsa* from the W. is only practicable on foot. It lies through *Wady Solam* and the *Nŭkb Hâwy*, "Pass of the Wind,"[y] whose stair of rock leads to the second or higher stage of the great mountain labyrinth. Elsewhere this pass would be a roaring torrent. It is amidst masses of rock a thread of a stream just visible, and here and there forming clear pools, shrouded in palms, or leaving its clue to be traced only by rushes. From the head of this pass the cliff-front of Sinai comes in sight through "a long continued plain between two precipitous mountain ranges of black and yellow granite." This is the often-mentioned plain *er-Râheh*. Deep gorges enter it on each side, and the convent and its gardens close the view. The ascent of *Jebel Mûsa*, which contains "high valleys with abundant springs," is by a long flight of rude steps winding through crags of granite. The cave and chapel "of Elias" are passed on the slope of the ascent, and the summit is marked by the ruins of a mosque and of a Christian church. But, Strauss adds, "the 'Mount of Moses' rose in the south higher and higher still," and the point of this, *Jebel Mûsa*, eighty feet in diameter, is distant two hours and more from the plain below (*Sinai and Golgotha*, 116). The *Râs Sŭfsâfeh* seems a small, steep, and high mountain, which is interposed between the slope of *Jebel Mûsa* and the plain; and, from its position, surveys both the openings of *es-Sheykh* N.E. and of *er-Râheh*[z] N.W., which converge at its foot. Opposite to it, across the plain, is the *Jebel Fureiâ*, whose peak is cloven asunder, and the taller summit is again shattered and rent, and strewn, as by an earthquake, with its own fragments. The aspect of the plain between *Jebel Fureiâ*, which here forms a salient angle, wedging southwards, and the *Râs Sŭfsâfeh*, is described as being, in conjunction with these mountains, wonderfully suggestive, both by its grandeur and its suitableness, for the giving and the receiving of the Law. "That such a plain should exist at all in front of such a cliff is so remarkable a coincidence with the sacred narrative, as to furnish a strong internal argument, not merely of its identity with the scene, but of the scene itself having been described by an eye-witness" (*S. and P.* 42, 43). The character of the Sinaitic granite is described by Seetzen (*Reisen*, iii. 86) as being (1) flesh-red with glass-coloured quartz and black mica, and (2) greyish-white with abundance of the same mica. He adds that the first kind is larger-grained and handsomer than the second. Hamilton speaks of "long ridges of arid rock surrounding him in chaotic confusion on every side," and "the sharp broken peaks of granite far and near as all equally desolate" (*Sinai, the Hedjaz, and Soudan*, 31). This view of "granite peaks," so thickly and wildly set as to form "a labyrinth" to the eye, was what chiefly impressed Dr. Stanley in the view from the top of *Jebel Mûsa* (*S. and P.* 77). There the weather-beaten rocks are full of curious fissures and holes (46), the surface being "a granite mass cloven into deep gullies and basins" (76). Over the whole mountain the imagination of votaries has stamped the rock with tokens of miracle. The dendrites[a] were viewed as memorials of the Burning Bush. In one part of the mountain is shown the impress of Moses' back, as he hid himself from the presence of God (*ib.* 30), in another the hoof-print of Mahomet's mule, in the plain below a rude hollow between contiguous blocks of stone passes for the mould of the head of the Golden Calf; while in the valley of the *Leja*, which runs, parallel to and overhung by the *Jebel Mûsa's* greatest length, into *er-Râheh*, close to *Râs Sŭfsâfeh*, the famous "Stone of Moses" is shown—"a detached mass from ten to fifteen feet high, intersected with wide slits or cracks .... with the stone between them worn away, as if by the dropping of water from the crack immediately above." This distinctness of the mass of the stone lends itself to the belief of the Rabbis, that this "rock followed" the Israelites through the wilderness, which would not be the case with the non-detached off-set of some larger cliff. The Koran also contains reference to "the rock with the twelve mouths for the twelve tribes of Israel," *i. e.* the aforesaid cracks in the stone, into which the Bedouins thrust grass as they mutter their prayers before it. Bishop Clayton accepted it as genuine, so did Whiston the translator of Josephus;[b] but it is a mere *lusus naturae*; and there is another fragment, "less conspicuous," in the same valley, "with precisely similar marks." In the pass of the *Wady es-Sheykh* is another stone, called the "Seat of Moses," described by Laborde (*S. and P.* 45-48, and notes). Seetzen adds, some paces beyond the "Stone of Moses" several springs, copious for a region so poor in water, have their source from under blocks of granite, one of which is as big as this "Stone of Moses." These springs gush into a very small dyke, and thence are conducted by a canal to supply water to a little fruit-garden .... Their water is pure and very good. On this canal, several paces below the basin, lies a considerably

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[y] By this pass Dr. Stanley was himself conducted thither, sending his camels round by the *Wady es-Sheykh* from *Feirân*, "the more accessible though more circuitous route into the central upland." By this latter he supposes the great bulk of the host of Israel may have reached *er-Râheh* and Sinai, while "the chiefs of the people would mount" by the same pass which he took (*S. & P.* 42).

[z] Dr. Stewart (*ub. sup.* 122) says, "Ghebel Musa, the Sinai of monkish traditions, is neither visible from the Ghebel (*i. e.* Râs) Sŭssâfeh, nor from any other point in the plain of *er-Râheh*." This seems confirmed by the argument of *S. & P.* 43, 44, that Moses, descending from the *Jebel Mûsa*, would not be able to see what was going on in the plain till he emerged upon it, the height of *Sŭfsâfeh* effectually intercepting the view.

[a] These have become scarce on this mountain: Seetzen (*Reisen*, iii. 86) expressly mentions that he observed none. They are now found abundantly in the course of constructing Abbas Pasha's mountain road (Stewart, *T. & K.* 132, 134).

[b] See his note on *Ant.* iii. 1, §7.

bigger block of granite than the "Stone of Moses," "and the canal runs round so close to its side as to be half-concealed by it" (*Reisen*, iii. 95). He seems to argue that this appearance and half-concealment may have been made use of by Moses to procure belief in his having produced the water miraculously, which existed before. But this is wholly inconsistent, as indeed is any view of this being the actual "rock in Horeb," with his view of Rephidim as situated at *el-Hessueh*, the western extremity of the *Wady Feirân*. Equally at variance with the Scriptural narrative is the claim of a hole in *er-Râheh*, below *Râs Sûfsâfeh*, to be "the Pit of Korah," whose story belongs to another and far lower stage of the march.

On Mount St. Catherine the principal interest lies in the panorama of the whole Peninsula which it commands, embraced by the converging horns of the Red Sea, and the complete way in which it overlooks the *Jebel Mûsa*, which, as seen from it, is by no means conspicuous, being about 1000 feet lower. Seetzen mounted by a path strewn with stones and blocks, having nowhere any steps, like those mentioned as existing at *Serbâl*, and remarks that jasper and porphyry chiefly constitute the mountain. He reached the highest point in three hours, including intervals of rest, by a hard, steep path, with toilsome clambering; but the actual time of ascending was only 1¾ hours. The date-palm plantation of *Tûr* is said to be visible from the top; but the haze prevailing at the time prevented this traveller from verifying it (*Reisen*, iii. 89-93). "The rock of the highest point of this mountain swells into the form of a human body, its arms swathed like that of a mummy, but headless—the counterpart, as it is alleged, of the corpse of the beheaded Egyptian saint. . . . Not improbably this grotesque figure furnishes not merely the illustration, but the origin, of the story" of St. Catherine's body being transported to the spot, after martyrdom, from Egypt by angelic hands (*S. and P.* 45).

The remaining principal mountain is named variously *ed-Deir*, "the Convent;" "Bestin," from St. Episteme, the first abbess of the nunnery; "Solab," from "the Cross," which stands on its summit; and the "Mount of the Burning Bush," from a legend that a sun-beam shoots down, supposed miraculously, on one day in the year, through the mountain into the chapel "of the Burning Bush"[c] (so called) in the convent (*ib.* 78). In the pass of the Convent rocks arise on every side, in long succession, fantastically coloured, grey, red, blue, bright yellow, and bronze, sometimes strangely marked with white lines of quartz or black bands of basalt; huge blocks worn into fantastic shapes . . . . interrupt the narrow track, which successive ages have worn along the face of the precipice, or, hanging overhead, threaten to overwhelm the traveller in their fall. The wady which contains this pass is called by the name of *Shu'eib*—a corruption of Hobab, the name of the father-in-law of Moses (*ib.* 32, 33). At the foot of a mountain near the convent Seetzen noticed "a range of rocks of black horn-porphyry, of hornblende, and black jasper, and between their scrolls or volutes white quartz." The gardens, as has been noticed, are in sight from the approach through *er-Râheh*. Seetzen enlarges on their beauty, enhanced, of course, by the savage wild about them; "indeed a blooming vegetation appears in this climate wherever there is water" (*Reisen*, iii. 70, 73, 87). These proved capabilities of the soil are of interest in reference to the Mosaic and to every period. As regards the Convent, the reader may be referred to Dr. Stanley's animated description of its character, the policy of its founder, and the quality of its inmates (*S. and P.* 51-56). This traveller took three hours in the ascent. "In the recesses between the peaks was a ruined Bedouin village. On the highest level was a small natural basin, thickly covered with shrubs of myrrh—of all the spots of the kind that I saw, the best suited for the feeding of Jethro's flocks in the seclusion of the mountain" (*ib.* 78). He thought the prospect, however, from its summit inferior in various ways to any of the other views from the neighbouring mountains, *Serbâl*, *St. Catherin*, *Jebel Mûsa*, or *Râs Sûfsâfeh*.

The rocks, on leaving Sinai on the east for 'Akabah, are curiously intermingled, somewhat as in the opposite margin of the Wadys *Sidri* and *Mokatteb*. *Wady Seyâl* contains "hills of a conical shape, curiously slanting across each other, and with an appearance of serpentine and basalt. The wady . . . . then mounted a short rocky pass—of hills capped with sandstone—and entered on a plain of deep sand—the first we had encountered—over which were scattered isolated clumps of sandstone, with occasional chalk. . . . At the close of this plain, an isolated rock, its high tiers rising out of lower tiers, like a castle." Here "the level ranges of et-Tîh rose in front." And soon after, on striking down, apparently, north-eastwards, "a sandy desert, amidst fantastic sandstone rocks, mixed with lilac and dull green, as if of tufa," succeeded After this came a desert strewn with "fragments of the Tîh," *i. e.* limestone, but "presently," in the "Wady Ghŭzâleh,"[d] which turns at first nearly due northward, and then deflects westward, the "high granite rocks" reappeared; and in the *Wady el-'Âin*, "the rocks rise, red granite or black basalt, occasionally tipped as if with castles of sandstone to the height of about 1000 feet . . . . and finally open on the sea. At the mouth of the pass are many traces of flood—trees torn down, and strewed along the sand" (*ib.* 80, 81).

VI. We now pass on to resume the attempt to trace the progress of the Israelites. Their sojourn of a year in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai was an eventful one. The statements of the Scriptural narrative which relate to the receiving of the two Tables, the Golden Calf, Moses' vision of God, and the visit of Jethro, are too well known to need special mention here; but beside these, it is certain from Num. iii. 4, that before they quitted the wilderness of Sinai, the Israelites were thrown into mourning by the untimely death of Aaron's two sons, Nadab and Abihu. This event is probably connected with the setting up of the tabernacle and the enkindling of that holy fire, the sanctity of which their death avenged. That it has a determinate chronological relation with the promulgations which from time to time were made in that

[c] Dr. Stanley verified the possibility of the fact, and disproved its miraculous character by examining the ravine above the convent, through which, when the sun gains the necessary altitude, a ray would reach the chapel (*S. & P.* 46).

[d] Here Dr. Stanley quitted the track pursued by Robinson, which from the Convent he had hitherto followed; the latter continuing in a N.E. direction through *Wady Sumghy* to the western shore of the Gulf of 'Akabah, the former turning northwards by the *Wady Ghŭzâleh*, as above, immediately after passing the *'Ain el-Hŭdherah*.

wilderness, is proved by an edict in Lev. xvi., being fixed as subsequent to it (Lev. x., comp. xvi. 1). The only other fact of history contained in Leviticus is the punishment of the son of mixed parentage for blasphemy (xxiv. 10-14). Of course the consecration of Aaron and his sons is mentioned early in the Book in connexion with the laws relating to their office (viii., ix.). In the same wilderness region the people were numbered, and the exchange of the Levites against the firstborn was effected; these last, since their delivery when God smote those of Egypt, having incurred the obligation of sanctity to him. The offerings of the princes of Israel were here also received. The last incident mentioned before the wilderness of Sinai was quitted for that of Paran is the intended departure of Hobab the Kenite, which it seems he abandoned at Moses' urgency. They now quitted the Sinaitic region for that of Paran, in which they went three days without finding a permanent encampment, although temporary halts must of course have been daily made (Num. i., ix. 15-23; x. 13, 33; xi. 35; xii. 16). A glance at Kiepert's, or any map showing the region in detail, will prove that here a choice of two main routes begins, in order to cross the intervening space between Sinai and Canaan, which they certainly approached in the first instance on the southern, and not on the eastern side. Here the higher plateau surmounting the *Tîh* region would almost certainly, assuming the main features of the wilderness to have been then as they are now, have compelled them to turn its western side nearly by the route by which Seetzen came in the opposite direction from Hebron to Sinai, or to turn it on the east by going up the 'Arabah, or between the 'Arabah and the higher plateau. Over its southern face there is no pass, and hence the roads from Sinai, and those from Petra towards Gaza and Hebron, all converge into one of two trunk-lines of route (Robinson, i. 147, 151, 2, ii. 186). Taberah and Kibroth-Hattaavah, both seem to belong to the same encampment where Israel abode for at least a month (xi. 20), being names given to it from the two events which happened there. [TABERAH, KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH, QUAILS.] These stations seem from Num. x. 11-13, 33-36, to have lain in the wilderness of Paran; but possibly the passage x. 11-13 should come after that 33-36, and the "three days' journey" of ver. 33 lie still in the wilderness of Sinai; and even Taberah and Hazeroth, reached in xi., xii., also there. Thus they would reach Paran only in xii. 16, and x. 12 would be either misplaced or mentioned by anticipation only. One reason for thinking that they did not strike northwards across the *Tîh* range from Sinai, is Moses' question when they murmur, "shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?" which is natural enough if they were rapidly nearing the Gulf of 'Akabah, but strange if they were posting towards the inland heart of the desert. Again the quails[e] are brought by "a wind from the sea" (Num. xi. 22, 31); and various travellers (Burckhardt, Schubert, Stanley) testify to the occurrence of vast flights of birds in this precise region between Sinai and 'Akabah. Again, Hazeroth, the next station after these, is coupled with Dizahab, which last seems undoubtedly the *Dahab* on the shore of that gulf (Deut. i. 1, and Robinson, ii. 187, note). This makes a seaward position likely for Hazeroth. And as Taberah, previously reached, was three days' journey or more from the wilderness of Sinai, they had probably advanced that distance towards the N.E. and 'Akabah; and the distance required for this will bring us so near *el-Hûdherâ* (the spot which Dr. Robinson thought represented Hazeroth in fact, as it seems to do in name), that it may be accepted as a highly probable site. Thus they were now not far from the coast of the Gulf of 'Akabah. A spot which seems almost certain to attract their course was the *Wady el-'Ain*, being *the* water, *the* spring of that region of the desert, which would have drawn around it such "nomadic settlements as are implied in the name of Hazeroth, and such as that of Israel must have been" (*S. & P.* 82). Dr. Robinson remarks, that if this be so, this settles the course to Kadesh as being up the 'Arabah, and not across the plateau of *et-Tîh*. Dr. Stanley thinks this identification a "faint probability," and the more uncertain as regards identity, "as the name Hazeroth is one of the least likely to be attached to any permanent or natural feature of the desert," meaning "simply the enclosures, such as may still be seen in the Bedouin villages, hardly less transitory than tents" (*S. & P.* 81, 82). We rely, however, rather on the combination of the various circumstances mentioned above than on the name. The *Wady Hûderâh* and *Wady-el-'Ain*, appear to run nearly parallel to each other, from S.W. to N.E., nearly from the eastern extremity of the *Wady es-Sheykh*, and their N.E. extremity comes nearly to the coast, marking about a midway distance between the *Jebel Mûsa* and 'Akabah. In Hazeroth the people tarried seven days, if not more (Num. xi. 35, xii.), during the exclusion of Miriam from the camp while leprous. The next permanent encampment brought them into the wilderness of Paran, and here the local commentator's greatest difficulty begins.

For we have not merely to contend with the fact that time has changed the desert's face in many parts, and obliterated old names for new; but we have beyond this, great obscurity and perplexity in the narrative. The task is, first, to adjust the uncertainties of the record *inter se*, and then to try and make the resultant probability square with the main historical and physical facts, so far as the latter can be supposed to remain unaltered. Besides the more or less discontinuous form in which the sacred narrative meets us in Exodus, a small portion of Leviticus, and the greater part of Numbers, we have in Num. xxxiii. what purports at first sight to be a complete skeleton route so far as regards nomenclature; and we further find in Deuteronomy a review of the leading events of the wandering or some of them, without following the order of occurrence, and chiefly in the way of allusion expanded and dwelt upon. Thus the authority is of a threefold character. And as, in the main narrative, whole years are often sunk as uneventful, so in the itinerary of Num. xxxiii., on a near view great chasms occur, which require, where all else bespeaks a severe uniformity of method, to be somehow ac-

[e] Seetzen supposes that what are called quails in Scripture were really locusts (*Reisen*, iii. 80); an opinion which Coquerel (Laborde, *Comm. Geogr.* Ex. xvi. 13) appears to have shared. But surely locusts, as edible, are too well known in Scripture to make the confusion possible. Mr. Tyrwhitt says that quails, or small partridges, which he supposes rather meant, are, as far as he saw more common in the desert than locusts.

[f] Robinson, *ub. sup.*; comp. Stewart, *T. and K.* 116.

counted for. But, beyond the questions opened by either authority in itself, we have difficulties of apparent incongruity between them; such as the omission in Exodus of Dophka and Alush, and of the encampment by the Red Sea; and, incomparably greater, that of the fact of a visit to Kadesh being recorded in Num. xiii. 26, and again in xx. 1, while the itinerary mentions the name of Kadesh only once. These difficulties resolve themselves into two main questions. Did Israel visit Kadesh once, or twice? And where is it now to be looked for?

Before attempting these difficulties individually, it may be as well to suggest a caution against certain erroneous general views, which often appear to govern the considerations of desert topography. One is, that the Israelites journeyed, wherever they could, in nearly a straight line, or took at any rate the shortest cuts between point and point. This has led some delineators of maps to simply register the file of names in Num. xxxiii. 16-36 from Sinai in rectilinear sequence to Kadesh, wherever they may happen to fix its site, then turn the line backward from Kadesh to Ezion-Geber, and then either to Kadesh again, or to Mount Hor, and thence again, and here correctly, down the 'Arabah southwards and round the south-eastern angle of Edom, with a sweep northwards towards Moab. In drawing a map of the Wanderings, we should mark as approximately or probably ascertained the stations from Etham to Hazeroth, after which no track should be attempted, but the end of the line should lose itself in the blank space; and out of the same blank space it might on the western side of the 'Arabah be similarly resumed and traced down the 'Arabah, &c., as before described. All the sites of intervening stations, as being either plainly conjectural merely, or lacking any due authority, should simply be marked in the margin, save that Moserah may be put close to Mount Hor, and Ezion-Geber further S. in the 'Arabah [EZION-GEBER], from which to the brook Zered and onwards to the plains of Moab, the ambiguities lie in narrow ground, and a probable light breaks on the route and its stations.

Another common error is, that of supposing that from station to station, in Num. xxxiii., always represents a day's march merely, whereas it is plain from a comparison of two passages in Ex. (xv. 22), and Num. (x. 33), that on two occasions three days formed the period of transition between station and station, and therefore, that not day's marches, but intervals of an indefinite number of days between permanent encampments, are intended by that itinerary; and as it is equally clear from Num. ix. 22, that the ground may have been occupied for "two days, or a month, or a year," we may suppose that the occupations of a longer period only may be marked in the itinerary. And thus the difficulty of apparent chasms in its enumeration, for instance the greatest, between Ezion-Geber and Kadesh (xxxiii. 35-37) altogether vanishes.

An example of the error, consequent on neglecting to notice this, may be seen in Laborde's map of the Wanderings, in his Commentary on Exodus and Numbers, in which the stations named in Num. xxxiii. 18-34, are closely crowded, but between those of ver. 35 and those of ver. 37 a large void follows, and between those of ver. 37 and those of ver. 39 a still larger one, both of which, since on referring to the text of his Commentary[g] we find that the intervals all represent day's marches, are plainly impossible.

Omitting, then, for the present all consideration of the previous intervals after Hazeroth, some suggestions concerning the nomenclature and possible sites of which will be found in articles under their respective names, the primary question, did the people visit Kadesh twice, or once only, demands to be considered.

We read in Num. x. 11, 12, that "on the twentieth day of the second month of the second year . . . the children of Israel took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai, and *the cloud rested in the wilderness of Paran*." The latter statement is probably to be viewed as made by anticipation; as we find that, after quitting Kibroth-Hattaavah and Hazeroth, "the people pitched in the wilderness of Paran" (Num. xii. 16). Here the grand pause was made while the spies, "sent," it is again impressed upon us (xiii. 3), "from the wilderness of Paran," searched the land for "forty days," and returned "to Moses and to Aaron, and to all the congregation . . . *unto the wilderness of Paran to Kadesh*." This is the first mention of Kadesh in the narrative of the Wanderings (vers. 25, 26). It may here be observed that an inaccuracy occurs in the rendering of Moses' directions to the spies in the A. V. of xiii. 17, "get you up by this way *southward*" (בַּנֶּגֶב), where "by *the South*," *i. e.* by the border lying in that direction from Palestine, is intended, as is further plain from ver. 22, "And they ascended by the south and came to Hebron," *i. e.* they went *northward*.[h] From considerations adduced under KADESH, it seems that Kadesh probably means firstly, a region of the desert spoken of as having a relation, sometimes with the wilderness of Paran, and sometimes with that of Zin (comp. vers. 21, 26); and secondly, a distinct city within that desert limit. Now all the conditions of the narrative of the departure and return of the spies, and of the consequent despondency, murmuring, and penal sentence of wandering, will be satisfied by supposing that the name "Kadesh," here means *the region* merely. It is observable, also, that Kadesh is not named as the place of departure, but only as that of return. From Paran is the start; but from Zin (both regions in the desert) the search commences. And this agrees with the political geography of the southern border, to which the wilderness of Zin is always reckoned as pertaining,[i] whereas that of Paran always lies outside the promised land. Natural features of elevation, depression, and slope,[k] are the only tokens to which

[g] He speaks of certain stations as "placées entre le mont Sinai et Cades, espace qui ne comporte pas plus de onze journées selon l'affirmation bien positive de Deutéronome" (i. 1). He then proceeds to argue, "Ces dix-sept stations réunies aux trois que nous venons d'examiner, en forment vingt; il y a donc neuf stations . . . dont on ne sait que faire." The statement quoted from Deuteronomy, whether genuine, or an annotation that has crept into the text, merely states the distance as ordinarily known and travelled, and need not indicate that the Israelites crossed it at that rate of progress.

[h] The word for "southward" would be נֶגְבָּה, as found in Ez. xl. 24, Josh. xvii. 9, 10. The word נֶגֶב appears to mean the "dry" country, and hence to become the appellative for the region on the south of Judah and Simeon where springs were scarce; see *The Negeb* by Rev. E. Wilton, pref. viii.

[i] Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3.

[k] For some good remarks on the level of the desert and the slope between the south country, Dead Sea, and the 'Arabah, see Robinson, i. 587.

we can reasonably trust in deciding where the Paran wilderness ends, and that of Zin begins. It has been proposed under KADESH to regard part of the 'Arabah, including all the low ground at the southern and south-western extremity of the Dead Sea, as the wilderness of Zin. [ZIN.] Then the broad lower north-eastern plateau, including both its slopes as described above, will be defined as the Paran wilderness proper. If we assume the higher superimposed plateau, described above, to bear the name of "Kadesh" as a desert district, and its south-western mountain-wall to be "the mountain of the Amorites," then the Paran wilderness, so far as synonymous with Kadesh, will mean most naturally the region where that mountain-wall from *Jebel 'Arâif en-Nâkah* to *Jebel Mûkhrah*, and perhaps thence northward along the other side of the angle of the highest plateau, overhangs the lower terrace of the *Tîh*. Moses identifies the coming "to Kadesh Barnea"[l] with the coming to "the mountain of the Amorites" (Deut. i. 19, 20) whence the spies were also despatched (vers. 22, 23), which is said to have been from "Paran" in Num. xiii. 3. Suppose the spies' actual start to have been made from somewhere on the watershed of the two slopes of *et-Tîh*, the spies' best way then would have been by the *Wady el-Jerafeh* into and so up the 'Arabah: this would be beginning "from the wilderness of Zin," as is said in Num. xiii. 21. Then, most naturally, by his direction to them, "go up into *the mountain*" (Num. xiii. 17), which he represents as acted on in Deut. i. 24, "and they turned and went up into the mountain," he meant them to mount the higher plateau, supposed the region Kadesh. By their "turning" in order to do so, it may be inferred that their course was not direct to their object, as indeed has been supposed in taking them along the 'Arabah and again up its western side by the passes *el-Khurâr* and *es-Sûfâ* (Zephath).[m] By these passes they must have left Zin or the 'Arabah, there being no choice. During the forty days of their absence, we may suppose the host to have moved from the watershed into the Kadesh-Paran region, and not at this period of their wanderings to have touched the city Kadesh at all. This is quite consistent with, if it be not even confirmed by, the words of the murmurers in xiv. 2, 3, "Would God we had died in *this wilderness!* And wherefore hath the Lord brought us unto *this land*;" and throughout the denunciation which follows, evidently on the same spot, the words "the wilderness," and "this wilderness," often recur, but from first to last there is no mention of a "city."

Now, in Deut. i. 19, where these proceedings pass in review before Moses, in his words to the people, there is, strictly speaking, no need to mention Kadesh at all, for the people were all the time in the wilderness of *Paran*. Yet this last is so wide a term, reaching almost from the 'Arabah to near the Egyptian frontier, that Moses might naturally use some more precise designation of the quarter he meant. He accordingly marks it by the proximity of Kadesh. Thus, the spies' return to "the wilderness of Paran *to Kadesh*" means to that part of the lower plateau where it is adjacent to the higher, and probably the eastern side of it. The expression "from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza," is decisive of an eastern site for the former (Josh x. 41).

Here, as is plain both from Num. xiv. 40-45 and from Deut. i. 41-44, followed the wayward attempt of the host to win their way, in spite of their sentence of prohibition, to the "hill" (Num. xiv. 40-45, Deut. i. 41-44) or "mountain" of the Amalekites and Canaanites, or Amorites, and their humiliating defeat. They were repulsed in trying to force the pass at Hormah (or Zephath, Judg. i. 14), and the region of that defeat is called "Seir," showing that the place was also known by its Horite name; and here perhaps the remnant of the Horites were allowed to dwell by the Edomites, to whose border this territory in the message of Num. xx. 16, is ascribed. [KADESH.] Here, from the notice in Num. xiv. 25, that these "Amalekites and Canaanites dwelt *in the valley*," we may suppose that their dwelling was where they would find pasture for their flocks, in the wady *el-Fikreh* and others tributary to *el-Jeib*, and that they took post in the "mountain" or "hill," as barring the way of the Israelites' advance. So the spies had gone by Moses' direction "this way, by the South (not 'southward,' as shown above), up into the mountain;" and this same way, "the way of the spies,"[n] through the passes of *el-Khûrâr* and *es-Sûfa*, was the approach to the *city* Kadesh also.

Here, then, the penal portion of the wanderings commences, and the great bulk of it, comprising a period of nearly thirty-eight years, passes over between this defeat in Num. xiv., and the resumption of local notices in Num. xx., where again the names of "Zin" and "Kadesh" are the first that meet us.

The only events recorded during this period (and these are interspersed with sundry promulgations of the Ceremonial Law), are the execution of the offender who gathered sticks on the Sabbath (Num. xv. 32-36), the rebellion of Korah (xvi.), and, closely connected with it, the adjudgment of the pre-eminence to Aaron's house with their kindred tribe, solemnly confirmed by the judicial miracle of the rod that blossomed. This seems to have been followed by a more rigid separation between Levi and the other tribes, as regards the approach to the tabernacle, than had been practically recognized before (xxvii. xviii. 22; comp. xvi. 40).

We gather, then, from Deut. i. 46, that the greater part, perhaps the whole, of this period of nearly thirty-eight years, if so we may interpret the "many days" there spoken of, was passed in Kadesh,—the *region*, that is, not the *city*; in which, of course, the camp may have been shifted at convenience, under direction, any number of times. But Num. xx. 1 brings us to a new point of departure. The people have grown old, or

[l] For "Barnea," as perhaps a Horite proper name, see KADESH, note i.

[m] Mr. Wilton (*Negeb*, 12, 198-202), following Rowlands (in Williams), makes Zephath *es-Sebata* on the *northern* side of the high broad plateau, supposed here to be the "mountain of the Amorites." On this view the Israelites must already have won that eminence from which it was clearly the intention of the Amorites to repel them; and must, when defeated, have been driven up hill from a position occupied in the plain below. The position *es-Sûfa* is on the S. side of the high ground, and has probably always been the pass by which to mount it. For all this, see Mr. Wilton's own map, or any one which shows both *es-Sebata* and *es-Sûfa*.

[n] Our A. V. here seems to have viewed הָאֲתָרִים as if derived from תּוּר "to spy." Gesen. renders it "regions," and the LXX. makes it a proper name Ἀθαρείμ. It is not elsewhere found. Now the verb תּוּר occurs in the passage where the spies are sent forth, Num. xiii. xiv., which gives a presumption in favour of the A. V.

rather again young, in their wanderings. Here, then, we are at "the desert of Zin, in the first month," with the "people abiding in Kadesh." By the sequel, "Miriam died *there*, and was buried *there*," a more precise definition of locality now seems intended; which is further confirmed by the subsequent message from the same place to the king of Edom, "Behold, we are in Kadesh, *a city* in the uttermost of thy border" (v. 16). This, then, must be supposed to coincide with the encampment, recorded as taking place "in the wilderness of Zin, which is ,Kadesh," registered in the itinerary (xxxiii. 36). We see then why, in that register of specific camping-spots, there was no necessity for any previous mention of "Kadesh;" because the earlier notice in the narrative, where that name occurs, introduces it not as an individual encampment, but only as a region, within which perpetual changes of encampment went on for the greater part of thirty-eight years. We also see that they came twice to Kadesh the region, if the city Kadesh lay in it, and once to Kadesh the city; but once only to Kadesh the region, if the city lay without it. We are not told how the Israelites came into possession of the city Kadesh, nor who were its previous occupants. The probability is that these last were a remnant of the Horites, who after their expulsion by Edom from Mount Seir [EDOM] may have here retained their last hold on the territory between Edom and the Canaanitish Amorites of "the South." Probably Israel took it by force of arms, which may have induced the attack of "Arad the Canaanite,"[o] who would then feel his border immediately threatened (Num. xxxiii. 40; comp. xxi. 1). This warlike exploit of Israel may, perhaps, be alluded to in Judges v. 4 as the occasion when Jehovah "went out of Seir" and "marched out of the field of Edom" to give His people victory. The attack of Arad, however, though with some slight success at first, only brought defeat upon himself and destruction upon his cities (xxi. 3).[p] We learn from xxxiii. 36 only that Israel marched without permanent halt from Ezion-geber upon Kadesh. This sudden activity after their long period of desultory and purposeless wandering may have alarmed King Arad. The itinerary takes here another stride from Kadesh to Mount Hor. There their being engaged with the burial of Aaron may have given Arad his fancied opportunity of assaulting the rear of their march, he descending from the north whilst they also were facing southwards. In direct connexion with these events we come upon a singular passage in Deuteronomy (x. 6, 7), a scrap of narrative imbedded in Moses' recital of events at Horeb long previous.[q] This contains a short list of names of localities, on comparing which with the itinerary, we get some clue to the line of march from the region Kadesh to Ezion-geber southwards.

We find at the part of their route in which Aaron's death took place, that stations named "Beeroth of the children of Jaakan, Mosera (where Aaron died), Gudgodah, and Jotbath," were successively passed through; and from Num. xxxiii. 38 we find that "Aaron went up into Mount Hor. . . and died there in the fortieth year . . . in the first day of the fifth month." Assuming for Mount Hor the traditional site overhanging the 'Arabah, which they very soon after this quitted, Mosera must have been close to it, probably in the 'Arabah itself. Now the stations which in the itinerary come next before Ezion-geber, and which were passed in the strictly penal wandering which commenced from the region Kadesh, have names so closely similar that we cannot doubt we are here on the same ground. Their order is, however, slightly changed, standing in the two passages as follows:—

CONJECTURAL SITE.	NUM. XXXIII. 30-35.	DEUT. X. 6, 7.
(*a*) *'Ain Hasb*, N.W. in the 'Arabah.	(*a*) (Hashmonah).	
(1) *Kusheibeh*, mouth of the *Wady Abu*, near the foot of Mount Hor.	(1) Moseroth.	(1) Beeroth of the children of Jaakan.
(2) *'Ain Ghürändel.*	(2) Bene-Jaakan.[r]	(2) Mosera.
(3) *Wady el-Ghŭdhâgidh.*	(3) Hor-hagidgad.	(3) Gudgodah.
(4) Confluence of *Wady el-Adhŏch* with *el-Jerafeh.*	(4) Jotbathah.	(4) Jotbath.[s]
	(Ebronah).	
	(Ezion-geber).	

[o] More properly "the Canaanitish king of Arad."

[p] He "took some of" the Israelites "prisoners." It is possible the name Mosera, or plur. Moseroth, may recall this fact; the word מוֹסֵר, (found only in the plur.), meaning "bonds" or "fetters." This would accord with the suggestion of the text that Aaron's burial gave Arad the opportunity for his raid; for Mosera must have been near Mount Hor, where that burial took place. It is possible that the destruction of these cities may not have really taken place till the entry into Canaan under Joshua (Josh. xii. 14, Judg. i. 17), and may be mentioned in Num. xxi. 2, 3, by anticipation only as a subsequent fulfilment of the vow recorded as then made. It is obvious to suggest that *Modera* is the Mosera of Deut. x. 6, and so Mr. Wilton (*The Negeb*, 28 &c.) has suggested, wishing to identify it with Mount Hor. But the received site for Mount Hor is the least doubtful of all in the Exodus. Josephus clearly identifies it as we do; and there is a strong improbability in a Jewish tradition fixing it in Edomitish or in Nabathean territory, unless the testimony in its favour had been overpowering. Modera might perhaps be the hill called "Sin" (Zin?), mentioned by Josephus as that in which Miriam was buried (*Ant.* iv. 4, § 6. 7).

[q] A somewhat similar fragment of narrative, but relating to what perhaps took place during the time of the allocution to the people between the paragraphs of which it occurs, is found in Deut. iv. 41-43; and indeed the mention of Aaron's death, with the date and his age, and of the attack of Arad, both of which had been detailed before, is hardly less of a deviation from the dry enumeration of stations in the itinerary itself (Num. xxxiii. 38, 39). But it would be foreign to our present purpose to enter on the critical questions which these passages suggest. We assume their genuineness, and suppose them displaced.

[r] See JAAKAN and BENE JAAKAN for the name. Jaakan was the grandson of Seir (1 Chr. i. 42, comp. Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 27).

[s] Dr. Robinson, judging from his visit, thinks that these stations could not have lain to the S. of Mount Hor, as that region is too poor in water to contain any such place as Jotbath in Deut. x. 7, and corresponds rather to the description given in Num. xxi. 4-6 (ii. 175). He thinks that *'Ain et-Taiibeh* is either Beeroth Bene Jaakan or Moseroth, and *Wady el-Ghŭdhâgidh* Jotbath (*ibid.*).

Now in Num xx. 14, 16, 22-29, the narrative conducts us from Kadesh the *city*, reached in or shortly before "the fortieth year," to Mount Hor, where Aaron died, *a portion of which route* is accordingly that given in Deut. x. 6, 7; whereas the parallel column from Num. xxxiii. gives substantially *the same route* as pursued in the early part of the penal wandering, when fulfilling the command given in the region Kadesh, "turn you, get you into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea" (Num. xiv. 25; Deut. i. 40), which command we further learn from Deut. ii. 1 was strictly acted on, and which a march towards Ezion-geber would exactly fulfil.

These half-obliterated footsteps in the desert may seem to indicate a direction only in which Kadesh 'the city,'[t] lay. Widely different localities, from Petra eastward to *el-Khălesah* on the north-west, and westward to near the *Jebel Hellak*, have been assigned by different writers. The best way is to acknowledge that our research has not yet grasped the materials for a decision, and to be content with some such attempt as that under KADESH, to fix it approximately only, until more undoubted tokens are obtained. The portion of the arc of a circle with *es-Sŭfa* for its centre, and a day's journey—about fifteen miles—for its radius, will not take in *el-Khălesah*, nor Petra,[u] and the former name seems to be traceable, with a slight metathesis, much more probably in *Chesil*[x] than in Kadesh.[y] The highest plateau is marked with the ruins of Aboda, and on the inferior one, some miles S.W. of the defile of the *Wady el-Fikreh* stands a round conical hill of limestone, mixed with sand, named Madarah (Modura, or Modera), at a short day's journey from the southern end of the Dead Sea. Seetzen, who visited it, had had his curiosity raised by a Bedouin legend of a village having been destroyed by Allah and buried under that hill for the wickedness of its people; and that, as a further attestation, human skulls were found on the ground around it. This statement he resolved by visiting the spot into a simple natural phenomenon of some curious rounded stones, or pebbles, which abound in the neighbourhood. He thought it a legend of Sodom; and it might, with equal likelihood, have been referred to the catastrophe of Korah (Seetzen, *Reisen*, iii. 13), which, if our sites for Kadesh the region and Paran are correct, should have occurred in the neighbourhood, were it not far more probable that the physical appearance of the round pebbles having once given rise to the story of the skulls, the legend was easily generated to account for them.

The mountains on the west of the 'Arabah must have been always poor in water, and form a dreary contrast to the rich springs of the eastern side in Mount Seir. From the cliff front of this last, Mount Hor stands out prominently (Robinson, ii. 174-180). It has been suggested [HOR HAGIDGAD] that the name Ha-gidgad, or Gudgodah, may possibly be retraced in the *Wady el-Ghŭdhighidh*, which has a confluence with the *Wady el-Jerafeh*. This latter runs into the 'Arabah on the west side. That point of confluence, as laid down in Kiepert's map (Robinson, *B. R.* i.), is about fifteen miles from the 'Arabah's nearest point, and about forty or forty-five from the top of Mount Hor. On the whole it seems likely enough that the name of this Wady may really represent that of this station, although the latter may have lain nearer the 'Arabah than the Wady now reaches, and this conjectural identification has been adopted above. Jotbath, or Jotbatha,[z] is described as "a land of rivers of waters" (Deut. x. 7); and may stand for any confluence of wadys in sufficient force to justify that character. It should certainly be in the southern portion of the 'Arabah, or a little to the west of the same.

The probabilities of the whole march from Sinai, then, seem to stand as follows: They proceeded towards the N.E. to the *'Ain el-Hŭderâh* (Hazeroth), and thence quitted the maritime region, striking directly northwards to *el-'Ain*, and thence by a route wholly unknown, perhaps a little to the E. of N. across the lower eastern spurs of the *et-Tîh* range, descending the upper course of the *Wady el-Jerafeh*, until the south-eastern angle of the higher plateau confronted them at the *Jebel el-Mŭkhrah*. Hence, after despatching the spies, they moved perhaps into the 'Arabah, or along its western overhanging hills, to meet their return. Then followed the disastrous attempt at or near *es-Sŭfa* (Zephath), and the penal wandering in the wilderness of Kadesh, with a track wholly undetermined, save in the last half-dozen stations to Ezion-geber inclusively, as shown just above. They then marched on Kadesh the city, probably up the 'Arabah by these same stations, took it, and sent from there the message to Edom. The refusal with which it was met forced them to retrace the 'Arabah once more, and meanwhile Aaron died. Thus the same stations (Deut. x. 6, 7) were passed again, with the slight variation just noticed, probably caused by the command to resort to Mount Hor which that death occasioned.[a] Thence, after

[t] Laborde (*Comment.* on Num. xxxiii. 36) places Kadesh the city "près des sources d'Embasch au fond de Ouadi Djerafi" (*Wady el-Jerafeh*). Dr. Robinson thought *'Ain el-Weibeh* was Kadesh, the city, or, as he calls it, Kadesh Barnea (see Map, vol. i., end). Dr. Stanley remarks that there is no cliff (סֶלַע) there. See his remarks quoted under KADESH

[u] Robinson puts *es-Sŭfa* at about two days' journey from the foot of Mount Hor, ii. 180-1.

[x] As suggested in Williams's *Holy City*, i. 464.

[y] The northern Kadesh, or Kedesh, in Naphtali has the very same consonants in its modern Arabic name as in the Hebrew.

[z] A writer in the *Journal of Sac. Lit.* April, 1860, connects this name with טוֹב, "good," from the goodness of the water supply. This is not unlikely; but his view of the name יָטְבָה, as from the same root as the Arabic عذبة, *'Adhbeh*, is very doubtful, the ע (Heb. ע) being probably radical. However, if *el-'Adhbeh* be, as he avers, a region of abundant water, the *place* may correspond with Jotbath, though the name do not. His map places it about 17 miles N.W. of the modern extremity of the Gulf of 'Akabah—*i. e.* on the western side of the 'Arabah. His general view of the route to and from Kadesh, and especially of the site of Sinai and Mount Hor, is inadmissible. See further towards the end of this article. Burckhardt's map gives another watery spot with palm-trees in the 'Arabah itself, not far from its southern end, which might also suit for Jotbath.

[a] Hengstenberg (*Authenticity of the Pent.* ii. 356) has another explanation of the deranged order of the stations enumerated just above, based on the supposition that in the two passages (Num. xxxiii. 30-35, Deut. x. 6, 7) the march proceeded in two opposite directions; but this would obviously require a reverse order of *all* the stations, and not the derangement of two merely. Von Raumer thought that the line of march threaded the 'Arabah thrice through, and, making allowance for the mistake of giving it each time a nearly rectilinear direction, he is not far wrong.

reaching 'Akabah, and turning north-eastward, they passed by a nearly straight line towards the eastern border of Moab.

Of the stations in the list from Rithmah to Mithcah, both inclusive, nothing is known. The latter, with the few preceding it, probably belong to the wilderness of Kadesh; but no line can be assigned to the route beyond the indications of the situation of that wilderness given above. In the sequel to the burial of Aaron, and the refusal of Edom to permit Israel to "pass through his border"[b] (which refusal may perhaps have been received at Mount Hor (Moserah), though the message which it answered was sent from the city Kadesh), occurred the necessity, consequent upon this refusal, of the people's "compassing the land of Edom" (Num. xxi. 4), when they were much "discouraged because of the way,"[c] and where the consequent murmuring was rebuked by the visitation of the "fiery serpents" (v. 5, 6). There is near Elath a promontory known as the *Râs Um Haye*, "the mother of serpents," which seem to abound in the region adjacent; and, if we may suppose this the scene of that judgment, the event would be thus connected with the line of march, rounding the southern border of Mount Seir, laid down in Deut. ii. 8, as being "through the way of the plain (*i. e.* the 'Arabah) from Elath and from Ezion-geber," whence "turning northward," having "compassed that mountain (Mount Seir) long enough," they "passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab" (v. 3, 8).

Some permanent encampment, perhaps represented by Zalmonah in Num. xxxiii. 41, 42, seems here to have taken place, to judge from the urgent expression of Moses to the people in Deut. ii. 13: "Now rise up, said I, and get you over the brook Zered," which lay further N. a little E., being probably the *Wady el-Ahsy* (Robinson, ii. 157). [ZERED.] The delay caused by the plague of serpents may be the probable account of this apparent urgency, which would on this view have taken place at Zalmonah; and as we have connected the scene of that plague with the neighbourhood of Elath, so, if we suppose Zalmonah[d] to have lain in the *Wady Ithm*, which has its junction with the 'Arabah close to 'Akabah, the modern site of Elath, this will harmonize the various indications, and form a suitable point of departure for the last stage of the wandering, which ends at the brook Zered (v. 14). Dr. Stanley, who passed through 'Akabah, thus describes the spot in question (*S. and P.* 84, 85): "'Akabah is a wretched village shrouded in a palm-grove at the north end of the gulf, gathered round a fortress built for the protection of the Mecca pilgrimage. . . . This is the whole object of the present existence of 'Akabah, which stands on the site of the ancient Elath,—'the Palm-Trees,' so called from the grove. Its situation, however, is very striking, looking down the beautiful gulf, with its jagged ranges on each side. On the west is the great black pass, down which the pilgrimage descends, and from which 'Akabah ('the Pass') derives its name; on the north opens the wide plain, or Desert Valley, wholly different in character from anything we have seen, still called, as it was in the days of Moses, 'the 'Arabah.' Down this came the Israelites on their return from Kadesh, and through a gap up the eastern hills they finally turned off to Moab. . . . This is the Wâdy Ithm, which turns the eastern range of the 'Arabah. . . . It is still one of the regular roads to Petra, and in ancient times seems to have been the main approach from Elath or 'Akabah. . . . The only published account of it is that of Laborde. These mountains appear to be granite, till, as we advance northward, we reach the entrance of the Wâdy Tubal, where, for the first time, red sandstone appears in the mountains, rising, as in the Wady el-'Ain, architecture-wise above grey granite."

Three stations, Punon,[e] Oboth, and Ije-Abarim, were passed between this locality and the brook or valley of Zered (Num. xxi. 10-12, comp. xxxiii. 43, 44), which last name does not occur in the itinerary, as neither do those of "the brooks of Arnon," Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel, and Bamoth, all named in Num. xxi. 14-20; but the interval between Ije-Abarim and Nebo, which last corresponds probably (see Deut. xxxiv. 1) with the Pisgah[f] of xxi. 20, is filled by two stations merely, named Dibon-gad and Almon-diblathaim, from whence we may infer that in these two only were permanent halts made. [DIBON-GAD, ALMON-DIBLATHAIM.] In this stage of their progress occurred the "digging" of the "well" by "the princes," the successive victories over Sihon and Og, and, lastly, the famous episodes of Balaam and Phinehas, and the final numbering of the people, followed by the chastisement of the Midianites (Num. xxi. 17, xxii.-xxvi., xxxi. 1-12; comp. Deut. ii. 24-37, iii. 1-17).

One passage remains in which, although the

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[b] Dr. Robinson thinks that by the "King's Highway" the *Wady Ghuweir*, opening a thoroughfare into the heart of the Edomitish territory was meant (ii. 157). Though the passage through Edom was refused, the burial of the most sacred person of a kindred people may have been allowed, especially if Mount Hor was already, as Dr. Stanley suggests, a local sanctuary of the region (*S. & P.* 97-98).

[c] The way up the 'Arabah was toilsome, and is so at this day. Dr. Robinson calls it "a still more frightful desert" than the Sinaitic (ii. 184). The pass at the head of the Gulf of 'Akabah towards *et-Tîh* "is famous for its difficulty, and for the destruction which it causes to animals of burden" (i. 175). Only two travellers, Laborde and Bertou, have accomplished (or recorded their accomplishment of) the entire length of the 'Arabah.

[d] Von Raumer identifies it with *Maân*, a few minutes to the E. of Petra.

[e] Punon is spoken of by Jerome (Reland, 592) as "Quondam civitas principum Edom nunc viculus in deserto, ubi aerum metalla damnatorum suppliciis effodiuntur inter civitatem Petram et Zoaram." Athanas. *Epist. ad Solit Vitam Agentes*, speaks of the condemnation of a person to the mines of Phaeno, where he would only live a few days. Winer says, Seetzen took *Kalaât Phenan* for Punon, referring to *Monatl. Corresp.* xvii. 137. Laborde (*Comment.* on Num. xxxiii. 42) thinks that the place named by Jerome and Athanasius cannot be Punon, which he says lay S.E. of Petra. He adds that Burckhardt and Von Raumer took *Tûfileh* for Punon. He places Oboth "dans les décombres de Bûtaieh (*Bûtâhy*, Robinson), laissant ainsi Maan à droite."

[f] Dr. Stewart (*T. & K.* 386) says, "The river Arnon empties itself into the Dead Sea, and between them rises the lofty Gebel Atarous, which is believed to be the Nebo or Pisgah of Scripture." He justifies this from its being the highest mountain on the Moabitish border, and from the hot spring Callirhoë being situated at its base, which seems to correspond with the Ashdoth ("springs" or "streams") of Pisgah of Deut. iv. 49. He adds that "Moses could have seen the land of Israel from that mountain." The Arnon is, without doubt, the *Wady el-Mojeb*. Ar of Moab is Areopolis. Rabbath Moab, now *Rabba* [AR-MOAB and ARNON.]

event recorded belongs to the close of Moses' life, relating to his last words in the plain of Moab, and as such lies beyond the scope of this article, several names of places yet occur which are identical with some herein considered, and it remains to be seen in what sense those places are connected with the scene of that event. The passage in question is Deut. i. 1, where Moses is said to have spoken "on this side Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain over against the Red Sea, between Paran and Tophel, and Laban and Hazeroth and Dizahab."[g] The words "on this side" might here mislead, meaning, as shown by the LXX. rendering, *πέραν*, "across" or "beyond," *i. e.* on the E. side. This is a passage in which it is of little use to examine the question by the aid of maps, since the more accurate they are, the more probably will they tend to confuse our view of it. The words seem to forget that the Gulf of 'Akabah presents its *end* to the end of the 'Arabah ("plain,"), and to assume that it presents the *length* of its coast, on which Dizahab (*Dahab*) lies. This length of coast is regarded, then, as opposite to the 'Arabah; and thus the 'Arabah, in which Moses spoke, is defined by "Paran and Tophel," lying on opposite edges of the Dead Sea, or rather of the whole depression in which it lies, which is in fact the 'Arabah continued northward. Paran here is perhaps the El Paran to which Chedorlaomer came in Gen. xiv. 6 [PARAN], and probably Tophel is the well-known *Tûfîléh* to the N.N.E. of Petra; and similarly the Red Sea, "over against" which it is spoken of as lying, is defined by Dizahab on its coast, and Hazeroth near the same. The introduction of "Laban" is less clear, but probably means, from its etymology, "the white," *i. e.* the chalk and limestone region, which in the mountain-range of *Tîh*, comes into view from the Edomitish mountains (Stanley, *S. and P.* 87), and was probably named, from that point of view, by the paler contrast which it there offered to the rich and varied hues of the sandstones and granites of Mount Seir, which formed their own immediate foreground.

A writer in the *Journal of Sac. Lit.*, April, 1860, on *Sinai, Kadesh, and Mount Hor*, propounds an entirely original view of these sites, in conflict with every known tradition and hitherto accepted theory.[h] For instance, Josephus identifies Mount Hor with Petra and Kerek; Jerome and Kosmas point to *Serbâl* in the granitic mountain region as Sinai; but this writer sets aside Josephus' testimony as a wholly corrupt tradition, invented by the Rabbis in their prejudice against the Idumeans, in whose territory between Eleutheropolis, Petra, and Elath (see Jerome *on Obad.*), he asserts they all lay. [EDOMITES.] Kadesh the city, and perhaps Kadesh Barnea, did so lie, and possibly Elusa, now *el-Khălesah*, may retain a trace of "Kadesh," several types of which nomenclature are to be found in the region lying thence southward [KADESH]; but *el-Khălesah* lies too far N. and W. to be the Kadesh Barnea to which Israel came "by the way of the spies," and which is clearly in far closer connexion with Zephath (*es-Sûfa*) than *el-Khălesah* could be. On the contrary, there seems great reason for thinking that, had so well-known and historical a place as Elusa been the spot of any great event in the history of the Exodus, the tradition would probably have been traceable in some form or other, whereas there is not a trace of any. Kadesh, again, lay "in the uttermost of the border" of Edom. Now, although that border may not have lain solely E. of the 'Arabah, it is utterly inconsistent with known facts to extend it to Elusa; for then the enemies encountered in Hormah would have been Edomites, whereas they were Amalekites, Canaanites, and Amorites; and Israel, in forcing the pass, would have been doing what we know they entirely abstained from—attempting violence to the territory of Edom. The "designs" which this writer attributes to the "Rabbis," as regards the period up to Josephus' time, are gratuitous imputations; nor does he cite any authorities for this or any other statement. Nor was there any such feeling against the Idumeans as he supposes.[i] They annexed part of the territory of Judah and Simeon during the Captivity, and were subsequently, by the warlike

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[g] בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן בַּמִּדְבָּר בָּעֲרָבָה מוֹל סוּף בֵּין־ פָּארָן וּבֵין־תֹּפֶל וְלָבָן וַחֲצֵרֹת וְדִי זָהָב are the words of the Heb. text, from which the LXX. offers some divergencies, being as follows:—*πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ πρὸς δυσμαῖς πλησίον τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἀναμέσον Φαρὰν Τοφὸλ, καὶ Δοβὸν καὶ Αὐλὼν καὶ κατα-χρύσεα.* The phrase יַם־סוּף, if "Red Sea" be, as the LXX. confirms, the true meaning, is here abridged into סוּף. The word בָּעֲרָבָה was possibly differently read by the LXX. (query, בָּעֶרֶב, as if "the evening" were = "the west," *δυσμαί*), whilst *Φαρὰν Τοφὸλ* looks as though it were meant for one compound name; and the two last names are translated, Hazeroth being = "enclosures," and Di-zahab = "the golden." N.B. Hazeroth elsewhere is represented by *Ἀσηρώθ* (Num. xi. 35, xii. 1, 16).

[h] Some incidental errors of this writer, though unimportant, may assist in forming an estimate of his work. Thus he identifies Petra with Bozrah, the former being the capital of the later Nabatheans, the latter that of the Edom of the prophetic period and locally distinct. Again he says, "Of all the people in the universe the race most detested by the Jews were the Idumeans." That race has generally been thought, on good authority, to be the Samaritans.

[i] Some feeling of rivalry there no doubt was; but this writer vastly exaggerates it, in supposing that the Jewish Rabbis purposely obliterated genuine traditions, which referred these sites to Idumean territory—that of a circumcised and vanquished race who had accepted the place of "proselytes of the covenant"—in order to transfer them to what was then the territory of the purely Gentile and often hostile Nabatheans. Surely a transfer the other way would have been far more likely. Above all, what reason is there for thinking that the Rabbis of the period busied themselves with such points at all? Zeal for sites is the growth of a later age. There is no proof that they ever cared enough for Mount Hor to falsify for the sake of it. As regards *Jebel Odjme* being Sinai, the writer seems to have formed a false conception of *Odjme* which he draws as a prominent mountain boss in the range of *Tîh*, taking that range for Horeb, and the prominent mountain for Sinai. The best maps show that it had no such predominance. They give it (*e. g.* Kiepert's) as a distinct but less clearly defined and apparently lower range, falling back into the northern plateau in a N.W. direction from about the most southerly point of the *Tîh*; which, from all the statements regarding it, is a low horizontal range of limestone, with no such prominent central point whatever. Russegger describes particularly the mounting by the wall-like partition of "Edjme" to the plateau of Edjme itself. "The height," he says, "which we had here to mount is in no wise considerable," and adds, "we had now arrived at the plateau" (*Reisen*, iii. 60, 61).

Maccabees, annexed themselves, received circumcision and the law, by which an Edomite might, "in the third generation," enter the congregation of Israel (Deut. xxiii. 8), so that by the New Testament period they must have been fully recognized. The Jews proper, indeed, still speak *of* them as "foreigners," but *to* them as having the place of kinsmen, a common share in Jerusalem, and care of its sanctity as their "metropolis;" and Josephus expressly testifies that they kept the Jewish feasts there (*Ant.* xvii. 10, §2; comp. *B. J.* iv. 4, §4, 5). The zealots and the party of order both appealed to their patriotism, somewhat as in our Rebellion both parties appealed to the Scots.

It remains to notice the natural history of the wilderness which we have been considering. A number of the animals of the Sinaitic region have been mentioned. [SINAI.] The domestic cattle of the Bedouins will of course be found, but camels more numerously in the drier tracts of *et-Tih*. Schubert (*Reisen*, ii. 354) speaks of Sinai as not being frequented by any of the larger beasts of prey, nor even by jackals. The lion has become very rare, but is not absolutely unknown in the region (*Neget*, 46, 47). Foxes and hyenas, Ritter (xiv. 333) says, are rare, but Mr. Tyrwhitt mentions hyenas as common in the *Wady Mŭghâra*; and Ritter (*ibid.*), on the authority of Burckhardt, ascribes to the region a creature which appears to be a cross between a leopard and a wolf, both of which are rare in the Peninsula, but by which probably a hyena is to be understood. A leopard-skin was obtained by Burckhardt on Sinai, and a fine leopard is stated by Mr. Tyrwhitt, to have been seen by some of his party in their ascent of *Um Shaumer* in 1862. Schubert continues his list in the *hyrax Syriacus*, the ibex,[k] seen at *Tŭfileh* in flocks of forty or fifty together, and a pair of whose horns, seen by Burckhardt (*Arab.* 405-6) at *Kerek*, measured 3½ feet in length, the webr,[l] the shrew-mouse, and a creature which he calls the "spring-maus"[m] (*mus jaculus* or jerboa?), also a *canis famelicus*, or desert-fox, and a lizard known as the *Agama Sinaitica*, which may possibly be identical with one of those described below. Hares and jerboas are found in *Wady Feirân*. Schubert quotes (*ibid.* note) Rüppell as having found specimens of *helix* and of *coccinella* in this wilderness; for the former, comp. Forskâl, *Icones Rerum Natur.* Tab. xvi. Schubert saw a fine eagle in the same region, besides catching specimens of thrush, with stonechat and other song-birds, and speaks of the warbling of the birds as being audible from the *mimosa* bush. Clouds of birds of passage were visible in the *Wady Murrah*. Near the same tract of wilderness Dr. Stanley saw "the sky darkened by the flights of innumerable birds, which proved to be large red-legged cranes, 3 feet in height, with black and white wings, measuring 7 feet from tip to tip" (*S. & P.* 82). At *Tŭfileh* crows abound. On *Serbâl* Dr. Stewart saw the red-legged partridge (*Tent and Khan*, 117; comp. Burckhardt, *Syria*, 534); and the bird "katta," in some parts of the Peninsula, comes in such numbers that boys sometimes knock over three or four at a single throw of a stick.[n] Hasselquist, who saw it here and in Egypt, calls it a partridge, smaller than ours, and of a greyish colour (204). Ritter (xiv. 333) adds linnets (?), ducks, prairie-birds, heath-cocks, larks, a specimen of finch, besides another small bird, probably redbreast or chaffinch, the varieties of falcon known as the *brachydactylus* and the *niger*, and, of course, on the coast, sea-swallows, and mews. Flocks of blue rock pigeons were repeatedly seen by Mr. Tyrwhitt.

Seetzen, going from Hebron to Madara, makes mention of the following animals, whose names were mentioned by his guides, though he does not say that any of them were seen by himself:—wolf, porcupine, wild-cat, ounce, mole, wild-ass, and three not easily to be identified, the *Sellek*, dog-shaped,[o] the *Anasch*, which devours the gazelle, and the *Ikkajib*, said to be small and in shape like a hedgehog. Seetzen's list in this locality also includes certain reptiles, of which such as can be identified are explained in the notes:—*el-Melledsha*, *Umm el-Szleimun*, *el-Lidscha* or *Leja*,[p] *el-Harraba* or *Hirbâ*,[q] *Dscherrâr* or *Jarrâreh*,[r] *el-Dâb*, otherwise *Dâde*,[s] *el-Hanne* or *Hanan*,[t] *el-Liffeâ*; and among birds the partridge, duck, stork, eagle,[u] vulture (*er-Rakham*), crow (*el-Grâb*), kite (*Hidâyeh*),[x] and an unknown bird called by him *Um-Salêt*. His guides told him of ostriches as seen near *Bteiâha* on the way from Hebron to Sinai, and he saw a nightingale, but it seems at no great distance to the south of Hebron. The same writer also mentions the edible lizard, *el-Dsob*, as frequently found in most parts of the wilderness, and his third volume has an appendix on zoology, particularly describing, and often with illustrations, many reptiles and serpents of Egypt and Arabia, without, however, pointing out such as are peculiar to the wilderness. Among these are thirteen varieties of

[k] Mr. Tyrwhitt commends the flesh of the ibex as superior to any of the deer tribe that he had ever eaten.

[l] Or Uabr, وبر, "feli similis sine caudâ herbiphagus monticola caro incolis edulis" (Forskâl, *Descript. Anim.* v.).

[m] Seetzen (iii. 41) saw holes in the earth made, he thought, by mice, in going from Hebron to Madara.

[n] Probably these birds have furnished a story to Pliny, of their settling by night on the yards of ships in such vast numbers as to sink them (*N. H.* x.).

[o] With this compare the mention by Burckhardt (*ap.* Ritter, xiv. 333) of a great wild-dog spoken of by the Bedouins, and thought by Ritter to be perhaps the same as the *Derban* of the Hedjaz desert.

[p] لجا, *rana* (Freytag).

[q] حربا, *chamaeleon* (Fr.). Mr. Tyrwhitt speaks of one of these as seen by him at the entrance of *Wady es-Sheykh* on the route from Suez to Sinai by *Sŭrâbit el-Khadîm*, which appeared green in shade and yellow in sunshine.

[r] جرارة, *scorpionum parvorum species, scorpio femina* (Fr.).

[s] ضب, *Lacerta Aegypti* (Fr.); and دود, "a worm;" but this difference of signification seems to show that they cannot represent one and the same animal, as Seetzen's text would seem to intend.

[t] حنش, *scarabaeus.*

[u] عقاب, *aquila.*

[x] حداية, *milvius.*

lizard, twenty-one of serpent, and seven of frog, besides fifteen of Nile-fish. Laborde speaks of serpents, scorpions, and black-scaled lizards, which perforate the sand, as found on the eastern border of Edom near *Tŭfileh* (*Comm. on Num.* xxxiii. 42). The MS. of Mr. Tyrwhitt speaks of starting "a large sand-coloured lizard, about 3 feet long, exactly like a crocodile, with the same bandy-look about his fore-legs, the elbows turning out enormously." He is described as covered not only "in scales, but in a regular armour, which rattled quite loudly as he ran." He "got up before the dromedary, and vanished into a hole among some *retem*." This occurred at the head of the *Wady Mokatteb*. Hasselquist (220) gives a *Lacerta Scincus*, "the Scinc," as found in Arabia Petraea, near the Red Sea, as well as in Upper Egypt, which he says is much used by the inhabitants of the East as an aphrodisiac, the flesh of the animal being given in powder, and broth made of the recent flesh. He also mentions the edible locust, *Gryllus Arabicus*, which appears to be common in the wilderness, as in other parts of Arabia, giving an account of the preparation of it for food (230-233). Burckhardt names a cape not far from 'Akabah, *Râs Um Haye*, from the number of serpents which abound there, and accordingly applied to this region the description of the "fiery serpents"[y] in Num. xxi. 4-9. Schubert (ii. 362) remarked the first serpents in going from Suez and Sinai to Petra, near *el-Hŭdherâh*; he describes them as speckled. Burckhardt (*Syria*, 499, 502) saw tracks of serpents, two inches thick, in the sand. According to Rüppell, serpents elsewhere in the Peninsula are rare. He names two poisonous kinds, *Cerastes* and *Scytalis* (Ritter, xiv. 329). The scorpion has given his name to the "Ascent of Scorpions," which was part of the boundary of Judah on the side of the southern desert. Wady *es-Zuweirah* in that region swarmed with them; and De Saulcy says, "you cannot turn over a single pebble in the *Nedjd* (a branch wady) without finding one under it" (De Saulcy, i. 529, quoted in *Negeb*, 51).

The reader who is curious about the fish, molluscs,[z] &c., of the Gulf of Suez should consult Schubert (ii. 263, note, 298, note, and for the plants of the same coast, 294, note). For a description of the coral-banks of the Red Sea, see Ritter (xiv. 476 foll.), who remarks that these formations rise from the coast-edge always in longitudinal extension parallel to its line, bespeaking a fundamental connexion with the upheaval of the whole stretch of shore from S.E. to N.W. A fish which Seetzen calls the *Alûm* may be mentioned as furnishing to the Bedouins the fish-skin sandals of which they are fond. Ritter (xiv. 327) thinks that fish may have contributed materially to the sustenance of the Israelites in the desert (Num. xi. 22), as they are now dried and salted for sale in Cairo or at the Convent of St. Catherine. In a brook near the foot of *Serbâl*, Schubert saw some varieties of *elaphrus*, *dyticus*, *colymbetes*, *gyrinus*, and other water insects (*Reise*, ii. 302, note).

As regards the vegetation of the desert, the most frequently found trees are the date-palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*), the desert acacia, and the tamarisk. The palms are almost always dwarf, as described *S. & P.* 20, but sometimes the "dôm" palm is seen, as on the shore of the Gulf of 'Akabah (Schubert, ii. 370; comp. Robinson, i. 161). Hasselquist, speaking of the date-palm's powers of sustenance, says that some of the poorer families in Upper Egypt live on nothing else, the very stones being ground into a provender for the dromedary. This tree is often found in tufts of a dozen or more together, the dead and living boughs interlacing overhead, the dead and living roots intertwining below, and thus forming a canopy in the desert. The date-palms in *Wady Tûr* are said to be all numbered and registered. The acacia is the *Mimosa Nilotica*, and this forms the most common vegetation of the wilderness. Its Arabic name is *es-Seyâl* (سيال), and it is generally supposed to have furnished the "Shittim wood" for the Tabernacle (Forskål, *Descr. Plant.* Cent. vi. No. 90; Celsii, *Hierob.* i. 498 foll.; Ritter, xiv. 335 foll.). [SHITTAH-TREE.] It is armed with fearful thorns, which sometimes tear the packages on the camels' backs, and of course would severely lacerate man or beast. The gum arabic is gathered from this tree, on which account it is also called the *Acacia gummifera*. Other tamarisks, beside the *mannifera*, mentioned above, are found in the desert. Grass is comparatively rare, but its quantity varies with the season. Robinson, on finding some in *Wady Sumghy*, N.E. from Sinai, near the Gulf of 'Akabah, remarks that it was the first his party had seen since leaving the Nile. The terebinth (*Pistachia terebinthus*, Arab. *Bŭtm*)[a] is well known in the wadys about Beersheba, but in the actual wilderness it hardly occurs. For a full description of it see Robinson, ii. 222-3, and notes, also i. 208, and comp. Cels. *Hierobot.* i. 34. The "broom," of the variety known as *reten*. (Heb. and Arab.), rendered in the A. V. by "juniper," is a genuine desert plant; it is described (Robinson, i. 203, and note) as the largest and most conspicuous shrub therein, having very bitter roots, and yielding a quantity of excellent charcoal, which is the staple, if one may so say, of the desert. The following are mentioned by Schubert (ii. 352-4)[b] as found within the limits of the wilderness:—Mespilus Aaronia, Colutea haleppica, Atraphaxis spinosa, Ephedra alaba, Cytisus uniflorus, and a Cynomorium, a highly interesting variety, compared by Schubert

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[y] Mr. Wilton (*Negeb*, 51) interprets "flying," applied (Is. xxx. 6) to the serpent of the South, as "making great springs;" and "fiery" as either denoting a sensation caused by the bite, or else "red-coloured;" since such are said to have been found by several travellers whom he cites in the region between the Dead and Red Seas.

[z] A number of these are delineated in Forskål's *Icones Rerum Nat.* among the later plates: see also his *Vermes*, iv., *Corallia Maris Rubri* (*ibid.*). Also in Russegger's atlas some specimens of the same classes are engraved. Schubert (ii. 370) remarks that most of the fish found in the Gulf of 'Akabah belong to the tribes known as *Acanthurus* and *Chaetodon* (Hasselquist, 223). He saw a large turtle asleep and basking on the shore near the castle of 'Akabah, which he ineffectually tried to capture.

[a] Seetzen met with it (iii. 47) at about 1 hour to the W. of *Wady el-'Ain*, between Hebron and Sinai; but the mention of small cornfields in the same neighbourhood shows that the spot has the character of an oasis.

[b] Schubert's floral catalogue is unusually rich. He travelled with an especial view to the natural history of the regions visited. His tracks extend from Cairo through Suez, Ayûn Mûsa, and Tôr, by way of Serbâl, to Sinai, thence to Mount Hor and Petra; thence by Madara and Hebron to Jerusalem; as well as in the northerly region of Palestine and Syria. His book should be consulted by all students of this branch of the subject.

to a well known Maltese one. To these he adds in a note (*ibid.*):—Dactylis memphitica, Gagea reticulata, Rumex vesicarius, Artemisia Judaica, Leyssera discoidea, Santolina fragrantissima, Seriola, Lindenbergia Sinaica, Lamium amplexicaule,[c] Stachys affinis, Sisymbrium iris, Anchusa Milleri, Asperugo procumbens, Omphalodes intermedia, Daemia cordata, Reseda canescens, and pruinosa, Reaumuria vermiculata, Fumaria parviflora, Hypecoum pendulum, Cleome trinervis, Aerua tomentosa, Malva Honbezey, Fagonia,[c] Zygophyllum coccineum,[d] Astragalus Fresenii, Genista monosperma.[e] Schubert (ii. 357) also mentions, as found near *Abu Suweir*, N.E. of Sinai, a kind of sage, and of what is probably goat's-rue, also (note, *ibid.*) a fine variety of Astragalus, together with Linaria, Lotus, Cynosurus echinatus, Bromus tectorum, and (365) two varieties of Pergularia, the procera and the tomentosa.

In the S.W. region of the Dead Sea grows the singular tree of the apples of Sodom, the *Asclepias gigantea*[f] of botanists. Dr. Robinson, who gives a full description of it (i. 522-3), says it might be taken for a gigantic species of the milk-weed or silkweed found in the northern regions of the U. S. He condemns the notion of Hasselquist (285, 287-8) as an error, that the fruit of the *Solanum melongela* when punctured by a tenthredo, resulted in the Sodom apple, retaining the skin uninjured, but wholly changed to dust within (*ib.* 524). It is the *'Ösher* of the Arabs. Robinson also mentions willows, hollyhocks, and hawthorns in the Sinaitic region, from the first of which the *Râs Sûfsâfeh*, "willow-head," takes its name (i. 106, 109; Stanley, *S. & P.* 17). He saw hyssop (*Jádeh*) in abundance, and thyme (*Za'ter*), and in the *Wady Feirân* the colocynth, the *Kirdhy* or *Kirdee*,[g] a green thorny plant with a yellow flower; and in or near the 'Arabah, the juniper (*'Arar*), the oleander (*Difleh*), and another shrub like it, the *Zaknâm*, as also the plant *el-Ghûdah*, resembling the *Retem*, but larger (i. 110, 83; ii. 124, 126, 119, and note). He also describes the *Ghŭrkŭd*, which has been suggested as possibly the "tree" cast by Moses into the waters of Marah (Ex. xv. 25). It grows in saline regions of intense heat, bearing a small red berry, very juicy, and slightly acidulous. Being constantly found amongst brackish pools, the "bane and antidote" would thus, on the above supposition, be side by side, but as the fruit ripens in June, it could not have been ready for its supposed use in the early days of the Exodus (Robinson, i. 66-69). He adds in a note that Forskål gives it (*Flor. Aeg. Arab.* p. lxvi.), as the *Peganum retusum*, but that it is more correctly the *Nitraria tridentata* of Desfontaines (*Flora Atlant.* i. 372). The mountain *Um Shaumer* takes its name from the fennel found upon it, as perhaps may *Serbâl* from the *Ser*, myrrh, which "creeps over its ledges up to the very summit,"—a plant noticed by Dr. Stanley as "thickly covering" with its "shrubs" the "natural basin" which surmounts *ed-Deir*, and as seen in the *Wady Seyâl*, N.E. from Sinai (*S. & P.* 17, 78-80). Dr. Stanley also notices the wild thorn, from which the *Wady Sidri* takes its name, the fig-tree which entitles another Wady the "Father of Fig-trees" (*Abû Hamad*), and in the *Wady Seyâl*, "a yellow flowering shrub called *Abeithiran*, and a blue thorny plant called *Silleh*." Again, north-eastwards in *Wady el-'Ain* were seen "rushes, the large-leaved plant called *Esher*," and further down the "*Lasaf*, or caper plant, springing from the clefts." Seetzen's *mesembryanthemum* described above, page 1755, note [g], is noticed by Forskål, who adds that no herb is more common in sandy desert localities than the second, the *nodiflorum*, called in Arabic the *ghasûl* (غاسول). Hasselquist speaks of a *mesemb*, which he calls the "fig-marigold," as found in the ruins of Alexandria; its agreeable saltish-aromatic flavour, and its use by the Egyptians in salads, accord closely with Seetzen's description. Seetzen gives also Arabic names of two plants, one called *Ickedum* by the guides, described as of the size of heath with blue flowers; the other named *Subbh-el-dich*, found to the north of *Wady el-'Ain*, which had a club-shaped sappy root, ranged a foot high above the earth, having scales instead of leaves, and covered, when he saw it, with large, golden flowers clinging close together, till it seemed like a little pinepin (Kegel). Somewhat to the south of this he observed the "rose of Jericho" growing in the dreariest and most desolate solitude, and which appears always to be dead (*Reisen*, iii. 46, 54). In the region about Madara he also found what he calls "Christ's-thorn," Arab. *el-Aussitch*, and an anonymous plant with leaves broader than a tulip, perhaps the *Esher* mentioned above. The following list of plants between Hebron and Madara is also given by Seetzen, having probably been written down by him from hearing them pronounced by his Bedouin guides, and some accordingly it has not been possible to identify with any known names,—*el-Khürrdy*, mentioned in the previous column, note [z]; *el-Bureid*, a hyacinth, whose small pear-shaped bulb is eaten raw by the Bedouins, *el-Arta*,[h] *el-Dschérra*, *el-Sphára* (or *Zafrâ* ?),[i] *el-Erbiân*, *el-Gdime*, *Schekera* (or *Shakooreeyeh*),[k] *el-Metnân*, described as a small shrub, *el-Hmira*, *el-Schillueh*, possibly the

[c] Both these are found in cultivated grounds only.

[d] Shown in Forskål's *Icones Rer. Natur.* tab. xi., where several kinds of *zygophyllum* are delineated.

[e] Probably the same as the *retem* mentioned above.

[f] Many varieties of *Asclepias*, especially the *Cordata*, are given by Forskål (*Descr. Plant.* cent. ii. 49-51). A writer in the *English Cyclopaed. of Nat. Hist.* supports the view of Hasselquist, which Dr. Robinson condemns, calling this tree a *Solanum*, and ascribing to a tenthredo the phenomenon which occurs in its fruit.

[g] "قرضي, arboris rarae nomen in deserto crescentis cujus flores flaviores sunt quam plantae ورس (*uars*, *memecylon tinctorium*) appellatae" (Freytag). For this and most of the notes on the Arabic names of plants and animals, the present writer is indebted to Mr. E. S. Poole.

[h] "ارطى, nomen arboris crescentis in arenis, flore saligneo, fructu ziziphino amaro, radicibus ramulisque rubris, cujus recentiore fructu vescuntur cameli, cortice autem coria concinnantur" (Freyt.). It grows to a man's height, with a flower like the *salix aegyptiaca*, but smaller, with a fruit like the jujube, and the root red.

[i] ذفراء, *ruta sylvestris* (Freyt.).

[k] شكوريه, *cichorium*; *intybus* (Forskål, *Flor Aegypt.* ap. Freyt.). Succory or endive. Condrilla (MS notes).

same as that called *Silleh*, as above, by Dr. Stanley, *el-Khála* (or *Khal*),[1] *el-Handegûk* (or *Handakook*),[m] *el-Liddemma*, *el-Haddâd*, *Kali*, *Aûdan el-Hammár* (or *'Adán el-Himár*).[n] Some more rare plants, precious on account of their products, are the following: *Balsamum Aaronis*, or *nux behen*, called by the Arabs *Festuck el-Ban*, from which an oil is extracted having no perfume of its own, but scented at pleasure with jessamine or other odoriferous leaf, &c. to make a choice unguent. It is found in Mount Sinai and Upper Egypt:—*Cucurbita Lágenaria*, Arab. *Charrah*, found in Egypt and the deserts of Arabia, wherever the mountains are covered with rich soil. The tree producing the famous balsam called "of Mecca," is found many days' journey from that place in Arabia Petraea. Linnaeus, after some hesitation, decided that it was a species of *Amyris*. The *olibanum* frankincense is mentioned by Hasselquist as a product of the desert; but the producing tree appears to be the same as that which yields the gum arabic, viz., the *Mimosa nilotica*, mentioned above. The same writer mentions the *Schoenanthus officinalis*, "camel's hay," as growing plentifully in the deserts of both the Arabias, and regards it as undoubtedly one of the precious, aromatic, and sweet plants, which the Queen of Sheba gave to Solomon (Hasselquist, 288, 255, 296-7; comp. 250-1, 300). Fuller details on the facts of natural history of the region will be found in the writers referred to, and some additional authorities may be found in Sprengel, *Historia rei Herb.* vol. ii.

Besides these, the cultivation of the ground by the Sinaitic monks has enriched their domain with the choicest fruit trees, and with a variety of other trees. The produce of the former is famed in the markets of Cairo. The cypresses of the Convent are visible far away among the mountains, and there is a single conspicuous one near the "cave of Elias" on *Jebel Músa*. Besides, they have the silver and the common poplar, with other trees, for timber or ornament. The apricot, apple, pear, quince, almond, walnut, pomegranate, olive, vine, citron, orange, cornelian cherry, and two fruits named in the Arabic *Schellûk* and *Bargûk*, have been successfully naturalized there (Robinson, i. 94; Seetzen, iii. 70 &c.; Hasselquist, 425; *S. & P.* 52). Dr. Stanley views these as mostly introduced from Europe; Hasselquist on the contrary views them as being the originals whence the finest varieties we have in Europe were first brought. Certainly nearly all the above trees are common enough in the gardens of Palestine and Damascus.

[The present writer wishes to acknowledge the kindness of the Rev. R. S. Tyrwhitt of Oxford, in allowing him a sight of a valuable MS. read by that traveller before the Alpine Club. It is expected to be published in the Journal of that body, but was not in print when this paper went to press. The references to Mr. Tyrwhitt in the preceding article, either relate to that MS., or to his own remarks upon the article itself, which he inspected whilst in the proof sheet.] [H. H.]

[1] خَالٌ nomen plantae regionis Nedjid peculiaris ut est nos; caulis exiguus; Laser; Ruta (Freyt.).

[m] حندقوق Lotus-plant (Freyt.). Distinct, it should seem, from the lote-tree, or *nibk* (a species of the bird's-foot trefoil?). Mellutt MS. notes).

[n] Comfrey (MS. notes).

WILLOWS (עַרָבִים, *'arâbim*, only in pl. ἰτέα; (with נַחַל) ἄγνου κλάδους ἐκ χειμάρρου, κλῶνες ἄγνου: *salices*), undoubtedly the correct rendering of the above Hebrew term, as is proved by the old versions and the kindred Arabic *gharab* (غرب). Willows are mentioned in Lev. xxiii. 40, among the trees whose branches were to be used in the construction of booths at the Feast of Tabernacles; in Job xl. 22, as a tree which gave shade to Behemoth ("the hippopotamus"); in Is. xliv. 4, where it is said that Israel's offspring should spring up "as willows by the watercourses;" in the Psalm (cxxxvii. 2) which so beautifully represents Israel's sorrow during the time of the Captivity in Babylon—"we hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof." With respect to the tree upon which the captive Israelites hung their harps, there can be no doubt that the weeping willow (*Salix Babylonica*) is intended. This tree grows abundantly on the banks of the Euphrates, in other parts of Asia as in Palestine (Strand's *Flora Palaest.* No. 556), and also in North Africa. Bochart has endeavoured to show (*Phaleg*, i. cap. viii.) that country is spoken of, in Is. xv. 7, as "the Valley of Willows." This however is very doubtful. Sprengel (*Hist. Rei Herb.* i. 18, 270) seems to restrict the *'árâb* to the *Salix Babylonica*; but there can scarcely be a doubt that the term is generic, and includes other species of the large family of *Salices*, which is probably well represented in Palestine and the Bible lands, such as the *Salix alba*, *S. viminalis* (osier), *S. Aegyptiaca*, which latter plant Sprengel identifies with the *safsâf* (صفصف) of Abul'-fadli, cited by Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 108), which word is probably the same as the *Tsaphtsáphâh* (צַפְצָפָה) of Ezekiel (xvii. 5), a name in Arabic for "a willow." Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 644), mentions a fountain called *'Ain Safsâf* (عين صفصاف), "the Willow Fountain" (Catafago, *Arabic Dictionary*, p. 1051). Rauwolf (quoted in *Bib. Bot.* p. 274) thus speaks of the *safsâf*:—"These trees are of various sizes; the stems, branches, and twigs are long, thin, soft, and of a pale yellow, and have some resemblance to those of the birch; the leaves are like those of the common willow; on the boughs grow here and there shoots of a span long, as on the wild fig-trees of Cyprus, and these put forth in spring tender downy blossoms like those of the poplar; the blossoms are pale coloured, and of a delicious fragrance; the natives pull them in great quantities, and distil from them a cordial which is much esteemed." Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 449), under the name of *calaf*, apparently speaks of the same tree; and Forskål (*Descript. Plant.* p. lxxvi.) identifies it with the *Salix Aegyptiaca*, while he considers the *safsâf* to be the *S. Babylonica*.

From these discrepancies it seems that the Arabic words are used indefinitely for willows of different kinds.

"The children of Israel," says Lady Callcott (*Scripture Herbal*, p. 533), "still present willows annually in their synagogues, bound up with palm and myrtle, and accompanied with a citron." In this country, as is well known, sprigs of willow-blossoms, under the name of "palms," are often carried in the hand, or borne on some part of the dress, by men and boys on Palm Sunday.

Before the Babylonish Captivity the willow was always associated with feelings of joyful prosperity. "It is remarkable," as Mr. Johns (*The Forest Trees of Britain*, ii. p. 240) truly says, "for having been in different ages emblematical of two directly opposite feelings, at one time being associated with the palm, at another with the cypress." After the Captivity, however, this tree became the emblem of sorrow, and is frequently thus alluded to in the poetry of our own country; and "there can be no doubt," as Mr. Johns continues, "that the dedication of the tree to sorrow is to be traced to the pathetic passage in the Psalms."

Various uses were no doubt made of willows by the ancient Hebrews, although there does not appear to be any definite allusion to them. The Egyptians used "flat baskets of wickerwork, similar to those made in Cairo at the present day" (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. p. 43). Herodotus (i. 194) speaks of boats at Babylon whose framework was of willow; such coracle-shaped boats are represented in the Nineveh sculptures (see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 268). [W. H.]

WILLOWS, THE BROOK OF THE (נַחַל הָעֲרָבִים: ἡ φάραγξ Ἀραβας: *torrens salicum*). A wady mentioned by Isaiah (xv. 7) in his dirge over Moab. His language implies that it was one of the boundaries of the country—probably, as Gesenius (*Jesaia*, i. 532) observes, the southern one. It is possibly identical with a wady mentioned by Amos (vi. 14) as the then recognized southern limit of the northern[a] kingdom (Fürst, *Handwb.*; Ewald, *Propheten*) This latter appears in the A. V. as "the river of the wilderness" (נַחַל הָעֲרָבָה: ὁ χείμαρρος τῶν δυσμῶν: *torrens deserti*). Widely as they differ in the A. V., it will be observed that the names are all but identical in the original, the only difference being that it is plural in Isaiah and singular in Amos. In the latter it is *ha-Arabah*, the same name which is elsewhere almost exclusively used for the Valley of the Jordan, the *Ghôr* of modern Arabs. If the two are regarded as identical, and the latter as the accurate form of the name, then it is probable that the *Wady el-Ahsy* is intended, which breaks down through the southern part of the mountains of Moab into the so-called *Ghor es-Safieh*, at the lower end of the lake, and appears (though our information as to that locality is very scanty) to form a natural barrier between the districts of *Kerak* and *Jebal* (Burckhardt, *Syria*, Aug. 7). This is not improbably also the brook ZERED (*nachal-Zered*) of the earlier history.

Should, however, the *Nachal ha-Arabim* be rendered "the Willow-torrent"—which has the support of Gesenius (*Jesaia*) and Pusey (*Comm. on Amos*, vi. 14)—then it is worthy of remark that the name *Wady Sufsaf*, "Willow Wady," is still attached to a part of the main branch of the ravine which descends from *Kerak* to the north end of the peninsula of the Dead Sea (Irby, May 9). Either of these positions would agree with the requirements of either passage.

The Targum Pseudojonathan translates the name Zered by "osiers," or "baskets."

The Rev. Mr. Wilton in his work on *The Negeb, or South Country of Scripture*, endeavours to identify the *Nachal ha-Arabah* of Amos with the *Wady el-Jeib*, which forms the main drain by which the waters of the present Wady Arabah (the great tract between *Jebel Sherah* and the mountains of *et-Tih*) are discharged into the *Ghor es-Safieh* at the southern end of the Dead Sea. (This important wady was first described by Dr. Robinson, and an account of it will be found in this work under the head of ARABAH, vol. i. p. 89 *b*.) This is certainly ingenious, but cannot be accepted as more than a mere conjecture, without a single consideration in its favour beyond the magnitude of the *Wady el-Jeib*, and the consequent probability that it would be mentioned by the Prophet.[b]

Over this name Jerome takes a singular flight in his Commentary on Is. xv. 7, connecting it with the *Orebim* (A. V. "ravens") who fed Elijah during his seclusion:—"Pro salicibus in Hebraeo legimus *Arabim* quod potest et Arabes intelligi et legi Orbim; id est villa in finibus eorum sita cujus a plerisque accolae in Monte Oreb Eliae praebuisse alimenta dicuntur. . . ." The whole passage is a curious mixture of topographical confusion and what would now be denounced as rationalism. [G.]

WILLS. The subject of testamentary disposition is of course intimately connected with that of inheritance, and little need be added here to what will be found above. [HEIR, vol. i. p. 779.] Under a system of close inheritance like that of the Jews, the scope for bequest in respect of land was limited by the right of redemption and general re-entry in the Jubilee year. [JUBILEE, VOWS.] But the Law does not forbid bequests by will of such limited interest in land as was consistent with those rights. The case of houses in walled towns was different, and there can be no doubt that they must, in fact, have frequently been bequeathed by will (Lev. xxv. 30). Two instances are recorded in the O. T. under the Law, of testamentary disposition, (1) effected in the case of Ahithophel (2 Sam. xvii. 23), (2) recommended in the case of Hezekiah (2 K. xx.

[a] Amos is speaking of the northern kingdom only, not of the whole nation, which excludes the interpretation of the LXX., *i. e.*, probably the *Wady el-Arish*, and also (if it were not precluded by other reasons) that of Gesenius, the Kidron.

[b] It is surely incautious (to say the least) to speak of a mere conjecture, such as this, in terms as positive and unhesitating as if it were a certain and indisputable identification—"Amos is the only sacred writer who mentions the Wady el-Jeib; which he defines as the southern limit of Palestine . . . The minute accuracy of the Prophet in speaking of it as the 'nachal of the Arabah'" (*Negeb*, &c., 34, 35). It has not even the support that it was in the Prophet's native district. Amos was no "prophet of the Negeb." He belonged to the pasture-grounds of Tekoa, not ten miles from Jerusalem, and all his work seems to have lain in Bethel and the northern kingdom. There is not one tittle of evidence that he ever set foot in the Negeb, or knew anything of it. Such statements as these are calculated only to damage and retard the too-faltering progress of Scripture topography.

1; Is. xxxvii. 1); and it may be remarked in both, that the word "set[a] in order," marg. "give charge concerning," agrees with the Arabic word "command," which also means "make a will" (Michaelis, *Law of Moses*, art. 80, vol. i. p. 430, ed. Smith. Various directions concerning wills will be found in the Mishna, which imply disposition of land, *Baba Bathr.* viii. 6, 7). [H. W. P.]

WIMPLE (מִטַּפַּחַת). An old English word for hood or veil, representing the Hebrew *mitpachath* in Is. iii. 22. The same Hebrew word is translated "veil" in Ruth iii. 15, but it signifies rather a kind of shawl or mantle (Schroeder, *De Vestitu Mulier. Hebr.* c. 16). [DRESS, p. 456.] [W. L. B.]

WINDOW (חַלּוֹן; Chal. כְּוָ: *thyris*). The window of an Oriental house consists generally of an aperture (as the word *challôn* implies) closed in with lattice-work, named in Hebrew by the terms *ărubbâh*[b] (Eccl. xii. 3, A. V. "window;" Hos. xiii. 3, A. V. "chimney"), *chărakkîm*[c] (Cant. ii. 9), and *eshnâb*[d] (Judg. v. 28; Prov. vii. 6, A. V. "casement"), the two former signifying the interlaced work of the lattice, and the third the coolness produced by the free current of air through it. Glass has been introduced into Egypt in modern times as a protection against the cold of winter, but lattice-work is still the usual, and with the poor the only, contrivance for closing the window (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* i. 29). When the lattice-work was open, there appears to have been nothing in early times to prevent a person from falling through the aperture (Acts xx. 9). The windows generally look into the inner court of the house, but in every house one or more look into the street, and hence it is possible for a person to observe the approach of another without being himself observed (Judg. v. 28; 2 Sam. vi. 16; Prov. vii. 6; Cant. ii. 9). In Egypt these outer windows generally project over the doorway (Lane, i. 27; Carne's *Letters*, i. 94). When houses abut on the town-wall it is not unusual for them to have projecting windows surmounting the wall and looking into the country, as represented in Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, i. 124. Through such a window the spies escaped from Jericho (Josh. ii. 15), and St. Paul from Damascus (2 Cor. xi. 33). [W. L. B.]

WINDS (רוּחַ). That the Hebrews recognised the existence of four prevailing winds as issuing, broadly speaking, from the four cardinal points, north, south, east, and west, may be inferred from their custom of using the expression "four winds" as equivalent to the "four quarters" of the hemisphere (Ez. xxxvii. 9; Dan. viii. 8; Zech. ii. 6; Matt. xxiv. 31). The correspondence of the two ideas is expressly stated in Jer. xlix. 36. The North wind, or, as it was usually called "the north,"[e] was naturally the coldest of the four (Eccluc. xliii. 20), and its presence is hence invoked as favourable to vegetation in Cant. iv. 16. It is further described in Prov. xxv. 23, as bringing (A. V. "driveth away" in text; "bringeth forth" in marg.) rain; in this case we must understand the north-west wind, which may bring rain, but was certainly not regarded as decidedly rainy. The difficulty connected with this passage has led to the proposal of a wholly different sense for the term *tzâphôn*, viz. *hidden place*. The north-west wind prevails from the autumnal equinox to the beginning of November, and the north wind from June to the equinox (v. Raumer's *Palästina*, p. 79). The East wind[f] crosses the sandy wastes of Arabia Deserta before reaching Palestine, and was hence termed "the wind of the wilderness" (Job i. 19; Jer. xiii. 24). It is remarkably dry and penetrating, and has all the effects of the *sirocco* on vegetation (Ez. xvii. 10, xix. 12; Hos. xiii. 15; Jon. iv. 8). It also blows with violence, and is hence supposed to be used generally for any violent wind (Job xxvii. 21, xxxviii. 24; Ps. xlviii. 7; Is. xxvii. 8; Ez. xxvii. 26). It is probably in this sense that it is used in Ex. xiv. 21, though the east, or at all events the north-east wind would be the one adapted to effect the phenomenon described, viz. the partition of the waters towards the north and south, so that they stood as a wall on the right hand and on the left (Robinson, *Res.* i. 57). In this as in many other passages, the LXX. gives the "south" wind (*νότος*), as the equivalent for the Greek *kâdîm*. Nor is this wholly incorrect, for in Egypt, where the LXX. was composed, the south wind has the same characteristics that the east has in Palestine. The Greek translators appear to have felt the difficulty of rendering *kâdîm* in Gen. xli. 6, 23, 27, because the *parching* effects of the east wind, with which the inhabitants of Palestine are familiar, are not attributable to that wind in Egypt, but either to the south wind, called in that country the *khamáseen*, or to that known as the *samoom*, which comes from the south-east or south-south-east (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* i. 22, 23). It is certainly possible that in Lower Egypt the east wind may be more parching than elsewhere in that country, but there is no more difficulty in assigning to the term *kâdîm* the secondary sense of *parching*, in this passage, than that of *violent* in the others before quoted. As such at all events the LXX. treated the term both here and in several other passages, where it is rendered *kausôn* (*καύσων*, lit. the *burner*). In James i. 11, the A. V. erroneously understands this expression of the burning heat of the sun. In Palestine the east wind prevails from February to June (v. Raumer, 79). The South wind,[g] which traverses the Arabian peninsula before reaching Palestine, must necessarily be extremely hot (Job xxxvii. 17; Luke xii. 55); but the rarity of the notices leads to the inference that it seldom blew from that quarter (Ps. lxxviii. 26; Cant. iv. 16; Ecclus. xliii. 16): and even when it does blow, it does not carry the *samoom* into Palestine itself,[h] although Robinson experienced the effects of this scourge not far south of Beersheba (*Res.* i. 196). In Egypt the south wind (*khamáseen*) prevails in the spring, a portion of which in the months of April and May is termed *el-khamáseen* from that circumstance (Lane i. 22). The West and south-west winds reach Palestine loaded with moisture gathered from the Mediterranean (Robinson, i. 429), and are hence expressively termed by

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[a] צָוָה; *ἐντέλλομαι*; *dispono*. צַוָּאָה in Rabb. a will. Ges. p. 1155.

[b] The term *zîlâphâh* (זְלָעָפָה) in Ps. xi. 6 (A. V. "horrible") has been occasionally understood as referring to the *samoom* (Olshausen, *in loc.* Gesen. *Thes.* p. 418); but it may equally well be rendered "wrathful" or "avenging" (Hengstenberg, *in loc.*).

אֲשְׁנַב [d] חֲרַכִּים [c] אֲרֻבָּה [b]

תֵּימָן; דָּרוֹם [g] קָדִים [f] צָפוֹן [e]

the Arabs "the fathers of the rain" (v. Raumer, 79). The little cloud "like a man's hand" that rose out of the west, was recognised by Elijah as a presage of the coming downfall (1 K. xviii. 44), and the same token is adduced by our Lord as one of the ordinary signs of the weather (Luke xii. 54). Westerly winds prevail in Palestine from November to February.

In addition to the four regular winds, we have notice in the Bible of the local squalls (λαῖλαψ; Mark iv. 37; Luke viii. 23), to which the Sea of Gennesareth was liable in consequence of its proximity to high ground, and which were sufficiently violent to endanger boats (Matt. viii. 24; John vi. 18). The gales which occasionally visit Palestine are noticed under the head of WHIRLWIND. In the narrative of St. Paul's voyage we meet with the Greek term *lips* (λίψ) to describe the south-west wind; the Latin *Carus* or *Caurus* (χῶρος), the north-west wind (Acts xxvii. 12); and εὐροκλύδων (a term of uncertain origin, perhaps a corruption of εὐρακύλων, which appears in some MSS.), a wind of a very violent character (τυφωνικός) coming from E.N.E. (Acts xxvii. 14; Conyb. and Hows. *St. Paul*, ii. 402). [EUROCLYDON.]

The metaphorical allusions to the winds are very numerous; the east wind, in particular, was regarded as the symbol of nothingness (Job xv. 2; Hos. xii. 1), and of the wasting destruction of war (Jer. xviii. 17), and, still more, of the effects of Divine vengeance (Is. xxvii. 8), in which sense, however, general references to violent wind are also employed (Ps. ciii. 16; Is. lxiv. 6; Jer. iv. 11). Wind is further used as an image of speed (Ps. civ. 4, "He maketh His angels winds;" Heb. i. 7), and of transitoriness (Job vii. 7; Ps. lxxviii. 39). Lastly, the wind is frequently adduced as a witness of the Creator's power (Job xxviii. 25; Ps. cxxxv. 7; Eccl. xi. 5; Jer. x. 13; Prov. xxx. 4; Am. iv. 13), and as representing the operations of the Holy Spirit (John iii. 8; Acts ii. 2), whose name (πνεῦμα) represents a gentle wind. [W. L. B.]

WINE. The manufacture of wine is carried back in the Bible to the age of Noah (Gen. ix. 20, 21), to whom the discovery of the process is apparently, though not explicitly, attributed. The natural history and culture of the vine is described under a separate head. [VINE.] The only other plant whose fruit is noticed as having been converted into wine was the pomegranate (Cant. viii. 2). In Palestine the vintage takes place in September, and is celebrated with great rejoicings (Robinson, *Res.* i. 431, ii. 81). The ripe fruit was gathered in baskets (Jer. vi. 9), as represented in Egyptian paintings (Wilkinson, i. 41-45), and was carried to the wine-press. It was then placed in the upper one of the two vats or receptacles of which the wine-press was formed [WINE-PRESS], and was subjected to the process of "treading," which has prevailed in all ages in Oriental and South-European countries (Neh. xiii. 15; Job xxiv. 11; Is. xvi. 10; Jer. xxv. 30, xlviii. 33; Am. ix. 13; Rev. xix. 15). A certain amount of juice exuded from the ripe fruit from its own pressure before the treading commenced. This appears to have been kept separate from the rest of the juice, and to have formed the *gleukos* or "sweet wine" noticed in Acts ii. 13. The first drops of juice that reached the lower vat were termed the *dema*, or "tear," and formed the first-fruits of the vintage (ἀπαρχὰς ληνοῦ, LXX.) which were to be presented to Jehovah (Ex. xxii. 29). The "treading" was effected by one or more men according to the size of the vat, and, if the Jews adopted the same arrangements as the Egyptians, the treaders were assisted in the operation by ropes fixed to the roof of the wine-press, as represented in Wilkinson's *Anc. Eg.* i. 46. They encouraged one another by shouts and cries (Is. xvi. 9, 10; Jer. xxv. 30, xlviii. 33). Their legs and garments were dyed red with the juice (Gen. xlix. 11, Is. lxiii. 2, 3). The expressed juice escaped by an aperture into the lower vat, or was at once collected in vessels. A hand-press was occasionally used in Egypt (Wilkinson, i. 45), but we have no notice of such an instrument in the Bible. As to the subsequent treatment of the wine, we have but little information. Sometimes it was preserved in its unfermented state, and drunk as must, but more generally it was bottled off after fermentation, and, if it were designed to be kept for some time, a certain amount of lees was added to give it body (Is. xxv. 6). The wine consequently required to be "refined" or strained previously to being brought to table (Is. xxv. 6).

Egyptian Wine-press, from Wilkinson.

The produce of the wine-press was described in the Hebrew language by a variety of terms, indicative either of the quality or of the use of the liquid. These terms have of late years been subjected to a rigorous examination with a view to show that Scripture disapproves, or, at all events, does not speak with approval, of the use of fermented liquor. In order to establish this position it has been found necessary, in all cases where the substance is coupled with terms of commendation, to explain them as meaning either unfermented wine or fruit, and to restrict the notices of fermented wine to passages of a condemnatory character. We question whether the critics who have adopted these views have not driven their arguments beyond their fair conclusions. It may at once be conceded that the Hebrew terms translated "wine" refer occasionally to an unfermented liquor; but inasmuch as there are frequent allusions to intoxication in the Bible, it is clear that fermented liquors were also in common use. It may also be conceded that the Bible occasionally speaks in terms of strong condemnation of the effects of wine; but it is an open question whether in these cases the condemnation is not rather directed against intoxication and excess, than against the substance which is the occasion of the excess. The term of chief importance in connexion with

this subject is *tîrôsh*, which is undoubtedly spoken of with approval, inasmuch as it is frequently classed with *dâgân* and *shemen*, in the triplet "corn, wine, and oil," as the special gifts of Providence. This has been made the subject of a special discussion in a pamphlet entitled *Tirosh lo Yayin* by Dr. Lees, the object being to prove that it means not wine but fruit. An examination of the Hebrew terms is therefore unavoidable, but we desire to carry it out simply as a matter of Biblical criticism, and without reference to the topic which has called forth the discussion.

The most general term for wine is *yayin*,[a] which is undoubtedly connected with the Greek *oïvos*, the Latin *vinum*, and our "wine." It has hitherto been the current opinion that the Indo-European languages borrowed the term from the Hebrews. The reverse, however, appears to be the case (Renan, *Lang. Sém.* i. 207): the word belongs to the Indo-European languages, and may be referred either to the root *wê*, "to weave," whence come *viere*, *vimen*, *vitis*, *vitta* (Pott, *Etym. Forsch.* i. 120, 230), or to the root *wan*, "to love" (Kuhn, *Zeits. f. Veryl. Sprachf.* i. 191, 192). The word being a borrowed one, no conclusion can be drawn from etymological considerations as to its use in the Hebrew language. *Tîrôsh*[b] is referred to the root *yârash*, "to get possession of," and is applied, according to Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 633), to wine on account of its inebriating qualities, whereby it *gets possession of* the brain; but, according to Bythner, as quoted by Lees (*Tirosh*, p. 52), to the vine as being a *possession* (κατ' ἐξοχήν) in the eyes of the Hebrews. Neither of these explanations is wholly satisfactory, but the second is less so than the first, inasmuch as it would be difficult to prove that the Hebrews attached such pre-eminent value to the vine as to place it on a par with landed property, which is designated by the cognate terms *yerushshâh* and *môrâshâh*. Nor do we see that any valuable conclusion could be drawn from this latter derivation; for, assuming its correctness, the question would still arise whether it was on account of the natural or the manufactured product that such store was set on the vine. *'Âsîs*[c] is derived from a word signifying "to tread," and therefore refers to the method by which the juice was expressed from the fruit. It would very properly refer to *new* wine as being recently trodden out, but not necessarily to unfermented wine. It occurs but five times in the Bible (Cant. viii. 2; Is. xlix. 26; Joel i. 5, iii. 18; Am. ix. 13). *Sôbe*[d] is derived from a root signifying to "soak" or "drink to excess." The cognate verb and participle are constantly used in the latter sense (Deut. xxi. 20; Prov. xxiii. 20, 21; Is. lvi. 12; Nah. i. 10). The connexion between *sôbe* and the Latin *sapa*, applied to a decoction of must (Kitto's *Cycl. s. v.* Wine), appears doubtful: the latter was regarded as a true Latin word by Pliny (xiv. 11). *Sôbe* occurs but thrice (Is. i. 22; Hos. iv. 18; Nah. i. 10). *Chemer*[e] (Deut. xxxii. 14), in the Chaldee *chamar* (Ezr. vi. 9, vii. 22) and *chamrâ* (Dan. v. 1 ff.), conveys the notion of *foaming* or *ebullition*, and may equally well apply to the process of fermentation or to the frothing of liquid freshly poured out, in which latter case it might be used of an unfermented liquid. *Mesec*[f] (Ps. lxxv. 8), *mezeg*[g] (Cant. vii. 2), and *mimsâc*[h] (Prov. xxiii. 30; Is. lxv. 11), are connected etymologically with *misceo* and "mix," and imply a mixture of wine with some other substance: no conclusion can be drawn from the word itself as to the quality of the wine, whether fermented or unfermented, or as to the nature of the substance introduced, whether spices or water. We may further notice *shêcâr*,[i] a generic term applied to all fermented liquors except wine [DRINK, STRONG]; *chômetz*,[j] a weak sour wine, ordinarily termed vinegar [VINEGAR]; *'ashîshâh*,[k] rendered "flagon of wine" in the A. V. (2 Sam. xvi. 1; 1 Chr. xvi. 3; Cant. ii. 5; Hos. iii. 1), but really meaning a cake of pressed raisins; and *shêmârîm*,[l] properly meaning the "lees" or dregs of wine, but in Is. xxv. 6 transferred to wine that had been kept on the lees for the purpose of increasing its body. In the New Testament we meet with the following terms: *oinos*,[m] answering to *yayin* as the genera designation of wine; *gleukos*,[n] properly *sweet* wine (Acts ii. 13); *sikera*,[o] a Grecised form of the Hebrew *shêcâr*; and *oxos*,[p] vinegar. In Rev. xiv 10 we meet with a singular expression,[q] literally meaning *mixed unmixed*, evidently referring to the custom of mingling wine: the two terms cannot be used together in their literal sense, and hence the former has been explained as meaning "poured out" (De Wette *in l. c.*).

From the terms themselves we pass on to an examination of such passages as seem to elucidate their meaning. Both *yayin* and *tîrôsh* are occasionally connected with expressions that would apply properly to a fruit; the former, for instance, with verbs significant of *gathering* (Jer. xl. 10, 12), and *growing* (Ps. civ. 14, 15); the latter with *gathering* (Is. lxii. 9, A. V. "brought it together"), *treading* (Mic. vi. 15), and *withering* (Is. xxiv. 7; Joel i. 10). So again the former is used in Num. vi. 4 to define the particular kind of tree whose products were forbidden to the Nazarite, viz. the "pendulous shoot of the vine;" and the latter in Judg. ix. 13, to denote the product of the vine. It should be observed, however, that in most, if not all, the passages where these and similar expressions occur, there is something to denote that the fruit is regarded not simply as fruit, but as the raw material out of which wine is manufactured. Thus, for instance, in Ps. civ. 15 and Judg. ix. 13 the *cheering* effects of the product are noticed, and that these are more suitable to the idea of wine than of fruit seems self-evident: in one passage indeed the A. V. connects the expression "make cheerful" with bread (Zech. ix. 17), but this is a mere mistranslation, the true sense of the expression there used being to *nourish* or *make to grow*. So, again, the *treading* of the grape in Mic. vi. 15 is in itself conclusive as to the pregnant sense in which the term *tîrôsh* is used, even if it were not subsequently implied that the effect of the treading was in the ordinary course of things to produce the *yayin* which was to be drunk. In Is. lxii. 9 the object of the *gathering* is clearly conveyed by the notice of *drinking*. In Is. xxiv. 7 the *tîrôsh*, which withers, is paralleled with *yayin* in the two following verses. And lastly, in Is. lxv. 8 the nature of the *tîrôsh*, which is said to be found in the cluste

a	יַיִן	b	תִּירוֹשׁ	c	עָסִיס
d	סֹבֶא	e	חֵמֶר	f	מֶסֶךְ
g	מָזֶג	h	מִמְסָךְ	i	שֵׁכָר
j	חֹמֶץ	k	אֲשִׁישָׁה	l	שְׁמָרִים
m	οἶνος.	n	γλεῦκος.	o	σίκερα
p	ὄξος.	q	κεκερασμένος ἄκρατος.		

of the grapes, is not obscurely indicated by the subsequent eulogium, "a blessing is in it." That the terms "vine" and "wine" should be thus interchanged in poetical language calls for no explanation. We can no more infer from such instances that the Hebrew terms mean *grapes as fruit*, than we could infer the same of the Latin *vinum* because in some two or three passages (Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 4, 125; Varr. *de L. L.* iv. 17; Cato, *R. R.* c. 147) the term is transferred to the grape out of which wine is made.

The question whether either of the above terms ordinarily signified a solid substance, would be at once settled by a reference to the manner in which they were consumed. With regard to *yayin* we are not aware of a single passage which couples it with the act of *eating*.[r] With regard to *tîrôsh* the case is somewhat different, inasmuch as that term generally follows "corn," in the triplet "corn, wine, and oil," and hence the term applied to the consumption of corn is carried on, in accordance with the grammatical figure *zeugma*, to the other members of the clause, as in Deut. xii. 17. In the only passage where the act of consuming *tîrôsh* alone is noticed (Is. lxii. 8, 9), the verb is *shâthâh*,[s] which constantly indicates the act of *drinking* (*e. g.* Gen. ix. 21, xxiv. 22; Ex. vii. 21; Ruth ii. 9), and is the general term combined with *âcal* in the joint act of "eating and drinking" (*e. g.* 1 Sam. xxx. 16; Job i. 4; Eccl. ii. 24). We can find no confirmation for the sense of *sucking* assigned to the term by Dr. Lees (*Tirosh*, p. 61): the passage quoted in support of that sense (Ps. lxxv. 8) implies at all events a kind of sucking allied to drinking rather than to eating, if indeed the sense of drinking be not the more correct rendering of the term. An argument has been drawn against the usual sense assigned to *tîrôsh*, from the circumstance that it is generally connected with "corn," and therefore implies an edible rather than a drinkable substance. The very opposite conclusion may, however, be drawn from this circumstance; for it may be reasonably urged that in any enumeration of the materials needed for man's support, "meat and drink" would be specified, rather than several kinds of the former and none of the latter.

There are, moreover, passages which seem to imply the actual manufacture of *tîrôsh* by the same process by which wine was ordinarily made. For, not to insist on the probability that the "bringing together," noticed in Is. lxii. 9, would not appropriately apply to the collecting of the fruit in the wine-vat, we have notice of the "treading" in connexion with *tîrôsh* in Mic. vi. 15, and again of the "overflowing" and the "bursting out" of the *tîrôsh* in the vessels or lower vat (*yekeb*; ὑπολήνιον), which received the must from the proper press (Prov. iii. 10; Joel ii. 24).

Lastly, we have intimations of the effect produced by an excessive use of *yayin* and *tîrôsh*. To the former are attributed the "darkly flashing eye" (Gen. xlix. 12; A. V. "red," but see Gesen. *Thes.* Append. p. 89), the unbridled tongue (Prov. xx. 1; Is. xxviii. 7), the excitement of the spirit (Prov. xxxi. 6; Is. v. 11; Zech. ix. 15, x. 7), the enchained affections of its votaries (Hos. iv. 11), the perverted judgment (Prov. xxxi. 5; Is. xxviii. 7), the indecent exposure (Hab. ii. 15, 16), and the sickness resulting from the *heat* (*chemâh*, A. V. "bottles")[t] of wine (Hos. vii. 5). The allusions to the effects of *tîrôsh* are confined to a single passage, but this a most decisive one, viz., Hos. iv. 11, "Whoredom and wine (*yayin*), and new wine (*tîrôsh*) take away the heart," where *tîrôsh* appears as the climax of engrossing influences, in immediate connexion with *yayin*.

The impression produced on the mind by a general review of the above notices is, that both *yayin* and *tîrôsh* in their ordinary and popular acceptation referred to fermented, intoxicating wine. In the condemnatory passages no exception is made in favour of any other kind of liquid passing under the same name, but not invested with the same dangerous qualities. Nor again in these passages is there any decisive condemnation of the substance itself, which would enforce the conclusion that elsewhere an unfermented liquid must be understood. The condemnation must be understood of *excessive use* in any case: for even where this is not expressed, it is implied: and therefore the instances of wine being drunk without any reproof of the act, may with as great a probability imply the moderate use of an intoxicating beverage, as the use of an unintoxicating one.

The notices of fermentation are not very decisive. A certain amount of fermentation is implied in the distension of the leather bottles when new wine was placed in them, and which was liable to burst old bottles. It has been suggested that the object of placing the wine in bottles was to prevent fermentation, but that in "the case of old bottles fermentation might ensue from their being impregnated with the fermenting substance" (*Tirosh*, p. 65). This is not inconsistent with the statement in Matt. ix. 17, but it detracts from the spirit of the comparison which implies the presence of a strong expansive, penetrating principle. It is, however, inconsistent with Job xxxii. 19, where the distension is described as occurring even in *new* bottles. It is very likely that new wine was preserved in the state of must by placing it in jars or bottles, and then burying it in the earth. But we should be inclined to understand the passages above quoted as referring to wine drawn off before the fermentation was complete, either for immediate use, or for the purpose of forming it into sweet wine after the manner described by the Geoponic writers (vii. 19) [*Dict. of Ant.* "Vinum"]. The presence of the gas-bubble, or as the Hebrews termed it, "the eye" that sparkled in the cup (Prov. xxiii. 31), was one of the tokens of fermentation having taken place, and the same effect was very possibly implied in the name *khemer*.

The remaining terms call for but few remarks. There can be no question that *asis* means wine, and in this case it is observable that it forms part of a Divine promise (Joel iii. 18; Am. ix. 13) very much as *tîrôsh* occurs elsewhere, though other notices imply that it was the occasion of excess (Is. xlix. 26; Joel i. 5). Two out of the three passages in which *sôbe* occurs (Is. i. 22; Nah. i. 10) imply a liquor that would be spoiled or *wounded* (the expression in Is. i. 22, *mâhûl*, A. V. "mixed," is supposed to convey the same idea as the Latin *castrare* applied to wine in Pun. xix. 19) by the application of water; we think the passages quoted

[r] An apparent instance occurs in Is. lv. 1, where the "buy and eat" has been supposed to refer to the "buy wine and milk" which follows (*Tirosh*, p. 94). But the term rendered "buy" properly means "to buy *grain*" and hence expresses in itself the substance to be eaten

[s] שָׁתָה

favour the idea of *strength* rather than sweetness being the characteristic of *sôbe*. The term occurs in Hos. iv. 18, in the sense of a debauch, and the verb accompanying it has no connexion with the notion of acidity, but would more properly be rendered "is past." The *mingling* implied in the term *mesek* may have been designed either to increase, or to diminish the strength of the wine, according as spices or water formed the ingredient that was added. The notices chiefly favour the former view; for mingled liquor was prepared for high festivals (Prov. ix. 2, 5), and occasions of excess (Prov. xxiii. 30; Is. v. 22). A cup "full mixed," was emblematic of severe punishment (Ps. lxxv. 8). At the same time strength was not the sole object sought: the wine "mingled with myrrh" given to Jesus, was designed to deaden pain (Mark xv. 23), and the spiced pomegranate wine prepared by the bride (Cant. viii. 2) may well have been of a mild character. Both the Greeks and Romans were in the habit of flavouring their wines with spices, and such preparations were described by the former as wine ἐξ ἀρωμάτων κατασκευαζόμενος (Athen. i. p. 31 *e*), and by the latter as *aromatites* (Plin. xiv. 19, §5). The authority of the Mishna may be cited in favour both of water and of spices, the former being noticed in *Berach.* 7, §5; *Pesach.* 7, §13, and the latter in *Schen.* 2, §1. In the New Testament the character of the "sweet wine," noticed in Acts ii. 13, calls for some little remark. It could not be *new* wine in the proper sense of the term, inasmuch as about eight months must have elapsed between the vintage and the feast of Pentecost. It might have been applied, just as *mustum* was by the Romans, to wine that had been preserved for about a year in an unfermented state (Cato, *R. R.* c. 120). But the explanations of the ancient lexicographers rather lead us to infer that its luscious qualities were due, not to its being recently made, but to its being produced from the very purest juice of the grape; for both in Hesychius and the Etymologicum Magnum the term γλεῦκος is explained to be the juice that flowed spontaneously from the grape before the treading commenced. The name itself, therefore, is not conclusive as to its being an unfermented liquor, while the context implies the reverse: for St. Peter would hardly have offered a serious defence to an accusation that was not seriously made; and yet if the sweet wine in question were not intoxicating, the accusation could only have been ironical.

As considerable stress is laid upon the quality of sweetness, as distinguished from strength, supposed to be implied in the Hebrew terms *mesek* and *sôbe*, we may observe that the usual term for the inspissated juice of the grape, which was characterized more especially by sweetness, was *dêbash*,[1] rendered in the A. V. "honey" (Gen. xliii. 11; Ez. xxvii. 17). This was prepared by boiling it down either to a third of its original bulk, in which case it was termed *sapa* by the Latins, and ἕψημα or σίραιον by the Greeks, or else to half its bulk, in which case it was termed *defrutum* (Plin. xiv. 11). Both the substance and the name, under the form of *dibs*, are in common use in Syria at the present day. We may further notice a less artificial mode of producing a sweet liquor from the grape, namely, by pressing the juice directly into the cup, as described in Gen. xl. 11. And, lastly, there appears to have been a beverage, also of a sweet character, produced by macerating grapes, and hence termed the "liquor"[2] of grapes (Num. vi. 3). These later preparations are allowed in the Koran (xvi. 69) as substitutes for wine.

There can be little doubt that the wines of Palestine varied in quality, and were named after the localities in which they were made. We have no notices, however, to this effect. The only wines of which we have special notice, belonged to Syria: these were the wine of Helbon, a valley near Damascus, which in ancient times was prized at Tyre (Ez. xxvii. 18) and by the Persian monarchs (Strab. xv. p. 735), as it still is by the residents of Damascus (Porter, *Damascus*, i. 333); and the wine of Lebanon, famed for its aroma (Hos. xiv. 7).

With regard to the uses of wine in private life there is little to remark. It was produced on occasions of ordinary hospitality (Gen. xiv. 18), and at festivals, such as marriages (John ii. 3). The monuments of ancient Egypt furnish abundant evidence that the people of that country, both male and female, indulged liberally in the use of wine (Wilkinson, i. 52, 53). It has been inferred from a passage in Plutarch (*de Isid.* 6) that no wine was drunk in Egypt before the reign of Psammetichus, and this passage has been quoted in illustration of Gen. xl. 11. The meaning of the author seems rather to be that the kings subsequently to Psammetichus did not restrict themselves to the quantity of wine prescribed to them by reason of their sacerdotal office (Diod. i. 70). The cultivation of the vine was incompatible with the conditions of a nomad life, and it was probably on this account that Jonadab, wishing to perpetuate that kind of life among his posterity, prohibited the use of wine to them (Jer. xxxv. 6). The case is exactly parallel to that of the Nabathaeans, who abstained from wine on purely political grounds (Diod. xix. 94).

Under the Mosaic law wine formed the usual drink-offering that accompanied the daily sacrifice (Ex. xxix. 40), the presentation of the first-fruits (Lev. xxiii. 13), and other offerings (Num. xv. 5). It appears from Num. xxviii. 7 that strong drink might be substituted for it on these occasions. Tithe was to be paid of wine (*tîrôsh*) as of other products, and this was to be consumed "before the Lord," meaning within the precincts of the Temple, or perhaps, as may be inferred from Lev. vii. 16, at the place where the Temple was situated (Deut. xii. 17, 18). The priest was also to receive first-fruits of wine (*tîrôsh*), as of other articles (Deut. xviii. 4; comp. Ex. xxii. 29): and a promise of plenty was attached to the faithful payment of these dues (Prov. iii. 9, 10). The priests were prohibited from the use of wine and strong drink before performing the services of the Temple (Lev. x. 9), and the place which this prohibition holds in the narrative favours the presumption that the offence of Nadab and Abihu was committed under the influence of liquor. Ezekiel repeats the prohibition as far as wine is concerned (Ez. xliv. 21). The Nazarite was prohibited from the use of wine, or strong drink, or even the juice of grapes during the continuance of his vow (Num. vi. 3); but the adoption of that vow was a voluntary act. The use of wine at the paschal feast was not enjoined by the Law; but had become an established custom, at all events in the post-Babylonian period. The cup was handed round four times according to the ritual prescribed in the Mishna (*Pesach.* 10, §1), the third cup being designated the "cup of blessing" (1 Cor. x. 16), because

[1] דְּבַשׁ [2] מִשְׁרָה

grace was then said (*Pesach.* 10, §7). [PASSOVER]. The contents of the cup are specifically described by our Lord as "the fruit" (γέννημα) of the vine (Matt. xxvi. 29; Mark xiv. 25; Luke xxii. 18), and in the Mishna simply as wine. The wine was mixed with warm water on these occasions, as implied in the notice of the warming kettle (*Pesach.* 7, §13). Hence in the early Christian Church it was usual to mix the sacramental wine with water, a custom as old, at all events, as Justin Martyr's time (*Apol.* i. 65). The Pastoral Epistles contain directions as to the moderate use of wine on the part of all holding office in the Church; as that they should not be πάροινοι (1 Tim. iii. 3; A. V. "given to wine"), meaning insolent and violent under the influence of wine; "not given to much wine" (1 Tim. iii. 8); "not enslaved to much wine" (Tit. ii. 3). The term νηφάλεος in 1 Tim. iii. 2 (A. V. "sober"), expresses general vigilance and circumspection (Schleusner, *Lex. s. v.*; Alford, *in loc.*). St. Paul advises Timothy himself to be no longer a habitual water-drinker, but to take a little wine for his health's sake (1 Tim. v. 23). No very satisfactory reason can be assigned for the place which this injunction holds in the Epistle, unless it were intended to correct any possible misapprehension as to the preceding words, "Keep thyself pure." The precepts above quoted, as well as others to the same effect addressed to the disciples generally (Rom. xiii. 13; Gal. v. 21; 1 Pet. iv. 3), show the extent to which intemperance prevailed in ancient times, and the extreme danger to which the Church was subjected from this quarter. [W. L. B.]

WINE-PRESS (גַּת; יֶקֶב; פּוּרָה). From the scanty notices contained in the Bible we gather that the wine-presses of the Jews consisted of two receptacles or vats placed at different elevations, in the upper one of which the grapes were trodden, while the lower one received the expressed juice. The two vats are mentioned together only in Joel iii. 13:—"The press (*gath*) is full: the fats (*yekebim*) overflow"—the upper vat being full of fruit, the lower one overflowing with the must. *Yekeb* is similarly applied in Joel ii. 24, and probably in Prov. iii. 10, where the verb rendered "burst out" in the A. V. may bear the more general sense of "*abound*" (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1130). *Gath* is also strictly applied to the upper vat in Neh. xiii. 15, Lam. i. 15, and Is. lxiii. 2, with *pûrâh* in a parallel sense in the following verse. Elsewhere *yekeb* is not strictly applied; for in Job xxiv. 11, and Jer. xlviii. 33, it refers to the upper vat, just as in Matt. xxi. 33, ὑπολήνιον (properly the vat *under* the press) is substituted for ληνός, as given in Mark xii. 1. It would, moreover, appear natural to describe the whole arrangement by the term *gath*, as denoting the most important portion of it; but, with the exception of proper names in which the word appears, such as Gath, Gath-rimmon, Gath-hepher, and Gittaim, the term *yekeb* is applied to it (Judg. vii. 25; Zech. xiv. 10). The same term is also applied to the produce of the wine-press (Num. xviii. 27, 30; Deut. xv. 14; 2 K. vi. 27; Hos. ix. 2). The term *pûrâh*, as used in Hagg. ii. 16, probably refers to the contents of a wine-vat,[a] rather than to the press or vat itself. The two vats were usually dug or hewn out of the solid rock (Is. v. 2, margin; Matt. xxi. 33). Ancient wine-presses, so constructed, are still to be seen in Palestine, one of which is thus described by Robinson:—"Advantage had been taken of a ledge of rock; on the upper side a shallow vat had been dug out, eight feet square, and fifteen inches deep. Two feet lower down another smaller vat was excavated, four feet square by three feet deep. The grapes were trodden in the shallow upper vat, and the juice drawn off by a hole at the bottom (still remaining) into the lower vat" (*B. R.* iii. 137, 603). The wine-presses were thus permanent, and were sufficiently well known to serve as indications of certain localities (Judg. vii. 25; Zech. xiv. 10). The upper receptacle (*gath*) was large enough to admit of threshing being carried on in (not "by," as in A. V.) it, as was done by Gideon for the sake of concealment (Judg. vi. 11). [FAT.] [W. L. B.]

[a] The LXX. renders the term by μετρητής, the Greek measure equivalent to the Hebrew bath.

WINNOWING. [AGRICULTURE.]

WISDOM OF JESUS, SON OF SIRACH. [ECCLESIASTICUS.]

WISDOM, THE, OF SOLOMON. Σοφία Σαλωμών; Σοφία Σολομῶντος; later, ἡ Σοφία: *Liber Sapientiae*; *Sapientia Salomonis*; *Sophia Salomonis*. The title Σοφία was also applied to the Book of Proverbs, as by Melito *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26 (Παροιμίαι ἡ καὶ ἡ Σοφία; see Vales. or Routh *ad loc.*), and also to Ecclesiasticus, as Epiphanius (*adv. haer.* lxxvi. p. 941, ἐν ταῖς Σοφίαις, Σολομῶντός τέ φημι καὶ υἱοῦ Σιράχ), from which considerable confusion has arisen.

1. *Text.*—The Book of Wisdom is preserved in Greek and Latin texts, and in subsidiary translations into Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian. Of these latter, the Armenian is said to be the most important; the Syriac and Arabic Versions being paraphrastic and inaccurate (Grimm, *Einl.* §10). The Greek text, which, as will appear afterwards, is undoubtedly the original, offers no remarkable features. The variations in the MSS. are confined within narrow limits, and are not such as to suggest the idea of distinct early recensions; nor is there any appearance of serious corruptions anterior to existing Greek authorities. The Old Latin Version, which was left untouched by Jerome (*Praef. in Libr. Sal.*, In eo libro qui a plerisque *Sapientia Salomonis* inscribitur . . . . calamo temperavi; tantummodo canonicas Scripturas emendare desiderans, et studium meum certis magis quam dubiis commendare), is in the main a close and faithful rendering of the Greek, though it contains some additions to the original text, such as are characteristic of the old version generally. Examples of these additions are found—i. 15, *Injustitia autem mortis est acquisitio*; ii. 8, *Nullum pratum sit quod non pertranseat luxuria nostra*; ii. 17, *et sciemus quae erunt novissima illius*; vi. 1, *Melior est sapientia quam vires, et vir prudens quam fortis.* And the construction of the parallelism in the two first cases suggests the belief that there, at least, the Latin reading may be correct. But other additions point to a different conclusion: vi. 23, *diligite lumen sapientiae omnes qui praeestis populis*; viii. 11, *et facies principum mirabuntur me*; ix. 19, *quicunque placuerunt tibi domine a principio*; xi. 5, *a defectione potus sui, et in eis cum abundarent filii Israel laetati sunt.*

The chief Greek MSS. in which the book is contained are the *Codex Sinaiticus* (ℵ), the *Cod. Alexandrinus* (A), the *Cod. Vaticanus* (B), and the *Cod. Ephraemi rescr.* (C). The entire text is pre-

served in the three former; in the latter, only considerable fragments: viii. 5-xi. 10; xiv. 19-xvii. 18; xviii. 24-xix. 22.

Sabatier used four Latin MSS. of the higher class for his edition: "Corbeienses duos, unum Sangermanensem, et alium S. Theodorici ad Remos," of which he professes to give almost a complete (but certainly not a literal) collation. The variations are not generally important; but patristic quotations show that in early times very considerable differences of text existed. An important MS. of the book in the Brit. Mus. *Egerton*, 1046, Saec. viii. has not yet been examined.

2. *Contents.*—The book has been variously divided: but it seems to fall most naturally into two great divisions: (1) i.-ix.; (2) x.-xix. The first contains the doctrine of Wisdom in its moral and intellectual aspects; the second, the doctrine of Wisdom as shown in history. Each of these parts is again capable of subdivision. The first part contains the praise of Wisdom as the source of immortality in contrast with the teaching of sensualists (i.-v.); and next the praise of Wisdom as the guide of practical and intellectual life, the stay of princes, and the interpreter of the universe (vi.-ix). The second part, again, follows the action of Wisdom summarily, as preserving God's servants from Adam to Moses (x. 1.-xi. 4), and more particularly in the punishment of the Egyptians and Canaanites (xi. 5-16; xi. 17-xii.). This punishment is traced to its origin in idolatry, which, in its rise and progress, presents the false substitute for Revelation (xiii., xiv.). And in the last section (xv.-xix.) the history of the Exodus is used to illustrate in detail the contrasted fortunes of the people of God and idolaters. The whole argument may be presented in a tabular form in the following shape.

I.—Ch. i.-ix. *The doctrine of Wisdom in its spiritual, intellectual, and moral aspects.*

(α). i.-v. Wisdom the giver of happiness and immortality.
- The conditions of wisdom (i. 1-11).
  - Uprightness of thought (1-5).
  - Uprightness of word (6-11).
- The origin of death (i. 12-ii. 24).
  - Sin (in fact) by man's free will (i. 12-16).
  - The reasoning of the sensualist (ii. 1-20).
  - Sin (in source) by the envy of the devil (21-24).
- The godly and wicked in life (as mortal), (iii. 1-iv.).
  - In chastisements (iii. 1-10).
  - In the results of life (iii. 11-iv. 6).
  - In length of life (7-20).
- The godly and wicked after death (v.).
  - The judgment of conscience (1-14).
  - The judgment of God—
    - On the godly (15-16).
    - On the wicked (17-23).

β). vi.-ix Wisdom the guide of life.
- Wisdom the guide of princes (vi. 1-21).
  - The responsibility of power (1-11).
  - Wisdom soon found (12-16).
  - Wisdom the source of true sovereignty (17-21).
- The character and realm of wisdom
  - Open to all (vi. 22-vii. 7).
  - Pervading all creation (vii. 8-viii. 1).
  - Swaying all life (viii. 2-17).
- Wisdom the gift of God (viii. 17-ix.)
- Prayer for wisdom (ix.)

II.—Ch. x.-xix. *The doctrine of Wisdom in its historical aspects.*

(α). Wisdom a power to save and chastise.
- Wisdom seen in the guidance of God's people from Adam to Moses (x.-xi. 4).
- Wisdom seen in the punishment of God's enemies (xi. 5-xii.).
  - The Egyptians (xi. 5-xii. 1).
  - The Canaanites (xii. 2-18).
  - The lesson of mercy and judgment (19-27).

(β). The growth of idolatry the opposite to wisdom.
- The worship of nature (xiii. 1-9).
- The worship of images (xiii. 10-xiv. 13).
- The worship of deified men (xiv. 14-21).
- The moral effects of idolatry (xiv. 22-31).

(γ). The contrast between true worshippers and idolaters (xv.-xix.).
- The general contrast (xv. 1-17).
- The special contrast at the Exodus—
  - The action of beasts (xv. 18-xvi. 13).
  - The action of the forces of nature—water fire (xvi. 14-29).
  - The symbolic darkness (xvii.-xviii. 4).
  - The action of death (xviii. 5-25).
  - The powers of nature changed in their working to save and destroy (xix. 1-21).
  - Conclusion (xix. 21).

The subdivisions are by no means sharply defined, though it is not difficult to trace the main current of thought. Each section contains the preparation for that which follows, just as in the classic trilogy the close of one play shadowed forth the subject of the next. Thus in ii. 24*b*, iv. 20, ix. 18. &c., the fresh idea is enunciated, which is subsequently developed at length. In this way the whole book is intimately bound together, and the clauses which appear at first sight to be idle repetitions of thought really spring from the elaborateness of its structure.

3. *Unity and integrity.*—It follows from what has been said that the book forms a complete and harmonious whole. But the distinct treatment of the subject, theoretically and historically, in two parts, has given occasion from time to time for maintaining that it is the work of two or more authors. C. F. Houbigant (*Prolegg. ad Sap. et Eccles.* 1777) supposed that the first nine chapters were the work of Solomon, and that the translator of the Hebrew original (probably) added the later chapters. Eichhorn (*Einl. in d. Apoc.* 1795), rightly feeling that some historical illustrations of the action of wisdom were required by the close of ch. ix., fixed the end of the original book at ch. xi. 1. Nachtigal (*Das Buch Weish.* 1799) devised a far more artificial theory, and imagined that he could trace in the book the records of (so to speak) an antiphonic "Praise of Wisdom," delivered in three sittings of the sacred schools by two companies of doctors. Bretschneider (1804-5), following out the simpler hypothesis, found three different writings in the book, of which he attributed the first part (i. 1-vi. 8) to a Palestinian Jew of the time of Antiochus Epiph., the second (vi. 9-x.) to a philosophic Alexandrine Jew of the time of our Lord, and the

third (xii.-xix.) to a contemporary, but uneducated Jew, who wrote under the influence of the rudest national prejudices. The eleventh chapter was, as he supposed, added by the compiler who brought the three chief parts together. Bertholdt (*Einleitung*, 1815) fell back upon a modification of the earliest division. He included chap. i.-xii. in the original book, which he regarded as essentially philosophical, while the later addition (xiii.-xix.) is, in his judgment, predominantly theological. It is needless to enter in detail into the arguments by which these various opinions were maintained, but when taken together, they furnish an instructive example of the course of subjective criticism. The true refutation of the one hypothesis which they have in common—the divided authorship of the book—is found in the substantial harmony and connexion of its parts, in the presence of the same general tone and manner of thought throughout it, and yet more in the essential uniformity of style and language which it presents, though both are necessarily modified in some degree by the subject matter of the different sections. (For a detailed examination of the arguments of the "Separatists," see Grimm, *Exeg. Handb.* §4; and Bauermeister, *Comm. in lib. Sap.* 3 ff.)

Some, however, admitting the unity of the book, have questioned its integrity. Eichhorn imagined that it was left imperfect by its author (*Einl.* p. 148); Grotius, apparently, that it was mutilated by some accident of time (Videtur hic liber esse κόλουρος); and others have been found, in later times, to support each opinion. Yet it is obvious that the scope of the argument is fully satisfied by the investigation of the providential history of the Jews up to the time of the occupation of Canaan, and the last verse furnishes a complete epilogue to the treatise, which Grimm compares, not inaptly, with the last words of 3 Macc.

The idea that the book has been interpolated by a Christian hand (Grotius, Gratz) is as little worthy of consideration as the idea that it is incomplete. The passages which have been brought forward in support of this opinion (ii. 12-20, 24, iii. 13, 14, xiv. 7; comp. *Homilies*, p. 174, ed. 1850) lose all their force, if fairly interpreted.

4. *Style and Language.*—The literary character of the book is most remarkable and interesting. In the richness and freedom of its vocabulary it most closely resembles the fourth Book of Maccabees, but it is superior to that fine declamation, both in power and variety of diction. No existing work represents perhaps more completely the style of composition which would be produced by the sophistic schools of rhetoric; and in the artificial balancing of words, and the frequent niceties of arrangement and rhythm, it is impossible not to be reminded of the exquisite story of Prodicus (Xen. *Memorab.* ii. 1, 21), and of the subtle refinements of Protagoras in the dialogue which bears his name. It follows as a necessary consequence that the effect of different parts of the book is very unequal. The florid redundancy and restless straining after effect, which may be not unsuited to vivid intellectual pictures, is wholly alien from the philosophic contemplation of history. Thus the forced contrasts and fantastic exaggerations in the description of the Egyptian plagues cannot but displease while it is equally impossible not to admire the lyrical force of the language of the sensualist (ii. 1, ff.), and of the picture of future judgment (v. 15, ff.). The magnificent description of Wisdom (vii. 22-viii. 1) must rank among the noblest passages of human eloquence, and it would be perhaps impossible to point out any piece of equal length in the remains of classical antiquity more pregnant with noble thought, or more rich in expressive phraseology. It may be placed beside the Hymn of Cleanthes or the visions of Plato, and it will not lose its power to charm and move. Examples of strange or new words may be found almost on every page. Such are ἀναποδισμός, πρωτόπλαστος, εἰδέχθεια, ἀγεωχία, ἐτάζειν, ἀκηλίδωτος, ῥεμβασμός, ξενιτεία; others belong characteristically to later Greek, as διαβούλιον, ἀνταναπλᾶσθαι, ἀδιάπτωτος, ἑδράζειν, ἔξαλλος, ἀπερίσπαστος, &c.; others, again, to the language of philosophy, ὁμοιοπαθής, ζωτικός, προϋφεστάναι, &c.; and others to the LXX., χερσόω, ὁλοκαύτωμα, &c. No class of writings and no mode of combination appear to be unfamiliar to the writer. Some of the phrases which he adopts are singularly happy, as κατάχρεος ἁμαρτίας (i. 4), ἀλαζονεύεσθαι πατέρα θεόν (ii. 16), ἐλπὶς ἀθανασίας πλήρης (iii. 4), &c.; and not less so some of the short and weighty sentences in which he gathers up the truth on which he is dwelling: vi. 19, ἀφθαρσία ἐγγὺς εἶναι ποιεῖ θεοῦ; xi. 26, φείδῃ δὲ πάντων ὅτι σὰ ἐστι, δέσποτα φιλόψυχε. The numerous artificial resources with which the book abounds are a less pleasing mark of labour bestowed upon its composition. Thus, in i. 1, we have ἀγαπήσατε . . . φρονήσατε . . . . ἐν ἀγαθότητι καὶ ἐν ἁπλότητι, . . . ζητήσατε; v. 23, ποταμοὶ . . . ἀποτόμως; xiii. 11, περιέξυσεν εὐμαθῶς . . . καὶ τεχνησάμενος εὐπρεπῶς; xix. 20, τηκτὸν εὔτηκτον. The arrangement of the words is equally artificial, but generally more effective, and often very subtle and forcible; vii. 29, ἔστι γὰρ αὕτη (ἡ σοφία) εὐπρεπεστέρα ἡλίου καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἄστρων θέσιν. φωτὶ συγκρινομένη εὑρίσκεται προτέρα. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ διαδέχεται νύξ, σοφίας δὲ οὐκ ἀντισχύει κακία.

The language of the Old Latin translation is also itself full of interest. It presents, in great profusion, the characteristic provincialisms which elsewhere mark the earliest African version of the Scriptures. [Comp. VULGATE, §43.] Such are the substantives *exterminium*, *refrigerium*; *praeclaritas*, *medietas*, *nimietas*, *nativitas*, *supervacuitus*; *subitatio*; *assistrix*, *doctrix*, *electrix*; *immemoratio* (ἀμνησία); *incolatus*; the adjectives *contemptibilis*, *ineffugibilis*, *odibilis*; *incoinquinatus*, *inauxiliatus*, *indisciplinatus*, *insensatus*, *insimulatus* (ἀνυπόκριτος); *fumigabundus*; the verbs *angustiare*, *mansuetare*, *improperare*; and the phrases *impossibilis immittere*, *partibus* (=*partim*), *innumerabilis honestas*, *providentiae* (pl.).

5. *Original Language.*—The characteristics of the language, which have been just noticed, are so marked that no doubt could ever have been raised as to the originality of the Greek text, if it had not been that the book was once supposed to be the work of Solomon. It was assumed (so far rightly) that if the traditional title were correct, the book must have been written in Hebrew; and the belief which was thus based upon a false opinion as to the authorship, survived, at least partially, for some time after that opinion was abandoned. Yet as it must be obvious, even on a superficial examination, that the style and language of the book show conclusively that it could not have been the work of Solomon, so it appears with equal certainty that the freedom of the Greek diction was

backed by no Aramaic text. This was well stated by Jerome, who says, "Fertur et *πανάρετος* Jesu filii Sirach liber, et alius *ψευδεπίγραφος* qui Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur . . . Secundus apud Hebraeos nusquam est, quia et ipse stylus Graecam eloquentiam redolet" (*Praef. in Libr. Salom.*); and it seems superfluous to add any further argument to those which must spring from the reading of any one chapter. It is, however, interesting on other grounds to observe that the book contains unequivocal traces of the use of the LXX. where it differs from the Hebrew: ii. 11, *ἐνεδρεύσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστί* (Is. iii. 10); xv. 10, *σποδὸς ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν* (Is. xliv. 20); and this not in direct quotations, where it is conceivable that a Greek translator might have felt justified in adopting the rendering of the version with which he was familiar, but where the words of the LXX. are inwrought into the text itself. But while the original language of the book may be regarded as certainly determined by internal evidence, great doubt hangs over the date and place of its composition; and it will be necessary to examine some of the doctrinal peculiarities which it presents before any attempt is made to determine these points with approximate accuracy.

6. *Doctrinal character.*—The theological teaching of the book offers, in many respects, the nearest approach to the language and doctrines of Greek philosophy which is found in any Jewish writing up to the time of Philo. There is much in the views which it gives of the world, of man, and of the Divine Nature, which springs rather from the combination or conflict of Hebrew and Greek thought than from the independent development of Hebrew thought alone. Thus, in speaking of the almighty power of God, the writer describes Him as "having created the universe out of matter without form" (*κτίσασα τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης*, xi. 17), adopting the very phrase of the Platonists, which is found also in Philo (*De Vict. Offer.* §13), to describe the pre-existing matter out of which the world was made, and (like Philo, *De Mund. Op.* §5) evidently implying that this indeterminate matter was itself uncreated. Whatever attempts may be made to bring this statement into harmony with the doctrine of an absolute primal creation, it is evident that it derives its form from Greece. Scarcely less distinctly heathen is the conception which is presented of the body as a mere weight and clog to the soul (ix. 15; contrast 2 Cor. v. 1-4); and we must refer to some extra-Judaic source for the remarkable doctrine of the pre-existence of souls, which finds unmistakeable expression in viii. 20. The form, indeed, in which this doctrine is enunciated differs alike from that given by Plato and by Philo, but it is no less foreign to the pure Hebrew mode of thought. It is more in accordance with the language of the O. T. that the writer represents the Spirit of God as filling (i. 7) and inspiring all things (xii. 1), but even here the idea of "a soul of the world" seems to influence his thoughts; and the same remark applies to the doctrine of the Divine Providence (*πρόνοια*, xiv. 3, xvii. 2; comp. Grimm, *ad loc.*), and of the four cardinal virtues (viii. 7, *σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία*) which, in form at least, show the effect of Stoic teaching. There is, on the other hand, no trace of the characteristic Christian doctrine of a resurrection of the body; and the future triumph of the good is entirely unconnected with any revelation of a personal Messiah[a] (iii. 7, 8, v. 16; comp. Grimm on i. 12, iii. 7, for a good view of the eschatology of the book). The identification of the tempter (Gen. iii.), directly or indirectly, with the devil, as the bringer "of death into the world" (ii. 23, 24), is the most remarkable development of Biblical doctrine which the book contains; and this pregnant passage, when combined with the earlier declaration as to the action of man's free will in the taking of evil to himself (i. 12-16), is a noble example of the living power of the Divine teaching of the O. T. in the face of other influences. It is also in this point that the Pseudo-Solomon differs most widely from Philo, who recognizes no such evil power in the world, though the doctrine must have been well known at Alexandria (comp. Gfrörer, *Philo*, &c. ii. 238).[b] The subsequent deliverance of Adam from his transgression (*ἐξείλατο αὐτὸν ἐκ παραπτώματος ἰδίου*) is attributed to Wisdom; and it appears that we must understand by this, not the scheme of Divine Providence, but that wisdom, given by God to man, which is immortality (viii. 17). Generally, too, it may be observed that, as in the cognate books, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, there are few traces of the recognition of the sinfulness even of the wise man in his wisdom, which forms, in the Psalms and the Prophets, the basis of the Christian doctrine of the atonement (yet comp. xv. 2). With regard to the interpretation of the O. T., it is worthy of notice that a typical significance is assumed to underlie the historic details (xvi. 1, xviii. 4, 5, &c.); and in one most remarkable passage (xviii. 24) the high-priestly dress is expressly described as presenting an image of the Divine glory in creation and in the patriarchal covenant—an explanation which is found, in the main, both in Philo (*De Vita Mos.* §12) and Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, §7), as well as in later writers (comp. also xvi. 6, §7). In connexion with the O. T. Scriptures, the book, as a whole, may be regarded as carrying on one step further the great problem of life contained in Ecclesiastes and Job; while it differs from both *formally* by the admixture of Greek elements, and *doctrinally* by the supreme prominence given to the idea of immortality as the vindication of Divine justice (comp. below, §9).

7. *The doctrine of Wisdom.*—It would be impossible to trace here in detail the progressive development of the doctrine of Wisdom, as a Divine Power standing in some sense between the Creator

[a] The famous passage, ii. 12-20, has been very frequently regarded, both in early and modern times, as a prophecy of the Passion of Christ, "the child of God." It is quoted in this sense by Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iii. 22), Cyprian (*Testim.* ii. 14), Hippolytus (*Dem. adv. Jud.* 9), Origen (*Hom.* vi. *in Ex.* 1.), and many later Fathers, and Romish interpreters have generally followed their opinion. It seems obvious, however, that the passage contains no individual reference; and the coincidences which exist between the language and details in the Gospels are due partly to the O. T. passages on which it is based, and partly to the concurrence of each typical form of reproach and suffering in the Lord's Passion.

[b] There is also considerable difference between the sketch of the rise of idolatry in Philo, *De Monarch.* §1-3, and that given in *Wisd.* xiii. xiv. Other differences are pointed out by Eichhorn, *Einl.* 172 ff. A trace of the cabbalistic use of numbers is pointed out by Ewald in the *twenty one* attributes of Wisdom (vii. 23, 25).

and creation, yet without some idea of this history no correct opinion can be formed on the position which the Book of the Pseudo-Solomon occupies in Jewish literature. The foundation of the doctrine is to be found in the Book of Proverbs, where (viii.) Wisdom (*Khokmah*) is represented as present with God before (viii. 22) and during the creation of the world. So far it appears only as a principle regulating the action of the Creator, though even in this way it establishes a close connexion between the world, as the outward expression of Wisdom, and God. Moreover, by the personification of Wisdom, and the relation of Wisdom to men (viii. 31), a preparation is made for the extension of the doctrine. This appears, after a long interval, in Ecclesiasticus. In the great description of Wisdom given in that book (xxiv.), Wisdom is represented as a creation of God (xxiv. 9), penetrating the whole universe (4-6), and taking up her special abode with the chosen people (8-12). Her personal existence and providential function are thus distinctly brought out. In the Book of Wisdom the conception gains yet further completeness. In this, Wisdom is identified with the Spirit of God (ix. 17)—an identification half implied in Ecclus. xxiv. 3—which brooded over the elements of the unformed world (ix. 9), and inspired the prophets (vii. 7, 27). She is the power which unites (i. 7) and directs all things (viii. 1). By her, in especial, men have fellowship with God (xii. 1); and her action is not confined to any period, for "in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God and prophets" (vii. 27). So also her working, in the providential history of God's people, is traced at length (x.); and her power is declared to reach beyond the world of man into that of spirits (vii. 23).

The conception of Wisdom, however boldly personified, yet leaves a wide chasm between the world and the Creator. Wisdom answers to the idea of a spirit vivifying and uniting all things in all time, as distinguished from any special outward revelation of the Divine Person. Thus at the same time that the doctrine of Wisdom was gradually constructed, the correlative doctrine of the Divine Word was also reduced to a definite shape. The Word (*Memra*), the Divine expression, as it was understood in Palestine, furnished the exact complement to Wisdom, the Divine thought; but the ambiguity of the Greek *Logos* (*sermo, ratio*) introduced considerable confusion into the later treatment of the two ideas. Broadly, however, it may be said that the *Word* properly represented the mediative element in the action of God, *Wisdom* the mediative element of His omnipresence. Thus, according to the later distinction of Philo, Wisdom corresponds to the *immanent* Word (Λόγος ἐνδιάθετος), while the Word, strictly speaking, was defined as *enunciative* (Λόγος προφορικός). Both ideas are included in the language of the prophets, and both found a natural development in Palestine and Egypt. The one prepared men for the revelation of the Son of God, the other for the revelation of the Holy Spirit.

The Book of the Pseudo-Solomon, which gives the most complete view of Divine wisdom, contains only two passages in which the Word is invested with the attributes of personal action (xvi. 12, xviii. 15; ix. 1 is of different character). These, however, are sufficient to indicate that the two powers were distinguished by the writer; and it has been commonly argued that the superior prominence given in the book to the conception of Wisdom is an indication of a date anterior to Philo. Nor is this conclusion unreasonable, if it is probably established on independent grounds that the book is of Alexandrine origin. But it is no less important to observe that the doctrine of Wisdom in itself is no proof of this. There is nothing in the direct teaching on this subject, which might not have arisen in Palestine, and it is necessary that we should recur to the more special traits of Alexandrine thought in the book which have been noticed before (§6) for the primary evidence of its Alexandrine origin; and starting from this there appears to be, as far as can be judged from the imperfect materials at our command, a greater affinity in the *form* of the doctrine on wisdom to the teaching of Alexandria than to that of Palestine (comp. Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 548 ff.; Welte, *Einl.* 161 ff., has some good criticisms on many supposed traces of Alexandrine doctrine in the book, but errs in denying all).

The doctrine of the Divine wisdom passes by a transition, often imperceptible, to that of human wisdom, which is derived from it. This embraces not only the whole range of moral and spiritual virtues, but also the various branches of physical knowledge. [Comp. PHILOSOPHY.] In this aspect the enumeration of the great forms of natural science in vii. 17-20 (viii. 8), offers a most instructive subject of comparison with the corresponding passages in 1 K. iv. 32-34. In addition to the subjects on which Solomon wrote (Songs, Proverbs: Plants, Beasts, Fowls, Creeping Things, Fishes), Cosmology, Meteorology, Astronomy, Psychology, and even the elements of the philosophy of history (viii. 8), are included among the gifts of Wisdom. So far then the thoughtful Jew had already at the Christian era penetrated into the domain of speculation and inquiry, into each province, it would seem, which was then recognized, without abandoning the simple faith of his nation. The fact itself is most significant; and the whole book may be quoted as furnishing an important corrective to the later Roman descriptions of the Jews, which were drawn from the people when they had been almost uncivilized by the excitement of the last desperate struggle for national existence. (For detailed references to the chief authorities on the history of the Jewish doctrine of Wisdom, see PHILOSOPHY; adding Bruch, *Die Weisheitslehre der Hebräer*, 1851.)

8. *Place and date of writing.*—Without claiming for the internal indications of the origin of the book a decisive force, it seems most reasonable to believe on these grounds that it was composed at Alexandria some time before the time of Philo (cir. 120-80 B.C.). This opinion in the main, though the conjectural date varies from 150-50 B.C, or even beyond these limits, is held by Heydenreich, Gfrörer, Bauermeister, Ewald, Bruch, and Grimm; and other features in the book go far to confirm it. Without entering into the question of the extent of the Hellenistic element at Jerusalem in the last century B.C., it may be safely affirmed that there is not the slightest evidence for the existence there of so wide an acquaintance with Greek modes of thought, and so complete a command of the resources of the Greek language, as is shown in the Book of Wisdom. Alexandria was the only place where Judaism and philosophy, both of the east and west, came into natural and close connexion. It appears further that the mode in which Egyptian idolatry is spoken of, must be due in some degree to the influence of

present and living antagonism, and not to the contemplation of past history. This is particularly evident in the great force laid upon the details of the Egyptian animal worship (xv. 18, &c.); and the description of the condition of the Jewish settlers in Egypt (xix. 14-16) applies better to colonists fixed at Alexandria on the conditions of equality by the first Ptolemies, than to the immediate descendants of Jacob. It may, indeed, be said justly, that the local colouring of the latter part of the book is conclusive as to the place of its composition. But all the guesses which have been made as to its authorship are absolutely valueless. The earliest was that mentioned by Jerome, which assigned it to Philo (*Praef. in Lib. Sal.* Nonnulli scriptorum veterum hunc esse Judaei Philonis affirmant). There can be no doubt that the later and famous Philo was intended by this designation, though Jerome in his account of him makes no reference to the belief (*De vir. illustr.* xi.). Many later writers, including Luther and Gerhard, adopted this view; but the variations in teaching, which have been already noticed, effectually prove that it is unfounded. Others, therefore, have imagined that the name was correct, but that the elder Philo was intended by it (G. Wernsdorff, and in a modified form Huet and Bellarmin). But of this elder Jewish Philo it is simply known that he wrote a poem on Jerusalem.[c] Lutterbeck suggested Aristobulus. [ARISTOBULUS.] Eichhorn, Zeller, Jost, and several others supposed that the author was one of the Therapeutae, but here the positive evidence against the conjecture is stronger, for the book contains no trace of the ascetic discipline which was of the essence of the Therapeutic teaching. The opinion of some later critics that the book is of Christian origin (Kirschbaum, C. H. Weisse), or even definitely the work of Apollos (Noack), is still more perverse; for not only does it not contain the slightest trace of the three cardinal truths of Christianity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection of the body, but it even leaves no room for them by the general tenor of its teaching.[d]

9. *History.*—The history of the book is extremely obscure. There is no trace of the use of it before the Christian era, but this could not be otherwise if the view which has been given of its date be correct. It is perhaps more surprising that Philo does not (as it seems) show any knowledge of it, and it is not unlikely that if his writings are carefully examined with this object, some allusions to it may be found which have hitherto escaped observation. On the other hand, it can scarcely be doubted that St. Paul, if not other of the Apostolic writers, was familiar with its language, though he makes no definite quotation from it (the supposed reference in Luke xi. 49 to Wisd. ii. 12-14, is wholly unfounded). Thus we have striking parallels in Rom. ix. 21 to Wisd. xv. 7; in Rom. ix. 22 to Wisd. xii. 20; in Eph. vi. 13-17 to Wisd. v. 17-19 (the heavenly armour), &c. The coincidences in thought or language which occur in other books of the N. T., if they stood alone, would be insufficient to establish a direct connexion between them and the Book of Wisdom; and even in the case of St. Paul, it may be questioned whether his acquaintance with the book may not have been gained rather orally than by direct study. The same remark applies to a coincidence of language in the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians pointed out by Grimm (*Ad Cor.* i. 27; Wisd. xi. 22, xii. 12); so that the first clear references to the book occur not earlier than the close of the second century. According to Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 26), Irenaeus made use of it (and of the Ep. to the Hebrews) in a lost work, and in a passage of his great work (*adv. Haer.* iv. 38, 3) Irenaeus silently adopts a characteristic clause from it (Wisd. vi. 19, *ἀφθαρσία δὲ ἐγγὺς εἶναι ποιεῖ θεοῦ*). From the time of Clement of Alexandria the book is constantly quoted as an inspired work of Solomon, or as "Scripture," even by those Fathers who denied its assumed authorship, and it gained a place in the Canon (together with the other Apocryphal books) at the Council of Carthage, cir. 397 A.D. (for detailed references see CANON, vol. i. pp. 256, 258). From this time its history is the same as that of the other Apocryphal books up to the period of the Reformation. In the controversies which arose then its intrinsic excellence commanded the admiration of those who refused it a place among the canonical books (so Luther *ap.* Grimm, §2). Pellican directly affirmed its inspiration (Grimm, *l. c.*); and it is quoted as Scripture in both the Books of Homilies (pp. 98-9; 174, ed. 1850). In later times the various estimates which have been formed of the book have been influenced by controversial prejudices. In England, like the rest of the Apocrypha, it has been most strangely neglected, though it furnishes several lessons for Church Festivals. It seems, indeed, impossible to study the book dispassionately, and not feel that it forms one of the last links in the chain of providential connexion between the Old and New Covenants. How far it falls short of Christian truth, or rather how completely silent it is on the essential doctrines of Christianity, has been already seen; and yet Christianity offers the only complete solution to the problems which it raises in its teaching on the immortality of man, on future judgment, on the catholicity of the divine Church, and the speciality of Revelation. It would not be easy to find elsewhere any pre-Christian view of religion equally wide, sustained, and definite. The writer seems to have looked to the east and west, to the philosophy of Persia and Greece, and to have gathered from both what they contained of Divine truth, and yet to have clung with no less zeal than his fathers to that central revelation which God made first to Moses, and then carried on by the O. T. prophets. Thus in some sense the book becomes a landmark by which we may partially fix the natural limits of the development of Jewish doctrine when brought into contact with heathen doctrine, and measure the aspirations which were thus raised before their great fulfilment. The teaching of the book upon immortality has left ineffaceable traces upon the language of Christendom. The noble phrase which speaks of a "hope full of immortality" (Wisd. iii. 4), can never be lost;

[c] The conjecture of J. Faber, that the book was written by Zerubbabel, who rightly assumed the character of a second Solomon, is only worth mentioning as a specimen of misplaced ingenuity (comp. Welte, *Einl.* 191 ff.). Augustine himself corrected the mistake by which he attributed it to Jesus the son of Sirach.

[d] Dr. Tregelles has given a new turn to this opinion by supposing that the book may have been written by a Christian (otherwise unknown) named Philo. In support of this he suggests an ingenious conjectural emendation of a corrupt passage of the Muratorian Canon. Where the Latin text reads *et Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta*, he imagines the original Greek may have read, *καὶ ἡ Σοφία Σολομῶντος ὑπὸ Φίλωνος* (for *ὑπὸ φίλων*)....Or again, that Jerome so misread the passage (*Journal of Philol.* 1855, 37 ff.).

and in mediæval art few symbols are more striking than that which represents in outward form that "the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God" (Wisd. iii. 1). Other passages less familiar are scarcely less beautiful when seen in the light of Christianity, as xv. 3, "To know Thee (O God) is perfect righteousness; yea, to know Thy power is the root of immortality" (comp. viii. 13, 17; St. John xvii. 3), or xi. 26, "Thou sparest all: for they are thine, O Lord, thou lover of souls" (comp. xii. 16); and many detached expressions anticipate the language of the Apostles (iii. 9, *χάρις καὶ ἔλεος*; iii. 14, *τῆς πίστεως χάρις ἐκλεκτή*; xi. 24, *παροράς ἁμαρτήματα ἀνθρώπων εἰς μετάνοιαν*; xvi. 7, *διὰ σὲ τὸν πάντων σωτῆρα*).

10. *Commentaries.*—The earliest commentary which remains is that of Rabanus Maurus (†856), who undertook the work, as he says in his preface, because he was not acquainted with any complete exposition of the book. It is uncertain from his language whether the homilies of Augustine and Ambrose existed in his time: at least they have now been long lost. Of the Roman Catholic commentaries the most important are those of Lorinus (†1634), Corn. a Lapide (†1637), Maldonatus (†1583), Calmet (†1757), J. A. Schmid (1858). Of other commentaries, the chief are those by Grotius (†1645), Heydenreich, Bauermeister (1828), and Grimm (1837). The last mentioned scholar has also published a new and admirable commentary in the *Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb. zu d. Apok.* 1860, which contains ample references to earlier writers, and only errs by excess of fulness. The English commentary of R. Arnald (†1756) is extremely diffuse, but includes much illustrative matter, and shows a regard for the variations of MSS. and Versions which was most unusual at the time. A good English edition, however, is still to be desired. [B. F. W.]

WITCH, WITCHCRAFTS. [MAGIC.]

WITNESS.[a] Among people with whom writing is not common, the evidence of a transaction is given by some tangible memorial or significant ceremony. Abraham gave seven ewe-lambs to Abimelech as an evidence of his property in the well of Beer-sheba. Jacob raised a heap of stones, "the heap of witness," as a boundary-mark between himself and Laban (Gen. xxi. 30, xxxi. 47, 52). The tribes of Reuben and Gad raised an "altar," designed expressly not for sacrifice, but as a witness to the covenant between themselves and the rest of the nation; Joshua set up a stone as an evidence of the allegiance promised by Israel to God; "for," he said, "it hath heard all the words of the Lord" (Josh. xxii. 10, 26, 34, xxiv. 26, 27). So also a pillar is mentioned by Isaiah as "a witness to the Lord of Hosts in the land of Egypt" (Is. xix. 19, 20). Thus also the sacred ark and its contents are called "the Testimony" (Ex. xvi. 33, 34, xxv. 16, xxxviii. 21; Num. i. 50, 53, ix. 15, x. 11, xvii. 7, 8, xviii. 2; Heb. ix. 4).

Thus also symbolical usages, in ratification of contracts or completed arrangements, as the ceremony of shoe-loosing (Deut. xxv. 9, 10; Ruth iv. 7, 8), the ordeal prescribed in the case of a suspected wife, with which may be compared the ordeal of the Styx (Num. v. 17-31; *Class. Mus.* vi. 386). The Bedouin Arabs practise a fiery ordeal in certain cases by way of compurgation (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 121; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 305). The ceremony also appointed at the oblation of first-fruits may be mentioned as partaking of the same character (Deut. xxvi. 4). [FIRST-FRUITS.]

But written evidence was by no means unknown to the Jews. Divorce was to be proved by a written document (Deut. xxiv. 1, 3), whereas among Bedouins and Mussulmans in general a spoken sentence is sufficient (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 110; Sale, *Koran*, c. 33, p. 348; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 136, 236). In civil contracts, at least in later times, documentary evidence was required and carefully preserved (Is. viii. 16; Jer. xxxii. 10-16).

On the whole the Law was very careful to provide and enforce evidence for all its infractions and all transactions bearing on them: *e. g.* the memorial stones of Jordan and of Ebal (Deut. xxvii. 2-4; Josh. iv. 9, viii. 30); the fringes on garments (Num. xv. 39, 40); the boundary-stones of property (Deut. xix. 14, xxvii. 17; Prov. xxii. 28); the "broad plates" made from the censers of the Korahites (Num. xvi. 38); above all, the Ark of Testimony itself:—all these are instances of the care taken by the Legislator to perpetuate evidence of the facts on which the legislation was founded, and by which it was supported (Deut. vi. 20-25). Appeal to the same principle is also repeatedly made in the case of prophecies as a test of their authenticity (Deut. xviii. 22; Jer. xxviii. 9, 16, 17; John iii. 11, v. 36, x. 38, xiv. 11; Luke xxiv. 48; Acts i. 3, ii. 32, iii. 15, &c.).

Among special provisions of the Law with respect to evidence are the following:—

1. Two witnesses at least are required to establish any charge (Num. xxxv. 30; Deut. xvii. 6, xix. 15; 1 K. xxi. 13; John viii. 17; 2 Cor. xiii. 1; Heb. x. 28); and a like principle is laid down by St. Paul as a rule of procedure in certain cases in the Christian Church (1 Tim. v. 19).

2. In the case of the suspected wife, evidence besides the husband's was desired, though not demanded (Num. v. 13).

3. The witness who withheld the truth was censured (Lev. v. 1).

4. False witness was punished with the punishment due to the offence which it sought to establish. [OATHS.]

5. Slanderous reports and officious witness are discouraged (Ex. xx. 16, xxiii. 1; Lev. xix. 16, 18; Deut. xix. 16-21; Prov. xxiv. 28).

6. The witnesses were the first executioners (Deut. xiii. 9, xvi. 7; Acts vii. 58).

7. In case of an animal left in charge and torn by wild beasts, the keeper was to bring the carcase in proof of the fact and disproof of his own criminality (Ex. xxii. 13).

8. According to Josephus, women and slaves were not admitted to bear testimony (*Ant.* iv. 8, §15). To these exceptions the Mishna adds idiots, deaf, blind, and dumb persons, persons of infamous character, and some others, ten in all (Selden, *de Synedr.* ii. 13, 11; Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* p. 653). The high-priest was not bound to give evidence in any case except one affecting the king (*ib.*). Various refinements on the quality of evidence and the manner of taking it are given in the Mishna (*Sanhedr.* iv. 5, v. 2, 3; *Maccoth*, i. 1, 9; *Sheb.* iii. 10, iv. 1, v. 1). In criminal cases evidence was required to be oral; in pecuniary, written evidence was allowed (Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* 653).

In the N. T. the original notion of a witness is exhibited in the special form of one who attests his

[a] עֵד, עֵדָה f.; *μάρτυς*; *testis*: used both of persons and things.

belief in the Gospel by personal suffering. So St. Stephen is styled by St. Paul (Acts xxii 20), and the "faithful Antipas" (Rev. ii. 13). St. John also speaks of himself and of others as witnesses in this sense (Rev. i. 9, vi. 9, xi. 3, xx. 4). See also Heb. xi. and xii. 1, in which passage a number of persons are mentioned, belonging both to O. T. and N. T., who bore witness to the truth by personal endurance; and to this passage may be added, as bearing on the same view of the term "witness," Dan. iii. 21, vi. 16; 1 Macc. i. 60, 63; 2 Macc. vi. 18, 19. Hence it is that the use of the ecclesiastical term "Martyr" has arisen, of which copious illustration may be seen in Suicer, *Thes.* vol. ii. p. 310, &c. [H. W. P.]

WIZARD. [MAGIC.]

WOLF (זְאֵב, *zĕ'ĕb*: λύκος: *lupus*). There can be little doubt that the wolf of Palestine is the common *Canis lupus*, and that this is the animal so frequently mentioned in the Bible, though it is true that we lack precise information with regard to the *Canidae* of Palestine. Hemprich and Ehrenberg have described a few species, as, for instance, the *Canis Syriacus* and the *C.* (*Vulpes*) *Niloticus* (see figures in art. FOX, App. A); and Col. Hamilton Smith mentions, under the name of *derboun*, a species of black wolf, as occurring in Arabia and Southern Syria; but nothing definite seems to be known of this animal. Wolves were doubtless far more common in Biblical times than they are now, though they are occasionally seen by modern travellers (see Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine*, p. 364, and Russell's *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*, ii. 184): "the wolf seldom ventures so near the city as the fox, but is sometimes seen at a distance by the sportsmen among the hilly grounds in the neighbourhood; and the villages, as well as the herds, often suffer from them. It is called *Deeb* in Arabic, and is common all over Syria."

The following are the Scriptural allusions to the wolf:—Its ferocity is mentioned in Gen. xlix. 27; Ez. xxii. 27; Hab. i. 8; Matt. vii. 15: its nocturnal habits, in Jer. v. 6; Zeph. iii. 3; Hab. i. 8: its attacking sheep and lambs, John x. 12; Matt. x. 16; Luke x. 3. Isaiah (xi. 6, lxv. 25) foretells the peaceful reign of the Messiah under the metaphor of a wolf dwelling with a lamb; cruel persecutors are compared with wolves (Matt. x. 16; Acts xx. 29).

Wolves, like many other animals, are subject to variation in colour; the common colour is grey with a tinting of fawn and long black hairs; the variety most frequent in Southern Europe and the Pyrenees is black; the wolf of Asia Minor is more tawny than those of the common colour.

The people of Nubia and Egypt apply the term *Dĕb* to the *Canis anthus*, Fr. Cuv. (see Rüppell's *Atlas zu der Reise im Nördlichen Africa*, p. 46); this, however, is a jackal, and seems to be the *Lupus Syriacus*, which Hemp and Ehrenb. noticed in Syria, and identical with the "Egyptian wolf" figured by Ham. Smith in Kitto's *Cycl.* [W. H.]

WOMEN. The position of women in the Hebrew commonwealth contrasts favourably with that which in the present day is assigned to them generally in Eastern countries. The social equality of the two sexes is most fully implied in the history of the original creation of the woman, as well as in the name assigned to her by the man, which differed from his own only in its feminine termination (Gen. ii. 18-23). This narrative is hence effectively appealed to as supplying an argument for enforcing the duties of the husband towards the wife (Eph. v. 28-31). Many usages of early times interfered with the preservation of this theoretical equality: we may instance the existence of polygamy, the autocratic powers vested in the head of the family under the patriarchal system, and the treatment of captives. Nevertheless a high tone was maintained generally on this subject by the Mosaic law, and, as far as we have the means of judging, by the force of public opinion.

The most salient point of contrast in the usages of ancient as compared with modern Oriental society was the large amount of liberty enjoyed by women. Instead of being immured in a harem, or appearing in public with the face covered, the wives and maidens of ancient times mingled freely and openly with the other sex in the duties and amenities of ordinary life. Rebekah travelled on a camel with her face unveiled, until she came into the presence of her affianced (Gen. xxiv. 64, 5). Jacob saluted Rachel with a kiss in the presence of the shepherds (Gen. xxix. 11). Each of these maidens was engaged in active employment, the former in fetching water from the well, the latter in tending her flock. Sarah wore no veil in Egypt, and yet this formed no ground for supposing her to be married (Gen. xii. 14-19). An outrage on a maiden in the open field was visited with the severest punishment (Deut. xxii. 25-27), proving that it was not deemed improper for her to go about unprotected. Further than this, women played no inconsiderable part in public celebrations: Miriam headed a band of women who commemorated with song and dance the overthrow of the Egyptians (Ex. xv. 20, 21); Jephthah's daughter gave her father a triumphal reception (Judg. xi. 34); the maidens of Shiloh danced publicly in the vineyards at the yearly feast (Judg. xxi. 21); and the women fêted Saul and David, on their return from the defeat of the Philistines, with singing and dancing (1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7). The odes of Deborah (Judg. v.) and of Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 1, &c.) exhibit a degree of intellectual cultivation which is in itself a proof of the position of the sex in that period. Women also occasionally held public offices, particularly that of prophetess or inspired teacher, as instanced in Miriam (Ex. xv. 20), Huldah (2 K. xxii. 14), Noadiah (Neh. vi. 14), Anna (Luke ii. 36), and above all Deborah, who applied her prophetical gift to the administration of public affairs, and was so entitled to be styled a "judge" (Judg. iv. 4). The active part taken by Jezebel in the government of Israel (1 K. xviii. 13, xxi. 25), and the usurpation of the throne of Judah by Athaliah (2 K. xi. 3), further attest the latitude allowed to women in public life.

The management of household affairs devolved mainly on the women. They brought the water from the well (Gen. xxiv. 15; 1 Sam. ix. 11) attended to the flocks (Gen. xxix. 6, &c.; Ex. ii. 16), prepared the meals (Gen. xviii. 6; 2 Sam. xiii. 8), and occupied their leisure hours in spinning (Ex. xxxv. 26; Prov. xxxi. 19) and making clothes, either for the use of the family (1 Sam. ii. 19; Prov. xxxi. 21), for sale (Prov. xxxi. 14, 24), or for charity (Acts ix. 39). The value of a virtuous and active housewife forms a frequent topic in the Book of Proverbs (xi. 16, xii. 4, xiv. 1, xxxi. 10, &c.). Her influence was of course proportionably great; and, where there was no second wife, she controlled the arrangements of the house, to the

extent of inviting or receiving guests on her own motion (Judg. iv. 18; 1 Sam. xxv. 18, &c.; 2 K. v. 8, &c.). The effect of polygamy was to transfer female influence from the wives to the mother, as is incidentally shown in the application of the term *gebîrah* (literally meaning *powerful*) to the queen mother (1 K. ii. 19, xv. 13; 2 K. x. 13, xxiv. 12; Jer. xiii. 18, xxix. 2). Polygamy also necessitated a separate establishment for the wives collectively, or for each individually. Thus in the palace of the Persian monarch there was a "house of the women" (Esth. ii. 9), which was guarded by eunuchs (ii. 3); in Solomon's palace the harem was connected with, but separate from, the rest of the building (1 K. vii. 8); and on journeys each wife had her separate tent (Gen. xxxi. 33). In such cases it is probable that the females took their meals apart from the males (Esth. i. 9); but we have no reason to conclude that the separate system prevailed generally among the Jews. The women were present at festivals, either as attendants on the guests (John xii. 2), or as themselves guests (Job i. 4; John ii. 3); and hence there is good ground for concluding that on ordinary occasions also they joined the males at meals, though there is no positive testimony to that effect.

Further information on the subject of this article is given under the heads DEACONESS, DRESS, HAIR, MARRIAGE, SLAVE, VEIL, and WIDOW. [W. L. B.]

WOOD. [FOREST.]

WOOL (צֶמֶר; גֵּז). Wool was an article of the highest value among the Jews, as the staple material for the manufacture of clothing (Lev. xiii. 47; Deut. xxii. 11; Job xxxi. 20; Prov. xxxi. 13; Ez. xxxiv. 3; Hos. ii. 5). Both the Hebrew terms, *tsemer* and *gêz*, imply the act of shearing, the distinction between them being that the latter refers to the "fleece" (Deut. xviii. 4; Job xxxi. 20), as proved by the use of the cognate *gizzah*, in Judg. vi. 37-40, in conjunction with *tsemer*, in the sense of "a fleece of wool." The importance of wool is incidentally shown by the notice that Mesha's tribute was paid in a certain number of rams "with the wool" (2 K. iii. 4), as well as by its being specified among the firstfruits to be offered to the priests (Deut. xviii. 4). The wool of Damascus was highly prized in the mart of Tyre (Ez. xxvii. 18); and is compared in the LXX. to the wool of Miletus (ἔρια ἐκ Μιλήτου), the fame of which was widely spread in the ancient world (Plin. viii. 73; Virg. *Georg.* iii. 306, iv. 334). Wool is occasionally cited as an image of purity and brilliancy (Is. i. 18; Dan. vii 9; Rev. i. 14), and the flakes of snow are appropriately likened to it (Ps. cxlvii. 16). The art of dyeing it was understood by the Jews (Mishna, *Shab.* 1, § 6). [W. L. B.]

WOOLLEN (LINEN and). Among the laws against unnatural mixtures is found one to this effect: "A garment of mixtures [שַׁעַטְנֵז, *shaatnêz*] shall not come upon thee" (Lev. xix. 19); or, as it is expressed in Deut. xxii. 11, "thou shalt not wear *shaatnêz*, wool and flax together." Our version, by the help of the latter passage, has rendered the strange word *shaatnêz* in the former, "of linen and woollen;" while in Deut. it is translated "a garment of divers sorts." In the Vulgate the difficulty is avoided; and κίβδηλος, "spurious" or "counterfeit," the rendering of the LXX., is wanting in precision. In the Targum of Onkelos the same word remains with a slight modification to adapt it to the Chaldee; but in the Peshito-Syriac of Lev. it is rendered by an adjective, "motley," and in Deut. a "motley garment," corresponding in some degree to the Samaritan version, which has "spotted like a leopard." Two things only appear to be certain about *shaatnêz*—that it is a foreign word, and that its origin has not at present been traced. Its signification is sufficiently defined in Deut. xxii. 11. The derivation given in the Mishna (*Cilaim*, ix. 8), which makes it a compound of three words, signifying "carded, spun, and twisted," is in keeping with Rabbinical etymologies generally. Other etymologies are proposed by Bochart (*Hieroz.* pt. i. b. 2, c. 45), Simonis (*Lex. Heb.*), and Pfeiffer (*Dub. Vex.* cent. 2, loc. xi.). The last mentioned writer defended the Egyptian origin of the word, but his knowledge of Coptic, according to Jablonski, extended not much beyond the letters, and little value, therefore, is to be attached to the solution which he proposed for the difficulty. Jablonski himself favours the suggestion of Forster, that a garment of linen and woollen was called by the Egyptians *shontnes*, and that this word was borrowed by the Hebrews, and written by them in the form *shaatnêz* (*Opusc.* i. 294).

The reason given by Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, §11) for the law which prohibited the wearing a garment woven of linen and woollen is, that such were worn by the priests alone (see Mishna, *Cilaim*, ix. 1). Of this kind were the girdle (of which Josephus says the warp was entirely linen, *Ant.* iii. 7, §2), ephod, and breastplate (Braunius, *de Vest. Sac. Hebr.* pp. 110, 111) of the High Priest, and the girdle of the common priests (Maimonides, *Cèlé Hammikdash*, cviii.). Spencer conjectured that the use of woollen and linen inwoven in the same garment prevailed amongst the ancient Zabii, and was associated with their idolatrous ceremonies (*De leg. Heb.* ii. 33, §3); but that it was permitted to the Hebrew priests, because with them it could give rise to no suspicion of idolatry. Maimonides found in the books of the Zabii that "the priests of the idolaters clothed themselves with robes of linen and woollen mixed together" (Townley, *Reasons of the Laws of Moses*, p. 207). By "wool" the Talmudists understood the wool of sheep (Mishna, *Cilaim*, ix. 1). It is evident from Zeph. i. 8, that the adoption of a particular dress was an indication of idolatrous tendencies, and there may be therefore some truth in the explanation of Maimonides. [W. A. W.]

WORM, the representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew words *Sâs*, *Rimmâh*, and *Tôlê'âh*, *Tôlâ'*, or *Tôlaath*, occurs in numerous passages in the Bible. The first-named term, *Sâs* (סָס, σής, *tinea*) occurs only in Isa. li. 8, "For the *'âsh* (עָשׁ) shall eat them up like a garment, and the *Sâs* shall eat them like wool." The word probably denotes some particular species of moth, whose larva is injurious to wool, while perhaps the former name is the more general one for any of the destructive *Tineae* or "Clothes Moths." For further information on the subject the reader is referred to MOTH.

2. *Rimmâh* (רִמָּה; σκώληξ, σῆψις, σαπία: *vermis, putredo, tinea*). The manna that the disobedient Israelites kept till the morning of a week-day "bred worms" (תּוֹלָעִים), and stank (Ex. xvi 20); while of that kept over the Sabbath and gathered the night before, it is said that "it did

not stink, neither was there any worm (רִמָּה) therein." The Hebrew word is connected with the root רמם "to be putrid" (see Gesenius, *Thes.* s. v.), and points evidently to various kinds of maggots, and the larvae of insects which feed on putrefying animal matter rather than to earth-worms; the words in the original are clearly used indiscriminately to denote either true *annelida*, or the larval condition of various insects. Thus, as may be seen above, *Rimmâh* and *Tolêah* are both used to express the maggot or caterpillar, whatever it might have been that consumed the bad manna in the wilderness of Sin. Job, under his heavy affliction, exclaims, "My flesh is clothed with *rimmâh*" (vii. 5; see also xvii. 14); there is no reason to doubt that the expression is to be understood literally; a person in Job's condition would very probably suffer from *entozoa* of some kind. In Job xxi. 26, xxiv. 20, there is an allusion to worms (insect larvae) feeding on the dead bodies of the buried; our translators in the well-known passage (xix. 26)—"And though after my skin worms destroy this body"—have rather over-interpreted the words of the original, "My skin shall have been consumed."[a]

The patriarch uses both *Rimmâh* and *Tôlê'âh* (תּוֹלָעָה), in ch. xxv. 6, where he compares the estate of man to a *rimmâh*, and the son of man to a *tôlê'âh*. This latter word, in one or other of its forms (see above), is applied in Deut. xxviii. 39 to some kinds of larvae destructive to the vines: "Thou shalt plant vineyards .... but shalt not gather the grapes, for the *tôlâath* shall eat them." Various kinds of insects attack the vine, amongst which one of the most destructive is the *Tortrix vitisana*, the little caterpillar of which eats off the inner parts of the blossoms, the clusters of which it binds together by spinning a web around them. The "worm" which is said to have destroyed Jonah's gourd was a *tôlaath* (Jonah iv. 7). Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 2189) quotes Rumphius as asserting that there is a kind of black caterpillar, which, during sultry rainy weather, does actually strip the plant of its leaves in a single night. In Is. lxvi. 24 allusion is made to maggots feeding on the dead bodies of the slain in battle. The words of the prophet are applied by our Lord (Mark ix. 44, 46, 48) metaphorically to the stings of a guilty conscience in the world of departed spirits.

The death of Herod Agrippa I. was caused by worms (σκωληκόβρωτος, Acts xii. 23); according to Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 8), his death took place five days after his departure from the theatre. It is curious that the Jewish historian makes no mention of worms in the case of Agrippa, though he expressly notes it in that of Herod the Great (*Ant.* xvii. 6, §5). A similar death was that of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. ix. 9; see also Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* viii. 16; and Lucian, *Pseudomant.* i. p. 904; compare Wetstein on Acts xii. 23). Whether the worms were the cause or the result of the disease is an immaterial question. The "Angel of the Lord struck Herod" with some disease, the issue of which was fatal, and the loathsome spectacle of which could not fail to have had a marked humiliating effect on his proud heart. [W. H.]

WORMWOOD (לַעֲנָה, *laănâh*: πικρία, χολή, ἀδύνη, and ἀνάγκη: *amaritudo, absynthium*). The correct translation of the Heb. word, occurs frequently in the Bible, and generally in a metaphorical sense, as in Deut. xxix. 18, where of the idolatrous Israelites it is said, "Lest there be among you a root that beareth wormwood" (see also Prov. v. 4). In Jer. ix. 15, xxiii. 13; Lam. iii. 15, 19, wormwood is symbolical of bitter calamity and sorrow; unrighteous judges are said to "turn judgment to wormwood" (Am. v. 7). The orientals typified sorrows, cruelties, and calamities of any kind by plants of a poisonous or bitter nature. [GALL, App. A.] The name of the star which, at the sound of the third angel's trumpet fell upon the rivers, was called Wormwood (Ἄψινθος; Rev. viii. 11). Kitto (*Phys. Hist. of Palestine*, p. 215) enumerates four kinds of wormwood as found in Palestine—*Artemisia nilotica*, *A. Judaica*, *A. fruticosa*, and *A. cinerea*. Rauwolf speaks of some kind of wormwood under the name of *Absinthium santonicum Judaicum*, and says it is very common in Palestine; this is perhaps the *Artemisia Judaica*. The Hebrew *Laănah* is doubtless generic, and denotes several species of Artemisia (Celsius, *Hierob.* i. p. 480; Rosenmüller, *Bib. Bot.* p. 116). [W. H.]

WORSHIPPER. A translation of the Greek word νεωκόρος, used once only, Acts xix. 35; in the margin "Temple-keeper." The *neocoros* was originally an attendant in a temple, probably entrusted with its charge (Eurip. *Ion*, 115, 121, ed. Dind.; Plato, *Leg.* vi. 7, Bekk.; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 14, 16; Pollux, i. 14; Philo, *De Prov. Sac.* 6, ii. 237; Hesychius explains it by ὁ τὸν ναὸν κοσμῶν, κορεῖν γὰρ τὸ σαίρειν, Suidas, κοσμῶν καὶ εὐτρεπίζων, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ σαρῶν, ed. Gaisf. p. 2579). The divine honours paid in later Greek times to eminent persons even in their lifetime, were imitated and exaggerated by the Romans under the empire, especially in Asia (Plut. *Lys.* 23; Appian, *Mithr.* 76; Dion Cass. xxxi. 6). The term *neocoros* became thus applied to cities or communities which undertook the worship of particular emperors even in their lifetime; but there is no trace of the special title being applied to any city before the time of Augustus. The first occurrence of the term in connexion with Ephesus is on coins of the age of Nero (A.D. 54-68), a time which would sufficiently agree with its use in the account of the riot there, probably in 55 or 56. In later times the title appears with the numerical adjuncts δίς, τρὶς, and even τετράκις. A coin of Nero's time bears on one side Ἐφεσίων νεωκόρων, and on the reverse a figure of the temple of Artemis (Mionnet, *Inscr.* iii. 93; Eckhel, *Doctr. Vet. Num.* ii. 520). The ancient veneration of Artemis and her temple on the part of the city of Ephesus, which procured for it the title of νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, is too well known to need illustration; but in later times it seems probable that with the term νεωκόρος the practice of Neocorism became reserved almost exclusively for the veneration paid to Roman emperors, towards whom many other cities also of Asia Minor are mentioned as Neocorists, *e. g.* Nicomedia, Perinthus, Sardis, Smyrna, Magnesia (Herod. i. 26; Strabo, xiv. 640; Aristid. *Or.* xlii. 775, ed. Dind.; Mionnet, *Inscr.* iii. 97, Nos. 281, 285; Eckhel, *De Num.* ii. 520 521; Boeckh, *Inscr.* 2617, 2618, 2622, 2954, 2957, 2990, 2992, 2993; Krause, *De Civ. Neocoris*; Hoffmann, *Lex.* 'Neocoros'). [H. W. P.]

[a] The Hebrew is, וְאַחַר עוֹרִי נִקְּפוּ־זֹאת, *i. e.*, "And after [that] they shall have consumed this my skin," or, as Davidson renders it, "Yea, after my skin, when this (body) is destroyed" (*Introd. O. T.* ii. p. 227).

WRESTLING. [GAMES.]

WRITING. It is proposed in the present article to treat, not of writing in general, its origin, the people by whom and the manner in which it was discovered, but simply with reference to the Hebrew race to give such indications of their acquaintance with the art as are to be derived from their books, to discuss the origin and formation of their alphabet and the subsequent development of the present square character, and to combine with this discussion an account, so far as can be ascertained, of the material appliances which they made use of in writing, and the extent to which the practice prevailed among the people.

It is a remarkable fact that although, with respect to other arts, as for instance those of music and metal working, the Hebrews have assigned the honour of their discovery to the heroes of a remote antiquity, there is no trace or tradition whatever of the origin of letters, a discovery many times more remarkable and important than either of these. Throughout the Book of Genesis there is not a single allusion, direct or indirect, either to the practice or to the existence of writing. The word כָּתַב, *câthab*, "to write," does not once occur; none of its derivatives are used; and סֵפֶר, *sêpher*, "a book," is found only in a single passage (Gen. v. 1), and there not in a connexion which involves the supposition that the art of writing was known at the time to which it refers. The signet of Judah (Gen. xxxviii. 18, 25) which had probably some device engraven upon it, and Pharaoh's ring (Gen. xli. 42) with which Joseph was invested, have been appealed to as indicating a knowledge quite consistent with the existence of writing. But as there is nothing to show that the devices upon these rings, supposing them to exist, were written characters, or in fact any thing more than emblematical figures, they cannot be considered as throwing much light upon the question. That the Egyptians in the time of Joseph were acquainted with writing of a certain kind there is other evidence to prove, but there is nothing to show that up to this period the knowledge extended to the Hebrew family. At the same time there is no evidence against it. The instance brought forward by Hengstenberg to prove that "signets commonly bore alphabetic writings," is by no means so decisive as he would have it appear. It is Ex. xxxix. 30: "And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold, and wrote upon it a writing of the engravings of a signet, 'Holiness to the Lord.'" That is, this inscription was engraved upon the plate as the device is engraved upon a signet, in intaglio; and the expression has reference to the manner of engraving, and not to the figures engraved, and therefore cannot be appealed to as proving the existence of alphabetic characters upon Judah's signet or Pharaoh's ring. Writing is first distinctly mentioned in Ex. xvii. 14, and the connexion clearly implies that it was not then employed for the first time, but was so familiar as to be used for historic records. Moses is commanded to preserve the memory of Amalek's onslaught in the desert by committing it to writing. "And Jehovah said unto Moses, *Write this* for a memorial *in the book* (not '*a* book,' as in the A. V.), and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua." It is clear that some special book is here referred to, perhaps, as Aben Ezra suggests, the book of the wars of Jehovah, or the book of Jashar, or one of the many documents of the ancient Hebrews which have long since perished. Or it may have been the book in which Moses wrote the words of Jehovah (Ex. xxiv. 4), that is the laws contained in chapters xx.–xxiii. The tables of the testimony are said to be "written by the finger of God" (Ex. xxxi. 18) on both sides, and "the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables" (Ex. xxxii. 15). It is not clear whether the passage in Ex. xxxiv. 28 implies that the second tables were written by Moses or by God himself. The engraving of the gems of the high-priest's breastplate with the names of the children of Israel (Ex. xxviii. 11), and the inscription upon the mitre (Ex. xxxix. 30) have to do more with the art of the engraver than of the writer, but both imply the existence of alphabetic characters. The next allusion is not so clear. The Israelites were forbidden, in imitation of the idolatrous nations, to put any "brand" (lit. "writing of burning") upon themselves. The figures thus branded upon the skin might have been alphabetical characters, but they were more probably emblematical devices, symbolizing some object of worship, for the root כָּתַב, *câthab* (to write), is applied to picture-drawing (Judg. viii. 14), to mapping out a country (Josh. xviii. 8), and to plan-drawing (1 Chr. xxviii. 19). The curses against the adulteress were written by the priest "in *the* book," as before; and blotted out with water (Num. v. 23). This proceeding, though principally distinguished by its symbolical character, involves the use of some kind of ink, and of a material on which the curses were written which would not be destroyed by water. The writing on door-posts and gates, alluded to in Deut. vi. 9, xi. 20, though perhaps to be taken figuratively rather than literally, implies certainly an acquaintance with the art and the use of alphabetic characters. Hitherto, however, nothing has been said of the application of writing to the purposes of ordinary life, or of the knowledge of the art among the common people. Up to this point such knowledge is only attributed to Moses and the priests. From Deut. xxiv. 1, 3, however, it would appear that it was extended to others. A man who wished to be separated from his wife for her infidelity, could relieve himself by a summary process. "Let him write her a bill (סֵפֶר, *sêpher*, "a book") of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house." It is not absolutely necessary to infer from this that the art of writing was an accomplishment possessed by every Hebrew citizen, though there is no mention of a third party; and it is more than probable that these "bills of divorcement," though apparently so informal, were the work of professional scribes. It was enjoined as one of the duties of the king (Deut. xvii. 18), that he should transcribe the book of the law for his own private study, and we shall find hereafter in the history that distinct allusions to writing occur in the case of several kings. The remaining instances in the Pentateuch are the writing of laws upon stone covered with plaster, upon which while soft the inscription was cut (Deut. xxvii. 3, 8), the writing of the song of Moses (Deut. xxxi. 22), and of the law in a book which was placed in the side of the ark (Deut. xxxi. 24). One of the first acts of Joshua on entering the Promised Land was to inscribe a copy of the Law on the stones of the Altar on Mount Ebal (Josh. viii. 32). The survey of the country was drawn out in a book (Josh. xviii. 8). In the time of the Judges

we first meet with the professional scribe (סֹפֵר, *sôphêr*), in his important capacity as marshal of the host of warriors (Judg. v. 14), with his staff (A. V. "pen") of office. Ewald (*Poet. Büch.* i. 129) regards *sôphêr* in this passage as equivalent to שֹׁפֵט, *shôphêt*, "judge," and certainly the context implies the high rank which the art of writing conferred upon its possessor. Later on in the history we read of Samuel writing in "the book" the manner of the kingdom (1 Sam. x. 25); but it is not till the reign of David that we hear for the first time of writing being used for the purposes of ordinary communication. The letter (lit. "book") which contained Uriah's death-warrant was written by David, and must have been intended for the eye of Joab alone; who was therefore able to read writing, and probably to write himself, though his message to the king, conveying the intelligence of Uriah's death, was a verbal one (2 Sam. xi. 14, 15). If we examine the instances in which writing is mentioned in connexion with individuals, we shall find that in all cases the writers were men of superior position. In the Pentateuch the knowledge of the art is attributed to Moses, Joshua, and the priest alone. Samuel, who was educated by the high-priest, is mentioned as one of the earliest historians (1 Chr. xxix. 29), as well as Nathan the prophet (2 Chr. ix. 29), Shemaiah the prophet, Iddo the seer (2 Chr. xii. 15, xiii. 22), and Jehu the son of Hanani (2 Chr. xx. 34). Letters were written by Jezebel in the name of Ahab and sealed with his seal (1 K. xxi. 8, 9, 11); by Jehu (2 K. xi. 6); by Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 1); by Rabshakeh the Assyrian general (2 Chr. xxxii. 17); by the Persian satraps (Ezr. iv. 6, 7, 8); by Sanballat (Neh. vi. 5), Tobiah (Neh. vi. 19), Haman (Esth. viii. 5), Mordecai and Esther (Esth. ix. 29). The prophet Elijah wrote to Ahab (2 Chr. xxi. 2); Isaiah wrote some of the history of his time (2 Chr. xxvi. 22); Jeremiah committed his prophecies to writing (Jer. li. 60), sometimes by the help of Baruch the scribe (Jer. xxxvi. 4, 32); and the false prophet, Shemaiah the Nehelamite, endeavoured to undermine Jeremiah's influence by the letters which he wrote to the high-priest (Jer. xxix. 25). In Is. xxix. 11, 12, there is clearly a distinction drawn between the man who was able to read, and the man who was not, and it seems a natural inference from what has been said that the accomplishments of reading and writing were not widely spread among the people, when we find that they are universally attributed to those of high rank or education, kings, priests, prophets, and professional scribes.

In addition to these instances in which writing is directly mentioned, an indirect allusion to its early existence is supposed to be found in the name of certain officers of the Hebrews in Egypt, שֹׁטְרִים, *shôtĕrîm*, LXX. γραμματεῖς (Ex. v. 6, A. V. "officers"). The root of this word has been sought in the Arabic سطر, *satara*, "to write," and its original meaning is believed to be "writers," or "scribes;" an explanation adopted by Gesenius in his *Lexicon Hebraicum* and *Thesaurus*, though he rejected it in his *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*. In the name Kirjath-Sepher (Booktown, Josh. xv. 15) the indication of a knowledge of writing among the Phoenicians is more distinct. Hitzig conjectures that the town may have derived its name from the discovery of the art, for the Hittites, a Canaanitish race, inhabited that region, and the term Hittite may possibly have its root in the Arabic حتّ, *chatta*, "to write."

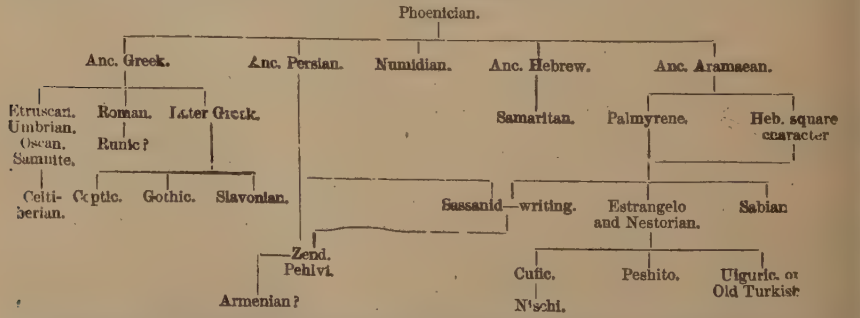
The Hebrews, then, a branch of the great Shemitic family, being in possession of the art of writing, according to their own historical records, at a very early period, the further questions arise, what character they made use of, and whence they obtained it. It is scarcely possible in the present day to believe that, two centuries since, learned men of sober judgment seriously maintained, almost as an article of faith, that the square character, as it is known to us, with the vowel points and accents, was a direct revelation from heaven, and that the commandments were written by the finger of God upon the tables of stone in that character. Such, however, was really the case. But recent investigations have shown that, so far from the square character having any claim to such a remote antiquity and such an august parentage, it is of comparatively modern date, and has been formed from a more ancient type by a gradual process of development, the steps of which will be indicated hereafter, so far as they can be safely ascertained. What then was this ancient type? Most probably the Phoenician. To the Phoenicians, the daring seamen, and adventurous colonizers of the ancient world, tradition assigned the honour of the invention of letters (Plin. v. 12). This tradition may be of no value as direct evidence, but as it probably originated with the Greeks, it shows that, to them at least, the Phoenicians were the inventors of letters, and that these were introduced into Europe by means of that intercourse with Phoenicia which is implied in the legend of Cadmus, the man of the East. The Phoenician companions of this hero, according to Herodotus (v. 58), taught the Greeks many accomplishments, and among others the use of letters which hitherto they had not possessed. So Lucan, *Phars.* iii. 220:

> "Phoenices primi, famae si credimus, ausi
> Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris."

Pliny (vii. 56) was of opinion that letters were of Assyrian origin, but he mentions as a belief held by others that they were discovered among the Egyptians by Mercury, or that the Syrians had the honour of the invention. The last-mentioned theory is that given by Diodorus Siculus (v. 74), who says that the Syrians invented letters, and from them the Phoenicians having learnt them, transferred them to the Greeks. On the other hand, according to Tacitus (*Ann.* xi. 14), Egypt was believed to be the source whence the Phoenicians derived their knowledge. Be this as it may, the voice of tradition represents the Phoenicians as the disseminators, if not the inventors, of the alphabet. Whether it came to them from an Aramaean or Egyptian source can at best be but the subject of conjecture. It may, however, be reasonably inferred that the ancient Hebrews derived from, or shared with, the Phoenicians the knowledge of writing and the use of letters. The two nations spoke languages of the same Shemitic family; they were brought into close contact by geographical position; all circumstances combine to render it probable that the ancient Hebrew alphabet was the common possession both of Hebrews and Phoenicians, and this probability is strengthened by the results of modern investigation into the Phoenician inscriptions which have of late years been brought to light. The names of the Hebrew letters indicate that they must have been the invention a

a Shemitic people, and that they were moreover a pastoral people may be inferred from the same evidence. Such names as Aleph (an ox), Gimel (a camel), Lamed (an ox-goad), are most naturally explained by this hypothesis, which necessarily excludes the seafaring Phoenicians from any claim to their invention. If, as has been conjectured, they took the first idea of writing from the Egyptians, they would at least have given to the signs which they invented the names of objects with which they themselves were familiar. So far from this being the case the letters of the Hebrew alphabet contain no trace whatever of ships or seafaring matters: on the contrary, they point distinctly to an inland and pastoral people. The Shemitic and Egyptian alphabets have this principle in common, that the object whose name is given to a letter was taken originally to indicate the letter which begins the name; but this fact alone is insufficient to show that the Shemitic races borrowed their alphabet from Egypt, or that the principle thus held in common may not have been the possession of other nations of a still earlier date than the Egyptians. "The phonetic use of hieroglyphics," says Mr. Kenrick, "would naturally suggest to a practical people, such as the Phoenicians were, a simplification of the cumbrous system of the Egyptians, by dispensing altogether with the pictorial and symbolical use, and assigning one character to each sound, instead of the multitude of homophones which made the reading of the hieroglyphics so difficult; the residence of the Phoenician shepherds,' the Hyksos, in Egypt might afford an opportunity for this adaptation, or it might be brought about by commercial intercourse. We cannot, however, trace such a resemblance between the earliest Phoenician alphabet known to us, and the phonetic characters of Egypt, as to give any certainty to this conclusion" (*Phoenicia*, pp. 164, 165).

Perhaps all that can be inferred from the tradition that letters came to the Greeks from the Phoenicians, but that they were the invention of the Egyptians, is that the Egyptians possessed an alphabet before the Phoenicians. Wahl, De Wette, and Kopp are inclined to a Babylonian origin, understanding the Σύροι of Diodorus and the *Syri* of Pliny of the Babylonians. But Gesenius has shown this to be untenable, because (1) Pliny distinctly mentions both *Syri* and *Assyrii*, and by no means confounds them; and (2) because the inscription on the seal-stone, on which Kopp based his theory, is nothing more than Phoenician, and that not of the oldest form, but inclining to the somewhat later Aramaic character. This seal-stone or mark contained, besides a cuneiform inscription, some Shemitic characters which were deciphered by Kopp, and were placed by him at the head of his most ancient alphabets (*Bilder und Schriften*, ii. p. 154). Gesenius, however, read them with a very different result. He himself argues for a Phoenician origin of the alphabet, in opposition to a Babylonian or Aramaean, on the following grounds:—1. That the names of the letters are Phoenician, and not Syrian. Several of the names are found alike in the Hebrew and Aramaic dialects: as for instance, *beth*, *gimel*, *zain*, *nun*, *ain*, *resh*, *shin*, but others are not found in Syriac at all, at least not in the same sense. *Aleph* in Syriac signifies "a thousand," not "an ox;" *daleth* is not "a door," and for this, as well as for *vau*, *yod*, *mem*, *pe*, *koph*, and *tau*, different words are used. The Greek forms of the names of the letters are somewhat in favour of an Aramaic origin, but there is no proof that they came in this shape from the East, and that they were not so modified by the Greeks themselves. 2. It is not probable that the Aramaic dialect was the language of the inventors; for the letters א ה ע ו, which to them were certainly consonants, had become so weak in the Aramaic that they could scarcely any longer appear as such, and could not have been expressed by signs by an inventor who spoke a dialect of this kind. 3. If the Phoenician letters are pictorial, as there seems reason to believe, there is no model, among the old Babylonian discoverers of writing, after which they could have been formed; while, on the other hand, it is extremely probable that the Phoenicians, from their extended commerce, especially with Egypt, adopted an imitation of the Egyptian phonetic hieroglyphics, though they took neither the figures nor the names from this source. The names of some of the letters lead us to a nomade pastoral people, rich in herds: *aleph* (an ox), *gimel* (a camel), *lamed* (an ox-goad), *beth* (a tent), *daleth* (a tent-door), *vau* (a tent-peg), *cheth* (a hurdle or pen). It is a little remarkable that Gesenius did not see that this very fact militates strongly against the Phoenician origin of the letters, and points, as has been observed above, rather to a pastoral than a seafaring people as their inventors. But whether or not the Phoenicians were the inventors of the Shemitic alphabet, there can be no doubt of their just claim to being its chief disseminators; and with this understanding we may accept the genealogy of alphabets as given by Gesenius, and exhibited in the accompanying table.



Whatever minor differences may exist between the ancient and more modern Shemitic alphabets, they have two chief characteristics in common:—1. That they contain only consonants and the three principal long vowels, א, ו, י; the other vowels being represented by signs above, below, or in the

middle of letters, or being omitted altogether. 2. That they are written from right to left. The Ethiopic, being perhaps a non-Shemitic alphabet, is an exception to this rule, as is the cuneiform character in which some Shemitic inscriptions are found. The same peculiarity of Egyptian writing was remarked by Herodotus. No instance of what is called *boustrophedon* writing—that is in a direction from right to left, and from left to right, in alternate lines—is found in Shemitic monuments.

The old Shemitic alphabets may be divided into two principal classes: 1. The Phoenician, as it exists (*a*) in the inscriptions in Cyprus, Malta, Carpentras, and the coins of Phoenicia and her colonies. It is distinguished by an absence of vowels, and by sometimes having the words divided and sometimes not. (*b*). In the inscriptions on Jewish coins. (*c*). In the Phoenicio-Egyptian writing, with three vowel signs, deciphered by Caylus on the mummy bandages. From (*a*) are derived (*d*), the Samaritan character, and (*e*), the Greek. 2. The Hebrew-Chaldee character; to which belong (*a*), the Hebrew square character; (*b*), the Palmyrene, which has some traces of a cursive hand; (*c*), the Estrangelo, or ancient Syriac; and (*d*), the ancient Arabic or Cufic. The oldest Arabic writing (the Himyaritic) was perhaps the same as the ancient Hebrew or Phoenician.

It remains now to consider which of all these was the alphabet originally used by the ancient Hebrews. In considering this question it will on many accounts be more convenient to begin with the common square character, which is more familiar, and which from this familiarity *is* more constantly associated with the Hebrew language and writing. In the Talmud (*Sanh.* fol. 21, 2) this character is called כְּתָב מְרֻבָּע, "square writing," or כְּתָב אַשּׁוּרִית, "Assyrian writing;" the latter appellation being given because, according to the tradition, it came up with the Israelites from Assyria. Under the term Assyria are included Chaldea and Babylonia in the wider sense; for it is clear that in ancient writers the names *Assyrian* and *Chaldean* are applied indifferently to the same characters. The letters of the inscription on the tomb of Sardanapalus are called Chaldean (Athen. xii. p. 529) and Assyrian (Athen. xii. p. 469; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 5, §4). Again, the *Assyrian* writing on the pillars erected by Darius at the Bosporos (Her. iv. 87), is called by Strabo *Persian* (xv. p. 502). Another derivation for the epithet אַשּׁוּרִית, *ashshûrith*, as applied to this writing, has been suggested by Rabbi Judah the Holy, who derives it from מְאֻשָּׁרֶת, *mĕushshereth*, "blessed;" the term being applied to it because it was employed in writing the sacred books. Another etymology (from אָשַׁר, *âshar*, to be straight), given by the Hebrew grammarian Abraham de Balmis, describes it as the straight, perpendicular writing, so making the epithet equivalent to that which we apply to it in calling it the square character. Hupfeld, starting from the same root, explains the Talmudic designation as merely a technical term used to denote the more modern writing, and as opposed to רַעַץ, *raats*, "broken," by which the ancient character is described. According to him it signifies that which is firm, strong, protected and supported as with forts and walls, referring perhaps to the horizontal strokes on which the letters rest as on a foundation. In this view he compares it with the Ethiopic character, which is called in Arabic مسند "supported." It must be confessed that none of these explanations are so satisfactory as to be unhesitatingly accepted. The only fact to be derived from the word אַשּׁוּרִית is that it is the source of the whole Talmudic tradition of the Babylonian origin of the square character. This tradition is embodied in the following passages from the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds:—"It is a tradition: R. Jose says Ezra was fit to have the law given by his hand, but that the age of Moses prevented it; yet though it was not given by his hand, the writing and the language were; the writing was written in the Syriac tongue, and interpreted in the Syriac tongue (Ezr. iv. 7), and they could not read the writing (Dan. v. 8); from hence it is learnt that it was given on the same day. R. Nathan says the law was given in broken characters (רַעַץ, *raats*), and agrees with R. Jose; but Rab (*i. e.* R. Judah the Holy) says that the law was given in the Assyrian (*i. e.* the square) character, and when they sinned it was turned into the broken character, and when they were worthy, in the days of Ezra, it was turned to them again in the Assyrian character, according to Zech. ix. 12. It is a tradition: R. Simeon ben Eleazar says, on the account of R. Eleazar ben Parta, who also says, on the account of Eliezer Hammodai, the law was written in the Assyrian character" (Talm. Jerus. *Megillah*, fol. 71, 2, 3). But the story, as best known, is told in the Babylonian Talmud:—"Mar Zutra, or as others Mar Ukba, says, at first the law was given to Israel in the Hebrew (עִבְרִי, *i. e.* the Samaritan) writing and the holy tongue; and again it was given to them, in the days of Ezra, in the Assyrian writing and the Syrian tongue. They chose for the Israelites the Assyrian writing and the holy tongue, and left to the *Idiotae* the Hebrew writing and the Syrian tongue. Who are the *Idiotae*? R. Chasda says, the Cutheans (or Samaritans). What is the Hebrew writing? R. Chasda says, the Libonaah writing" (*Sanhed.* fol. 21, 2; 22, 1). The Libonaah writing is explained by R. Solomon to mean the large characters in which the Jews wrote their amulets and *mezuzoth*. The broken character mentioned above can only apply to the Samaritan alphabet, or one very similar to it. In this character are written, not only manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch, varying in age from the 13th to the 16th century, but also other works in Samaritan and Arabic. The Samaritans themselves call it *Hebrew writing*, in contradistinction to the square character, which they call the writing of Ezra. It has no vowel points, but a diacritical mark called *Marhetono* is employed, and words and sentences are divided. A form of character more ancient than the Samaritan, though closely resembling it, is found on the coins struck under Simon Maccabaeus, circ. B.C. 142. Of this writing Gesenius remarks (art. *Palaeographie* in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie*) that it was most probably employed, even in manuscripts, during the whole lifetime of the Hebrew language, and was gradually displaced by the square character about the birth of Christ. An examination of the characters on the Maccabaean coins shows that they bear an extremely close resemblance to those of the Phoenician inscriptions, and in many cases are all but identical with them. The figures of three characters (ם מ כ) do not occur, and that of כ is doubtful.

In order to explain the Talmudic story above

given, and the relation between the square character and that of the coins, different theories have been constructed. Some held that the square character was sacred, and used by the priests, while the character on the coins was for the purposes of ordinary life. The younger Buxtorf (*De Lit. Hebr. Gen. Ant.*) maintained that the square alphabet was the oldest and the original alphabet of the Hebrews, and that before the Captivity the Samaritan character had existed side by side with it; that during the Captivity the priests and more learned part of the people cultivated the square or sacred character, while those who were left in Palestine adhered to the common writing. Ezra brought the former back with him, and it was hence called Assyrian or Chaldean. The other was used principally by the Samaritans, though occasionally by the Jews themselves, as is shown by the characters on the Maccabaean coins. This opinion found many supporters, and a singular turn was given to it by Morinus (*De Lingua Primaeva*, p. 271) and Loescher (*De Causis Ling. Hebr.* pp. 207, 208), who maintained that the characters on the coins were a kind of tachygraphic writing formed from the square character. Hartmann (*Ling. Einl.* p. 28, &c.) also upheld the existence of a twofold character, the sacred and profane. The favourers of this hypothesis of a double alphabet had some analogies to which they could appeal for support. The Egyptians had a twofold, or even a threefold character. The cuneiform writing of the ancient Persians and Medes was perhaps a sacred character for monuments, the Zend being used for ordinary life. The Arabs, Persians, and Turks employ different characters according as they require them for letters, poems, or historical writings. But analogy is not proof, and therefore the passage in Is. viii. 1 has been appealed to as containing a direct allusion to the ordinary writing as opposed to the sacred character. But it is evident, upon examination, that the writing there referred to is that of a perfectly legible character, such as an ordinary unskilled man might read. Irenaeus (*Adv. Haeres.* ii. 24), indeed, speaks of sacerdotal letters, but his information is not to be relied on. In fact the sole ground for the hypothesis lies in the fact that the only specimens of the Hebrew writing of common life are not in the usual character of the manuscripts. If this supposition of the coexistence of a twofold alphabet be abandoned as untenable, we must either substitute for it a second hypothesis, that the square character was the exclusive possession of the kingdom of Judah, and that the Samaritan was used in the northern kingdom, or that the two alphabets were successive and not contemporary. Against the former hypothesis stands the fact that the coins on which the so-called Samaritan character occurs were struck at Jerusalem, and the names *Hebrew* and *Assyrian*, as applied to the two alphabets, would still be unaccounted for. There remains then the hypothesis that the square character and the writing of the coins succeeded each other in point of time, and that the one gradually took the place of the other, just as in Arabic the Nischi writing has displaced the older Cufic character, and in Syriac the Estrangelo has given place to that at present in use. But did the square character precede the character on the coins, or was the reverse the case? According to some of the doctors of the Talmud (*Sanh.* fol. 21, 2; 22, 1), in the passage above quoted, the Law was given to the Israelites in the Hebrew character and the holy tongue. It was given again in the days of Ezra in the Assyrian character and the Aramaean tongue. By the "Hebrew" character is to be understood what is elsewhere called the "broken" writing, which is what is commonly called Samaritan; and by the Assyrian writing is to be understood the square character. But Rabbi Judah the Holy, who adopted a different etymology for the word אשורית (Assyrian), says that the Law was first given in this square character, but that afterwards, when the people sinned, it was changed into the broken writing, which again, upon their repentance in the days of Ezra, was converted into the square character. In both these cases it is evident that the tradition is entirely built upon the etymology of the word *ashshûrîth*, and varies according to the different conceptions formed of its meaning: consequently it is of but slight value as direct testimony. The varying character of the tradition shows moreover that it was framed after the true meaning of the name had become lost. Origen (on Ez. ix. 4) says that in the ancient alphabet the *Tau* had the form of a cross, and (*Hexapla*, i. 86, Montfaucon) that in some MSS. of the LXX. the word יהוה was written in ancient Hebrew characters, not with those in use in his day, "for they say that Ezra used other [letters] after the Captivity." Jerome, following Origen, gives out as certain what his predecessor only mentioned as a report, and the tradition in his hands assumes a different aspect. "It is certain," he says, "that Ezra the scribe and doctor of the law, after the taking of Jerusalem and the restoration of the Temple under Zerubbabel, discovered other letters which we now use: whereas up to that time the characters of the Samaritans and Hebrews were the same. . . . And the tetragrammaton name of the Lord we find in the present day written in ancient letters in certain Greek rolls" (*Prol. Gal. in Libr. Reg.*). The testimony of Origen with regard to the form of *Tau* undergoes a similar modification. "In the ancient Hebrew letters, which the Samaritans use to this day, the last letter, *tau*, has the form of a cross." Again, in another passage (*Ep.* 136 *ad Marcell.* ii. 704, Ep. 14, ed. Martianay) Jerome remarks that the ineffable name יהוה, being misunderstood by the Greeks when they met with it in their books, was read by them *pipi*, i. e. ΠΙΠΙ. It has been inferred from this that the ancient characters, to which both Jerome and Origen refer in the first-quoted passages, were the square characters, because in them alone, and not in the Samaritan, does any resemblance between יהוה and ΠΙΠΙ exist. There is nothing, however, to show that Jerome contemplated the same case in the two passages. In the one he expressly mentions the "ancient characters," and evidently as an exceptional instance, for they were only found in "certain rolls;" in the other he appears to speak of an occurrence by no means uncommon. Again, it is Jerome, and not Origen, who is responsible for the assertion that in the Samaritan alphabet the Tau has the form of a cross. Origen merely says this is the case in the ancient or original (ἀρχαίοις) Hebrew characters, and his assertion is true of the writing on the Maccabaean coins, and of the ancient and even the more modern Phoenician, but not of the alphabet known to us as the Samaritan. It seems clear, therefore, that Jerome's language on this point cannot be regarded as strictly accurate.

There are many arguments which go to show that the Samaritan character is older than the square Hebrew. One of these is derived from the

existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which, according to some writers, must date at least from the time of the separation of the two kingdoms, the northern kingdom retaining the ancient writing which was once common to both. But there is no evidence for the existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch before the Captivity, and the opinion which now most commonly prevails is that the Samaritans received it first in the Maccabaean period, and with it the Jewish writing (Hävernick, *Einl.* i. 290). The question is still far from being decided, and while it remains in this condition the arguments derived from the Samaritan Pentateuch cannot be allowed to have much weight. Hupfeld (*Stud. und Krit.* 1830, ii. 279, &c.) contends that the common theory, that the Samaritans received their writing from the ancient Israelitish times, but maintained it more faithfully than the Jews, is improbable, because the Samaritans were a mixed race, entirely different from the ancient Israelites, and had, like their language, a preponderating Aramaic element: consequently, if they had had a character peculiar to themselves, independently of their sacred book, it would rather have been Aramaic. He argues that the Samaritans received their present writing with their Pentateuch from the Jews, because the Samaritan character differs in several important particulars from that on the Phoenician monuments, but coincides in all characteristic deviations with the ancient Hebrew on the Maccabaean coins. These deviations are—(1) the horizontal strokes in *Beth*, *Mem*, and *Nun*, which have no parallel on the Phoenician monuments: (2) the angular heads of *Beth*, *Daleth*, and especially *'Ain*, which last never occurs in an angular form in Phoenician: (3) the entirely different forms of *Tsade* and *Vau*, as well as of *Zain* and *Samech*, which are not found on the Maccabaean coins. In the Samaritan letters *Aleph*, *Cheth*, *Lamed*, *Shin*, there is a closer relationship with the forms of the old Hebrew: the only marked deviation is in the form of *Tau*. To these considerations Hupfeld adds the traditions of Origen and Jerome and the Talmud already given, and the fact that the Samaritans have preserved their letters unchanged, a circumstance which is intelligible on the supposition that these letters were regarded by them with superstitious reverence as a sacred character which had come to them from without, and which, in the absence of any earlier indigenous tradition of writing, necessarily became a lifeless permanent type.

The names of the letters, and the correspondence of their forms to their names in the Phoenician and Phoenicio-Samaritan alphabets, supply another argument for the superior antiquity of this to the Hebrew square character: *e. g.* *'Ain* (an eye), which on the coins and Phoenician monuments has the form ○; *Resh* (a head), ☐. On the other hand, the names *Vau* (a nail or peg), *Zain* (a weapon), *Caph* (the hollow hand), correspond to their forms better in the square character: this, however, at most, would only prove that both are derived from the same original alphabet in which the correspondence between the shape and name of each letter was more complete. Again, we trace the Phoenician alphabet much further back than the square character. The famous inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, found at Sidon in 1855, is referred by the Duc de Luynes to the sixth century B.C. The date of the inscription at Marseilles is more uncertain. Some would place it before the foundation of the Greek colony there, B.C. 600.

There is reason to believe, however, that it is much more recent. Besides these we have the inscriptions at Sigaeum and Amyclae in the ancient Greek character, which is akin to the Phoenician. On the other hand, the Hebraeo-Chaldee character is not found on historic monuments before the birth of Christ. A consideration of the various readings which have arisen from the interchange of similar characters in the present text leads, as might naturally be expected, to results which are rather favourable to the square character, for in this alone are the manuscripts written which have come down to us. The following examples are given, with one exception, by Gesenius:—

(*a*) In the square alphabet are confounded—

ב and כ. שבניה, Neh. xii. 14=שכניה, Neh. xii. 3; זכרי, 1 Chr. ix. 15=זבדי, Neh. xi. 17.

ו and י. ועקן, Gen. xlvi. 27=יעקן, 1 Chr. i. 42.

ם and כ. כירות, 1 K. vii. 40=סירות, 2 Chr. iv. 11.

ר and כ. חשכת, Ps. xviii. 12=חשרת, 2 Sam. xxii. 12.

ן and ז. מעוז, Ps. xxxi. 3=מעון, Ps. lxxi. 3.

(*b*) In both alphabets are confounded—

ד and ר. דיפת, 1 Chr. i. 6=ריפת, Gen. x. 3; דדנים, 1 Chr. i. 7=רדנים, Gen. x. 4; דאה, Lev. xi. 14=ראה, Deut. xiv. 13; וידא, Ps. xviii. 11=וירא, 2 Sam. xxii. 11.

(*c*) In the Phoenician alone—

ב and ד. חלב, 2 Sam. xxiii. 29=חלד, 1 Chr. xi. 30.

י and ש, whence probably עין, Josh. xxi. 16=עשן, 1 Chr. vi. 44.

נ and פ. נערי, 1 Chr. xi. 37=פערי, 2 Sam. xxiii. 35.

(*d*) In neither—

נ and ר. נחום, Neh. vii. 7=רחום, Ezr. ii. 2.

נ and ת. תחן, Num. xxvi. 35=תחת, 1 Chr. vii. 20. חמן, 1 Chr. vi. 76 [61]=חמות, Josh. xxi. 32.

The third class of these readings seems to point to a period when the Hebrews used the Phoenician character, and a comparison of the Phoenician alphabet and the Hebrew coin-writing shows that the examples of which Gesenius makes a fourth class, might really be included under the third: for in these some forms of נ and ר, as well as of נ and ת, are by no means unlike. This circumstance takes away some of the importance which the above results otherwise give to the square character. Indeed, after writing his *Hebräische Sprache und Schrift*, Gesenius himself appears to have modified some of the conclusions at which he arrived in that work, and instead of maintaining that the square character, or one essentially similar to it, was in use in the time of the LXX., and that the Maccabees retained the old character for their coins, as the Arabs retained the Cufic some centuries after the introduction of the Nischi, he concludes as most probable, in his article *Paläographie* (in Ersch and Gruber's *Encycl.*), that the ancient Hebrew was first changed for the square character about the birth of Christ. A comparison of the Phoenician with the square alphabet shows that the latter could not be the immediate development of the former, and that it could not have been formed gradually from it at some period subsequent to the time of the Maccabees. The essential difference of some characters, and the similarity of others, render it probable that the two alphabets are both descended from one more ancient than either, of which each has retained some peculiarities. This more

ancient form, Hupfeld (*Hebräische Grammatik*, §7,) maintains, is the original alphabet invented by the Babylonians, and extended by the Phoenicians. From this the square character was developed by three stages.

1. In its oldest form it appears on Phoenician monuments, stones, and coins. The number of the inscriptions containing Phoenician writing was 77, greater and smaller, in the time of Gesenius, but it has since been increased by the discovery of the famous sarcophagus of Eshmunazar king of Sidon, and the excavations which have still more recently been made in the neighbourhood of Carthage have brought to light many others which are now in the British Museum. Those described by Gesenius were found at Athens (three bilingual), at Malta (four, one of which is bilingual), in Cyprus among the ruins of Kitium (thirty-three), in Sicily, in the ruins of Carthage (twelve), and in the regions of Carthage and Numidia. They belong for the most part to the period between Alexander and the age of Augustus. A Punic inscription on the arch of Septimius Severus brings down the Phoenician character as late as the beginning of the third century after Christ. Besides these inscriptions on stone, there are a number of coins bearing Phoenician characters, of which those found in Cilicia are the most ancient, and belong to the times of the Persian domination. The character on all these is essentially the same. In its best form it is found on the Sicilian, Maltese, Cyprian, and Carthaginian inscriptions. On the Cilician coins it is perhaps most original, degenerating on the later coins of Phoenicia, Spain, and the neighbouring islands, and becoming almost a cursive character in the monuments of Numidia and the African provinces. There are no final letters and no divisions of words. The characteristics of the Phoenician alphabet as it is thus discovered are, that it is purely consonantal; that it consists of twenty-two letters written from right to left, and is distinguished by strong perpendicular strokes and the closed heads of the letters; that the names and order of the letters were the same as in the Hebrew alphabet, as may be inferred from the names of the Greek letters which came immediately from Phoenicia; and that originally the alphabet was pictorial, the letters representing figures. This last position has been strongly opposed by Wuttke (*Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.* xi. 75, &c.), who maintains that the ancient Phoenician alphabet contains no traces of a pictorial character, and that the letters are simply combinations of strokes. It is impossible here to give his arguments, and the reader is referred for further information to his article. This ancient Phoenician character in its earliest form was probably, says Hupfeld, adopted by the Hebrews from the Canaanites, and used by them during the whole period of the living language till shortly before the birth of Christ. Closely allied with it are the characters on the Maccabaean coins, and the Samaritan alphabet.

2. While the old writing remained so almost unchanged among the Phoenicians and Samaritans, it was undergoing a gradual transformation among its original inventors, the Aramaeans, especially those of the West. This transformation was effected by opening the heads of the letters, and by bending the perpendicular stroke into a horizontal one, which in the cursive character served for a connecting stroke, and in the inscriptions on stone for a basis or foundation for the letters. The character in this form is found in the earliest stage on the stone of Carpentras, where the letters ע, ב, ר, ך, have open heads; and later in the inscriptions on the ruins of Palmyra, where the characters are distinguished by the open heads degenerating sometimes to a point, and by horizontal connecting strokes. Besides the stone of Carpentras, the older form of the modified Aramaean character is found on some fragments of papyrus found in Egypt, and preserved in the Library at Turin, and in the Museum of the Duke of Blacas. Plates of these are given in Gesenius' *Monumenta Phoenicia* (tab. 28-33). They belong to the time of the later Ptolemies, and are written in an Aramaic dialect. The inscription on the Carpentras stone was the work of heathen scribes, probably, as Dr. Levy suggests (*Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.* xi. 67), the Babylonian colonists of Egypt; the writing of the papyri he attributes to Jews. The inscription on the vase of the Serapeum at Memphis is placed by the Duc de Luynes and M. Mariette in the 4th century B.C. In the Blacas fragments the heads of the letters ב, ך, ר, have fallen away altogether. In the forms of ח, ח, כ we see the origin of the figures of the square character. The final forms of *Caph* and *Nun* occur for the first time. The Palmyrene writing represents a later stage, and belongs principally to the second and third centuries after Christ, the time of the greatest prosperity of Palmyra. The oldest inscription belongs to the year 396 of the Greeks (A.D. 84), and the latest to the year 569 (A.D. 257). The writing was not confined to Palmyra, for an inscription in the same character was found at Abilene. The Palmyrene inscriptions are fifteen in number: ten bilingual, in Syriac and Greek, and Syriac and Latin. Two are preserved at Rome, four at Oxford. Those at Rome differ from the rest, in having lost the heads of the letters ב, ך, ר, ע, while the forms of the ת, ם, י are like the Phoenician. Of the cursive Assyrian writing, which appears to be allied to the Aramaean, Mr. Layard remarks, "On monuments and remains purely Syrian, or such as cannot be traced to a foreign people, only one form of character has been discovered, and it so closely resembles the cursive of Assyria, that there can be little doubt as to the identity of the origin of the two. If, therefore, the inhabitants of Syria, whether Phoenicians or others, were the inventors of letters, and those letters were such as exist upon the earliest monuments of that country, the cursive character of the Assyrians may have been as ancient as the cuneiform. However that may be, this hieratic character has not yet been found in Assyria on remains of a very early epoch, and it would seem probable that simple perpendicular and horizontal lines preceded rounded forms, being better suited to letters carved on stone tablets or rocks. At Nimroud the cursive writing was found on part of an alabaster vase, and on fragments of pottery, taken out of the rubbish covering the ruins. On the alabaster vase it accompanied an inscription in the cuneiform character, containing the name of the Khorsabad king, to whose reign it is evident, from several circumstances, the vase must be attributed. It has also been found on Babylonian bricks of the time of Nebuchadnezzar" (*Nin.* ii. pp. 165, 166). M. Fresnel discovered at Kasr some fifty fragments of pottery covered with this cursive character in ink. These, too, are said to be of the age of Nebuchadnezzar (*Journ. Asiat.* July 1853, p. 77). Dr. Levy (*Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.* ix. 465) maintains, in accordance with the Talmudic tradition, that the Jews acquired this cursive writing in Babylon, and brought it back with them after the Captivity

together with the Chaldee language, and that it gradually displaced the older alphabet, of which fragments remain in the forms of the final letters.

3. While this modification was taking place in the Aramaic letters, a similar process of change was going on in the old character among the Jews. We already find indications of this in the Maccabaean coins, where the straight strokes of some letters are broken. The Aramaic character, too, had apparently an influence upon the Hebrew, proportioned to the influence exercised by the Aramaic dialect upon the Hebrew language. The heads of the letters still left in the Palmyrene character are removed, the position and length of several oblique strokes are altered (as in ת, ה, ג, ת). It lost the character of a cursive hand by the separation of the several letters, and the stiff ornaments which they received at the hands of calligraphers, and thus became an angular, uniform, broken character, from which it receives its name *square* (כְּתָב מְרֻבָּע). In the letters א, ב, ג, כ, מ, נ, ס, ע, פ, ת, the Aegypto-Aramaic appears the older, and the Palmyrene most resembles the square character. In others, on the contrary, as ח, ט, ק, ר, the square character is closely allied to the forms in the Blacas fragments; and in some, as ה, ו, ז, י, ש, both the older alphabets agree with the square character. So far as regards the development of the square character from the Aramaean, as it appears on the stone of Carpentras and the ruins of Palmyra, Hupfeld and Gesenius are substantially agreed, but they differ widely on another and very important point. Gesenius is disposed to allow some weight to the tradition as preserved in the Talmud, Origen, and Jerome, that the Hebrews at some period adopted a character different from their own. The Chaldee square alphabet he considers as originally of Aramaic origin, but transferred to the Hebrew language. To this conclusion he appears to be drawn by the name *Assyrian* applied in the Talmud to the square character, which he infers was probably the ancient character of Assyria. If this were the case, it is remarkable that no trace of it should be found on the Assyrian monuments; and, in the absence of other evidence, it is unsafe to build a theory upon a name, the interpretation of which is uncertain. The change of alphabet from the Phoenician to the Aramaean, and the development of the Syriac from the Aramaean, Gesenius regards as two distinct circumstances, which took place at different times, and were separated by a considerable interval. The formation of the square character he maintains cannot be put earlier than the second century after Christ. Hupfeld, on the other hand, with more show of reason, rejects altogether the theory of an abrupt change of character, because he doubts whether any instance can be shown of a simple exchange of alphabets in the case of a people who have already a tradition of writing. The ancient letters were in use in the time of the Maccabees, and from that period writing did not cease, but was rather more practised in the transcription of the sacred books. Besides, on comparing the Palmyrene with the square character, it is clear that the former has been altered and developed, a result which would have been impossible in the case of a communication from without which overwhelmed all tradition and spontaneity. The case of the Samaritans, on the other hand, is that of a people who received an alphabet entire, which they regarded as sacred in consequence of its association with their sacred book, and which they therefore retained unaltered with superstitious fidelity. Moreover, in the old Hebrew writing on the coins we see already a tendency to several important alterations, as, for example, in the open heads of ב and ר, and the base lines of ב, כ, מ, נ; and many letters, as ה, are derived rather from the coin-character than from the Palmyrene, while ט and ק are entirely Phoenician. Finally, Hupfeld adds, "It is in the highest degree improbable—nay, almost inconceivable—that the Jews, in the fervour of their then enthusiasm for their sacred books, should, consciously and without apparent reason, have adopted a foreign character and abandoned the ancient writing of their fathers."

Assuming, then, as approximately true, that the square character of the Hebrews was the natural result of a gradual process of development, and that it was not adopted in its present shape from without, but became what it is by an internal organic change, we have further to consider at what time it acquired its present form. Kopp (*Bilder und Schriften*, ii. p. 177) places it as late as the 4th century after Christ; but he appears to be guided to his conclusion chiefly by the fact that the Palmyrene character, to which it is most nearly allied, extended into the 3rd century. It is evident, however, from several considerations, that in the 4th century the square character was substantially the same as it *is* to this day, and had for some time been so. The descriptions of the forms of the letters in the Talmud and Jerome coincide most exactly with the present; for both are acquainted with *final* letters, and describe as similar those letters which resemble each other in the modern alphabet, as, for instance, ב and כ, ד and ר, ה and ח, ו and י, ז and נ, ם and ס. The calligraphic ornaments which were employed in the writing of the synagogue rolls, as the *Taggin* on the letters ש ע ט נ ז נ ץ, the point in the broken headline of ח (ד), and many other prescriptions for the orthography of the Torah are found in the Talmud, and show that Hebrew calligraphy, under the powerful protection of minute laws observed with superstitious reverence, had long received its full development, and was become a fixed unalterable type, as it has remained ever since. The change of character, moreover, not only in the time of Jerome and the Talmud, but even as early as Origen, was an event already long past, and so old and involved in the darkness of fable as to be attributed in the common legend to Ezra, or by most of the Talmudists to God Himself. The very obscurity which surrounds the meaning of the terms עִבְרִית and אַשּׁוּרִית as applied to the old and new writing respectively, is another proof that in the time of the Talmudists the square character had become permanent, and that the history of the changes through which it had passed had been lost. In the Mishna (*Shabb.* xii. 5) the case is mentioned of two *Zains* (זזין) being written for *Cheth* (ח), which could only be true of the square character. The often-quoted passage, Matt. v. 18, which is generally brought forward as a proof that the square character must have been in existence in the time of Christ, who mentions ἰῶτα, or *yod*, as the smallest letter of the alphabet, proves at least that the old Hebrew or Phoenician character was no longer in use, but that the Palmyrene character, or one very much like it, had been introduced. From these circumstances we may infer, with Hupfeld (*Stud. und Krit.* 1830, ii. 288), that Whiston's conjecture is

approximately true; namely, that about the first or second century after Christ the square character assumed its present form; though in a question involved in so much uncertainty, it is impossible to pronounce with great positiveness.[a]

Next to the scattered hints as to the shape of the Hebrew letters which we find in the writings of Jerome, the most direct evidence on this point is supplied by the so-called *Alphabetum Jesuitarum*, which is found in a MS. (Codex Marchalianus, now lost) of the LXX. of Lam. ii. It is the work of a Greek scribe, imperfectly acquainted with, or more probably entirely ignorant of Hebrew, who copied slavishly the letters which were before him. In this alphabet ה is written Π; ו and ו are of nearly equal length, the latter being distinguished by two dots; ס is made like ρ, and ח like H. The letters on the two Abraxas gems in his possession were thought by Montfaucon (*Praelim. ad Hex. Orig.* i. 22, 23) to have been Hebrew; but as they have not been fairly deciphered, nothing can be inferred from them. Other instances of the occurrence of the Hebrew alphabet written by ignorant scribes are found in a Codex of the New Testament, of which an account is given by Treschow (*Tent. descr. Cod. Vet. aliquot Gr. N. T.*), and three have been edited from Greek and Latin MSS. in the *Nouveau Traité Diplomatique* published by the Benedictines. To these, as to the *Alphabetum Jesuitarum*, Kennicott justly attributes no value (*Dissert. Gen.* p. 69 note). The same may be said of the Hebrew writing of a monk, taken from the work of Rabanus Maurus, *De inventione linguarum*. The Jews themselves recognize a double character in the writing of their synagogue rolls. The earlier of these is called the *Tam* writing (תם כתב), as some suppose, from Tam, the grandson of Rashi, who flourished in the 12th century, and is thought to be the inventor; or, according to others, from the *perfect* form of the letters, the epithet *Tam* being then taken as a significant epithet of the square character, in which sense the expression כְּתִיבָה תַּמָּה, *cĕthîbâh thammâh* occurs in the Talmud (*Shabbath*, fol. 103 *b*). Phylacteries written in this character were hence called *Tam tephillin*. The letters have fine pointed corners and perpendicular *taggin* (תגין), or little strokes attached to the seven letters שעטנזגץ. The *Tam* writing is chiefly found in German synagogue rolls, and probably also in those of the Polish Jews. The *Welsh* writing (וולש כתב), to which the Jews assign a later date than to the other, usually occurs in the synagogue rolls and other manuscripts of the Spanish and Eastern Jews. The figures of the letters are rounder than in the *Tam* writing, and the *taggin*, or crown-like ornaments, terminate in a thick point. But besides these two forms of writing, which are not essentially distinct, there are minor differences observable in the manuscripts of different countries. The Spanish character is the most regular and simple, and is for the most part large and bold, forming a true square character. The German is more sloping and compressed, with pointed corners; but finer than the Spanish. Between these the French and Italian character is intermediate, and is hence called by Kennicott (*Diss. Gen.* p. 71) *character intermedius*. It is for the most part rather smaller than the others, and the forms of the letters are rounder (Eichhorn, *Einl.* ii. 37-41; Tychsen, *Tentamen de var. cod. Hebr. V. T. MSS. generibus*, p. 264; Bellermann, *De usu paleog. Hebr.* p. 43).

The Alphabet.—The oldest evidence on the subject of the Hebrew alphabet is derived from the alphabetical Psalms and poems; Pss. xxv., xxxiv., xxxvii., cxi., cxii., cxix., cxlv.; Prov. xxxi. 10-31; Lam. i.-iv. From these we ascertain that the number of the letters was twenty-two, as at present. The Arabic alphabet originally consisted of the same number. Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* ii. 24) says that the ancient sacred letters were ten in number. It has been argued by many that the alphabet of the Phoenicians at first consisted only of sixteen letters, or according to Hug of fifteen, צ, פ, ס, כ, ט, ז being omitted. The legend as told by Pliny (vii. 56) is as follows. Cadmus brought with him into Greece sixteen letters; at the time of the Trojan war Palamedes added four others, Θ, Ξ, Φ, X, and Simonides of Melos four more, Z, H, Ψ, Ω. Aristotle recognized eighteen letters of the original alphabet, ΑΒΓΔΕΖΙΚΛΜΝΟΠΡΣΤΥΦ, to which Θ and X were added by Epicharmus (comp. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 14). By Isidore of Seville (*Orig.* i. 3) it is said there were seventeen. But in the oldest story of Cadmus, as told by Herodotus (v. 58) and Diodorus (v. 24), nothing is said of the number of the letters. Recent investigations, however, have rendered it probable that at first the Shemitic alphabet consisted of but sixteen letters. It is true that no extant monuments illustrate the period when the alphabet was thus curtailed, but as the theory is based upon an organic arrangement first proposed by Lepsius, it may be briefly noticed. Dr. Donaldson (*New Cratylus*, p. 171, 3rd ed.) says, "Besides the mutes and breathings, the Hebrew alphabet, as it now stands, has four sibilants ש, צ, ס, ז. Now it is quite clear that all these four sibilants could not have existed in the oldest state of the alphabet. Indeed we have positive evidence that the Ephraimites could not pronounce שׁ but substituted for it the simpler articulation ס (Judges xii. 6). We consider it quite certain, that at the first there was only one sibilant, namely this ס, or *samech*. Finally, to reduce the Semitic alphabet to its oldest form, we must omit *caph*, which is only a softened form of *koph*, the liquid *resh*, and the semivowel *jod*, which are of more recent introduction. . . The remaining 16 letters appear in the following order: א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ח, ט, ל, מ, נ, ס, ע, פ, ק, ת. If we examine this order more minutely, we shall see that it is not arbitrary or accidental, but strictly organic according to the Semitic articulation. We have four classes, each consisting of 4 letters: the first and second classes consist each of 3 mutes preceded by a breathing, the third of the 3 liquids and the sibilant, which perhaps closed the oldest alphabet of all, and the fourth contains the three supernumerary mutes preceded by a breathing." The original 16 letters of the Greek alphabet, corresponding to those of the Shemitic, are thus given by Dr. Donaldson (*ibid.* p. 175).

א	דגב	ה	טחו	נמל	ס	ע	חקפ
Α	ΒΓΔ	Ε	FΗΘ	ΑΜΝ	Σ	Ο	ΠϘΤ

[a] Another link between the Palmyrene and the square character is supplied by the writing on some of the Babylonian bowls, described by Mr. Layard (*Nin. and Bab.* 509), which Dr. Levy (*Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.*) assigns to the 7th century A.D.

"In the Greek alphabet, as it is now given in the grammars, F and Q are omitted, and 10 other characters added to these." The Shemitic *tsade* (צ) became *zeta* (ζ), *caph* (כ) became *kappa* (κ), and *yod* (י) became *iota* (ι). *Resh* (ר) was adopted and called *rho* (ρ), and Σάν, which was used by the Dorians for Σῖγμα (Her. i. 139), is only another form of *zain* (ז). *Shin* (שׁ) or *Sin* (שׂ), is the original of ξῖ, which from some cause or other has changed places with σῖγμα, the Shemitic *samech*, just as ζῆτα has been transferred from its position. In like manner *mem* became μῦ, and *nun* became νῦ. With the remaining Greek letters we have nothing to do, as they do not appear to have been Shemitic in origin, and will therefore proceed to consider the Hebrew alphabet as known to us.

With regard to the arrangement of the letters, our chief sources of information are as before the alphabetical acrostics in the Psalms and Lamentations. In these poems some irregularities in the arrangement of the alphabet are observable. For instance, in Lam. ii., iii., iv., פ stands before ע: in Ps. xxxvii. צ stands before פ, and ע is wanting: in Pss. xxv., xxxiv. ו is omitted, and in both there is a final verse after ת beginning with פ. Hence פ has been compared with the Greek φ, and the transposition of ע and צ has been explained from the interchange of these letters in Aramaic. But as there are other irregularities in the alphabetical Psalms, no stress can be laid upon these points. We find for example, in Ps. xxv. two verses beginning with א, while ב is omitted; in Ps. xxxiv. two begin with ד, and so on.

The names of the letters are given in the LXX. of the Lamentations as found in the Vatican MS. as printed by Mai, and in the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, published by Tischendorf. Both these ancient witnesses prove, if proof were wanting, that in the 4th century after Christ the Hebrew letters were known by the same names as at the present day. These names all denote sensible objects which had a resemblance to the original form of the letters, preserved partly in the square alphabet, partly in the Phoenician, and partly perhaps in the Alphabet from which both were derived.

The following are the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in their present shape, with their names and the meanings of these names, so far as they can be ascertained with any degree of probability.

א, *Aleph.* אָלֶף=אֶלֶף, an ox (comp. Plut. *Symp. Quaest.* ix. 2, §3). In the old Phoenician forms of this letter can still be traced some resemblance to an ox-head, . Gr. ἄλφα.

ב *Beth.* בַּיִת=בַּיִת, a house. The figure in the square character corresponds more to its name, while the Ethiopic has greater resemblance to a tent. Gr. βῆτα (B).

ג, *Gimel.* גָּמָל=גָּמָל, a camel. The ancient form is supposed to represent the head and neck of this animal. In Phoenician it is , and in Ethiopic , which when turned round became the Greek γάμμα (= γάμλα), Γ. Gesenius holds that the earliest form represented the camel's hump.

ד, *Daleth.* דֶּלֶת=דֶּלֶת, a door. The significance of the name is seen in the older form , whence the Greek δέλτα, Δ, a tent-door.

ה, *He.* הֵא, without any probable derivation; perhaps corrupted, or merely a technical term. Ewald says it is the same as the Arabic هَوَّة, a hole, fissure. Hupfeld connects it with the interjection הֵא, "lo!" The corresponding Greek letter is E, which is the Phoenician turned from left to right.

ו, *Vau.* וָו, a hook or tent-peg; the same as the old Greek βαῦ ( ), the form of which resembles the Phoenician .

ז, *Zain.* זַיִן, probably=זין, *zaino*, a weapon, sword (Ps. xliv. 7): omitting the final letter, it was called also זַי, *zai* (Mish. *Shabb.* xii. 5). It appears to be the same as the ancient Greek Σάν.

ח, *Cheth.* חֵית, a fence, enclosure (= Arab. حايط, from حاط, Syr. ܚܛ, to surround). Compare the Phoen. . *Cheth* is the Greek ἦτα (H).

ט, *Tet.* טֵית, a snake, or טִית, a basket. The Greek θῆτα.

י, *Yod.* יָד=יוֹד, a hand. The form of the letter was perhaps originally longer, as in the Greek I (ἰῶτα). The Phoenician ( ) and Samaritan ( ) figures have a kind of distant resemblance to three fingers. In Ethiopic the name of the letter is *yaman*, the right hand.

כ, *Caph.* כַּף, the hollow of the hand. The Greek κάππα (κ) is the old Phoenician form ( ) reversed.

ל, *Lamed.* לֶמֶד, a cudgel or ox-goad (comp. Judg. iii. 31). The Greek λάμβδα (Λ); Phoenician, , .

מ, *Mem.* מַיִם=מַיִם, water, as it is commonly explained, with reference to the Samaritan . In the old alphabets it is , in which Gesenius sees the figure of a trident, and so possibly the symbol of the sea. The Greek μῦ corresponds to the old word מוֹ, "water," Job ix. 30.

נ, *Nun.* נוּן, a fish, in Chaldee, Arabic, and Syriac. In almost all Phoenician alphabets the figure is . On the Maltese inscriptions it is nearly straight, and corresponds to its name. The Greek νῦ is derived from it.

ס, *Samech.* סָמַךְ, a prop, from סָמַךְ, to support; perhaps, says Gesenius, the same as the Syriac ܣܡܟܐ, *s'moco*, a triclinium. But this interpretation is solely founded on the rounded form of the letter in the square alphabet; and he has in another place (*Mon. Phoen.* p. 83) shewn how this has come from the old Phoenician, which has no likeness to a triclinium, or to anything else save a flash of lightning striking a church spire. The Greek σῖγμα is undoubtedly derived from *Samech*, as its form is from the Phoenician character, although its place in the Greek alphabet is occupied by ξῖ.

ע, *'Ain.* עַיִן, an eye; in the Phoenician and Greek

alphabets O. Originally it had two powers, as in Arabic, and was represented in the LXX. by Γ, or a simple breathing.

פ, *Pe.* פֶּה=פֶּא, a mouth. The Greek *πῖ* is from פִּי, the construct form of פֶּה.

צ, *Tsade.* צָדֵי or צָדִי, a fish-hook or prong, for spearing the larger fish. Others explain it as a nose, or an owl. One of the Phoenician forms is ⅄. From *tsade* is derived the Greek *σῆτα*.

ק, *Koph.* קוֹף, perhaps the same as the Arabic قف, the back of the head. Gesenius originally explained it as equivalent to the Chaldee קוֹף, the eye of a needle, or the hole for the handle of an axe. Hitzig rendered it "ear," and others "a pole." The old Hebrew form (P), inverted ϙ, became the Greek *κόππα* (ϙ); and the form (ϙ), which occurs on the ancient Syracusan coins, suggests the origin of the Roman Q.

ר, *Resh.* רֵישׁ, a head (comp. Aram. רֵאשׁ=רֵאשׁ). The Phoenician ϙ when turned round became the Greek **P**, the name of which, *ῥῶ*, is corrupted from *Resh*.

שׁ & שׂ *Shin* שִׁין } Compare שֵׁן, a tooth, sometimes used for a jagged promontory.
שׂ *Sin.* שִׂין }

The letters שׁ and שׂ were probably at first one letter, and afterwards became distinguished by the diacritic point, which was known to Jerome, and called by him *accentus* (*Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.* ii. 23; *Am.* viii. 12). In Ps. cxix. 161-168, and Lam. iii. 61-63, they are used promiscuously, and in Lam. iv. 21 שׁ is put for שׂ. The narrative in Judg. xii. 6 points to a difference of dialect, marked by the difference in sound of these two letters. The Greek *ξῖ* is derived from *Shin*, as *νῦ* from *Nun*.

ת, *Tau.* תָּו, a mark or sign (Ez. ix. 4); probably a sign in the shape of a cross, such as cattle were marked with. This signification corresponds to the shapes of the old Hebrew letter on coins +, ×, from the former of which comes the Greek *ταῦ* (**T**).

In the mystical interpretation of the alphabet given by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* x. 5) it is evident that *Tsade* was called *Tsedek*, and *Koph* was called *Kol*. The Polish Jews still call the former *Tsadek*.

Divisions of words.—Hebrew was originally written, like most ancient languages, without any divisions between the words. In most Greek inscriptions there are no such divisions, though in several of the oldest, as the Eugubine Tables and the Sigaean inscription, there are one or two, while others have as many as three points which serve this purpose. The same is the case with the Phoenician inscriptions. Most have no divisions of words at all, but others have a point, except where the words are closely connected. The cuneiform character has the same point, as well as the Samaritan, and in Cufic the words are separated by spaces, as in the Aramaeo-Egyptian writing. The various readings in the LXX. show that, at the time this version was made, in the Hebrew MSS. which the translators used the words were written in a continuous series. The modern synagogue rolls and the MSS. of the Samaritan Pentateuch have no vowel-points, but the words are divided, and the Samaritan in this respect differs but little from the Hebrew.

Final letters, &c.—In addition to the letters above described, we find in all Hebrew MSS. and printed books the forms ך, ם, ן, ף, ץ, which are the shapes assumed by the letters כ, מ, נ, פ, צ, when they occur at the end of words. Their invention was clearly due to an endeavour to render reading more easy by distinguishing one word from another, but they are of comparatively modern date. The various readings of the LXX. show, as has been already said, that that version was made at a time when the divisions of words were not marked, and consequently at this time there could be no final letters. Gesenius at first maintained that on the Palmyrene inscriptions there were neither final letters nor divisions of words, but he afterwards admitted, though with a little exhibition of temper, that the final *nun* was found there, after his error had been pointed out by Kopp (*Bild. u. Schr.* ii. 132; Ges. *Mon. Phoen.* p. 82). In the Aramaeo-Egyptian writing both final *caph* and final *nun* occur, as may be seen in the Blacas fragments given by Gesenius. The five final letters "are mentioned in Bereshith Rabba (parash. i. fol. 1, 4), and in both Talmuds; in the one (T. Bab. *Sabbat.* fol. 104, 1) they are said to be used by the seers or prophets, and in the other (T. Hieros. *Megillah*, fol. 71, 4) to be an *Halacah* or tradition of Moses from Sinai; yea, by an ancient writer (Pirke Eliezer, c. 48) they are said to be known by Abraham" (Gill, *Dissertation concerning the Antiquity of the Heb. Language*, &c., p. 69). The final *mem* in the middle of the word לְמַרְבֵּה (Is. ix. 6) is mentioned in both Talmuds (Talm. Bab. *Sanhedrin*, fol. 94, 1; Talm. Jer. *Sanh.* fol. 27, 4), and by Jerome (*in loc.*). In another passage Jerome (*Prol. ad Libr. Reg.*) speaks of the final letters as if of equal antiquity with the rest of the alphabet. The similarity of shape between final *mem* (ם) and *samech* (ס) is indicated by the dictum of Rab Chasda, as given in the Babylonian Talmud (*Megillah*, c. 1; *Shabbath*, fol. 104, 1), that "*mem* and *samech*, which were on the Tables (of the Law) stood by a miracle." It was a tradition among the Jews that the letters on the tables of stone given to Moses were cut through the stone, so as to be legible on both sides; hence the miracle by which *mem* and *samech* kept their place. The final letters were also known to Epiphanius (*De Mens. et Ponderibus*, §4). In our present copies of the Hebrew Bible there are instances in which final letters occur in the middle of words (see Is. ix. 6, as above), and, on the contrary, at the end of words the ordinary forms of the letters are employed (Neh. ii. 13, Job xxxviii. 1); but these are only to be regarded as clerical errors, which in some MSS. are corrected. On the ancient Phoenician inscriptions, just as in the Greek uncial MSS., the letters of a word were divided at the end of a line without any indication being given of such division, but in Hebrew MSS. a twofold course has been adopted in this case. If at the end of a line the scribe found that he had not space for the complete word, he either wrote as many letters as he could of this word, but left them unpointed, and put the complete word in the next line, or he made use of what are called extended letters, *literae dilatabiles* (as אּ, הּ, and the like), in order to fill up the superabundant

space. In the former case, in order to indicate that the word at the end of the line was incomplete, the last of the unpointed letters was left unfinished, or a sign was placed after them, resembling sometimes an inverted ג, and sometimes like ת, ע, or מ. If the space left at the end of the line is inconsiderable it is either filled up by the first letter of the next word, or by any letter whatever, or by an arbitrary mark. In some cases, where the space is too small for one or two consonants, the scribe wrote the excluded letters in a smaller form on the margin above the line (Eichhorn, *Einl.* ii. 57-59). That *abbreviations* were employed in the ancient Hebrew writing is shown by the inscriptions on the Maccabaean coins. In MSS. the frequently recurring words are represented by writing some of their letters only, as ישר' or ישרא' for ישראל, and a frequently recurring phrase by the first letters of its words with the mark of abbreviation; as כ' ל ח' for כי לטובם חסדו, י' or י"י for יהוה, which is also written ', or ''. The *greater* and *smaller* letters which occur in the middle of words (comp. Ps. lxxx. 16; Gen. ii. 4), the *suspended* letters (Judg. xviii. 30; Ps. lxxx. 14), and the *inverted* letters (Num. x. 35), are transferred from the MSS. of the Masoretes, and have all received at the hands of the Jews an allegorical explanation. In Judg. xviii. 30 the suspended *nun* in the word "Manasseh," without which the name is "Moses," is said to be inserted in order to conceal the disgrace which the idolatry of his grandson conferred upon the great lawgiver. Similarly the small כ in the word לְבָכְתָּהּ, "to weep for her" (Gen. xxiii. 2), is explained by Baal Hatturim as indicating that Abraham wept little, because Sarah was an old woman.

Numbers were indicated either by letters or figures. The latter are found on Phoenician coins, on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, on the Palmyrene inscriptions, and probably also in the Aramaeo-Egyptian writing. On the other hand, letters are found used as numerals on the Maccabaean coins, and among the Arabs, and their early adoption for the same purpose among the Greeks may have been due to the Phoenicians. It is not too much to conjecture from these analogies that figures and letters representing numbers may have been employed by the ancient Hebrews. It is even possible that many discrepancies in numbers may be explained in this way. For instance, in 1 Sam. vi. 19, for 50,070 the Syriac has 5070; in 1 K. iv. 26 [v. 6] Solomon had 40,000 horses, while in the parallel passage of 2 Chr. ix. 25 he has only 4000; according to 2 Sam. x. 18 David destroyed 700 chariots of the Syrians, while in 1 Chr. xix. 18 the number is increased to 7000. If figures were in use such discrepancies are easily intelligible. On the other hand, the *seven* years of famine in 2 Sam. xxiv. 13 may be reconciled with the *three* of 1 Chr. xxi. 12 and the LXX. by supposing that a scribe, writing the square character, mistook ג (= 3) for ז (= 7). Again, in 2 Chr. xxi. 20, Jehoram dies at the age of 40, leaving a son, Ahaziah, who was 42 (2 Chr. xxii. 2). In the parallel passage of 2 K. viii. 26 Ahaziah is only 22, so that the scribe probably read מב instead of כב. On the whole, Gesenius concludes, the preponderance would be in favour of the letters, but he deprecates any attempt to explain by this means the enormous numbers we meet with in the descriptions of armies and wealth, and the variations of the Samaritan and LXX. from the Hebrew text in Gen. v.

Vowel-points and diacritical marks.—It is impossible here to discuss fully the origin and antiquity of the vowel-points and other marks which are found in the writing of Hebrew MSS. The most that can be done will be to give a summary of results, and to refer the reader to the sources of fuller information. Almost all the learned Jews of the middle ages maintained the equal antiquity of the vowels and consonants, or at least the introduction of the former by Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue. The only exceptions to this uniformity of opinion are some few hints of Aben Ezra, and a doubtful passage of the book Cozri. The same view was adopted by the Christian writers Raymund Martini (cir. 1278), Perez de Valentin (cir. 1460), and Nicholas de Lyra, and these are followed by Luther, Calvin, and Pellicanus. The modern date of the vowel-points was first argued by Elias Levita, followed on the same side by Cappellus, who was opposed by the younger Buxtorf. Later defenders of their antiquity have been Gill, James Robertson, and Tychsen. Others, like Hottinger, Prideaux, Schultens, J. D. Michaelis, and Eichhorn, have adopted an intermediate view, that the Hebrews had some few ancient vowel-points which they attached to ambiguous words. "The dispute about the antiquity and origin of the Hebrew vowels commenced at a very early date; for while Mar-Natronai II., Gaon in Sura (859-869), prohibited to provide the copies of the Law with vowels, because these signs had not been communicated on Mount Sinai, but had only been introduced by the sages to assist the reader; the Karaites allowed no scroll of the Pentateuch to be used in the synagogue, unless it was furnished with vowels and accents, because they considered them as a divine revelation, which, like the language and the letter, was already given to Adam, or certainly to Moses" (Dr. Kalisch, *Heb. Gr.* ii. 65). No vowel-points are to be found on any of the Jewish coins, or in the Palmyrene inscriptions, and they are wanting in all the relics of Phoenician writing. Some of the Maltese inscriptions were once thought by Gesenius to have marks of this kind (*Gesch. der Hebr. Spr.* p. 184), but subsequent examination led him to the conclusion that the Phoenician monuments have not a vestige of vowel-points. The same was the case originally in the Estrangelo and Cufic alphabets. A single example of a diacritical mark occurs for the first time on one of the Carthaginian inscriptions (Gesen. *Mon. Phoen.* pp. 56, 179). It appears to correspond to the diacritical mark which we meet with in Syriac writing, and which is no doubt first alluded to by Ephraem Syrus (on Gen. xxxvi. 24, *Opp.* i. 184). The age of this mark in Syriac is uncertain, but it is most nearly connected with the *marhetono* of the Samaritans, which is used to distinguish words which have the same consonants, but a different pronunciation and meaning. The first certain indication of vowel-points in a Shemitic language is in the Arabic. Three were introduced by Ali, son of Abu-Thalleb, who died A.H. 40. The Sabian writing also has three vowel-points, but its age is uncertain. Five vowel-points and several reading marks were introduced into the Syriac writing by Theophilus and Jacob of Edessa. The present Arabic system of punctuation originated with the introduction of the Nischi character by Ebn Mokla, who died A.D.

939. On the whole, taking into consideration the nature and analogies of the kindred Semitic languages, and the Jewish tradition that the vowels were only transmitted orally by Moses, and were afterwards reduced to signs and fixed by Ezra and the Great Synagogue, the preponderance of evidence goes to show that Hebrew was written without vowels or diacritical marks all the time that it was a living language. The fact that the synagogue rolls are written without points, and that a strong traditional prescription against their being pointed exists, is in favour of the later origin of the vowel marks. The following passages from the Old Testament, quoted by Gesenius, tend to the same conclusion. In Gen. xix. 37, the name Moab (מוֹאָב), is explained as if it were מֵאָב, "from a father," in which case all trace not only of vocalization, but of the quiescent letter has disappeared. In Gen. xxxi. 47, גַּלְעֵד, Gilead is made to take its name from גַּל עֵד, "heap of witness," and Gen. l. 11, אָבֵל מִצְרַיִם = אֵבֶל מִצְרַיִם. So also in 2 K. xxii. 9, וַיָּבֵא שָׁפָן הַסֹּפֵר, appears in the parallel narrative of 2 Chr. xxxiv. 16 as וַיָּבֵא שָׁפָן אֶת הַסֵּפֶר, which could not have happened if the chronicler had had a pointed text before him. Upon examining the version of the LXX. it is equally clear that the translators must have written from an unpointed text. It is objected to this that the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα are correctly explained, and that they also distinguish between words which have the same consonants but different vowel-points, and even between those which are written and pronounced alike. On the other hand they frequently confuse words which have the same consonants but different vowels. The passages which Gesenius quotes (*Gesch. d. Heb. Spr.* §50) would necessarily be explained from the context, and we must besides this take into consideration that in the ambiguous cases there were in all probability traditional interpretations. The proper names afford a more accurate test. On examining these, we find that they sometimes have entirely different vowels, and sometimes are pointed according to an entirely different system, analogous to the Arabic and Syriac, but varying from the Masoretic. Examples of an entirely different vocalization are, אֲמָתַי Αμαθι, יָקְטָן Ιεκταν, יַרְדֵּן Ιορδανης, מֶשֶׁךְ Μοσοχ, מַרְדְּכַי Μαρδοχαιος, רְמַלְיָה Ρομελιας, צְפַנְיָה Σοφονιας, סַבְּכַי Σοβοχαι, &c. That the punctuation followed by the LXX. was essentially distinct from that of the Masoretes is evident from the following examples. Moving *sheva* at the beginning of words is generally represented by α; as in Σαμουηλ, Σαβαωθ, Ζαβουλων: seldom by ε, as in Βελιαλ, Χερουβιμ; before ו or י by ο or υ, as Σοδομα, Σολομων, Γομορρα, Ζοροβαβελ, φυλιστιειμ, &c. *Pathach* is represented by ε; as Μελχισεδεχ, Νεφθαλειμ, Ελισαβεθ. *Pathach furtivum* = ε; *e. g.* Ωσηε, Γελβουε, Θεκωε, Ζανωε. Other examples might be multiplied. We find instances to the same effect in the fragments of the other Greek versions, and in Josephus. The agreement of the Targums with the present punctuation might be supposed to supply an argument in favour of the antiquity of the latter, but it might equally be appealed to to show that the translation of the Targums embodied the traditional pronunciation which was fixed in writing by the punctuators. The Talmud has likewise been appealed to in support of the antiquity of the modern points; but its utterances on this subject are extremely dark and difficult to understand. They have respect on the one hand to those passages in which the sense of a text is disputed, in so far as it depends upon a different pronunciation; for instance, whether in Cant. i. 2, we should read דּוֹדֶיךָ or דּוֹדֶיךָ; in Ex. xxi. 8, בְּגָדוֹ or בְּגֹדוֹ; in Lev. x. 25, שִׁבְעִים or שִׁבְעִים; in Is. liv. 13, בָּנֶיהָ or בּוֹנֶיהָ. A Rabbinic legend makes Joab kill his teacher, because in Ex. xvii. 14 he had taught him to read זָכֹר for זָכֹר. The last passage shows at least, that the Talmudists thought the text in David's time was unpointed, and the others prove that the punctuation could not have been fixed as it must have been if the vowel-points had been written. But in addition to these instances, which are supposed to involve the existence of vowel-points, there are certain terms mentioned in the Talmud, which are interpreted as referring directly to the vowel signs and accents themselves. Thus in the treatise *Berachoth* (fol. 62, 3) we find the phrase טעמי תורה, *ta'ămê thôrâh*, which is thought to denote not only the distinctive accents and those which mark the tone, but also the vowel-points. Hupfeld, however, has shown that in all probability the term טעם, *ta'am*, denotes nothing more than a logical sentence, and that consequently פיסוק טעמים, *pisûk tĕ'ămîm* (*Nedarim*, fol. 37, 1), is simply a division of a sentence, and has nothing whatever to do either with the tone or the vowels (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1830, ii. p. 567). The word סימן, *sîmân* (Gr. σημεῖον) which occurs in the Talmud (*Nedarim*, fol. 53), and which is explained by Rashi to signify the same as נקוד, *nikkûd*, "a point," has been also appealed to as an evidence of the existence of the vowel-points at the time the Talmud was composed, but its true meaning is rather that of a mnemonic sign made use of to retain the memory of what was handed down by oral tradition. The oldest Biblical critics, the collectors of the Keri and Cethib, have left no trace of vowel-points: all their notes have reference to the consonants. It is now admitted that Jerome knew nothing of the present vowel-points and their names. He expressly says that the Hebrews very rarely had vowels, by which he means the letters א, ה, ו, י, ע, in the middle of words; and that the consonants were pronounced differently according to the pleasure of the reader and the province in which he lived (*Epist. ad Evagr.* 125). The term *accentus*, which he there uses, appears to denote as well the pronunciation of the vowels as the nice distinctions of certain consonantal sounds, and has no connexion whatever with accents in the modern sense of the word. The remarks which Jerome makes as to the possibility of reading the same Hebrew consonants differently, according to the different vowels which were affixed to them, is an additional proof that in his day the vowel-points were not written (see his *Comm. in Hos.* xiii. 3; *Hab.* iii. 5). Hupfeld concludes that the present system of pronunciation had not commenced in the 6th century, that it belonged to a new epoch in Jewish literature, the Masoretic in opposition to the Talmudic, and that, taking into consideration that the Syrians and Arabs, among whom the Jews lived, had already made a beginning in punctuation, there is the highest probability that the Hebrew

system of points is not indigenous, but transmitted or suggested from without (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1830, ii. p. 589). On such a question it is impossible to pronounce with absolute certainty, but the above conclusion has been arrived at by one of the first Hebrew scholars of Europe, who has devoted especial attention to the subject, and to whose opinion all deference is due.

"According to a statement on a scroll of the Law, which may have been in Susa from the eighth century, Moses the Punctator (Hannakdan) was the first who, in order to facilitate the reading of the Scriptures for his pupils, added vowels to the consonants, a practice in which he was followed by his son Judah, the Corrector or Reviser (Hammagiah). These were the beginnings of a full system of Hebrew points, the completion of which has, by tradition, been associated with the name of the Karaite Acha of Irak, living in the first half of the sixth century, and which comprised the vowels and accents, dagesh and rapheh, keri and kethiv. It was, from its local origin, called the Babylonian or Assyrian system. Almost simultaneously with these endeavours, the scholars of Palestine, especially of Tiberias, worked in the same direction, and here Rabbi Mocha, a disciple of Anan the Karaite, and his son Moses, fixed another system of vocalisation (about 570), distinguished as that of Tiberias, which marks still more minutely and accurately the various shades and niceties of tone and pronunciation, and which was ultimately adopted by all the Jews. For though the Karaites, with their characteristic tenacity, and their antagonism to the Rabbanites, clung for some time to the older signs, because they had used them before their secession from the Talmudical sects, they were, at last, in 957, induced to abandon them in favour of those adopted in Palestine. Now the Babylonian signs, besides differing from those of Tiberias in shape, are chiefly remarkable by being almost uniformly placed above the letters. There still exist some manuscripts which exhibit them, and many more would probably have been preserved had not, in later times, the habit prevailed of substituting in old codices the signs of Tiberias for those of Babylonia" (Dr. Kalisch, *Hebr. Gram.* ii. 63, 64).[b] From the sixth century downwards the traces of punctuation become more and more distinct. The Masorah mentions by name two vowels, *kamets* and *pathach* (Kalisch, p. 66). The collation of the Palestinian and Babylonian readings (8th cent.) refers at least in two passages to the *mappik* in *He* (Eichhorn, *Einl.* i. 274); but the collation set on foot by Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali (cir. A.D. 1034) has to do exclusively with vowels and reading-marks, and their existence is presupposed in the Arabic of Saadias and the Veneto-Greek version, and by all the Jewish grammarians from the 11th century onwards.

It now remains to say a few words on the accents. Their especial properties and the laws by which they are regulated properly belong to the department of Hebrew grammar, and full information on these points will be found in the works of Gesenius, Hupfeld, Ewald, and Kalisch. The object of the accents is twofold. 1. They serve to mark the tone syllable, and at the same time to show the relation of each word to the sentence: hence they are called טְעָמִים, as marking the sense. 2. They indicate the modulation of the tone according to which the Old Testament was recited in the synagogues, and were hence called נְגִינוֹת. "The manner of recitation was different for the Pentateuch, the prophets, and the metrical books (Job, the Proverbs, and the Psalms): old modes of cantillation of the Pentateuch and the prophets (in the Haphtaroth) have been preserved in the German and Portuguese synagogues; both differ, indeed, considerably, yet manifestly show a common character, and are almost like the same composition sung in two different keys; while the chanting of the metrical books, not being employed in the public worship, has long been lost" (Kalisch, p. 84). Several modern investigators have decided that the use of the accents for guiding the public recitations is anterior to their use as marking the tone of words and syntactical construction of sentences. The great number of the accents is in favour of this hypothesis, since one sign alone would have been sufficient to mark the tone, and the logical relation of the different parts of a sentence could have been indicated by a much smaller number. Gesenius, on the other hand, is inclined to think that the accents at first served to mark the tone and the sense (*Gesch.* p. 221). The whole question is one of mere conjecture. The advocates for the antiquity of the accents would carry them back as far as the time of the ancient Temple service. The Gemara (*Nedarim*, fol. 37, 2; *Megillah*, c. i. fol. 3) makes the Levites recite according to the accents even in the days of Nehemiah.

Writing materials, &c.—The oldest documents which contain the writing of a Shemitic race are probably the bricks of Nineveh and Babylon on which are impressed the cuneiform Assyrian inscriptions. Inscribed bricks are mentioned by Pliny (vii. 56) as used for astronomical observations by the Babylonians. There is, however, no evidence that they were ever employed by the Hebrews,[c] who certainly at a very early period practised the more difficult but not more durable method of writing on stone (Ex. xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18, xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 1, 28; Deut. x. 1, xxvii. 1; Josh. viii. 32), on which inscriptions were cut with an iron graver (Job xix. 24; Jer. xvii. 1). They were moreover acquainted with the art of engraving upon metal (Ex. xxviii. 36) and gems (Ex. xxviii. 9). Wood was used upon some occasions (Num. xvii. 3; comp. Hom. *Il.* vii. 175), and writing tablets of box-wood are mentioned in 2 Esd. xiv. 24. The "lead," to which allusion is made in Job xix. 24, is supposed to have been poured when melted into the cavities of the stone made by the letters of an inscription, in order to render it durable,[d] and does not appear ever to have been used by the Hebrews as a writing material, like the *χάρται μολύβδινοι* at Thebes, on which were written Hesiod's *Works and Days* (Paus. ix. 31, §4; comp. Plin. xiii. 21). Inscriptions and documents which were intended to be permanent were written on tablets of brass (1 Macc. viii. 22, xiv. 27), but from the manner in which they are mentioned it is clear that their use was exceptional. It is most probable that the most

[b] For further information on the Babylonian system of punctuation, see Pinsker's *Einleitung in die Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktationssystem*, just published at Vienna (1863).

[c] The case of Ezekiel (iv. 1) is evidently an exception.

[d] Copper was used for the same purpose. M. Botta found traces of it in letters on the pavement slabs of Khorsabad (Layard, *Nin.* iii. 188).

ancient as well as the most common material which the Hebrews used for writing was dressed skin in some form or other. We know that the dressing of skins was practised by the Hebrews (Ex. xxv. 5; Lev. xvii. 48), and they may have acquired the knowledge of the art from the Egyptians, among whom it had attained great perfection, the leather-cutters constituting one of the principal subdivisions of the third caste. The fineness of the leather, says Sir G. Wilkinson, "employed for making the straps placed across the bodies of mummies, discovered at Thebes, and the beauty of the figures stamped upon them, satisfactorily prove the skill of 'the leather-cutters,' and the antiquity of embossing: some of these bearing the names of kings who ruled Egypt about the period of the Exodus, or 3300 years ago" (*Anc. Eg.* iii. 155). Perhaps the Hebrews may have borrowed, among their other acquirements, the use of papyrus from the Egyptians, but of this we have no positive evidence. Papyri are found of the most remote Pharaonic age (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* iii. 148), so that Pliny is undoubtedly in error when he says that the papyrus was not used as a writing material before the time of Alexander the Great (xiii. 21). He probably intended to indicate that this was the date of its introduction to Europe. In the Bible the only allusions to the use of papyrus are in 2 John 12, where *χάρτης* occurs, which refers especially to papyrus paper, and 3 Macc. iv. 20, where *χαρτήρια* is found in the same sense. In Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 11, §6) the trial of adultery is made by writing the name of God on a *skin*, and the 70 men who were sent to Ptolemy from Jerusalem by the high-priest Eleazar, to translate the Law into Greek, took with them the *skins* on which the Law was written in golden characters (*Ant.* xii. 2, §10). The oldest Persian annals were written on skins (Diod. Sic. ii. 32), and these appear to have been most frequently used by the Shemitic races if not peculiar to them.* Of the byssus which was used in India before the time of Alexander (Strabo xv. p. 717), and the palm-leaves mentioned by Pliny (vii. 23) there is no trace among the Hebrews, although we know that the Arabs wrote their earliest copies of the Koran upon the roughest materials, as stones, the shoulder-bones of sheep, and palm-leaves (De Sacy, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* l. p. 307). Herodotus, after telling us that the Ionians learnt the art of writing from the Phoenicians, adds that they called their books skins (*τὰς βίβλους διφθέρας*), because they made use of sheep-skins and goat-skins when short of paper (*βίβλος*). Among the Cyprians, a writing-master was called *διφθεράλοιφος*. Parchment was used for the MSS. of the Pentateuch in the time of Josephus, and the *μεμβράναι* of 2 Tim. iv. 13, were skins of parchment. It was one of the provisions in the Talmud that the Law should be written on the skins of clean animals, tame or wild, or even of clean birds. There are three kinds of skins distinguished, on which the roll of the Pentateuch may be written: 1. קֶלֶף, *keleph* (*Meg.* ii. 2; *Shabb.* viii. 3); 2. דּוּכְסוֹסְטוֹם = *διχαστός* or *δίξεστος*; and 3. גְּוִיל, *gĕvîl*. The last is made of the undivided skin, after the hair is removed and it has been properly dressed. For the other two the skin was split. The part with the hairy side was called *keleph*, and was used for the *tephillîn* or phylacteries; and upon the other (דּוֹכֶס) the *mezuzoth* were written (Maimonides, *Hilc. Tephil.*). The skins when written upon were formed into rolls (מְגִלּוֹת, *mĕgillôth*; Ps. xl. 8; comp. Is. xxxiv. 4; Jer. xxxvi. 14; Ez. ii. 9; Zech. v. 1). They were rolled upon one or two sticks and fastened with a thread, the ends of which were sealed (Is. xxix. 11; Dan. xii. 4; Rev. v. 1, &c.). Hence the words גָּלַל, *gâlal* (*εἱλίσσειν*), to roll up (Is. xxxiv. 4; Rev. vi. 14), and פָּרַשׂ, *pâras* (*ἀναπτύσσειν*), to unroll (2 K. xix. 14; Luke iv. 17), are used of the closing and opening of a book. The rolls were generally written on one side only, except in Ez. ii. 9; Rev. v. 1. They were divided into columns (דְּלָתוֹת, *dĕlâthôth*, lit. "doors," A. V. "leaves," Jer. xxxvi. 23); the upper margin was to be not less than three fingers broad, the lower not less than four; and a space of two fingers' breadth was to be left between every two columns (Waehner, *Ant. Ebraeor.* vol. i. sect. 1, cap. xlv. §337). In the Herculaneum rolls the columns are two fingers broad, and in the MSS. in the library at Stuttgart there are three columns on each side, each three inches broad, with an inch space between the columns, and margins of three inches wide (Leyrer in Herzog's *Encycl.* "Schriftzeichen"). The case in which the rolls were kept was called *τεῦχος* or *θήκη*, Talmudic כֶּרֶךְ, *cerec*, or כַּרְכָּא, *carcâ*. But besides skins, which were used for the more permanent kinds of writing, tablets of wood covered with wax (Luke i. 63, *πινακίδια*) served for the ordinary purposes of life. Several of these were fastened together and formed volumes (טוּמוֹת = *tomos*). They were written upon with a pointed style (עֵט, *'ĕt*, Job xix. 24), sometimes of iron (Ps. xlv. 2; Jer. viii. 8, xvii. 1). For harder materials a graver (חֶרֶט, *cheret*, Ex. xxxii. 4; Is. viii. 1) was employed: the hard point was called צִפֹּרֶן, *tsippôren* (Jer. xvii. 1). For parchment or skins a reed was used (3 John 13; 3 Macc. iv. 20), and according to some the Law was to be written with nothing else (Waehner, §334). The ink, דְּיוֹ, *dĕyô* (Jer. xxxvi. 18), literally "black," like the Greek *μέλαν* (2 Cor. iii. 3; 2 John 12; 3 John 13), was to be of lamp-black dissolved in gall juice, though sometimes a mixture of gall juice and vitriol was allowable (Waehner, §335). It was carried in an inkstand (קֶסֶת הַסֹּפֵר, *keseth hassôphêr*, which was suspended at the girdle (Ez. ix. 2, 3), as is done at the present day in the East. The modern scribes "have an apparatus consisting of a metal or ebony tube for their reed pens, with a cup or bulb of the same material, attached to the upper end, for the ink. This they thrust through the girdle, and carry with them at all times" (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 131). Such a case for holding pens, ink, and other materials for writing is called in the Mishna קַלְמָרִין, *kalmârin*, or קַלְמַרְיוֹן, *kalmaryôn* (*calamarium*; Mishn. *Celim*, ii. 7; *Mikv.* x. 1), while תְּרוֹנְתֵק, *tĕrônthêk* (Mish. *Celim*, xvi. 8), is a case for carrying pens, penknife style, and other implements of the writer's

* The word for "book," סֵפֶר, *sêpher*, is from a root, סָפַר, *sâphar*, "to scrape, shave," and indirectly points to the use of skin as a writing-material.

art. To professional scribes there are allusions in Ps. xlv. 1 [2]; Ezr. vii. 6; 2 Esdr. xiv. 24. In the language of the Talmud these are called לִבְלָרִין, *lablârîn*, which is a modification of the Lat. *libellarii* (Talm. *Shabb.* fol. 16, 1).

For the literature of this subject, see especially Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, 1815; *Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache*, 1817; *Monumenta Phoenicia*, 1837; Art. *Palæographie* in Ersch and Gruber's *Allg. Encycl.*: Hupfeld, *Ausführliche Hebräische Grammatik*, 1841, and his articles in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, Band 2: A. T. Hoffmann, *Grammatica Syriacâ*, 1827: A. G. Hoffmann, Art. *Hebräische Schrift* in Ersch and Gruber: Fürst, *Lehrgebäude der Aramäischen Idiome*, 1835: Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache*: Saalschütz, *Forschungen im Gebiete der Hebräisch-Aegyptischen Archäologie*, 1838; besides other works, which have been referred to in the course of this article. [W. A. W.]

X

XAN'THICUS. [MONTH, p. 417.]

Y

YARN (מִקְוֶה; מְקֹוָא). The notice of yarn is contained in an extremely obscure passage in 1 K. x. 28 (2 Chr. i. 16): "Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn; the king's merchants received the linen yarn at a price." The LXX. gives ἐκ Θεκουέ, implying an original reading of מִתְּקוֹעָ; the Vulg. has *de Coa*, which is merely a Latinized form of the original. The Hebrew Received Text is questionable, from the circumstance that the second *mikvêh* has its final vowel lengthened as though it were in the *status constructus*. The probability is that the term does refer to some entrepôt of Egyptian commerce, but whether Tekoah, as in the LXX., or Coa, as in the Vulg., is doubtful. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1202) gives the sense of "number" as applying equally to the merchants and the horses:—"A *band* of the king's merchants bought a *drove* (of horses) at a price"; but the verbal arrangement in 2 Chr. is opposed to this rendering. Thenius (*Exeg. Hdb.* on 1 K. x. 28) combines this sense with the former, giving to the first *mikveh* the sense "from Tekoah," to the second the sense of "drove." Bertheau (*Exeg. Hdb.* on 2 Chr. i. 16) and Fürst (*Lex.* s. v.) side with the Vulgate, and suppose the place called *Coa* to have been on the Egyptian frontier:—"The king's merchants from Coa (*i. e.* stationed at Coa) took the horses from Coa at a price." The sense adopted in the A. V. is derived from Jewish interpreters. [W. L. B.]

YEAR (שָׁנָה: ἔτος: *annus*), the highest ordinary division of time. The Hebrew name is identical with the root שָׁנָה, "he or it repeated, did the second time;" with which are cognate the ordinal numeral שֵׁנִי, "second," and the cardinal, שְׁנַיִם, "two." The meaning is therefore thought to be "an iteration," by Gesenius, who compares the Latin *annus*, properly a circle. Gesenius also compares the Arabic حول, which he says signifies "a circle, year." It signifies "a year," but not "a circle," though sometimes meaning "around:" its root is حال, "it became altered or changed, it shifted, passed, revolved and passed, or became complete" (on Mr. Lane's authority). The ancient Egyptian RENP, "a year," seems to resemble *annus*; for in Coptic one of the forms of its equivalent, ⲣⲟⲗⲗⲡⲓ, the Bashmuric ⲣⲗⲗⲡⲓ, ⲗⲗⲗⲡⲓ, is identical with the Sahidic ⲣⲗⲗⲡⲓ, "a handle, ring," ⲣⲗⲗⲡⲉⲓ, "rings." The sense of the Hebrew might either be a recurring period, or a circle of seasons, or else a period circling through the seasons. The first sense is agreeable with any period of time; the second, with the Egyptian "primitive year," which, by the use of tropical seasons as divisions of the "Vague year," is shown to have been tropical in reality or intention; the third agrees with all "wandering years."

I. Years, properly so called.

Two years were known to, and apparently used by, the Hebrews.

1. A year of 360 days, containing twelve months of thirty days each, is indicated by certain passages in the prophetical Scriptures. The time, times, and a half, of Daniel (vii. 25, xii. 7), where "time" (Ch. עִדָּן, Heb. מוֹעֵד) means "year," evidently represent the same period as the 42 months (Rev. xi. 2) and 1260 days of the Revelation (xi. 3, xii. 6), for $360 \times 3{\cdot}5 = 1260$, and $30 \times 42 = 1260$. This year perfectly corresponds to the Egyptian Vague year, without the five intercalary days. It appears to have been in use in Noah's time, or at least in the time of the writer of the narrative of the Flood, for in that narrative the interval from the 17th day of the 2nd month to the 17th day of the 7th of the same year appears to be stated to be a period of 150 days (Gen. vii. 11, 24, viii. 3, 4, comp. 13), and, as the 1st, 2nd, 7th, and 10th months of one year are mentioned (viii. 13, 14, vii. 11, viii. 4, 5), the 1st day of the 10th month of this year being separated from the 1st day of the 1st month of the next year by an interval of at least 54 days (viii. 5, 6, 10, 12, 13), we can only infer a year of 12 months. Ideler disputes the former inference, arguing that as the water first began to sink after 150 days (and then had been 15 cubits above all high mountains), it must have sunk for some days ere the Ark could have rested on Ararat, so that the second date must have been more than 150 days later than the first (*Handbuch*, i. 69, 70, 478, 479). This argument depends upon the meaning of the expression "high mountains," and upon the height of "the mountains of Ararat," upon which the Ark rested (Gen. viii. 4), and we are certainly justified by Shemitic usage, if we do not consider the usual inference of the great height attained by the Flood to be a necessary one (*Genesis of the Earth and of Man*, 2nd ed. pp. 97, 98). The exact correspondence of the interval mentioned to 5 months of 30 days each, and the use of a year of 360 days, or 12 such months, by the prophets, the latter fact overlooked by Ideler, favour the idea that such a year is here meant, unless indeed one identical with the Egyptian Vague Year, of 12 months of 30 days and 5 intercalary days. The settlement of this question de-

pends upon the nature and history of these years, and our information on the latter subject is not sufficiently certain to enable us to do more than hazard a conjecture.

A year of 360 days is the rudest known. It is formed of 12 spurious lunar months, and was probably the parent of the lunar year of 354 days, and the Vague Year of 365. That it should have continued any time in use would be surprising were it not for the convenient length of the months. The Hebrew year, from the time of the Exodus, as we shall see, was evidently lunar, though in some manner rendered virtually solar, and we may therefore infer that the lunar year is as old as the date of the Exodus. As the Hebrew year was not an Egyptian year, and as nothing is said of its being new, save in its time of commencement, it was perhaps earlier in use among the Israelites, and either brought into Egypt by them or borrowed from Shemite settlers.

The Vague Year was certainly in use in Egypt in as remote an age as the earlier part of the xiith dynasty (B.C. cir. 2000), and there can be no reasonable doubt that it was there used at the time of the building of the Great Pyramid (B.C. cir. 2350). The intercalary days seem to be of Egyptian institution, for each of them was dedicated to one of the great gods, as though the innovation had been thus made permanent by the priests, and perhaps rendered popular as a series of days of feasting and rejoicing. The addition would, however, date from a very early period, that of the final settlement of the Egyptian religion.

As the lunar year and the Vague Year run up parallel to so early a period as that of the Exodus, and the former seems to have been then Shemite, the latter then, and for several centuries earlier, Egyptian, and probably of Egyptian origin, we may reasonably conjecture that the former originated from a year of 360 days in Asia, the latter from the same year in Africa, this primitive year having been used by the Noachians before their dispersion.

2. The year used by the Hebrews from the time of the Exodus may be said to have been then instituted, since a current month, Abib, on the 14th day of which the first Passover was kept, was then made the first month of the year. The essential characteristics of this year can be clearly determined, though we cannot fix those of any single year. It was essentially solar, for the offerings of productions of the earth, first-fruits, harvest-produce, and ingathered fruits, were fixed to certain days of the year, two of which were in the periods of great feasts, the third itself a feast reckoned from one of the former days. It seems evident that the year was made to depend upon these times, and it may be observed that such a calendar would tend to cause thankfulness for God's good gifts, and would put in the background the great luminaries which the heathen worshipped in Egypt and in Canaan. Though the year was thus essentially solar, it is certain that the months were lunar, each commencing with a new moon. There must therefore have been some method of adjustment. The first point to be decided is how the commencement of each year was fixed. On the 16th day of Abib ripe ears of corn were to be offered as first-fruits of the harvest (Lev. ii. 14, xxiii. 10, 11): this was the day on which the sickle was begun to be put to the corn (Deut. xvi. 9), and no doubt Josephus is right in stating that until the offering of first-fruits had been made no harvest-work was to be begun (*Ant.* iii. 10, §5). He also states that ears of barley were offered (*ibid.*). That this was the case, and that the ears were the earliest ripe, is evident from the following circumstances. The reaping of barley commenced the harvest (2 Sam. xxi. 9), that of wheat following, apparently without any considerable interval (Ruth ii. 23). On the day of Pentecost thanksgiving was offered for the harvest, and it was therefore called the "Feast of Harvest." It was reckoned from the commencement of the harvest, on the 16th day of the 1st month. The 50 days must include the whole time of the harvest of both wheat and barley throughout Palestine. According to the observations of modern travellers, barley is ripe, in the warmest parts of Palestine, in the first days of April. The barley-harvest therefore begins about half a month or less after the vernal equinox. Each year, if solar, would thus begin at about that equinox, when the earliest ears of barley must be ripe. As, however, the months were lunar, the commencement of the year must have been fixed by a new moon near this point of time. The new moon must have been that which fell about or next after the equinox, not more than a few days before, on account of the offering of first-fruits. Ideler, whose observations on this matter we have thus far followed, supposes that the new moon was chosen by observation of the forwardness of the barley-crops in the warmer parts of the country (*Handbuch*, i. 490). But such a method would have caused confusion on account of the different times of the harvest in different parts of Palestine; and in the period of the Judges there would often have been two separate commencements of the year in regions divided by hostile tribes, and in each of which the Israelite population led an existence almost independent of any other branch. It is more likely that the Hebrews would have determined their new year's day by the observation of heliacal or other star-risings or settings known to mark the right time of the solar year. By such a method the beginning of any year could have been fixed a year before, either to one day, or, supposing the month-commencements were fixed by actual observation, within a day or two. And we need not doubt that the Israelites were well acquainted with such means of marking the periods of a solar year. In the ancient Song of Deborah we read how "They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera. The river of Kishon swept them away, that ancient river, the river Kishon" (Judg. v. 20, 21). The stars that marked the times of rain are thus connected with the swelling of the river in which the fugitive Canaanites perished. So too we read how the LORD demanded of Job, "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Cimah, or loose the bands of Cesil?" (Job xxxviii. 31). "The best and most fertilizing of the rains," in Palestine and the neighbouring lands, save Egypt, "fall when the Pleiades set at dawn (not exactly heliacally), at the end of autumn; rain scarcely ever falling at the opposite season, when Scorpio sets at dawn." That Cimah signifies the Pleiades does not admit of reasonable doubt, and Cesil, as opposite to it, would be Scorpio, being identified with Cor Scorpionis by Aben Ezra. These explanations we take from the article FAMINE [vol. i. p. 610 *b*, and note]. Therefore it cannot be questioned that the Israelites, even during the troubled time of the Judges, were well acquainted with the method of determining the

seasons of the solar year by observing the stars. Not alone was this the practice of the civilized Egyptians, but, at all times of which we know their history, of the Arabs, and also of the Greeks in the time of Hesiod, while yet their material civilization and science were rudimentary. It has always been the custom of pastoral and scattered peoples, rather than of the dwellers in cities; and if the Egyptians be thought to form an exception, it must be recollected that they used it at a period not remote from that at which their civilization came from the plain of Shinar.

It follows, from the determination of the proper new moon of the first month, whether by observation of a stellar phenomenon, or of the forwardness of the crops, that the method of intercalation can only have been that in use after the Captivity, the addition of a thirteenth month whenever the twelfth ended too long before the equinox for the offering of the first-fruits to be made at the time fixed. This method is in accordance with the permission granted to postpone the celebration of the Passover for one month in the case of any one who was legally unclean, or journeying at a distance (Num. ix. 9-13); and there is a historical instance in the case of Hezekiah of such a postponement for both reasons, of the national celebration (2 Chr. xxx. 1-3, 15). Such a practice as that of an intercalation varying in occurrence is contrary to western usage; but the like prevails in all Muslim countries in a far more inconvenient form in the case of the commencement of every month. The day is determined by actual observation of the new moon, and thus a day is frequently unexpectedly added to or deducted from a month at one place, and months commence on different days at different towns in the same country. The Hebrew intercalation, if determined by stellar phenomena, would not be liable to a like uncertainty, though such may have been the case with the actual day of the new moon.

The later Jews had two commencements of the year, whence it is commonly but inaccurately said that they had two years, the sacred year and the civil. We prefer to speak of the sacred and civil reckonings. Ideler admits that these reckonings obtained at the time of the Second Temple. The sacred reckoning was that instituted at the Exodus, according to which the first month was Abib: by the civil reckoning the first month was the seventh. The interval between the two commencements was thus exactly half a year. It has been supposed that the institution at the time of the Exodus was a change of commencement, not the introduction of a new year, and that thenceforward the year had two beginnings, respectively at about the vernal and the autumnal equinoxes. The former supposition is a hypothesis, the latter may almost be proved. The strongest point of evidence as to two beginnings of the year from the time of the Exodus, strangely unnoticed in this relation by Ideler, is the circumstance that the sabbatical and jubilee years commenced in the 7th month, and no doubt on the 10th day of the 7th month, the Day of Atonement (Lev. xxv. 9, 10), and as this year immediately followed a sabbatical year, the latter must have begun in the same manner. Both were full years, and therefore must have commenced on the first day. The jubilee-year was proclaimed on the first day of the month, the Day of Atonement standing in the same relation to its beginning, and perhaps to the civil beginning of the year, as did the Passover to the sacred beginning. This would be the most convenient, if not the necessary commencement of a year of total cessation from the labours of agriculture, as a year so commencing would comprise the whole round of such occupations in regular sequence from seed-time to harvest, and from harvest to vintage and gathering of fruit. The command as to both years, apart from the mention of the Day of Atonement, clearly shows this, unless we suppose, but this is surely unwarrantable, that the injunction in the two places in which it occurs follows the regular order of the seasons of agriculture (Ex. xxiii. 10, 11; Lev. xxv. 3, 4, 11), but that this was not intended to apply in the case of the observance. Two expressions, used with reference to the time of the Feast of Ingathering on the 15th day of the 7th month, must be here noticed. This feast is spoken of as בְּצֵאת הַשָּׁנָה, "in the going out" or "end of the year" (Ex. xxiii. 16), and as תְּקוּפַת הַשָּׁנָה, "[at] the change of the year" (xxxiv. 22), the latter a vague expression, as far as we can understand it, but quite consistent with the other, whether indicating the turning-point of a natural year, or the half of the year by the sacred reckoning. The Rabbins use the term תְּקוּפָה to designate the commencement of each of the four seasons into which they divide the year (*Handbuch*, i. pp. 550, 551). Our view is confirmed by the similarity of the 1st and 7th months as to their observances, the one containing the Feast of Unleavened Bread from the 15th to the 21st inclusive; the other, that of Tabernacles, from the 15th to the 22nd. Evidence in the same direction is found in the special sanctification of the 1st day of the 7th month, which in the blowing of trumpets resembles the proclamation of the Jubilee year on the Day of Atonement. We therefore hold that from the time of the Exodus there were two beginnings of the year, with the 1st of the 1st and the 1st of the 7th month, the former being the sacred reckoning, the latter, used for the operations of agriculture, the civil reckoning. In Egypt, in the present day, the Muslims use the lunar year for their religious observances, and for ordinary affairs, except those of agriculture, which they regulate by the Coptic Julian year.

We must here notice the theories of the derivation of the Hebrew year from the Egyptian Vague year, as they are connected with the tropical point or points, and agricultural phenomena, by which the former was regulated. The Vague year was commonly used by the Egyptians; and from it only, if from an Egyptian year, is the Hebrew likely to have been derived. Two theories have been formed connecting the two years at the Exodus. (1.) Some hold that Abib, the first month of the Hebrew year by the sacred reckoning, was the Egyptian Epiphi, called in Coptic ⲉⲡⲓϩⲓ, and in Arabic, by the modern Egyptians, أَبِيب, Abeeb, or Ebeeb, the 11th month of the Vague year. The similarity of sound is remarkable, but it must be remembered that the Egyptian name is derived from that of the goddess of the month, PEP-T or APAP-T (?)[a] whereas the

[a] The names of the Egyptian months, derived from their divinities, are alone known to us in Greek and Coptic forms. These forms are shown by the names of the divinities given in the sculptures of the ceiling of the

Hebrew name has the sense of "an ear of corn, a green ear," and is derived from the unused root אָבַב, traceable in אָבִ֫יב, "verdure," אֵב, Chaldee, "fruit," אֵבֶס, "green fodder." Moreover, the Egyptian P is rarely, if ever, represented by the Hebrew ב, and the converse is not common. Still stronger evidence is afforded by the fact that we find in Egyptian the root AB, "a nosegay," which is evidently related to Abib and its cognates. Supposing, however, that the Hebrew calendar was formed by fixing the Egyptian Epiphi as the first month, what would be the chronological result? The latest date to which the Exodus is assigned is about B.C. 1320. In the Julian year B.C. 1320, the month Epiphi of the Egyptian Vague year commenced May 16, 44 days after the day of the vernal equinox, April 2, very near which the Hebrew year must have begun. Thus at the latest date of the Exodus, there is an interval of a month and a half between the beginning of the Hebrew year and Epiphi 1. This interval represents about 180 years, through which the Vague year would retrograde in the Julian until the commencement of Epiphi corresponded to the vernal equinox, and no method can reduce it below 100. It is possible to effect thus much by conjecturing that the month Abib began somewhat after this tropical point, though the precise details of the state of the crops at the time of the plagues, as compared with the phenomena of agriculture in Lower Egypt at the present day, make half a month an extreme extension. At the time of the plague of hail, the barley was in the ear and was smitten with the flax, but the wheat was not sufficiently forward to be destroyed (Ex. ix. 31, 32). In Lower Egypt, at the present day, this would be the case about the end of February and beginning of March. The Exodus cannot have taken place many days after the plague of hail, so that it must have occurred about or a little after the time of the vernal equinox, and thus Abib cannot possibly have begun much after that tropical point: half a month is therefore excessive. We have thus carefully examined the evidence as to the supposed derivation of Abib from Epiphi, because it has been carelessly taken for granted, and more carelessly alleged in support of the latest date of the Exodus.

(2.) We have founded an argument for the date of the Exodus upon another comparison of the Hebrew year and the Vague year. We have seen that the sacred commencement of the Hebrew year was at the new moon about or next after, but not much before, the vernal equinox: the civil commencement must usually have been at the new moon nearest the autumnal equinox. At the earliest date of the Exodus computed by modern chronologers, about the middle of the 17th century B.C., the Egyptian Vague year commenced at or about the latter time. The Hebrew year, reckoned from the civil commencement, and the Vague year, therefore, then nearly or exactly coincided. We have already seen that the Hebrews in Egypt, if they used a foreign year, must be supposed to have used the Vague year. It is worth while to inquire whether a Vague year of this time would further suit the characteristics of the first Hebrew year. It would be necessary that the 14th day of Abib, on which fell the full moon of the Passover of the Exodus, should correspond to the 14th of Phamenoth, in a Vague year commencing about the autumnal equinox. A full moon fell on the 14th of Phamenoth, or Thursday, April 21, B.C. 1652, of a Vague year commencing on the day of the autumnal equinox, Oct. 10, B.C. 1653. A full moon would not fall on the same day of the Vague year within a shorter interval than twenty-five years, and the triple near coincidence of new moon, Vague year, and autumnal equinox, would not recur in less than 1500 Vague years (*Enc. Brit.* 8th ed. *Egypt*, p. 458). This date of the Exodus, B.C. 1652, is only four years earlier than Hales's, B.C. 1648. In confirmation of this early date, it must be added that in a list of confederates defeated by Thothmes III. at Megiddo in the 23rd year of his reign, are certain names that we believe can only refer to Israelite tribes. The date of this king's accession cannot be later than about B.C. 1460, and his 23rd year cannot therefore be later than about B.C. 1440.[b] Were the Israelites then settled in Palestine, no date of the Exodus but the longest would be tenable. [CHRONOLOGY.]

II. Divisions of the Year.—1. *Seasons.* Two seasons are mentioned in the Bible, קַיִץ, "summer," and חֹרֶף, "winter." The former properly means the time of cutting fruits, the latter, that of gathering fruits; they are therefore originally rather summer and autumn than summer and winter. But that they signify ordinarily the two grand divisions of the year, the warm and cold seasons, is evident from their use for the whole year in the expression קַיִץ וְחֹרֶף, "summer and winter" (Ps. lxxiv. 17; Zech. xiv. 8, perhaps Gen. viii. 22), and from the mention of "the winter house" (Jer. xxxvi. 22) and "the summer house" (Am. iii. 15, where both are mentioned together). Probably חֹרֶף, when used without reference to the year (as in Job xxix. 4), retains its original signification. In the promise to Noah, after the Flood, the following remarkable passage occurs: "While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease" (Gen. viii. 22). Here "seed-time," זֶרַע, and "harvest," קָצִיר, are evidently the agricultural seasons. It seems unreasonable to suppose that they mean winter and summer, as the beginnings of the periods of sowing and of harvest are not separated by six months, and they do not last for six months each, or nearly so long a time. The phrase "cold and heat," קֹר וָחֹם, probably

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Rameseum of El-Kurneh to be corrupt; but in several cases they are traceable. The following are certain:— 1. Θώθ, ϴΩΟϮ, divinity TEET (Thoth), as well as a goddess. 2. Παωφί, ΠΑΩΠΙ, PTEH, *i. e.* PA-PTEH, belonging to Ptah. 3. Ἀθύρ, ΑϴΩΡ, HAT-HAR. 9. Παχών, ΠΑΧΩΝ, KHUNS, *i. e.* PA-KHUNS. 11. Επιφί, ΕΠΗΠΙ, PEP-T, or APAP-T. The names of months are therefore, in their corrupt forms, either derived from the names of divinities, or the same as those names. The name of the goddess of Epiphi is written PT TEE, or PT, "twice." As T is the feminine termination, the root appears to be P, "twice," thus PEP-T or APAP-T, the latter being Lepsius's reading. (See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, abth. iii. bl. 170, 171, *Chron. d. Aeg.* i. p. 141, and Poole, *Horae Aegyptiacae*, p. 7-9, 14, 15, 18.)

[b] The writer's paper on this subject not having yet been published, he must refer to the abstract in the *Athenæum* No. 1847, Mar. 21, 1863.

indicates the great alternations of temperature. The whole passage indeed speaks of the alternations of nature, whether of productions, temperature, the seasons, or light and darkness. As we have seen, the year was probably then a wandering one, and therefore the passage is not likely to refer to it, but to natural phenomena alone. [SEASONS; CHRONOLOGY.]

2. *Months.*—The Hebrew months, from the time of the Exodus, were lunar. The year appears ordinarily to have contained twelve, but, when intercalation was necessary, a thirteenth. The older year contained twelve months of thirty days each. [MONTH; CHRONOLOGY.]

3. *Weeks.*—The Hebrews, from the time of the institution of the Sabbath, whether at or before the Exodus, reckoned by weeks, but, as no lunar year could have contained a number of weeks without a fractional excess, this reckoning was virtually independent of the year as with the Muslims. [WEEK; SABBATH; CHRONOLOGY.]

4. *Festivals, holy days, and fasts.*—The Feast of the Passover was held on the 14th day of the 1st month. The Feast of Unleavened Bread lasted 7 days; from the 15th to the 21st, inclusive, of the same month. Its first and last days were kept as sabbaths. The Feast of Weeks, or Pentecost, was celebrated on the day which ended seven weeks counted from the 16th of the 1st month, that day being excluded. It was called the "Feast of Harvest," and "Day of First-fruits." The Feast of Trumpets (lit. "of the sound of the trumpet") was kept as a sabbath on the 1st day of the 7th month. The Day of Atonement (lit. "of Atonements") was a fast, held the 10th day of the 7th month. The "Feast of Tabernacles," or "Feast of Gathering," was celebrated from the 15th to the 22nd day, inclusive, of the 7th month. Additions made long after the giving of the Law, and not known to be of higher than priestly authority, are the Feast of Purim, commemorating the defeat of Haman's plot; the Feast of the Dedication, recording the cleansing and re-dedication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus; and four fasts.

III. Sacred Years.—1. The Sabbatical year, שְׁנַת הַשְּׁמִטָּה, "the fallow year," or, possibly, "year of remission," or שְׁמִטָּה alone, kept every seventh year, was commanded to be observed as a year of rest from the labours of agriculture and of remission of debts. Two Sabbatical years are recorded, commencing and current, B.C. 164-3 and 136-5. [SABBATICAL YEAR; CHRONOLOGY.]

2. The Jubilee year, שְׁנַת הַיּוֹבֵל, "the year of the trumpet," or יוֹבֵל alone, a like year, which immediately followed every seventh Sabbatical year. It has been disputed whether the Jubilee year was every 49th or 50th: the former is more probable. [JUBILEE; CHRONOLOGY.] [R. S. P.]

YOKE. 1. A well-known implement of husbandry, described in the Hebrew language by the terms *môt*,[a] *môṭâh*,[b] and *'ôl*,[c] the two former specifically applying to the bows of wood out of which it was constructed, and the last to the application (*binding*) of the article to the neck of the ox. The expressions are combined in Lev. xxvi. 13 and Ez. xxxiv. 27, with the meaning, "bands of the yoke." The term "yoke" is frequently used metaphorically for *subjection* (*e. g.* 1 K. xii. 4, 9-11, Is. ix. 4; Jer. v. 5): hence an "iron yoke" represents an unusually galling bondage (Deut. xxviii. 48; Jer. xxviii. 13). 2. A pair of oxen, so termed as being yoked together (1 Sam. xi. 7; 1 K. xix. 19, 21). The Hebrew term, *tzemed*,[d] is also applied to asses (Judg. xix. 10) and mules (2 K. v. 17), and even to a couple of riders (Is. xxi. 7). 3. The term *tzemed* is also applied to a certain amount of land, equivalent to that which a couple of oxen could plough in a day (Is. v. 10; A. V. "acre"), corresponding to the Latin *jugum* (Varro, *R. R.* i. 10). The term stands in this sense in 1 Sam. xiv. 14 (A. V. "yoke"); but the text is doubtful, and the rendering of the LXX. suggests that the true reading would refer to the instruments (ἐν κόχλαξι) wherewith the slaughter was effected.

[W. L. B.]

[a] מוֹט [b] מוֹטָה [c] עֹל [d] צֶמֶד

Z

ZAAN'AIM, THE PLAIN OF (אֵלוֹן בְּצַעֲנַיִם: δρῦς πλεονεκτούντων; Alex. δ. αναπαυομένων: *Vallis quae vocabatur Sennim*); or, more accurately "the oak by Zaannaim," such being probably the meaning of the word *élón*. [PLAIN, 890 *b*.] A tree—probably a sacred tree—mentioned as marking the spot near which Heber the Kenite was encamped when Sisera took refuge in his tent (Judg. iv. 11). Its situation is defined as "near Kedesh," *i. e.* Kedesh-Naphtali, the name of which still lingers on the high ground, north of *Safed*, and west of the Lake of *el Huleh*, usually identified with the Waters of Merom. The Targum gives as the equivalent of the name, *mishor agganiya*, "the plain of the swamp," and in the well-known passage of the Talmud (*Megillah Jerush.* i.) which contains a list of several of the towns of Galilee with their then identifications, the equivalent for "Elon (or Aijalon) be-Zaannaim" is *Agniya hak-kodesh*. *Agne* appears to signify a swamp, and can hardly refer to anything but the marsh which borders the lake of *Huleh* on the north side, and which was probably more extensive in the time of Deborah than it now is [MEROM]. On the other hand, Professor Stanley has pointed out (*Jewish Church*, 324; *Localities*, 197) how appropriate a situation for this memorable tree is afforded by "a green plain . . . studded with massive terebinths," which adjoins on the south the plain containing the remains of Kedesh. The whole of this upland country is more or less rich in terebinths. One such, larger than usual, and bearing the name of *Sejar em-Messiah*, is marked on the map of Van de Velde as 6 miles N.W. of *Kedes*. These two suggestions—of the ancient Jewish and the modern Christian student—may be left side by side to await the result of future investigation. In favour of the former is the slight argument to be drawn from the early date of the interpretation, and the fact that the basin of the *Huleh* is still the favourite camping ground of Bedouins. In favour of the latter is the instinct of the observer and the abundance of trees in the neighbourhood.

No name answering to either Zaannaim or Agne has yet been encountered.

The *Keri*, or correction, of Judg. iv. 11, substitutes Zaananim for Zaanaim, and the same form is found in Josh. xix. 33. This correction the lexicographers adopt as the more accurate form of the name. It appears to be derived (if a Hebrew word)

from a root signifying to load beasts as nomads do when they change their places of residence (Gesen. *Thes.* 1177). Such a meaning agrees well with the habits of the Kenites. But nothing can be more uncertain than such explanations of topographical names—most to be distrusted when most plausible. [G.]

ZAAN'AN (צַאֲנָן: Σενναάρ: *in exitu*). A place named by Micah (i. 11) in his address to the towns of the Shephelah. This sentence, like others of the same passage, contains a play of words founded on the meaning (or on a possible meaning) of the name Zaanan, as derived from *yatsah*, to go forth:—

"The inhabitress of Tsaanan came not forth."

The division of the passage shown in the LXX. and A. V., by which Zaanan is connected with Beth-ezel—is now generally recognized as inaccurate. It is thus given by Dr. Pusey, in his *Commentary*—"The inhabitant of Zaanan came not forth. The mourning of Beth-ezel shall take from you its standing." So also Ewald, De Wette, and Zunz.

Zaanan is doubtless identical with ZENAN. [G.]

ZA'AVAN (זַעֲוָן: Ζουκάμ; Alex. Ἰωυακάμ, Ἰωακάν: *Zavan*). A Horite chief, son of Ezer the son of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 27; 1 Chr. i. 42). The LXX. appear to have read זוּכָן. In 1 Chr. the A. V. has ZAVAN.

ZA'BAD (זָבָד: Ζαβέδ, Ζαβέρ; Alex. Ζαβάτ in 1 Chr.: *Zabad*: short for זְבַדְיָה: see Zebadiah, Zabdi, Zabdiel, Zebedee, "*God* hath given *him*").

1. Son of Nathan, son of Attai, son of Ahlai, Sheshan's daughter (1 Chr. ii. 31-37), and hence called son of Ahlai (1 Chr. xi. 41). He was one of David's mighty men, but none of his deeds have been recorded. The chief interest connected with him is his genealogy, which is of considerable importance in a chronological point of view, and as throwing incidental light upon the structure of the Book of Chronicles, and the historical value of the genealogies in it. Thus in 1 Chr. ii. 26-41, we have the following pedigree, the generations preceding Jerahmeel being prefixed:—

(1) Judah.		(13) Nathan.
(2) Pharez.		(14) ZABAD.
(3) Hezron.		(15) Ephlal
(4) Jerahmeel.		(16) Obed.
(5) Onam.		(17) Jehu.
(6) Shammai.		(18) AZARIAH.
(7) Nadab.		(19) Helez.
(8) Appaim.		(20) Eleasah.
(9) Ishi.		(21) Sisamai.
(10) Sheshan.		(22) Shallum.
(11) Ahlai, his daughter	=Jarha the Egyptian.	(23) Jekamiah.
(12) Attai.		(24) Elishama.

Here, then, is a genealogy of twenty-four generations, commencing with the patriarch, and terminating we know not, at first sight, where; but as we happen to know, from the history, where Zabad the son of Ahlai lived, we are at least sure of this fact, that the *fourteenth* generation brings us to the time of David; and that this is about the correct number we are also sure, because out of seven other perfect genealogies, covering the same interval of time, four have the same number (*fourteen*), two have *fifteen*, and David's own has *eleven*. [GENEAL. OF JESUS CHRIST, p. 667.]

But it also happens that another person in the line is an historical personage, whom we know to have lived during the usurpation of Athaliah, viz. Azariah the son (*i. e.* grandson) of Jehu (2 Chr. xxiii. 1). [AZARIAH, 13.] He was *fourth* after Zabad, while Jehoram, Athaliah's husband, was *sixth* after David—a perfectly satisfactory correspondence when we take into account that Zabad[a] may probably have been considerably younger than David, and that the early marriages of the kings have a constant tendency to increase the number of generations in the royal line. Again, the last name in the line is the sixth after Azariah; but Hezekiah was the sixth king after Athaliah, and we know that many of the genealogies were written out by "the men of Hezekiah," and therefore of course came down to his time [BECHER, p. 176] (see 1 Chr. iv. 41; Prov. xxv. 1). So that we may conclude, with great probability, both that this genealogy ends in the time of Hezekiah, and that all its links are perfect.

One other point of importance remains to be noticed, viz. that Zabad is called, after his great-grandmother, the founder of his house, *son of Ahlai*. For that Ahlai was the name of Sheshan's daughter is certain from 1 Chr. ii. 31; and it is also certain, from vers. 35, 36, that from her marriage with Jarha descended, in the third generation, Zabad. It is therefore as certain as such matters can be, that Zabad the son of Ahlai, David's mighty man, was so called from Ahlai his female ancestor. The case is analogous to that of Joab, and Abishai, and Asahel, who are always called *sons of Zeruiah*, Zeruiah, like Ahlai, having married a foreigner. Or if any one thinks there is a difference between a man being called the son of his mother, and the son of his great-grandmother, a more exact parallel may be found in Gen. xxv. 4, xxxvi. 12, 13, 16, 17, where the descendants of Keturah, and of the wives of Esau, in the third and fourth generation, are called "the sons of Keturah," "the sons of Adah" and "of Bashemath" respectively.

2. (Ζαβάδ; Alex. Ζαβέδ). An Ephraimite, if the text of 1 Chr. vii. 21 is correct. [See SHUTHELAH.]

3. (Ζαβέδ; Alex. Ζαβέθ). Son of Shimeath, an Ammonitess, an assassin who, with Jehozabad, slew king Joash, according to 2 Chr. xxiv. 26; but in 2 K. xii. 21, his name is written, probably more correctly, Jozachar [JOZACHAR]. He was one of the domestic servants of the palace, and apparently the agent of a powerful conspiracy (2 Chr. xxv. 3; 2 K. xiv. 5). Joash had become unpopular from his idolatries (2 Chr. xxiv. 18), his oppression (ib. 22), and, above all, his calamities (ib. 23-25). The explanation given in the article JOZACHAR is doubtless the true one, that the chronicler represents this violent death of the king, as well as the previous invasion of the Syrians, as a Divine judgment against him for the innocent blood of Zechariah shed by him, not that the assassins themselves were actuated by the desire to avenge the death of Zechariah. They were both put to death by Amaziah, but their children were spared in obedience to the law of Moses (Deut. xxiv. 16). The coincidence between the names *Zechariah* and *Jozachar* is remarkable. [A. C. H.]

4. (Ζαβάδ.) A layman of Israel, of the sons of Zattu, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 27). He is called SABATUS in 1 Esd. ix. 28.

5. (Ζαδάβ; Ζαβάδ.) One of the descendants of

[a] He does not appear in the list in 2 Sam. xxiv., and may therefore be presumed to have been added in the latter part of David's reign

Hashum, who had married a foreign wife after the Captivity (Ezr. x. 33): called BANNAIA in 1 Esd. ix. 33.

6. (Ζαβάδ; Alex. om.) One of the sons of Nebo, whose name is mentioned under the same circumstances as the two preceding (Ezr. x. 43). It is represented by ZABADAIAS in 1 Esd. ix. 35. [W. A. W.]

ZABADAI'AS (Ζαβαδαίας: *Sabatus*). ZABAD 6 (1 Esd. ix. 35; comp. Ezr. x. 43).

ZABADE'ANS (Ζαβεδαῖοι; Alex. Ζαβαδέοι: *Zabadaei*). An Arab tribe who were attacked and spoiled by Jonathan, on his way back to Damascus from his fruitless pursuit of the army of Demetrius (1 Macc. xii. 31). Josephus calls them Nabataeans (*Ant.* xiii. 5, §10), but he is evidently in error. Nothing certain is known of them. Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 382) finds a trace of their name in that of the place *Zabda* given by Robinson in his lists; but this is too far south, between the *Yarmuk* and the *Zurka*. Michaelis suggests the Arab tribe *Zobeideh*; but they do not appear in the necessary locality. Jonathan had pursued the enemy's army as far as the river Eleutherus (*Nahr el Kebir*), and was on his march back to Damascus when he attacked and plundered the Zabadeans. We must look for them, therefore, somewhere to the north-west of Damascus. Accordingly, on the road from Damascus to Baalbek, at a distance of about 8¾ hours (26 miles) from the former place, is the village *Zebdâny*, standing at the upper end of a plain of the same name, which is the very centre of Antilibanus. The name *Zebdâny* is possibly a relic of the ancient tribe of the Zabadeans. According to Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 3), the plain "is about three quarters of an hour in breadth, and three hours in length; it is called *Ard Zebdeni*, or the district of Zebdeni; it is watered by the Barrada, one of whose sources is in the midst of it; and by the rivulet called *Moiet Zebdeni*, whose source is in the mountain behind the village of the same name." The plain is "limited on one side by the eastern part of the Antilibanus, called here Djebel Zebdeni." The village is of considerable size, containing nearly 3000 inhabitants, who breed cattle, and the silkworm, and have some dyeing-houses (ibid.). Not far from *Zebdâny*, on the western slopes of Antilibanus, is another village called *Kefr Zebad*, which again seems to point to this as the district formerly occupied by the Zabadeans. [W. A. W.]

ZABBA'I (זַבַּי: Ζαβού: *Zabbaï*). 1. One of the descendants of Bebai, who had married a foreign wife in the days of Ezra (Ezr. x. 28). He is called JOSABAD in 1 Esd. ix. 29.

2. (Ζαβοῦ; FA. Ζαβρου: *Zachaï*.) Father of Baruch, who assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the city wall (Neh. iii. 20).

ZAB'BUD (זַבּוּד, *Keri* זַכּוּר; Ζαβούδ: *Zachur*). One of the sons of Bigvai, who returned in the second caravan with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 14). In 1 Esd. viii. 40 his name is corrupted into ISTALCURUS.

ZABDE'US (Ζαβδαῖος: Vulg. om.). ZEBADIAH of the sons of Immer (1 Esd. ix. 21; comp. Ezr. x. 20).

ZAB'DI (זַבְדִּי: Ζαμβρί; Alex. Ζαβρί in Josh. vii. 1: *Zabdi*). 1. Son of Zerah, the son of Judah, and ancestor of Achan (Josh. vii. 1, 17, 18).

2. (Ζαβδί.) A Benjamite, of the sons of Shimhi (1 Chr. viii. 19).

3. (*Zabdias.*) David's officer over the produce of the vineyards for the wine-cellars (1 Chr. xxvii. 27). He is called "the Shiphmite," that is, in all probability, native of Sibmah; but his native place has not been traced.

4. (Vat. and Alex. om.; FA. third hand Ζεχρι: *Zebedeüs.*) Son of Asaph the minstrel (Neh. xi. 17); called elsewhere ZACCUR (Neh. xii. 35) and ZICHRI (1 Chr. ix. 15).

ZAB'DIEL (זַבְדִּיאֵל: Ζαβδιήλ: *Zabdiel*). 1. Father of Jashobeam, the chief of David's guard (1 Chr. xxvii. 2).

2. (Βαδιήλ; Alex. Ζοχριήλ.) A priest, son of the great men, or, as the margin gives it, "Haggedolim" (Neh. xi. 14). He had the oversight of 128 of his brethren after the return from Babylon.

3. (Ζαβδιήλ; Joseph. Ζάβηλος: *Zabdiel.*) An Arabian chieftain who put Alexander Balas to death (1 Macc. xi. 17; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4, §8). According to Diodorus, Alex. Balas was murdered by two of the officers who accompanied him (Müller, *Fragm. Hist.* ii. 16).

ZA'BUD (זָבוּד: Ζαβούθ; Alex. Ζαββούθ: *Zabud*). The son of Nathan (1 K. iv. 5). He is described as a priest (A. V. "principal officer;" PRIEST, p. 915), and as holding at the court of Solomon the confidential post of "king's friend," which had been occupied by Hushai the Archite during the reign of David (2 Sam. xv. 37, xvi. 16; 1 Chr. xxvii. 33). This position, if it were an official one, was evidently distinct from that of counsellor, occupied by Ahithophel under David, and had more of the character of private friendship about it, for Absalom conversely calls David the "friend" of Hushai (2 Sam. xvi. 17). In the Vat. MS. of the LXX. the word "priest" is omitted, and in the Arabic of the London Polyglot it is referred to Nathan. The Peshito-Syriac and several Hebrew MSS. for "Zabud" read "Zaccur." The same occurs in the case of ZABBUD.

ZABUL'ON (Ζαβουλών: *Zabulon*). The Greek form of the name ZEBULUN (Matt. iv. 13, 15; Rev. vii. 8).

ZACCA'I (זַכַּי: Ζακχού; Alex. Ζακχαί in Ezra: *Zachaï*). The sons of Zaccai, to the number of 760, returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 9; Neh. vii. 14). The name is the same which appears in the N. T. in the familiar form of ZACCHAEUS.

ZACCHAEUS (Ζακχαῖος: *Zacchaeus*). The name of a tax-collector near Jericho, who being short in stature climbed up into a sycamore-tree, in order to obtain a sight of Jesus as He passed through that place. Luke only has related the incident (xix. 1-10). Zacchaeus was a Jew, as may be inferred from his name and from the fact that the Saviour speaks of him expressly as "a son of Abraham" (υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ). So the latter expression should be understood, and not in a spiritual sense; for it was evidently meant to assert that he was one of the chosen race, notwithstanding the prejudice of some of his countrymen that his office under the Roman government made him an alien and outcast from the privileges of the Israelite. The term which designates this office (ἀρχιτελώνης) is unusual, but describes him no doubt as the superintendent of customs or tribute in the district of Jericho, where he lived, as one having a commission from his Roman principal (*manceps*, *publicanus*) to collect the imposts levied on the Jews by the Romans, and who in the execution of that trust employed sub-alterns (the ordinary τελῶναι), who were

accountable to him, as he in turn was accountable to his superior, whether he resided at Rome, as was more commonly the case, or in the province itself (see Winer, *Realw.* ii. 711, and *Dict. of Ant.* p. 806.). The office must have been a lucrative one in such a region, and it is not strange that Zacchaeus is mentioned by the Evangelist as a rich man (*οὗτος ἦν πλούσιος*). Josephus states (*Ant.* xv. 4, §2) that the palm-groves of Jericho and its gardens of balsam were given as a source of revenue by Antony to Cleopatra, and, on account of their value, were afterwards redeemed by Herod the Great for his own benefit. The sycamore-tree is no longer found in that neighbourhood (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 559); but no one should be surprised at this, since "even the solitary relic of the palm-forest, seen as late as 1838"—which existed near Jericho, has now disappeared (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 307). The eagerness of Zacchaeus to behold Jesus indicates a deeper interest than that of mere curiosity. He must have had some knowledge, by report at least, of the teachings of Christ, as well as of His wonder-working power, and could thus have been awakened to some just religious feeling, which would make him the more anxious to see the announcer of the good tidings, so important to men as sinners. The readiness of Christ to take up His abode with him, and His declaration that "salvation" had that day come to the house of his entertainer, prove sufficiently that "He who knows what is in man" perceived in him a religious susceptibility which fitted him to be the recipient of spiritual blessings. Reflection upon his conduct on the part of Zacchaeus himself appears to have revealed to him deficiencies which disturbed his conscience, and he was ready, on being instructed more fully in regard to the way of life, to engage to "restore fourfold" for the illegal exactions of which he would not venture to deny (*εἴ τινός τι ἐσυκοφάντησα*) that he might have been guilty. At all events he had not lived in such a manner as to overcome the prejudice which the Jews entertained against individuals of his class, and their censure fell on him as well as on Christ when they declared that the latter had not scorned to avail Himself of the hospitality of "a man that was a sinner." The Saviour spent the night probably (*μεῖναι*, ver. 5, and *καταλῦσαι*, ver. 7, are the terms used) in the house of Zacchaeus, and the next day pursued his journey to Jerusalem. He was in the caravan from Galilee, which was going up thither to keep the Passover. The entire scene is well illustrated by Oosterzee (Lange's *Bibelwerk*, iii. 285).

We read in the Rabbinic writings also of a Zacchaeus who lived at Jericho at this same period, well known on his own account, and especially as the father of the celebrated Rabbi Jochanan ben Zachai (see Sepp's *Leben Jesu*, iii. 166). This person may have been related to the Zacchaeus named in the sacred narrative. The family of the Zacchaei was an ancient one, as well as very numerous. They are mentioned in the Books of Ezra (ii. 9) and Nehemiah (vii. 14) as among those who returned from the Babylonian Captivity under Zerubbabel, when their number amounted to seven hundred and sixty. It should be noticed that the name is given as ZACCAI in the Authorised Version of the Old Testament. [H. B. H.]

ZACCHE'US (Ζακχαῖος: *Zacchaeus*). An officer of Judas Maccabaeus (2 Macc. x. 19). Grotius, from a mistaken reference to 1 Macc. v. 56, wishes to read *καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ζαχαίου*. [B. F. W.]

ZAC'CHUR (זַכּוּר. Ζακχουρ· *Zachur*). A Simeonite, of the family of Mishma (1 Chr. iv. 26). His descendants, through his son Shimei, became one of the most numerous branches of the tribe.

ZAC'CUR (זַכּוּר: Ζαχούρ; Alex. Ζαχρού: *Zechur*). 1. A Reubenite, father of Shammua, the spy selected from his tribe (Num. xiii 4).

2. (Ζακχούρ; Alex. Ζακχούρ: *Zachur.*) A Merarite Levite, son of Jaaziah (1 Chr. xxiv. 27).

3. (Ζακχούρ, Ζακχούρ; Alex. Ζακχούρ: *Zachur, Zachur.*) Son of Asaph, the singer, and chief of the third division of the Temple choir as arranged by David (1 Chr. xxv. 2, 10; Neh. xii. 35).

4. (Ζακχούρ; FA. Ζαχχούρ: *Zachur.*) The son of Imri, who assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the city wall (Neh. iii. 2).

5. (Ζακχώρ.) A Levite, or family of Levites, who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 12).

6. (Ζακχούρ.) A Levite, whose son or descendant Hanan was one of the treasurers over the treasuries appointed by Nehemiah (Neh. xiii. 13).

ZACHARI'AH, or properly ZECHARIAH (זְכַרְיָה, "remembered by Jehovah:" Ζαχαρίας: *Zacharias*), was son of Jeroboam II., 14th king of Israel, and the last of the house of Jehu. There is a difficulty about the date of his reign. We are told that Amaziah ascended the throne of Judah in the second year of Joash king of Israel, and reigned 29 years (2 K. xiv. 1, 2). He was succeeded by Uzziah or Azariah, in the 27th year of Jeroboam II., the successor of Joash (2 K. xv. 1), and Uzziah reigned 52 years. On the other hand, Joash king of Israel reigned 16 years (2 K. xiii. 10), was succeeded by Jeroboam, who reigned 41 (2 K. xiv. 23), and he by Zachariah, who came to the throne in the 38th year of Uzziah king of Judah (2 K. xv. 8). Thus we have (1) from the accession of Amaziah to the 38th of Uzziah, 29+38=67 years: but (2) from the second year of Joash to the accession of Zachariah (or at least to the death of Jeroboam) we have 15+41=56 years. Further, the accession of Uzziah, placed in the 27th year of Jeroboam, according to the above reckoning occurred in the 15th. And this latter synchronism is confirmed, and that with the 27th year of Jeroboam contradicted, by 2 K. xiv. 17 which tells us that Amaziah king of Judah survived Joash king of Israel by 15 years. Most chronologers assume an interregnum of 11 years between Jeroboam's death and Zachariah's accession, during which the kingdom was suffering from the anarchy of a disputed succession, but this seems unlikely after the reign of a resolute ruler like Jeroboam, and does not solve the difference between 2 K. xiv. 17 and xv. 1. We are reduced to suppose that our present MSS. have here incorrect numbers, to substitute 15 for 27 in 2 K. xv. 1, and to believe that Jeroboam II. reigned 52 or 53 years. Josephus (ix. 10, §3) places Uzziah's accession in the 14th year of Jeroboam, a variation of a year in these synchronisms being unavoidable, since the Hebrew annalists in giving their dates do not reckon fractions of years. [ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF, vol. i. p. 900.] But whether we assume an interregnum, or an error in the MSS., we must place Zachariah's accession B.C. 771-2. His reign lasted only six months. He was killed in a conspiracy, of which Shallum was the head, and by which the prophecy in 2 K. x. 30 was accomplished. We are told that during his brief term of power he did evil, and kept up the calf-worship inherited from the first Jeroboam

which his father had maintained in regal splendour at Bethel (Am. vii. 13). [SHALLUM.] [G. E. L. C.]

2. (Alex. Ζαγγαῖος.) The father of Abi, or Abijah, Hezekiah's mother (2 K. xviii. 2). In 2 Chr. xxix. 1 he is called ZECHARIAH.

ZACHARI'AS (Ζαχαρίας: Vulg. om.). 1. Zechariah the priest in the reign of Josiah (1 Esd. i. 8).

2. In 1 Esd. i. 15 Zacharias occupies the place of Heman in 2 Chr. xxxv. 15.

3. (Ζαραΐας; Alex. Ζαρέας: *Areores.*) = SERAIAH 6, and AZARIAH (1 Esd. v. 8; comp. Ezr. ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7). It is not clear from whence this rendering of the name is derived. Our translators follow the Geneva Version.

4. (Ζαχαρίας: *Zacharias.*) The prophet ZECHARIAH (1 Esd. vi. 1, vii. 3).

5. ZECHARIAH of the sons of Pharosh (1 Esd. viii. 30; comp. Ezr. viii. 3).

6. ZECHARIAH of the sons of Bebai (1 Esd. viii. 37; Ezr. viii. 11).

7. ZECHARIAH, one of "the principal men and learned," with whom Ezra consulted (1 Esd. viii. 44; comp. Ezr. viii. 16).

8. ZECHARIAH of the sons of Elam (1 Esd. ix. 27; comp. Ezr. x. 26).

9. Father of Joseph, a leader in the first campaign of the Maccabaean war (1 Macc. v. 18, 56-62).

10. Father of John the Baptist (Luke, i. 5, &c.) [JOHN THE BAPTIST.]

11. Son of Barachias, who, our Lord says, was slain by the Jews between the altar and the temple (Matt. xxiii. 35; Luke, xi. 51). There has been much dispute who this Zacharias was. From the time of Origen, who relates that the father of John the Baptist was killed in the temple, many of the Greek Fathers have maintained that this is the person to whom our Lord alludes; but there can be little or no doubt that the allusion is to Zacharias, the son of Jehoiada (2 Chr. xxiv. 20, 21). As the Book of Chronicles—in which the murder of Zacharias, the son of Jehoiada, occurs—closes the Hebrew canon, this assassination was the last of the murders of righteous men recorded in the Bible, just as that of Abel was the first. (Comp. Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, p. 353.) The name of the father of Zacharias is not mentioned by St. Luke; and we may suppose that the name of Barachias crept into the text of St. Matthew from a marginal gloss, a confusion having been made between Zacharias, the son of Jehoiada, and Zacharias, the son of Barachias (Berechiah), the prophet. [Comp. ZECHARIAH, 6, p. 1832.]

ZACH'ARY (*Zacharias*). The prophet Zechariah (2 Esd. i. 40).

ZA'CHER (זָכֻר, in pause זָכֻר: Ζακχούρ: *Zacher*). One of the sons of Jehiel, the father or founder of Gibeon, by his wife Maachah (1 Chr. viii. 31). In 1 Chr. ix. 37 he is called ZECHARIAH.

ZA'DOK (צָדוֹק: Σαδώκ: *Sadok*: "righteous"). 1. Son of Ahitub, and one of the two chief priests in the time of David, Abiathar being the other. [ABIATHAR.] Zadok was of the house of Eleazar, the son of Aaron (1 Chr. xxiv. 3), and eleventh in descent from Aaron. The first mention of him is in 1 Chr. xii. 28, where we are told that he joined David at Hebron after Saul's death with 22 captains of his father's house, and, apparently, with 900 men (4600–3700, vers. 26, 27). Up to this time, it may be concluded, he had adhered to the house of Saul. But henceforth his fidelity to David was inviolable. When Absalom revolted, and David fled from Jerusalem, Zadok and all the Levites bearing the Ark accompanied him, and it was only at the king's express command that they returned to Jerusalem, and became the medium of communication between the king and Hushai the Archite (2 Sam. xv., xvii.). When Absalom was dead, Zadok and Abiathar were the persons who persuaded the elders of Judah to invite David to return (2 Sam. xix. 11). When Adonijah, in David's old age, set up for king, and had persuaded Joab, and Abiathar the priest, to join his party, Zadok was unmoved, and was employed by David to anoint Solomon to be king in his room (1 K. i.). And for this fidelity he was rewarded by Solomon, who "thrust out Abiathar from being priest unto the Lord," and "put in Zadok the priest" in his room (1 K. ii. 27, 35). From this time, however, we hear little of him. It is said in general terms in the enumeration of Solomon's officers of state that Zadok was the priest (1 K. iv. 4; 1 Chr. xxix. 22), but no single act of his is mentioned. Even in the detailed account of the building and dedication of Solomon's Temple, his name does not occur, so that though Josephus says that "Sadoc the high-priest was the first high-priest of the Temple which Solomon built" (*Ant.* x. 8, §6), it is very doubtful whether he lived till the dedication of Solomon's Temple, and it seems far more likely that Azariah, his son or grandson, was high-priest at the dedication (comp. 1 K. iv. 2, and 1 Chr. vi. 10, and see AZARIAH 2). Had Zadok been present, it is scarcely possible that he should not have been named in so detailed an account as that in 1 K. viii. [HIGH-PRIEST, p. 810.]

Several interesting questions arise in connexion with Zadok in regard to the high-priesthood. And first, as to the causes which led to the descendants of Ithamar occupying the high-priesthood to the prejudice of the house of Eleazar. There is, however, nothing to guide us to any certain conclusion. We only know that Phinehas the son of Eleazar was high-priest after his father, and that at a subsequent period Eli of the house of Ithamar was high-priest, and that the office continued in his house till the time of Zadok, who was first Abiathar's colleague, and afterwards superseded him. Zadok's descendants continued to be hereditary high-priests till the time of Antiochus Eupator, and perhaps till the extinction of the office. [HIGH-PRIEST, p. 812.] But possibly some light may be thrown on this question by the next which arises, viz., what is the meaning of the double priesthood of Zadok and Abiathar (2 Sam. xv. 29; 1 Chr. xxiv. 6, 31). In later times we usually find two priests, the high-priest, and the second priest (2 K. xxv. 18), and there does not seem to have been any great difference in their dignity. So too Luke iii. 2. The expression "the chief priest of the house of Zadok" (2 Chr. xxxi. 10), seems also to indicate that there were two priests of nearly equal dignity. Zadok and Abiathar were of nearly equal dignity (2 Sam. xv. 35, 36, xix. 11). Hophni and Phinehas again, and Eleazar and Ithamar are coupled together, and seem to have been holders of the office as it were in commission. The duties of the office too were in the case of Zadok and Abiathar divided. Zadok ministered before the Tabernacle at Gibeon (1 Chr. xvi. 39), Abiathar had the care of the Ark at Jerusalem. Not, however, exclusively, as appears from 1 Chr xv. 11

2 Sam. xv. 24, 25, 29. Hence, perhaps, it may be concluded that from the first there was a tendency to consider the office of the priesthood as somewhat of the nature of a corporate office, although some of its functions were necessarily confined to the chief member of that corporation; and if so, it is very easy to perceive how superior abilities on the one hand, and infancy or incapacity on the other, might operate to raise or depress the members of this corporation respectively. Just as in the Saxon royal families, considerable latitude was allowed as to the particular member who succeeded to the throne. When hereditary monarchy was established in Judaea, then the succession to the high-priesthood may have become more regular. Another circumstance which strengthens the conclusion that the origin of the double priesthood was anterior to Zadok, is that in 1 Chr. ix. 11; Neh. xi. 11, Ahitub the father of Zadok, seems to be described as "ruler of the House of God," an office usually held by the chief priest, though sometimes by the second priest. [HIGH-PRIEST, p. 808.] And if this is so, it implies that the house of Eleazar had maintained its footing side by side with the house of Ithamar, although for a time the chief dignity had fallen to the lot of Eli. What was Zadok's exact position when he first joined David, is impossible to determine. He there appears inferior to Jehoiada "the leader of the Aaronites."

2. According to the genealogy of the high-priests in 1 Chr. vi. 12, there was a second Zadok, son of a second Ahitub, son of Amariah; about the time of King Ahaziah. But it is highly improbable that the same sequence, Amariah, Ahitub, Zadok, should occur twice over; and no trace whatever remains in history of this second Ahitub, and second Zadok. It is probable, therefore, that no such person as this second Zadok ever existed; but that the insertion of the two names is a copyist's error. Moreover, these two names are quite insufficient to fill up the gap between Amariah in Jehoshaphat's reign, and Shallum in Amon's, an interval of much above 200 years.

3. Father of Jerushah, the wife of King Uzziah, and mother of King Jotham. He was probably of a priestly family.

4. Son of Baana, who repaired a portion of the wall in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 4). He is probably the same as is in the list of those that sealed the covenant in Neh. x. 21, as in both cases his name follows that of Meshezabeel. But if so, we know that he was not a priest, as his name would at first sight lead one to suppose, but one of "the chief of the people," or laity. With this agrees his patronymic Baana, which indicates that he was of the tribe of Judah; for Baanah, one of David's mighty men, was a Netophathite (2 Sam. xxiii. 29), *i. e.* of Netophah, a city of Judah. The men of Tekoah, another city of Judah, worked next to Zadok. Meshullam of the house of Meshezabeel, who preceded him in both lists (Neh. iii. 4, and x. 20, 21), was also of the tribe of Judah (Neh. xi. 24). Intermarriages of the priestly house with the tribe of Judah were more frequent than with any other tribe. Hence probably the name of Sadoc (Matt. i. 14).

5. Son of Immer, a priest who repaired a portion of the wall over against his own house (Neh. iii. 29). He belonged to the 16th course (1 Chr. xxiv. 14), which was one of those which returned from Babylon (Ezr. ii. 37).

6. In Neh. xi. 11, and 1 Chr. ix. 11, mention is made in a genealogy of Zadok, the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub. But as such a sequence occurs nowhere else, Meraioth being always the grandfather of Ahitub (or great-grandfather, as in Ezr. vii. 2, 3),[a] it can hardly be doubtful that Meraioth is inserted by the error of a copyist, and that Zadok the son of Ahitub is meant.

It is worth noticing that the N. T. name Justus (Acts i. 23, xviii. 7; Col. iv. 11) is the literal translation of Zadok. Zedekiah, Jehozadak, may be compared.

The name appears occasionally in the post-biblical history. The associate of Judah the Gaulonite, the well-known leader of the agitation against the census of Quirinus, was a certain Pharisee named Zadok (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1, §1), and the sect of the Sadducees is reputed to have derived both its name and origin from a person of the same name, a disciple of Antigonus of Socho. (See the citations of Lightfoot, *Hebr. and Talm. Exerc.* on Matt. iii. 8.) The personality of the last mentioned Sadok has been strongly impugned in the article SADDUCEES (p. 1084); but see, on the other hand, the remark of M. Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, 216). [A. C. H.]

ZA'HAM (זָהַם: Ζαάμ; Alex. Ζαλάμ: *Zoom*). Son of Rehoboam by Abihail, the daughter of Eliab (2 Chr. xi. 19). As Eliab was the eldest of David's brothers, it is more probable that Abihail was his granddaughter.

ZA'IR (צָעִיר: Σειώρ; Alex. omits: *Seira*). A place named, in 2 K. viii. 21 only, in the account of Joram's expedition against the Edomites. He went over to Zair with all his chariots; there he and his force appear to have been surrounded,[b] and only to have escaped by cutting their way through in the night. The parallel account in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxi. 9) agrees with this, except that the words "to Zair" are omitted, and the words "with his princes" inserted. This is followed by Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 5, §1). The omitted and inserted words have a certain similarity both in sound and in their component letters, צָעִירָה and עַם־שָׂרָיו; and on this it has been conjectured that the latter were substituted for the former, either by the error of a copyist, or intentionally, because the name Zair was not elsewhere known (see Keil, *Comm.* on 2 K. viii. 21). Others again, as Movers (*Chronik*, 218) and Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 524), suggest that Zair is identical with Zoar (צוֹעַר or צֹעַר). Certainly in the middle ages the road by which an army passed from Judaea to the country formerly occupied by Edom lay through the place which was then believed to be Zoar, below *Kerak*, at the S.E. quarter of the Dead Sea (Fulcher, *Gesta Dei*, 405), and so far this is in favour of the identification; but there is no other support to it in the MS. readings either of the original or the Versions.

[a] Compare the following pedigrees:—

1 Chr. vi. 6–14.	Ib. 52, 53.	Ezr. vii. 1–3.	Neh. xi. 11, & 1 Chr. ix. 11.	
Meraioth.	Meraioth.	Meraioth.	Ahitub.	
		Azariah.		
Amariah.	Amariah.	Amariah.	Meraioth.	
Ahitub.	Ahitub.	Ahitub.		
Zadok.	Zadok.	Zadok.	Zadok.	
Shallum.		Shallum.	Meshullam.	
Hilkiah.		Hilkiah.	Hilkiah.	
Azariah.		Azariah.		
Seraiah.		Seraiah.	Seraiah.	Azariah

[b] This is not, however, the interpretation of the Jewish commentators, who take the word הַסַּבִּיב to refer to the neighbouring parts of the country of Edom. See Rash on 2 Chr. xxi. 9.

The Zoar of Genesis (as will be seen under that head) was probably near the N.E. end of the lake, and the chief interest that exists in the identification of Zair and Zoar, resides in the fact that if it could be established it would show that by the time 2 K. viii. 21 was written, Zoar had been shifted from its original place, and had come to be located where it was in the days of Joseph, Jerome, and the Crusades. Possibly the previous existence there of a place called Zair, assisted the transfer.

A third conjecture grounded on the readings of the Vulgate (*Seira*) and the Arabic version (*Sa'ir*, ساعير) is, that Zair is an alteration for Seir (שְׂעִיר), the country itself of the Edomites (Thenius, *Kurzg. Ex. Handb.*). The objection to this is, that the name of Seir appears not to have been known to the author of the Book of Kings.[a] [G.]

ZA'LAPH (צָלָף: Σελέφ; Alex. Ἐλέφ: *Seleph*). Father of Hanun, who assisted in rebuilding the city wall (Neh. iii. 30).

ZAL'MON (צַלְמוֹן; Alex. Σελλώμ: *Selmon*). An Ahohite, one of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 28). In 1 Chr. xi. 29 he is called ILAI, which Kennicott (*Diss.* p. 187) decides to be the true reading.

ZAL'MON, MOUNT (הַר־צַלְמוֹן: ὄρος Ἐρμών: *mons Selmon*). A wooded eminence in the immediate neighbourhood of Shechem, from which Abimelech and his people cut down the boughs with which he suffocated and burnt the Shechemites who had taken refuge in the citadel (Judg. ix. 48). It is evident from the narrative that it was close to the city. But beyond this there does not appear to be the smallest indication either in or out of the Bible of its position. The Rabbis mention a place of the same name, but evidently far from the necessary position (Schwarz, 137). The name *Suleimijjeh* is attached to the S.E. portion of Mount Ebal (see the map of Dr. Rosen, *Zeitsch. der D. M. G.* xiv. 634); but without further evidence, it is hazardous even to conjecture that there is any connexion between this name and Tsalmon.

The reading of the LXX. is remarkable both in itself, and in the fact that the two great MSS. agree in a reading so much removed from the Hebrew; but it is impossible to suppose that Hermon (at any rate the well-known mountain of that name), is referred to in the narrative of Abimelech.

The possibility of a connexion between this mount and the place of the same name in Ps. lxviii. 14 (A. V. Salmon), is discussed under the head of SALMON, pp. 1094, 5.

The name of Dalmanutha has been supposed to be a corruption of that of Tsalmon (Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* "Dalmanutha"). [G.]

ZALMO'NAH (צַלְמֹנָה: Σελμωνᾶ: *Salmona*). The name of a desert-station of the Israelites, which they reached between leaving Mount Hor and camping at Punon, although they must have turned the southern point of Edomitish territory by the way (Num. xxxiii. 41). It lies on the east side of Edom; but whether or not identical with *Maan*, a few miles E. of Petra, as Raumer thinks, is doubtful. More probably Zalmonah may be in the *Wady Ithm*, which runs into the Arabah close to where Elath anciently stood. [H. H.]

ZAL'MUNNA (צַלְמֻנָּע: Σελμανᾶ; Alex. Σαλμανα, and so also Josephus: *Salmana*). One of the two "kings" of Midian whose capture and death by the hands of Gideon himself formed the last act of his great conflict with Midian (Judg. viii. 5-21; Ps. lxxxiii. 11). No satisfactory explanation of the name of Zalmunna has been given. That of Gesenius and Fürst ("shelter is denied him")[b] can hardly be entertained.

The distinction between the "kings" (מַלְכֵי) and the "princes" (שָׂרֵי) of the Midianites on this occasion is carefully maintained throughout the narrative[c] (viii. 5, 12, 26). "Kings" of Midian are also mentioned in Num. xxxi. 8. But when the same transaction is referred to in Josh. xiii. 21 they are designated by the title *Nĕsîê* (נְשִׂיאֵי), A. V. "princes." Elsewhere (Num. xxii. 4, 7) the term *zekênim* is used, answering in signification, if not in etymology, to the Arabic *sheikh*. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to tell how far these distinctions are accurate, and how far they represent the imperfect acquaintance which the Hebrews must have had with the organization of a people with whom, except during the orgies of Shittim, they appear to have been always more or less at strife and warfare (1 Chr. v. 10, 19-22).

The vast horde which Gideon repelled must have included many tribes under the general designation of "Midianites, Amalekites, children of the East;" and nothing would be easier or more natural than for the Hebrew scribes who chronicled the events to confuse one tribe with another in so minute a point as the title of a chief.

In the great Bedouin tribes of the present day, who occupy the place of Midian and Amalek, there is no distinctive appellation answering to the *melec* and *sar* of the Hebrew narrative. Differences in rank and power there are, as between the great chief, the acknowledged head of the parent tribe, and the lesser chiefs who lead the sub-tribes into which it is divided, and who are to a great extent independent of him. But the one word *sheikh* is employed for all. The great chief is the *Sheikh el-kebîr*, the others are *min el-masheikh*, "of the sheikhs," *i. e.* of sheikh rank. The writer begs to express his acknowledgments to Mr. Layard and Mr. Cyril Graham for information on this point. [G.]

ZAM'BIS (Ζαμβί; Alex. Ζαμβρις: *Zambris*). The same as AMARIAH (1 Esd. ix. 34; comp. Ezr. x. 42).

ZAM'BRI (Ζαμβρί: *Zamri*). ZIMRI the Simeonite slain by Phinehas (1 Macc. ii. 26).

ZA'MOTH (Ζαμώθ; Alex. Ζαμόθ: *Zathoim*) = ZATTU (1 Esd. ix. 28; comp. Ezr. x. 27).

ZAM'ZUMMIMS (זַמְזֻמִּים: Ζοχομμείν; Alex. ομμειν: *Zomzommim*). The Ammonite name for

[a] The variations of the MSS. of the LXX. (Holmes and Parsons) are very singular—εκ Σιων, εκ Σηων, εις Ωρ. But they do not point to any difference in the Hebrew text from that now existing.

[b] The unintelligibility of the names is in favour of their being correctly retained rather than the reverse. And it should not be overlooked that they are not, like Oreb and Zeeb, attached also to localities, which always throws a doubt on the name when attributed to a person as well.

[c] Josephus inverts the distinction. He styles Oreb and Zeeb βασιλεις, and Zebah and Zalmunna ἡγεμόνες (Ant. v. 7, § 5).

the people who by others (though who they were does not appear) were called REPHAIM (Deut. ii. 20 only). They are described as having originally been a powerful and numerous nation of giants:—"great, many, and tall,"—inhabiting the district which at the time of the Hebrew conquest was in the possession of the Ammonites, by whom the Zamzummim had a long time previously been destroyed. Where this district was, it is not perhaps possible exactly to define; but it probably lay in the neighbourhood of Rabbath-Ammon (*Ammán*), the only city of the Ammonites of which the name or situation is preserved to us, and therefore eastward of that rich undulating country from which Moab had been forced by the Amorites (the modern *Belka*), and of the numerous towns of that country, whose ruins and names are still encountered.

From a slight similarity between the two names, and from the mention of the Emim in connexion with each, it is usually assumed that the Zamzummim are identical with the ZUZIM (Gesenius, *Thes.* 410 *a*; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 308 *note*; Knobel on Gen. xiv. 5). Ewald further supports this by identifying HAM, the capital city of the Zuzim (Gen. xiv. 5) with Ammon. But at best the identification is very conjectural.

Various attempts have been made to explain the name:—as by comparison with the Arabic زَمْزَم "long-necked;" or صمصم, "strong and big" (Simonis, *Onom.* 135); or as "obstinate," from זָמַם (Luther), or as "noisy," from זָמַם (Gesenius, *Thes.* 419), or as Onomatopoetic,[a] intended to imitate the unintelligible jabber of foreigners. Michaelis (*Suppl.* No. 629) playfully recalls the likeness of the name to that of the well Zem-zem at Mecca, and suggests thereupon that the tribe may have originally come from Southern Arabia. Notwithstanding this banter, however, he ends his article with the following discreet words, "Nihil historiae, nihil originis populi novimus: fas sit etymologiam aeque ignorare." [G.]

ZANO'AH (זָנוֹחַ: Ζαμάν in both MSS.: *Zano*). In the genealogical lists of the tribe of Judah in 1 Chron., Jekuthiel is said to have been the father of Zanoah (iv. 18); and, as far as the passage can be made out, some connexion appears to be intended with "Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh." Zanoah is the name of a town of Judah [ZANOAH 2], and this mention of Bithiah probably points to some colonization of the place by Egyptians or by Israelites directly from Egypt. In Seetzen's account of Sanúte (or more accurately *Za'nútah*), which is possibly identical with Zanoah, there is a curious token of the influence which events in Egypt still exercised on the place (*Reisen*, iii. 29).

The Jewish interpreters considered the whole of this passage of 1 Chr. iv. to refer to Moses, and interpret each of the names which it contains as titles of him. "He was chief of Zanoach," says the Targum, "because for his sake God *put away* (זָנַח) the sins of Israel." [G.]

ZANO'AH (זָנוֹחַ). The name of two towns in the territory of Judah.

1. (Τάνω, Ζανῶ; Alex. Ζανω: *Zanoe* in the Shefelah (Josh. xv. 34), named in the same group with Zoreah and Jarmuth. It is possibly identical with *Zánú'a*,[b] a site which was pointed out to Dr. Robinson from *Beit Nettíf* (*B. R.* ii. 16), and which in the maps of Van de Velde and of Tobler (*3tte Wanderung*) is located on the N. side of the *Wady Ismail*, 2 miles E. of *Zareah*, and 4 miles N. of *Yarmuk*. This position is sufficiently in accordance with the statement of Jerome (*Onomast.* "Zannohua"), that it was in the district of Eleutheropolis, on the road to Jerusalem, and called Zanua.

The name recurs in its old connexion in the lists of Nehemiah, both of the towns which were reinhabited by the people of Judah after the Captivity (xi. 30[c]), and of those which assisted in repairing the wall of Jerusalem (iii. 13). It is an entirely distinct place from

2. (Ζακαραείμ; Alex. [d]Ζανωακειμ: *Zanoe.*) A town in the highland district, the mountain proper (Josh. xv. 56). It is named in the same group with Maon, Carmel, Ziph, and other places known to lie south of Hebron. It is (as Van de Velde suggests, *Memoir*, 354) not improbably identical with *Sanúte*, which is mentioned by Seetzen (*Reisen*, iii. 29) as below *Senúta*, and appears to be about 10 miles S. of Hebron. At the time of his visit it was the last inhabited place to the south. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 204 *note*) gives the name differently, زعنوطه, *Za'nûtah*; and it will be observed that like *Zanu'ah* just mentioned, it contains the *'Ain*, which the Hebrew name does not, and which rather shakes the identification.

According to the statement of the genealogical lists of 1 Chr. Zanoah was founded or colonized by a person named Jekuthiel (iv. 18). Here it is also mentioned with Socho and Eshtemoa, both of which places are recognizable in the neighbourhood of *Za'nûtah*. [G.]

ZAPH'NATH-PAA'NEAH (צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ: Ψονθομφανήχ: *Salvator mundi*), a name given by Pharaoh to Joseph (Gen. xli. 45). Various forms of this name, all traceable to the Heb. or LXX. original, occur in the works of the early Jewish and Christian writers, chiefly Josephus, from different MSS. and editions of whose *Ant.* (ii. 6, §1) no less than eleven forms have been collected, following both originals, some variations being very corrupt; but from the translation given by Josephus it is probable that he transcribed the Hebrew. Philo (*De Nominum Mut.* p. 819 c ed. Col. 1613) and Theodoret (i. p. 106, ed. Schulz) follow the LXX., and Jerome, the Hebrew. The Coptic version nearly transcribes the LXX., ⲯⲟⲡⲑⲱⲙⲫⲁⲛⲏⲭ.

In the Hebrew text the name is divided into two parts. Every such division of Egyptian words being in accordance with the Egyptian orthography; as No-Ammon, Pi-beseth, Poti-pherah; we cannot, if the name be Egyptian, reasonably propose any change in this case; if the name be Hebrew, the

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[a] In this sense the name was applied by controversialists of the 17th century as a nickname for fanatics who pretended to speak with tongues.

[b] This name, however (زانوع), exhibits the *'ain*, which is not present in the Hebrew name.

[c] Here the name is contracted to זָנֹחַ.

[d] These curious words are produced by joining Zanoah to the name following it, Cain, or hac-Cain.

same is certain. There is no *primâ facie* reason for any change in the consonants.

The LXX. form seems to indicate the same division, as the latter part, *φανήχ*, is identical with the second part of the Hebrew, while what precedes is different. There is again no *primâ facie* reason for any change from the ordinary reading of the name. The cause of the difference from the Hebrew in the earlier part of the name must be discussed when we come to examine its meaning.

This name has been explained as Hebrew or Egyptian, and always as a proper name. It has not been supposed to be an official title, but this possibility has to be considered.

1. The Rabbins interpreted Zaphnath-paaneah as Hebrew, in the sense "revealer of a secret." This explanation is as old as Josephus (*κρυπτῶν εὑρετήν, Ant.* ii. 6, §1); and Theodoret also follows it (*τῶν ἀποβρήτων ἑρμηνευτήν*, i. p. 106, Schulz). Philo offers an explanation, which, though seemingly different, may be the same (*ἐν ἀποκρίσει στόμα κρίνον*; but Mangey conjectures the true reading to be *ἐν ἀποκρύψει στόμα ἀποκρινόμενον, l. c.*). It must be remembered that Josephus perhaps, and Theodoret and Philo certainly, follow the LXX. form of the name.

2. Isidore, though mentioning the Hebrew interpretation, remarks that the name should be Egyptian, and offers an Egyptian etymology:—"Joseph . . . hunc Pharao Zaphanath Phaaneca appellavit, quod Hebraice absconditorum repertorem sonat . . . tamen quia hoc nomen ab Aegyptio ponitur, ipsius linguae debet habere rationem. Interpretatur ergo Zaphanath Phaaneca Aegyptio sermone salvator mundi" (*Orig.* vii. c. 7, t. iii. p. 327, Arev.). Jerome adopts the same rendering.

3. Modern scholars have looked to Coptic for an explanation of this name, Jablonski and others proposing as the Coptic of the Egyptian original ⲡⲥⲱⲧ ⲙ̀ ⲫⲉⲛⲉϩ, or ⲡⲥⲱϯ, &c., "the preservation" or "preserver of the age." This is evidently the etymology intended by Isidore and Jerome.

We dismiss the Hebrew interpretation, as unsound in itself, and demanding the improbable concession that Pharaoh gave Joseph a Hebrew name.

It is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory result without first inquiring when this name was given, and what are the characteristics of Egyptian titles and names. These points having been discussed, we can show what ancient Egyptian sounds correspond to the Hebrew and LXX. forms of this name, and a comparison with ancient Egyptian will then be possible.

After the account of Joseph's appointment to be governor, of his receiving the insignia of authority, and Pharaoh's telling him that he held the second place in the kingdom, follow these words:—"And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnath-paaneah; and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah priest of On." It is next stated, "And Joseph went out over [all] the land of Egypt" (Gen. xli. 45). As Joseph's two sons were born "before the years of famine came" (ver. 50), it seems evident that the order is here strictly chronological, at at least that the events spoken of are of the time before the famine. It is scarcely to be supposed that Pharaoh would have named Joseph "the preserver of the age," or the like, when the calamity, from the worst effects of which his administration preserved Egypt, had not come. The name, at first sight, seems to be a proper name, but, as occurring after the account of Joseph's appointment and honours, may be a title.

Ancient Egyptian titles of dignity are generally connected with the king or the gods, as SUTEN-SA, king's son, applied not only to royal princes, but to the governors of KEESH, or Cush. Titles of place are generally simply descriptive, as MER-KĖTU, "superintendent of buildings" ("public works"?). Some few are tropical. Ancient Egyptian names are either simple or compound. Simple names are descriptive of occupation, as MA, "the shepherd," an early king's name, or are the names of natural objects, as PE-MAY (?), "the cat," &c.; more rarely they indicate qualities of character, as S-NUFRE, "doer of good." Compound names usually express devotion to the gods, as PET-AMEN-APT, "Belonging to Amen of Thebes;" some are composed with the name of the reigning king, as SHAFRA-SHA, "Shafra rules;" SESERTESEN-ANKH, "Sesertesen lives." Others occur which are more difficult of explanation, as AMEN-EM-HA, "Amen in the front," a warcry? Double names, not merely of kings, but of private persons, are found, but are very rare, as SNUFRE ANKHEE, "Doer of good, living one." These double names are usually of the period before the xviiith dynasty.

Before comparing Zaphnath-paaneah and Psonthomphanech with Egyptian names, we must ascertain the probable Egyptian equivalents of the letters of these forms. The Egyptian words occurring in Hebrew are few, and the forms of some of them evidently Shemiticized, or at least changed by their use by foreigners: a complete and systematic alphabet of Hebrew equivalents of Egyptian letters therefore cannot be drawn up. There are, on the other hand, numerous Shemitic words, either Hebrew or of a dialect very near it, the geographical names of places and tribes of Palestine, given, according to a system, in the Egyptian inscriptions and papyri, from which we can draw up, as M. de Rouge has done (*Revue Archéologique*, N. S. iii. 351-354), a complete alphabet, certain in nearly all its details, and approximatively true in the few that are not determined, of the Egyptian equivalents of the Hebrew alphabet. The two comparative alphabets do not greatly differ, but we cannot be sure that in the endeavour to ascertain what Egyptian sounds are intended by Hebrew letters, or their Greek equivalents, we are quite accurate in employing the latter. For instance, different Egyptian signs are used to represent the Hebrew ר and ל, but it is by no means certain that these signs in Egyptian represented any sound but R, except in the vulgar dialect.

It is important to observe that the Egyptians had a hard "t," the parent of the Coptic ϫ and ϭ, which we represent by an italic *T*; that they had an "a" corresponding to the Hebrew ע, which we represent by an italic *A*; and that the Hebrew פ may be represented by the Egyptian P, also pronounced P'h, and by the F. The probable originals of the Egyptian name of Joseph may be thus stated:—

צ	פ	נ	ת		פ	ע	נ	ת
T	P	N	T		P	*A*	N	KH
	F							

Ψ	ο υ	θ	ο	μ		φ	α		ν	η	χ
PS		N	T	M		P			N		KH
						F					

The second part of the name in the Hebrew is the same as in the LXX., although in the latter it is not separate: we therefore examine it first. It is identical with the ancient Egyptian proper name P-ANKHEE, "the living," borne by a king who was an Ethiopian ruling after Tirhakah, and probably contemporary with the earlier part of the reign of Psammetichus I. The only doubtful point in the identification is that it is not certain that the "a" in P-ANKHEE is that which represents the Hebrew ע. It is a symbolic sign of the kind which serves as an initial, and at the same time determines the signification of the word it partly expresses and sometimes singly represents, and it is only used in the single sense "life," "to live." It may, however, be conjectured from its Coptic equivalents to have begun with either a long or a guttural "a" (ⲁⲛⲁϩ B, S, ⲁⲛϩ B, ⲟⲛⲁϩ, ⲟⲛϩ S, ⲟⲛϩ, ⲱⲛϩ M, ⲱⲛⲁϩ B, ⲱⲛⲛϩ S).

The second part of the name, thus explained, affords no clue to the meaning of the first part, being a separate name, as in the case of a double name already cited SNUFRE ANKHEE. The LXX. form of the first part is at once recognized in the ancient Egyptian words P-SENT-N, "the defender" or "preserver of," the Coptic ⲡ ⲥⲱϯ ⲛ̀ⲛ, "the preserver of." It is to be remarked that the ancient Egyptian form of the principal word is that found in the LXX., but that the preposition N in hieroglyphics, however pronounced, is always written N, whereas in Coptic ⲛ̀ becomes ⲛⲛ before ⲡ. The word SENT does not appear to be used except as a divine, and, under the Ptolemies, regal title, in the latter case for Soter. The Hebrew form seems to represent a compound name commencing with *T*ETEF, or *T*EF, "he says," a not infrequent element in compound names (the root being found in the Coptic ϫⲟ, ϫⲟϯ: S ϫⲟⲟ, ϫⲟϯ), or *T*EF, "incense, delight" (?) the name of the sacred incense, also known to us in the Greek form *κῦφι* (Plutarch, *de Isid. et Osir.* c. 80, p. 383; Diosc. *M. m.* I. 24, Spr.) But, if the name commence with either of these words, the rest seems inexplicable. It is remarkable that the last two consonants are the same as in Asenath, the name of Joseph's wife. It has been supposed that in both cases this element is the name of the goddess Neith, Asenath having been conjectured to be AS-NEET; and Zaphnath, by Mr. Osburn, we believe, *T*EF-NEET, "the delight(?) of Neith." Neith, the goddess of Saïs, is not likely to have been reverenced at Heliopolis, the city of Asenath. It is also improbable that Pharaoh would have given Joseph a name connected with idolatry; for Joseph's position, unlike Daniel's, when he was first called Belteshazzar, would have enabled him effectually to protest against receiving such a name. The latter part of the name might suggest the possibility of the letters "aneah" corresponding to ANKH, and the whole preceding portion, Zaphnath and the initial of this part, forming the name of Joseph's Pharaoh; the form being that of SESER-TESEN-ANKH, "Sesertesen lives," already mentioned; but the occurrence of the letter P shows that the form is P-ANKHEE, and were this not sufficient proof, no name of a Pharaoh, or other proper name is known that can be compared with the supposed first portion. We have little doubt that the monuments will unexpectedly supply us with the information we need, giving us the original Egyptian name, though probably not applied to Joseph, of whose period there are, we believe, but few Egyptian records. [R. S. P.]

ZA'PHON (צָפוֹן: Σαφάν; Alex. Σαφων: *Saphon*). The name of a place mentioned in the enumeration of the allotment of the tribe of Gad (Josh. xiii. 27). It is one of the places in "the valley" which appear to have constituted the "remainder (יֶתֶר) of the kingdom of Sihon"—apparently referring to the portion of the same kingdom previously allotted to Reuben (vers. 17-21). The enumeration appears to proceed from south to north, and from the mention of the Sea of Chinneroth it is natural to infer that Zaphon was near that lake. No name resembling it has yet been encountered.

In Judg. xii. 1, the word rendered "northward" (*tsâphônâh*) may with equal accuracy be rendered "to Zaphon." This rendering is supported by the Alex. LXX. (κεφεινα) and a host of other MSS. and it has consistency on its side. [G.]

ZA'RA (Ζαρά: *Zara*). ZARAH the son of Judah (Matt. i. 3).

ZAR'ACES (Ζαράκης: *Zaraceles*). Brother of Joacim, or Jehoiakim, king of Judah (1 Esd. i. 38). His name is apparently a corruption of Zedekiah.

ZA'RAH (זֶרַח: Ζαρά: *Zara*). Properly ZERAH, the son of Judah by Tamar (Gen. xxxviii. 30, xlvi. 12).

ZARAI'AS (Vat. omits; Alex. Ζαραιάς: Vulg. omits). 1. ZERAHIAH, one of the ancestors of Ezra (1 Esd. viii. 2); called ARNA in 2 Esd. i. 2.

2. (Ζαραΐας: *Zaraeus.*) ZERAHIAH, the father of Elihoenai (1 Esd. viii. 31).

3. (Ζαραΐας: *Zarias.*) ZEBADIAH, the son of Michael (1 Esd. viii. 34).

ZA'REAH (צָרְעָה: Vat. omits; Alex. Σαραα: *Saraa*). The form in which our translators have once (Neh. xi. 29) represented the name, which they elsewhere present (less accurately) as ZORAH and ZOREAH. [G.]

ZA'REATHITES, THE (הַצָּרְעָתִי: *οἱ Σαραθαῖοι*: *Saraïtae*). The inhabitants of ZAREAH or ZORAH. The word occurs in this form only in 1 Chr. ii. 53. Elsewhere the same Hebrew word appears in the A. V. as THE ZORATHITES. [G.]

ZA'RED, THE VALLEY OF (נַחַל זֶרֶד: *φάραγξ Ζαρέτ*; Alex. *φ. Ζαρε*: *torrens Zared*). The name is accurately ZERED; the change in the first syllable being due to its occurring at a pause. It is found in the A. V. in this form only in Num. xxi. 12; though in the Hebr. it occurs also Deut. ii. 13. [G.]

ZAR'EPHATH (צָרְפַת, *i. e.* Tsarfa.n: Σαρεπτά; in Obad. plural: *Sarephtha*). A town which derives its claim to notice from having been the residence of the prophet Elijah during the latter part of the drought (1 K. xvii. 9, 10). Beyond stating that it was near to, or dependent on, Zidon (לְצִידוֹן), the Bible gives no clue to its position,

[a] In 1 K. xvii. 9, the Alex. MS. has Σεφθα, but in the other two passages agrees with the Vat.

It is mentioned by Obadiah (ver. 20), but merely as a Canaanite (that is Phoenician) city. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13, §2), however, states that it was "not far from Sidon and Tyre, for it lies between them." And to this Jerome adds (*Onom.* "Sarefta") that it "lay on the public road," that is the coast-road. Both these conditions are implied in the mention of it in the Itinerary of Paula by Jerome (*Epit. Paulae*, §8), and both are fulfilled in the situation of the modern village of *Sûrafend*[b] (صرفند), a name which, except in its termination, is almost identical with the ancient Phoenician. *Sûrafend* has been visited and described by Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 475) and Dr. Thomson (*Land and Book*, ch. xii.). It appears to have changed its place, at least since the 11th century, for it is now more than a mile from the coast, high up on the slope of a hill (Rob. 474), whereas, at the time of the Crusades, it was on the shore. Of the old town, considerable indications remain. One group of foundations is on a headland called *Ain el-Kentarah*; but the chief remains are south of this, and extend for a mile or more, with many fragments of columns, slabs, and other architectural features. The Roman road is said to be unusually perfect there (Beamont, *Diary*, &c., ii. 186). The site of the chapel erected by the Crusaders on the spot then reputed to be the site of the widow's house, is probably still preserved.[c] (See the citations of Robinson.) It is near the water's edge, and is now marked by a wely and small khan dedicated to *el Khudr*, the well-known personage who unites, in the popular Moslem faith, Elijah and S. George.

In the N. T. Zarephath appears under the Greek form of SAREPTA. [G.]

ZAR'ETAN (צָרְתָן, *i. e.* Tsarthan: LXX. omits in both MSS.: *Sarthan*). An inaccurate representation of the name elsewhere more correctly given as ZARTHAN. It occurs only in Josh. iii. 16, in defining the position of Adam, the city by which the upper waters of the Jordan remained during the passage of the Israelites:—"The waters rushing down from above stood and rose up upon one heap very far off—by Adam, the city that is by the side of Zarthan." No trace of these names has been found, nor is anything known of the situation of Zarthan.

It is remarkable that the LXX. should exhibit no[d] trace of the name. [G.]

ZA'RETH-SHA'HAR (צֶרֶת הַשַּׁחַר, *i. e.* Zereth has-shachar: Σεραδὰ καὶ Σειών; Alex. Σαρθ καὶ Σιων: *Sereth Assahar*). A place mentioned only in Josh. xiii. 19, in the catalogue of the towns allotted to Reuben. It is named between SIBMAH and BETHPEOR, and is particularly specified as "in Mount ha-Emek" (A. V. "in the Mount of the Valley"). From this, however, no clue can be gained to its position. Seetzen (*Reisen*, ii. 369) proposes, though with hesitation (see his note), to identify it with a spot called *Sará* at the mouth of the *Wady Zerka Main*, about a mile from the edge of the Dead Sea. A place *Shahûr* is marked on Van de Velde's map, about six miles south of *es Salt*, at the head of the valley of the *Wady Seir*. But nothing can be said of either of these in the present state of our knowledge. [G.]

ZAR'HITES, THE (הַזַּרְחִי: ὁ Ζαραΐ; Alex. Ὁ Ζαραεί, Ζαριεί in Josh.: *Zareïtae, Zare, stirps Zarahi* and *Zarai*). A branch of the tribe of Judah: descended from Zerah the son of Judah (Num. xxvi. 13, 20; Josh. vii. 17; 1 Chr. xxvii 11, 13). Achan was of this family, and it was represented in David's time by two distinguished warriors, Sibbechai the Hushathite and Maharai the Netophathite.

ZART'ANAH (צָרְתָנָה: Σεσαθάν; Alex. Εσλιανθαν: *Surthana*). A place named in 1 K. iv. 12, to define the position of BETHSHEAN. It is possibly identical with ZARTHAN, but nothing positive can be said on the point, and the name has not been discovered in postbiblical times. [G.]

ZAR'THAN (צָרְתָן: Σειρά; Alex. Σιαραμ: *Sarthan*).

1. A place in the *ciccar* or circle of Jordan, mentioned in connexion with Succoth (1 K. vii. 46).

2. It is also named, in the account of the passage of the Jordan by the Israelites (Josh. iii. 16), as defining the position of the city Adam, which was beside (כִּצַּד) it. The difference which the translators of the A. V. have introduced into the name in this passage (ZARETAN) has no existence in the original.

3. A place with the similar name of ZARTANAH (which in the Hebrew differs from the two forms already named only in its termination) is mentioned in the list of Solomon's commissariat districts. It is there specified as "close to" (אֵצֶל) Bethshean, that is, in the upper part of the Jordan valley.

4. Further, in Chronicles, Zeredathah is substituted for Zarthan, and this again is not impossibly identical with the Zererah, Zererath, or Zererathah, of the story of Gideon. All these spots agree in proximity to the Jordan, but beyond this we are absolutely at fault as to their position. ADAM is unknown; SUCCOTH is, to say the least, uncertain; and no name approaching Zarthan has yet been encountered, except it be *Surtabeh* (صرطبه) the name of a lofty and isolated hill which projects from the main highlands into the Jordan valley, about 17 miles north of Jericho (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 354). But *Surtabeh*, if connected with any ancient name, would seem rather to represent some compound of the ancient Hebrew or Phoenician *Tsor*, which in Arabic is represented by *Sûr* (صور), as in the name of the modern Tyre. [G.]

ZATH'OE (Ζαθόη: *Zachues*). This name occurs in 1 Esd. viii. 32, for ZATTU, which appears to have been omitted in the Hebrew text of Ezr. viii. 5, which should read, "Of the sons of Zattu, Shechaniah the son of Jahaziel."

ZATHU'I (Ζαθουΐ: *Demu*). ZATTU (1 Esdr. v. 12; comp. Ezr. ii. 8).

ZAT'THU (זַתּוּא: Ζαθουία; Alex. Ζαθθουία *Zethtu*). Elsewhere ZATTU (Neh. x. 14).

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[b] The name is given as *Sarphand* by Ibn Edris; *Sarphen* by Maundeville; and *Sarphan* by Maundrell.

[c] A grotto (as usual) at the foot of the hill on which the modern village stands is now shewn as the residence of Elijah (Van de Velde, *S. & P.* i. 102).

[d] This is not only the case in the two principal MSS. the edition of Holmes and Parsons shews it in one only and that a cursive MS. of the 13th cent.

ZAT'TU (זַתּוּא: Ζαθουά, Ζαθούα, Ζαθουΐα; Alex. Ζαθουά, Ζαθθούα; FA. Ζαθουια, Ζαθουεια: *Zethua*). The sons of Zattu were a family of laymen of Israel who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 8; Neh. vii. 13). A second division accompanied Ezra, though in the Hebrew text of Ezr. viii. 5 the name has been omitted. [ZATHOE.] Several members of this family had married foreign wives (Ezr. x. 27).

ZA'VAN = ZAAVAN (1 Chr. i. 42).

ZA'ZA (זִזָא: Ὀζάμ; Alex. Ὀζαζά: *Ziza*). One of the sons of Jonathan, a descendant of Jerahmeel (1 Chr. ii. 33).

ZEBADI'AH (זְבַדְיָה: Ζαβαδία: *Zabadia*). 1. A Benjamite of the sons of Beriah (1 Chr. viii. 15).

2. A Benjamite of the sons of Elpaal (1 Chr. viii. 17).

3. One of the sons of Jeroham of Gedor, a Benjamite who joined the fortunes of David in his retreat at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 7).

4. (Ζαβαδίας; Alex. Ζαβδίας: *Zabadias.*) Son of Asahel the brother of Joab (1 Chr. xxvii. 7).

5. (*Zebedia.*) Son of Michael of the sons of Shephatiah (Ezr. viii. 8). He returned with 80 of his clan in the second caravan with Ezra. In 1 Esdr. viii. 34 he is called ZARAIAS.

6. (Ζαβδία; FA. Ζαβδεία.) A priest of the sons of Immer who had married a foreign wife after the return from Babylon (Ezr. x. 20). Called ZABDEUS in 1 Esdr. ix. 21.

7. (זְבַדְיָהוּ: Ζαβαδία; Alex. Ζαβαδίας: *Zabadias.*) Third son of Meshelemiah the Korhite (1 Chr. xxvi. 2).

8. (Ζαβδίας.) A Levite in the reign of Jehoshaphat who was sent to teach the Law in the cities of Judah (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

9. The son of Ishmael and prince of the house of Judah in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xix. 11). In conjunction with Amariah the chief priest, he was appointed to the superintendence of the Levites, priests and chief men who had to decide all causes, civil and ecclesiastical, which were brought before them. They possibly may have formed a kind of court of appeal, Zebadiah acting for the interests of the king, and Amariah being the supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters.

ZE'BAH (זֶבַח: Ζεβεέ: *Zebee*). One of the two "kings" of Midian who appear to have commanded the great invasion of Palestine, and who finally fell by the hand of Gideon himself. He is always coupled with Zalmunna, and is mentioned in Judg. viii. 5-21; Ps. lxxxiii. 11.

It is a remarkable instance of the unconscious artlessness of the narrative contained in Judg. vi. 33-viii. 28, that no mention is made of any of the chiefs of the Midianites during the early part of the story, or indeed until Gideon actually comes into contact with them. We then discover (viii. 18) that while the Bedouins were ravaging the crops in the valley of Jezreel, before Gideon's attack, three[a] or more of his brothers had been captured by the Arabs and put to death, by the hands of Zebah and Zalmunna themselves. But this material fact is only incidentally mentioned, and is of a piece with the later references by prophets and psalmists to other events in the same struggle, the interest and value of which have been alluded to under OREB.

Ps. lxxxiii. 12, purports to have preserved the very words of the cry with which Zebah and Zalmunna rushed up at the head of their hordes from the Jordan into the luxuriant growth of the great plain, "Seize these goodly[b] pastures"!

While Oreb and Zeeb, two of the inferior leaders of the incursion, had been slain, with a vast number of their people, by the Ephraimites, at the central fords of the Jordan (not improbably those near *Jisr Damieh*), the two kings had succeeded in making their escape by a passage further to the north (probably the ford near Bethshean), and thence by the *Wady Yabis*, through Gilead, to Karkor, a place which is not fixed, but which lay doubtless high up on the Hauran. Here they were reposing with 15,000 men, a mere remnant of their huge horde, when Gideon overtook them. Had they resisted there is little doubt that they might have easily overcome the little band of "fainting" heroes who had toiled after them up the tremendous passes of the mountains; but the name of Gideon was still full of terror, and the Bedouins were entirely unprepared for his attack—they fled in dismay, and the two kings were taken.

Such was the Third Act of the great Tragedy. Two more remain. First the return down the long defiles leading to the Jordan. We see the cavalcade of camels, jingling the golden chains and the crescent-shaped collars or trappings hung round their necks. High aloft rode the captive chiefs clad in their brilliant *kefiyehs* and embroidered *abbayehs*, and with their "collars" or "jewels" in nose and ear, on neck and arm. Gideon probably strode on foot by the side of his captives. They passed Penuel, where Jacob had seen the vision of the face of God; they passed Succoth; they crossed the rapid stream of the Jordan; they ascended the highlands west of the river, and at length reached Ophrah, the native village of their captor (Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, §5). Then at last the question which must have been on Gideon's tongue during the whole of the return found a vent. There is no appearance of its having been alluded to before, but it gives, as nothing else could, the key to the whole pursuit. It was the death of his brothers, "the children of his mother," that had supplied the personal motive for that steady perseverance, and had led Gideon on to his goal against hunger, faintness, and obstacles of all kinds. "What manner of men were they which ye slew at Tabor?" Up to this time the sheikhs may have believed that they were reserved for ransom; but these words once spoken there can have been no doubt what their fate was to be. They met it like noble children of the Desert, without fear or weakness. One request alone they make—that they may die by the sure blow of the hero himself—"and Gideon arose and slew them;" and not till he had revenged his brothers did any thought of plunder enter his heart—then, and not till then, did he lay hands on the treasures which ornamented their camels. [G.]

ZE'BAIM (הַצְּבָיִם, in Neh. הַצְּבָיִם: *viol* Ἀσεβωείν; Alex. Ἀσεβωείμ; in Neh. *vi.* Σαβαείμ: *Asebaim, Sabaim*). The sons of Pochereth of hat-Tsebaim are mentioned in the catalogue of the families of "Solomon's slaves," who returned from

[a] It is perhaps allowable to infer this from the use of the plural (not the dual) to the word brethren (ver. 19).

[b] Such is the meaning of "pastures of God" in the early idiom.

the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 57; Neh. vii. 59). The name is in the original all but identical with that of ZEBOIM,[c] the fellow-city of Sodom; and as many of "Solomon's slaves" appear to have been of Canaanite[d] stock, it is possible that the family of Pochereth were descended from one of the people who escaped from Zeboim in the day of the great catastrophe in the Valley of the Jordan. This, however, can only be accepted as conjecture, and on the other hand the two names Pochereth hat-Tsebaim are considered by some to have no reference to place, but to signify the "snarer or hunter of roes" (Gesenius, *Thes.* 1102 *b*; Bertheau, *Exeg. Handb.* Ezr. ii. 57). [G.]

ZEB'EDEE (זַבְדִּי or זַבְדָּי: Ζεβεδαῖος). A fisherman of Galilee, the father of the Apostles James the Great and John (Matt. iv. 21), and the husband of Salome (Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40). He probably lived either at Bethsaida or in its immediate neighbourhood. It has been inferred from the mention of his "hired servants" (Mark i. 20), and from the acquaintance between the Apostle John and Annas the high-priest (John xviii. 15) that the family of Zebedee were in easy circumstances (comp. John xix. 27), although not above manual labour (Matt. iv. 21). Although the name of Zebedee frequently occurs as a patronymic, for the sake of distinguishing his two sons from others who bore the same names, he appears only once in the Gospel narrative, namely in Matt. iv. 21, 22, Mark i. 19, 20, where he is seen in his boat with his two sons mending their nets. On this occasion he allows his sons to leave him at the bidding of the Saviour, without raising any objection; although it does not appear that he was himself ever of the number of Christ's disciples. His wife, indeed, appears in the catalogue of the pious women who were in constant attendance on the Saviour towards the close of His ministry, who watched Him on the cross, and ministered to Him even in the grave (Matt. xxvii. 55, 56; Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1; comp. Matt. xx. 20, and Luke viii. 3). It is reasonable to infer that Zebedee was dead before this time. It is worthy of notice, and may perhaps be regarded as a minute confirmation of the evangelical narrative, that the name of Zebedee is almost identical in signification with that of John, since it is likely that a father would desire that his own name should be, as it were, continued, although in an altered form. [JOHN THE APOSTLE.] [W. B. J.]

ZEB'INA (זְבִינָא: Ζεβεννάς; Alex. omits: *Zabina*). One of the sons of Nebo, who had taken foreign wives after the return from Babylon (Ezr. x. 43).

ZE'BOIM. This word represents in the A. V. two names which in the original are quite distinct.

1. (צְבֹיִם, צְבִיִים, צְבָאִים, and, in the *Keri*, צבוים: Σεβωείμ; Alex. Σεβωιμ, Σεβωειμ: *Seboim*). One of the five cities of the "plain" or circle of Jordan. It is mentioned in Gen. x. 19, xiv. 2, 8; Deut. xxix. 23; and Hos. xi. 8, in each of which passages it is either coupled with Admah, or placed next it in the lists. The name of its king, Shemeber, is preserved (Gen. xiv. 2); and it perhaps appears again, as ZEBAIM, in the lists of the men of the Temple.

No attempt appears to have been made to discover the site of Zeboim, till M. de Saulcy suggested the *Tulûa Sebâan*, a name which he, and he alone, reports as attached to extensive ruins on the high ground between the Dead Sea and *Kerak* (*Voyage*, Jan. 22; *Map*, sht. 7). Before however this can be accepted, M. de Saulcy must explain how a place which stood in the plain or circle *of the Jordan*, can have been situated on the highlands at least 50 miles from that river. [See SODOM and ZOAR.]

In Gen. xiv. 2, 8, the name is given in the A. V. ZEBOIIM, a more accurate representative of the form in which it appears in the original both there and in Deut. xxix. 23.

2. THE VALLEY OF ZEBOIM (גֵּי הַצְּבָעִים: Γαὶ τὴν Σαμείν; the passage is lost in Alex.: *Vallis Seboim*). The name differs from the preceding, not only in having the definite article attached to it, but also in containing the characteristic and stubborn letter *Ain*, which imparts a definite character to the word in pronunciation. It was a ravine or gorge, apparently east of Michmash, mentioned only in 1 Sam. xiii. 18. It is there described with a curious minuteness, which is unfortunately no longer intelligible. The road running from Michmash to the east, is specified as "the road of the border that looketh to the ravine of Zeboim towards the wilderness." The wilderness (*midbar*) is no doubt the district of uncultivated mountain tops and sides which lies between the central district of Benjamin and the Jordan Valley; and here apparently the ravine of Zeboim should be sought. In that very district there is a wild gorge, bearing the name of

Shuk ed-Dubba' (شق الضبع),[b] "ravine of the hyena," the exact equivalent of *Ge hat-tsebo'im*. Up this gorge runs the path by which the writer was conducted from Jericho to *Mukhmas*, in 1858. It does not appear that the name has been noticed by other travellers, but it is worth investigation. [G.

ZEB'UDAH (זְבִידָה, *Keri* זְבוּדָה: Ἰελδάφ; Alex. Ελδάφ: *Zebida*). Daughter of Pedaiah of Ruman, wife of Josiah and mother of king Jehoiakim (2 K. xxiii. 36). The Peshito-Syriac and Arabic of the London Polyglot read זבידה: the Targum has זבודה.

ZE'BUL (זְבֻל: Ζεβούλ: *Zebul*). Chief man (שַׂר, A. V. "ruler") of the city of Shechem at the time of the contest between Abimelech and the native Canaanites. His name occurs Judg. ix. 28, 30, 36, 38, 41. He governed the town as the "officer" (פְּקִיד: ἐπίσκοπος) of Abimelech while the latter was absent, and he took part against the Canaanites by shutting them out of the city when Abimelech was encamped outside it. His conversation with Gaal the Canaanite leader, as they stood in the gate of Shechem watching the approach of the armed bands, gives Zebul a certain individuality amongst the many characters of that time of confusion. [G.]

[c] Even to the double *yod*. This name, on the other hand, is distinct from the ZEBOIM of Benjamin.

[d] See this noticed more at length under MEHUNIM, SISERA, &c.

[e] In Gen. x. 19 only, this appears in Vat. (Mai) Ζεβωνιείμ.

[b] The writer was accompanied by Mr. Consul E. T. Rogers, well known as one of the best living scholars in the common Arabic, who wrote down the name for him at the moment.

ZE'BULONITE (הַזְּבוּלֹנִי, with the def. article: ὁ Ζαβουλωνείτης, Alex. in both verses, ὁ Ζαβουνιτης: *Zabulonites*), *i. e.* member of the tribe of Zebulun. Applied only to ELON, the one judge produced by the tribe (Judg. xii. 11, 12). The article being found in the original, the sentence should read, "Elon the Zebulonite." [G.]

ZE'BULUN (זְבוּלֻן, זְבֻלֻן, and זְבוּלוּן: Ζαβουλών: *Zabulon*). The tenth of the sons of Jacob, according to the order in which their births are enumerated; the sixth and last of Leah (Gen. xxx. 20, xxxv. 23, xlvi. 14; 1 Chr. ii. 1). His birth is recorded in Gen. xxx. 19, 20, where the origin of the name is as usual ascribed to an exclamation of his mother's—"'Now will my husband [d] dwell-with-me (*izbelêni*), for I have borne him six sons!' and she called his name Zebulun."

Of the individual Zebulun nothing is recorded. The list of Gen. xlvi. ascribes to him three sons, founders of the chief families of the tribe (comp. Num. xxvi. 26) at the time of the migration to Egypt. In the Jewish traditions he is named as the first of the five who were presented by Joseph to Pharaoh—Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher being the others (*Targ. Pseudojon.* on Gen. xlvii. 2).

During the journey from Egypt to Palestine the tribe of Zebulun formed one of the first camp, with Judah and Issachar (also sons of Leah), marching under the standard of Judah. Its numbers, at the census of Sinai, were 57,000, surpassed only by Simeon, Dan, and Judah. At that of Shittim they were 60,500, not having diminished, but not having increased nearly so much as might naturally be expected. The head of the tribe at Sinai was Eliab son of Helon (Num. vii. 24); at Shiloh, Elizaphan son of Parnach (Ib. xxxiv. 25). Its representative amongst the spies was Gaddiel son of Sodi (xiii. 10). Besides what may be implied in its appearances in these lists, the tribe is not recorded to have taken part, for evil or good, in any of the events of the wandering or the conquest. Its allotment was the third of the second distribution (Josh. xix. 10). Judah, Joseph, Benjamin, had acquired the south and the centre of the country. To Zebulun fell one of the fairest of the remaining portions. It is perhaps impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, exactly to define its limits;[e] but the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §22) is probably in the main correct, that it reached on the one side to the lake of Genesareth, and on the other to Carmel and the Mediterranean. On the south it was bounded by Issachar, who lay in the great plain or valley of the Kishon; on the north it had Naphtali and Asher. In this district the tribe possessed the outlet (the "going-out," Deut. xxxiii. 18) of the plain of *Akka*; the fisheries of the lake of Galilee; the splendid agricultural capabilities of the great plain of the *Buttauf* (equal in fertility, and almost equal in extent, to that of Jezreel, and with the immense advantage of not being, as that was, the high road of the Bedouins), and, last not least, it included sites so strongly fortified by nature, that in the later struggles of the nation they proved more impregnable than any in the whole country.[f] The sacred mountain of TABOR, Zebulun appears to have shared with Issachar (Deut. xxxiii. 19), and it and Rimmon were allotted to the Merarite Levites (1 Chr. vi. 77). But these ancient sanctuaries of the tribe were eclipsed by those which arose within it afterwards, when the name of Zebulun was superseded by that of Galilee. Nazareth, Cana, Tiberias, and probably the land of Genesareth itself, were all situated within its limits.

The fact recognized by Josephus that Zebulun extended to the Mediterranean, though not mentioned or implied, as far as we can discern, in the lists of Joshua and Judges, is alluded to in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 13):—

> "Zebulun dwells at the shore of the seas,
> Even he at the shore of ships:
> And his thighs are upon Zidon"

—a passage which seems to show that at the date at which it was written, the tribe was taking a part in Phoenician [g] commerce. The "way of the sea" (Is. ix. 1), the great road from Damascus to the Mediterranean, traversed a good portion of the territory of Zebulun, and must have brought its people into contact with the merchants and the commodities of Syria, Phoenicia, and Egypt.

Situated so far from the centre of government, Zebulun remains throughout the history, with one exception, in the obscurity which envelopes the whole of the northern tribes. That exception, however, is a remarkable one. The conduct of the tribe during the struggle with Sisera, when they fought with desperate valour side by side with their brethren of Naphtali, was such as to draw down the especial praise of Deborah, who singles them out from all the other tribes (Judg. v. 18):—

> "Zebulun is a people that threw away its life even unto death:
> And Naphtali, on the high places of the field."

The same poem contains an expression which seems to imply that, apart from the distinction gained by their conduct in this contest, Zebulun was already in a prominent position among the tribes:—

> "Out of Machir came down governors;
> And out of Zebulun those that handle the pen (or the wand) of the scribe;"

referring probably to the officers, who registered and marshalled the warriors of the host (comp. Josh. i. 10). One of these "scribes" may have been ELON, the single judge produced by the tribe, who is recorded as having held office for ten years (Judg. xii. 11, 12).

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[c] Of these three forms the first is employed in Genesis, Isaiah, Psalms, and Chronicles, except Gen. xlix. 13, and 1 Chr. xxvii. 19; also occasionally in Judges: the second is found in the rest of the Pentateuch, in Joshua, Judges, Ezekiel, and the above place in Chronicles. The third and more extended form is found in Judg. i. 30 only. The first and second are used indiscriminately: *e. gr.* Judg. iv. 6 and v. 18 exhibit the first; Judg. iv. 10 and v. 14 the second form.

[d] This play is not preserved in the original of the "Blessing of Jacob," though the language of the A. V. implies it. The word rendered "dwell" in Gen. xlix. 13 is יִשְׁכֹּן, with no relation to the name Zebulun. The LXX. put a different point on the exclamation of Leah: "My husband will choose me" (αἱρετιεῖ με). This, however, hardly implies any difference in the original text. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 19, §8) gives only a general explanation: "a pledge of goodwill towards her."

[e] Few of the towns in the catalogue of Josh. xix. 10-16 have been identified. The tribe is omitted in the lists of 1 Chronicles.

[f] Sepphoris, Jotapata, &c.

[g] In the "Testament of Zabulon" (Fabricius, *Pseudepigr. V. T.* i. 630-45) great stress is laid on his skill in fishing, and he is commemorated as the first to navigate a skiff on the sea.

A similar reputation is alluded to in the mention of the tribe among those who attended the inauguration of David's reign at Hebron. The expressions are again peculiar:—"Of Zebulun such as went forth to war, rangers of battle, with all tools of war, 50,000; who could set the battle in array; they were not of double heart" (1 Chr. xii. 33). The same passage, however, shows that while proficient in the arts of war they did not neglect those of peace, but that on the wooded hills and fertile plains of their district they produced bread, meal, figs, grapes, wine, oil, oxen, and sheep in abundance (ver. 40). The head of the tribe at this time was Ishmaiah ben-Obadiah (1 Chr. xxvii. 19).

We are nowhere directly told that the people of Zebulun were carried off to Assyria. Tiglath-pileser swept away the whole of Naphtali (2 K. xv. 29; Tob. i. 2), and Shalmaneser in the same way took "Samaria" (xvii. 6); but though the deportation of Zebulun and Issachar is not in so many words asserted, there is the statement (xvii. 18) that the whole of the northern tribes were removed; and there is also the well-known allusion of Isaiah to the affliction of Zebulun and Naphtali (ix. 1), which can hardly point to anything but the invasion of Tiglath-pileser. It is satisfactory to reflect that the very latest mention of the Zebulunites is the account of the visit of a large number of them to Jerusalem to the passover of Hezekiah, when, by the enlightened liberality of the king, they were enabled to eat the feast, even though, through long neglect of the provisions of the Law, they were not cleansed in the manner prescribed by the ceremonial law.—In the visions of Ezekiel (xlviii. 26-33) and of St. John (Rev. vii. 8) this tribe finds its due mention. [G.]

ZE'BULUNITES, THE (הַזְּבוּלֹנִי, *i. e.* "the Zebulonite:" Ζαβουλών: *Zabulon*). The members of the tribe of Zebulun (Num. xxvi. 27 only). It would be more literally accurate if spelt ZEBULONITES. [G.]

ZECHARI'AH (זְכַרְיָה: Ζαχαρίας: *Zacharias*). **1.** The eleventh in order of the twelve minor prophets. Of his personal history we know but little. He is called in his prophecy the son of Berechiah, and the grandson of Iddo, whereas in the Book of Ezra (v. 1, vi. 14) he is said to have been the son of Iddo. Various attempts have been made to reconcile this discrepancy. Cyril of Alexandria (*Pref. Comment. ad Zech.*) supposes that Berechiah was the father of Zechariah, according to the flesh, and that Iddo was his instructor, and might be regarded as his spiritual father. Jerome too, according to some MSS., has in Zech. i. 1, "filium Barachiae, filium Addo," as if he supposed that Berechiah and Iddo were different names of the same person; and the same mistake occurs in the LXX.: τὸν τοῦ Βαραχίου, υἱὸν Ἀδδώ. Gesenius (*Lex.* s. v. בֵּן) and Rosenmüller (*On Zech.* i. 1) take בֵּן in the passages in Ezra to mean "grandson," as in Gen. xxix. 5, Laban is termed "the son," *i. e.* "grandson," of Nahor. Others, again, have suggested that in the text of Ezra no mention is made of Berechiah, because he was already dead, or because Iddo was the more distinguished person, and the generally recognized head of the family. Knobel thinks that the name of Berechiah has crept into the present text of Zechariah from Isaiah viii. 2, where mention is made of a Zechariah "the son of *Jeberechiah*," which is virtually the same name (LXX. Βαραχίου) as Berechiah.[a] His theory is that chapters ix.-xi. of our present Book of Zechariah are really the work of the older Zechariah (Is. viii. 2), that a later scribe finding the two books, one bearing the name of Zechariah the son of Iddo, and the other that of Zechariah the son of Berechiah, united them into one, and at the same time combined the titles of the two, and that hence arose the confusion which at present exists. This, however, is hardly a probable hypothesis. It is surely more natural to suppose, as the Prophet himself mentions his father's name, whereas the historical Books of Ezra and Nehemiah mention only Iddo, that Berechiah had died early, and that there was now no intervening link between the grandfather and the grandson. The son, in giving his pedigree, does not omit his father's name: the historian passes it over, as of one who was but little known, or already forgotten. This view is confirmed if we suppose the Iddo here mentioned to have been the Iddo the priest who, in Neh. xii. 4, is said to have returned from Babylon in company with Zerubbabel and Joshua. He is there said to have had a son Zechariah (ver. 16), who was contemporary with Joiakim the son of Joshua; and this falls in with the hypothesis that, owing to some unexplained cause—perhaps the death of his father—Zechariah became the next representative of the family after his grandfather Iddo. Zechariah, according to this view, like Jeremiah and Ezekiel before him, was priest as well as prophet. He seems to have entered upon his office while yet young (נַעַר, Zech. ii. 4; comp. Jer. i. 6), and must have been born in Babylon, whence he returned with the first caravan of exiles under Zerubbabel and Joshua.

It was in the eighth month, in the second year of Darius, that he first publicly discharged his office. In this he acted in concert with Haggai, who must have been considerably his senior, if, as seems not improbable, Haggai had been carried into captivity, and hence had himself been one of those who had seen "the house" of Jehovah "in her first glory" (Hagg. ii. 3). Both prophets had the same great object before them; both directed all their energies to the building of the Second Temple. Haggai seems to have led the way in this work, and then to have left it chiefly in the hands of his younger contemporary. The foundations of the new building had already been laid in the time of Cyrus; but during the reigns of Cambyses and the pseudo-Smerdis the work had been broken off through the jealousies of the Samaritans. When, however, Darius Hystaspis ascended the throne (521), things took a more favourable turn. He seems to have been a large-hearted and gracious prince, and to have been well-disposed towards the Jews. Encouraged by the hopes which his accession held out, the Prophets exerted themselves to the utmost to secure the completion of the Temple.

It is impossible not to see of how great moment, under such circumstances, and for the discharge of the special duty with which he was entrusted, would be the priestly origin of Zechariah.

Too often the Prophet had had to stand forth in direct antagonism to the Priest. In an age when the service of God had stiffened into formalism,

[a] As Hezekiah (Is. i. 1, Hos. i. 1) and Jehezekiah (2 K. xviii. 1, 9, 10), Coniah (Jer. xxii. 24, xxxvii. 1 and Jeconiah (Jer. xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20), Aziel (1 Chr. xv. 20) and Jaaziel (1 Chr xv 18).

and the Priests' lips no longer kept knowledge, the Prophet was the witness for the truth which lay beneath the outward ceremonial, and without which the outward ceremonial was worthless. But the thing to be dreaded now was not superstitious formalism, but cold neglect. There was no fear now lest in a gorgeous temple, amidst the splendours of an imposing ritual and the smoke of sacrifices ever ascending to heaven, the heart and life of religion should be lost. The fear was all the other way, lest even the body, the outward form and service, should be suffered to decay.

The foundations of the Temple had indeed been laid, but that was all (Ezr. v. 16). Discouraged by the opposition which they had encountered at first, the Jewish colony had begun to build, and were not able to finish; and even when the letter came from Darius sanctioning the work, and promising his protection, they showed no hearty disposition to engage in it. At such a time, no more fitting instrument could be found to rouse the people, whose heart had grown cold, than one who united to the authority of the Prophet the zeal and the traditions of a sacerdotal family.

Accordingly, to Zechariah's influence we find the rebuilding of the Temple in a great measure ascribed. "And the elders of the Jews builded," it is said, "and they prospered through the prophesying of Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo" (Ezr. vi. 14). It is remarkable that in this juxtaposition of the two names both are not styled prophets: not "Haggai and Zechariah the prophets," but "Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah *the son of Iddo*." Is it an improbable conjecture that Zechariah is designated by his father's (or grandfather's) name, rather than by his office, in order to remind us of his priestly character? Be this as it may, we find other indications of the close union which now subsisted between the priests and the prophets. Various events connected with the taking of Jerusalem and the Captivity in Babylon had led to the institution of solemn fast-days; and we find that when a question arose as to the propriety of observing these fast-days, now that the city and the Temple were rebuilt, the question was referred to "the priests which were in the house of Jehovah, and to the prophets,"—a recognition, not only of the joint authority, but of the harmony subsisting between the two bodies, without parallel in Jewish history. The manner, too, in which Joshua the High-Priest is spoken of in this prophecy shows how lively a sympathy Zechariah felt towards him.

Later traditions assume, what is indeed very probable, that Zechariah took personally an active part in providing for the Liturgical service of the Temple. He and Haggai are both said to have composed Psalms with this view. According to the LXX., Pss. cxxxvii. cxlv.–cxlviii.; according to the Peshito, Pss. cxxv. cxxvi.; according to the Vulg., Ps. cxi.; are Psalms of Haggai and Zechariah.[b] The triumphant "Hallelujah," with which many of them open, was supposed to be characteristic of those Psalms which were first chanted in the Second Temple, and came with an emphasis of meaning from the lips of those who had been restored to their native land. The allusions, moreover, with which these Psalms abound, as well as their place in the Psalter, leave us in no doubt as to the time when they were composed, and lend confirmation to the tradition respecting their authorship.

If the later Jewish accounts[c] may be trusted, Zechariah, as well as Haggai, was a member of the Great Synagogue. The patristic notices of the Prophet are worth nothing. According to these, he exercised his prophetic office in Chaldaea, and wrought many miracles there; returned to Jerusalem at an advanced age, where he discharged the duties of the priesthood, and where he died and was buried by the side of Haggai.[d]

The genuine writings of Zechariah help us but little in our estimation of his character. Some faint traces, however, we may observe in them of his education in Babylon. Less free and independent than he would have been, had his feet trod from childhood the soil,

> "Where each old poetic mountain
> Inspiration breathed around,"

he leans avowedly on the authority of the older prophets, and copies their expressions. Jeremiah especially seems to have been his favourite; and hence the Jewish saying, that "the spirit of Jeremiah dwelt in Zechariah." But in what may be called the peculiarities of his prophecy, he approaches more nearly to Ezekiel and Daniel. Like them he delights in visions; like them he uses symbols and allegories, rather than the bold figures and metaphors which lend so much force and beauty to the writings of the earlier prophets; like them he beholds angels ministering before Jehovah, and fulfilling his behests on the earth. He is the only one of the prophets who speaks of Satan. That some of these peculiarities are owing to his Chaldaean education can hardly be doubted. It is at least remarkable that both Ezekiel and Daniel, who must have been influenced by the same associations, should in some of these respects so closely resemble Zechariah, widely as they differ from him in others.

Even in the *form* of the visions a careful criticism might perhaps discover some traces of the Prophet's early training. Possibly the "valley of myrtles" in the first vision may have been suggested by Chaldaea rather than by Palestine. At any rate it is a curious fact that myrtles are never mentioned in the history of the Jews before the exile. They are found, besides this passage of Zechariah, in the Deutero-Isaiah xli. 19, lv. 13, and in Neh. viii. 15.[e] The forms of trial in the third vision, where Joshua

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[b] Hence Pseudepiphanius, speaking of Haggai, says καὶ αὐτὸς ἐψαλλεν ἐκεῖ πρῶτος ἀλληλούϊα (in allusion to the Hallelujah with which some of these Psalms begin) διὸ λέγομεν· ἀλληλούϊα ὅ ἐστιν ὕμνος Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου.

[c] Tr. Megilla, fol. 17, 2. 18, 1; Rashi *ad Baba Bathra*, fol. 15, 1.

[d] Pseudepiph. *de Proph.* cap. 21, οὗτος ηλθεν ἀπὸ γῆς Χαλδαίων ἤδη προβεβηκὼς καὶ ἐκεῖ ὢν πολλὰ τῷ λαῷ προεφήτευσεν, κτλ. Dorotheus, p. 144: Hic Zacharias e Chaldaea venit cum aetate jam esset provecta atque ibi populo multa vaticinatus est prodigiaque probandi gratia edidit, et sacerdotio Hierosolymis functus est, etc. Isidorus, cap. 51. Zacharias de regione Chaldaeorum valde senex in terram suam reversus est, in qua et mortuus est ac sepultus juxta Aggaeum quiescit in pace.

[e] In the last passage the people are told to "fetch olive-branches and cypress-branches, and myrtle-branches and palm-branches . . . to make booths" for the celebration of the feast of tabernacles. It is interesting to compare this with the original direction, as given in the wilderness, when the only trees mentioned are "palms and willows of the brook." Palestine was rich in the olive and cypress. Is it very improbable that the myrtle may have

the High-Priest is arraigned, seem borrowed from the practice of Persian rather than Jewish courts of law. The filthy garments in which Joshua appears are those which the accused must assume when brought to trial; the white robe put upon him is the caftan or robe of honour which to this day in the East is put upon the minister of state who has been acquitted of the charges laid against him.

The vision of the woman in the Ephah is also Oriental in its character. Ewald refers to a very similar vision in Tod's *Rajasthan*, t. ii. p. 688.

Finally, the chariots issuing from between two mountains of brass must have been suggested, there can scarcely be any doubt, by some Persian symbolism.

Other peculiarities of style must be noticed, when we come to discuss the question of the Integrity of the Book. Generally speaking, Zechariah's style is pure, and remarkably free from Chaldaisms. As is common with writers in the decline of a language, he seems to have striven to imitate the purity of the earlier models; but in orthography, and in the use of some words and phrases, he betrays the influence of a later age. He writes אֹת, and דָּוִיד; and employs אַחַת (v. 7) in its later use as the indefinite article, and צַנְתְּרוֹת with the fem. termination (iv. 12). A full collection of these peculiarities will be found in Köster, *Meletemata in Zech.*, &c.

Contents of the Prophecy.—The Book of Zechariah, in its existing form, consists of three principal parts, chaps. i.–viii., chaps. ix.–xi., chaps. xii.–xiv.

I. The first of these divisions is allowed by all critics to be the genuine work of Zechariah the son of Iddo. It consists, first, of a short introduction or preface, in which the prophet announces his commission; then of a series of visions, descriptive of all those hopes and anticipations of which the building of the Temple was the pledge and sure foundation; and finally of a discourse, delivered two years later, in reply to questions respecting the observance of certain established fasts.

1. The short introductory oracle (chap. i. 1-6) is a warning voice from the past. The prophet solemnly reminds the people, by an appeal to the experience of their fathers, that no word of God had ever fallen to the ground, and that therefore, if with sluggish indifference they refused to co-operate in the building of the Temple, they must expect the judgments of God. This warning manifestly rests upon the former warnings of Haggai.

2. In a dream of the night there passed before the eyes of the prophet a series of visions (chap. i. 7–vi. 15) descriptive in their different aspects of events, some of them shortly to come to pass, and others losing themselves in the mist of the future. These visions are obscure, and accordingly the prophet asks their meaning. The interpretation is given, not as to Amos by Jehovah Himself, but by an angel who knows the mind and will of Jehovah, who intercedes with Him for others, and by whom Jehovah speaks and issues his commands: at one time he is called "the angel who spake with me" [or "by me"] (v. 9); at another, "the angel of Jehovah" (i. 11, 12, iii. 1-6).

(1.) In the first vision (chap. i. 7-15) the prophet sees, in a valley of myrtles,[f] a rider upon a roan horse, accompanied by others who, having been sent forth to the four quarters of the earth, had returned with the tidings that the whole earth was at rest (with reference to Hagg. ii. 20). Hereupon the angel asks how long this state of things shall last, and is assured that the indifference of the heathen shall cease, and that the Temple shall be built in Jerusalem. This vision seems to have been partly borrowed from Job i. 7, &c.

(2.) The second vision (chap. ii. 1-17, A. V. i. 18–ii. 13) explains *how* the promise of the first is to be fulfilled. The four horns are the symbols of the different heathen kingdoms in the four quarters of the world, which have hitherto combined against Jerusalem. The four carpenters or smiths symbolize their destruction. What follows, ii. 5-9 (A. V. ii. 1-5), betokens the vastly extended area of Jerusalem, owing to the rapid increase of the new population. The old prophets, in foretelling the happiness and glory of the times which should succeed the Captivity in Babylon, had made a great part of that happiness and glory to consist in the gathering together again of the whole dispersed nation in the land given to their fathers. This vision was designed to teach that the expectation thus raised—the return of the dispersed of Israel—should be fulfilled; that Jerusalem should be too large to be compassed about by a wall, but that Jehovah Himself would be to her a wall of fire—a light and defence to the holy city, and destruction to her adversaries. A song of joy, in prospect of so bright a future, closes the scene.

(3.) The next two visions (iii. iv.) are occupied with the Temple, and with the two principal persons on whom the hopes of the returned exiles rested. The permission granted for the rebuilding of the Temple had no doubt stirred afresh the malice and the animosity of the enemies of the Jews. Joshua the High-Priest had been singled out, it would seem, as the especial object of attack, and perhaps formal accusations had already been laid against him before the Persian court.[g] The prophet, in vision, sees him summoned before a higher tribunal, and solemnly acquitted, despite the charges of the Satan or Adversary. This is done with the forms still usual in an Eastern court. The filthy garments in which the accused is expected to stand are taken away, and the caftan or robe of honour is put upon him in token that his innocence has been established. Acquitted at that bar, he need not fear, it is implied, any earthly accuser. He shall be protected, he shall carry on the building of the Temple, he shall so prepare the way for the coming of the Messiah, and upon the foundation-stone laid before him shall the seven eyes of God, the token of His ever-watchful Providence, rest.

(4.) The last vision (iv.) supposes that all opposition to the building of the Temple shall be removed. This sees the completion of the work. It has evidently a peculiarly impressive character; for the

been an importation from Babylon? Esther was also called Hadassah (the myrtle), perhaps her Persian designation (Esth. ii. 7); and the myrtle is said to be a native of Persia.

[f] Ewald understands by מְצֻלָה not "a valley" or "bottom," as the A. V. renders, but the heavenly tent or tabernacle (the expression being chosen with reference to the Mosaic tabernacle), which is the dwelling-place of Jehovah. Instead of "myrtles" he understands by הֲדַסִּים (with the LXX. ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀρέων τῶν κατασκίων) "mountains," and supposes these to be the "two mountains" mentioned vi. 1, and which are there called "mountains of brass."

[g] So Ewald, *Die Propheten*, ii. 528.

prophet, though his dream still continues, seems to himself to be awakened out of it by the angel who speaks to him. The candlestick (or more properly chandelier) with seven lights (borrowed from the candlestick of the Mosaic Tabernacle, Ex. xxv. 31 ff.) supposes that the Temple is already finished. The seven pipes which supply each lamp answer to the seven eyes of Jehovah in the preceding vision (iii. 9), and this sevenfold supply of oil denotes the presence and operation of the Divine Spirit, through whose aid Zerubbabel will overcome all obstacles, so that as his hands had laid the foundation of the house, his hands should also finish it (iv. 9). The two olive-branches of the vision, belonging to the olive-tree standing by the candlestick, are Zerubbabel himself and Joshua.

The two next visions (v. 1-11) signify that the land, in which the sanctuary has just been erected, shall be purged of all its pollutions.

(5.) First, the curse is recorded against wickedness in *the whole land* (not in the *whole earth*, as A. V.), v. 3; that due solemnity may be given to it, it is inscribed upon a roll, and the roll is represented as flying, in order to denote the speed with which the curse will execute itself.

(6.) Next, the unclean thing, whether in the form of idolatry or any other abomination, shall be utterly removed. Caught and shut up as it were in a cage, like some savage beast, and pressed down with a weight as of lead upon it so that it cannot escape, it shall be carried into that land where all evil things have long made their dwelling (Is. xxxiv. 13), the land of Babylon (Shinar, v. 11), from which Israel had been redeemed.

(7.) And now the night is waning fast, and the morning is about to dawn. Chariots and horses appear, issuing from between two brazen mountains, the horses like those in the first vision; and these receive their several commands and are sent forth to execute the will of Jehovah in the four quarters of the earth. The four chariots are images of the four winds, which, according to Ps. civ. 4, as servants of God, fulfil His behests; and of the one that goes to the north it is particularly said that it shall let the Spirit of Jehovah rest there—is it a spirit of anger against the nations, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, or is it a spirit of hope and desire of return in the hearts of those of the exiles who still lingered in the land of their captivity? Stähelin, Maurer, and others adopt the former view, which seems to be in accordance with the preceding vision: Ewald gives the latter interpretation, and thinks it is supported by what follows.

Thus, then, the cycle of visions is completed. Scene after scene is unrolled till the whole glowing picture is presented to the eye. All enemies crushed; the land re-peopled and Jerusalem girt as with a wall of fire; the Temple rebuilt, more truly splendid than of old, because more abundantly filled with a Divine Presence; the leaders of the people assured in the most signal manner of the Divine protection; all wickedness solemnly sentenced, and the land for ever purged of it;—such is the magnificent panorama of hope which the prophet displays to his countrymen.

And very consolatory must such a prospect have seemed to the weak and disheartened colony in Jerusalem. For the times were dark and troublous. According to recent interpretations of newly-discovered inscriptions, it would appear that Darius I. found it no easy task to hold his vast dominions. Province after province had revolted both in the east and in the north, whither, according to the prophet (vi. 8), the winds had carried the wrath of God; and if the reading Mudraja, *i. e.* Egypt, is correct (Lassen gives Kurdistan), Egypt must have revolted before the outbreak mentioned in Herod. vii. 1, and have again been reduced to subjection. To such revolt there may possibly be an allusion in the reference to "the land of the south" (vi. 6).

It would seem that Zechariah anticipated as a consequence of these perpetual insurrections, the weakening and overthrow of the Persian monarchy and the setting up of the kingdom of God, for which Judah in faith and obedience was to wait.[h]

Immediately on these visions there follows a symbolical act. Three Israelites had just returned from Babylon, bringing with them rich gifts to Jerusalem, apparently as contributions to the Temple, and had been received in the house of Josiah the son of Zephaniah. Thither the Prophet is commanded to go,—whether still in a dream or not, is not very clear,—and to employ the silver and the gold of their offerings for the service of Jehovah. He is to make of them two crowns, and to place these on the head of Joshua the High-Priest,—a sign that in the Messiah who should build the Temple, the kingly and priestly offices should be united. This, however, is expressed somewhat enigmatically, as if king and priest should be perfectly at one, rather than that the same person should be both king and priest. These crowns moreover, were to be a memorial in honour of those by whose liberality they had been made, and should serve at the same time to excite other rich Jews still living in Babylon to the like liberality. Hence their symbolical purpose having been accomplished, they were to be laid up in the Temple.

3. From this time, for a space of nearly two years, the Prophet's voice was silent, or his words have not been recorded. But in the fourth year of King Darius, in the fourth day of the ninth month, there came a deputation of Jews to the Temple, anxious to know whether the fast-days which had been instituted during the seventy years' Captivity were still to be observed. On the one hand, now that the Captivity was at an end, and Jerusalem was rising from her ashes, such set times of mourning seemed quite out of place. On the other hand, there was still much ground for serious uneasiness; for some time after their return they had suffered severely from drought and famine (Hagg. i. 6-11), and who could tell that they would not so suffer again? the hostility of their neighbours had not ceased; they were still regarded with no common jealousy; and large numbers of their brethren had not yet returned from Babylon. It was a question therefore, that seemed to admit of much debate.

It is remarkable, as has been already noticed, that this question should have been addressed to priests and prophets conjointly in the Temple. This close alliance between two classes hitherto so separate, and often so antagonistic, was one of the most hopeful circumstances of the times. Still Zechariah, as chief of the prophets, has the decision of this question. Some of the priests, it is evident (vii. 7), were inclined to the more gloomy view; but not so the Prophet. In language worthy of his position and his office, language which reminds us of one of the most striking passages of his great

[h] Stähelin, *Einleit. in die Kan. Büch.* p. 318

predecessor (Is. lviii. 5-7), he lays down the same principle that God loves mercy rather than fasting, and truth and righteousness rather than sackcloth and a sad countenance. If they had perished, he reminds them it was because their hearts were hard while they fasted; if they would dwell safely, they must abstain from fraud and violence and not from food (vii. 4-14).

Again he foretells, but not now in vision, the glorious times that are near at hand when Jehovah shall dwell in the midst of them, and Jerusalem be called a city of truth. He sees her streets thronged by old and young, her exiles returning, her Temple standing in all its beauty, her land rich in fruitfulness, her people a praise and a blessing in the earth (viii. 1-15). Again, he declares that "truth and peace" (vers. 16, 19) are the bulwarks of national prosperity. And once more reverting to the question which had been raised concerning the observance of the fasts, he announces, in obedience to the command of Jehovah, not only that the fasts are abolished, but that the days of mourning shall henceforth be days of joy, the fasts be counted for festivals. His prophecy concludes with a prediction that Jerusalem shall be the centre of religious worship to all nations of the earth (viii. 16-23).

II. The remainder of the Book consists of two sections of about equal length, ix.–xi. and xii.–xiv., each of which has an inscription. They have the general prophetic tone and character, and in subject they so far harmonize with i.–viii., that the Prophet seeks to comfort Judah in a season of depression with the hope of a brighter future.

1. In the first section he threatens Damascus and the sea-coast of Palestine with misfortune; but declares that Jerusalem shall be protected, for Jehovah himself shall encamp about her (where ix. 8 reminds us of ii. 5); her king shall come to her, he shall speak peace to the heathen, so that all weapons of war shall perish, and his dominion shall be to the ends of the earth. The Jews who are still in captivity shall return to their land; they shall be mightier than Javan (or Greece); and Ephraim and Judah once more united shall vanquish all enemies. The land too shall be fruitful as of old (comp. viii. 12). The Teraphim and the false prophets may indeed have spoken lies, but upon these will the Lord execute judgment, and then He will look with favour upon His people and bring back both Judah and Ephraim from their captivity. The possession of Gilead and Lebanon is again promised, as the special portion of Ephraim; and both Egypt and Assyria shall be broken and humbled.

The prophecy now takes a sudden turn. An enemy is seen approaching from the north, who having forced the narrow passes of Lebanon, the great bulwark of the northern frontier, carries desolation into the country beyond. Hereupon the prophet receives a commission from God to feed his flock, which God Himself will no more feed because of their divisions. The prophet undertakes the office, and makes to himself two staves (naming the one Beauty, and the other Union), in order to tend the flock, and cuts off several evil shepherds whom his soul abhors; but observes at the same time that the flock will not be obedient. Hence he throws up his office; he breaks asunder the one crook in token that the covenant of God with Israel was dissolved. A few, the poor of the flock, acknowledge God's hand herein; and the prophet demanding the wages of his service, receives thirty pieces of silver, and casts it into the house of Jehovah. At the same time he sees that there is no hope of union between Judah and Israel whom he had trusted to feed as one flock, and therefore cuts in pieces the other crook, in token that the brotherhood between them is dissolved.

2. The Second Section, xii.–xiv., is entitled, "The burden of the word of Jehovah for Israel." But *Israel* is here used of the nation at large, not of Israel as distinct from Judah. Indeed, the prophecy which follows, concerns Judah and Jerusalem. In this the prophet beholds the near approach of troublous times, when Jerusalem should be hard pressed by enemies. But in that day Jehovah shall come to save them: "the house of David be as God, as the angel of Jehovah" (xii. 8), and all the nations which gather themselves against Jerusalem shall be destroyed. At the same time the deliverance shall not be from outward enemies alone. God will pour out upon them a spirit of grace and supplications, so that they shall bewail their sinfulness with a mourning greater than that with which they bewailed the beloved Josiah in the valley of Megiddon. So deep and so true shall be this repentance, so lively the aversion to all evil, that neither idol nor false prophet shall again be seen in the land. If a man shall pretend to prophesy, "his father and his mother that begat him shall thrust him through when he prophesieth," fired by the same righteous indignation as Phinehas was when he slew those who wrought folly in Israel (xii. 1–xiii. 6).

Then follows a short apostrophe to the sword of the enemy to turn against the shepherds of the people; and a further announcement of searching and purifying judgments; which, however, it must be acknowledged, is somewhat abrupt. Ewald's suggestion that the passage xiii. 7-9, is here out of place, and should be transposed to the end of chap. xi. is certainly ingenious, and does not seem improbable.

The prophecy closes with a grand and stirring picture. All nations are gathered together against Jerusalem; and seem already sure of their prey. Half of their cruel work has been accomplished, when Jehovah Himself appears on behalf of His people. At his coming all nature is moved: the Mount of Olives on which His feet rest cleaves asunder; a mighty earthquake heaves the ground, and even the natural succession of day and night is broken. He goes forth to war against the adversaries of His people. He establishes His kingdom over all the earth. Jerusalem is safely inhabited, and rich with the spoils of the nations. All nations that are still left, shall come up to Jerusalem, as the great centre of religious worship, there to worship "the King, Jehovah of hosts," and the city from that day forward shall be a holy city.

Such is, briefly, an outline of the second portion of that book which is commonly known as the Prophecy of Zechariah. It is impossible, even on a cursory view of the two portions of the prophecy, not to feel how different the section xi.–xiv. is from the section i.–viii. The next point, then, for our consideration is this,—Is the book in its present form the work of one and the same prophet, Zechariah the son of Iddo, who lived after the Babylonish exile?

Integrity.—Mede was the first to call this in question. The probability that the later chapters from the 9th to the 14th were by some other prophet, seems first to have been suggested to him by

the citation in St. Matthew. He says (Epist. xxxi.), "It may seem the Evangelist would inform us that those latter chapters ascribed to Zachary (namely, 9th, 10th, 11th, &c.,) are indeed the prophecies of Jeremy; and that the Jews had not rightly attributed them." Starting from this point, he goes on to give reasons for supposing a different author. "Certainly, if a man weighs the contents of some of them, they should in likelihood be of an elder date than the time of Zachary; namely, before the Captivity: for the subjects of some of them were scarce in being after that time. And the chapter out of which St. Matthew quotes may seem to have somewhat much unsuitable with Zachary's time; as, a prophecy of the destruction of the Temple, then when he was to encourage them to build it. And how doth the sixth verse of that chapter suit with his time? There is no scripture saith they are Zachary's; but there is scripture saith they are Jeremy's, as this of the Evangelist.' He then observes that the mere fact of these being found in the same book as the prophecies of Zechariah does not prove that they were his; difference of authorship being allowable in the same way as in the collection of Agur's Proverbs under one title with those of Solomon, and of Psalms by other authors with those of David. Even the absence of a fresh title is, he argues, no evidence against a change of author. "The Jews wrote in rolls or volumes, and the title was but once. If aught were added to the roll, *ob similitudinem argumenti*, or for some other reason, it had a new title, as that of Agur; or perhaps none, but was *ἀνώνυμον*." The utter disregard of anything like chronological order in the prophecies of Jeremiah, where "sometimes all is ended with Zedekiah; then we are brought back to Jehoiakim, then to Zedekiah again"—makes it probable, he thinks, that they were only hastily and loosely put together in those distracted times. Consequently some of them might not have been discovered till after the return from the Captivity, when they were approved by Zechariah, and so came to be incorporated with his prophecies. Mede evidently rests his opinion, partly on the authority of St. Matthew, and partly on the contents of the later chapters, which he considers require a date earlier than the exile. He says again (Epist. lxi.): "That which moveth me more than the rest is in chap. xii., which contains a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, and a description of the wickedness of the inhabitants, for which God would give them to the sword, and have no more pity on them. It is expounded of the destruction by Titus; but methinks such a prophecy was nothing seasonable for Zachary's time (when the city yet, for a great part, lay in her ruins, and the Temple had not yet recovered her's), nor agreeable to the scope of Zachary's commission, who, together with his colleague Haggai, was sent to encourage the people lately returned from captivity to build their temple, and to instaurate their commonwealth. Was this a fit time to foretel the destruction of both, while they were but yet a building? and by Zachary, too, who was to encourage them? would not this better befit the desolation by Nebuchadnezzar?"

Archbishop Newcome went further. He insisted on the great dissimilarity of style as well as subject between the earlier and later chapters. And he was the first who advocated the theory which Bunsen calls one of the triumphs of modern criticism, that the last six chapters of Zechariah are the work of two distinct prophets. His words are: "The eight first chapters appear by the introductory parts to be the prophecies of Zechariah, stand in connexion with each other, are pertinent to the time when they were delivered, are uniform in style and manner, and constitute a regular whole. But the six last chapters are not expressly assigned to Zechariah; are unconnected with those which precede; the three first of them are unsuitable in many parts to the time when Zechariah lived; all of them have a more adorned and poetical turn of composition than the eight first chapters; and they manifestly break the unity of the prophetical book."

"I conclude," he continues, "from internal marks in chaps. ix., x., xi., that these three chapters were written much earlier than the time of Jeremiah and before the captivity of the tribes. Israel is mentioned chaps. ix. 1, xi. 14. (But that this argument is inconclusive, see Mal. ii. 11.) Ephraim chaps. ix. 10, 13, x. 7; and Assyria, chap. x. 10, 11. . . . They seem to suit Hosea's age and manner. . . . The xiith, xiiith, and xivth chapters form a distinct prophecy, and were written after the death of Josiah; but whether before or after the Captivity, and by what prophets, is uncertain. Though I incline to think that the author lived before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians." In proof of this he refers to xiii. 2, on which he observes that the "prediction that idols and false prophets should cease at the final restoration of the Jews seems to have been uttered when idolatry and groundless pretensions to the spirit of prophecy were common among the Jews, and therefore before the Babylonish Captivity."

A large number of critics have followed Mede and Archbishop Newcome in denying the later date of the last six chapters of the Book. In England, Bishop Kidder, Whiston, Hammond, and more recently Pye Smith, and Davidson; in Germany, Flügge, Eichhorn, Bauer, Bertholdt, Augusti, Forberg, Rosenmüller, Gramberg, Credner, Ewald, Maurer, Knobel, Hitzig, and Bleek, are agreed in maintaining that these later chapters are not the work of Zechariah the son of Iddo.

On the other hand, the later date of these chapters has been maintained among ourselves by Blayney and Henderson, and on the continent by Carpzov, Beckhaus, Jahn, Köster, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Keil, De Wette (in later editions of his *Einleitung*; in the first three he adopted a different view), and Stähelin.

Those who impugn the later date of these chapters of Zechariah rest their arguments on the change in style and subject after the 8th chapter, but differ much in the application of their criticism. Rosenmüller, for instance (*Schol. in Proph. Min.* vol. iv. 257), argues that chaps. ix.–xiv. are so alike in style, that they must have been written by one author. He alleges in proof his fondness for images taken from pastoral life (ix. 16, x. 2, 3, xi. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17, xiii. 7, 8). From the allusion to the earthquake (xiv. 5, comp. Am. i 1), he thinks the author must have lived in the reign of Uzziah.

Davidson (in Horne's *Introd.* ii. 982) in like manner declares for one author, but supposes him to have been the Zechariah mentioned Is. viii. 2 who lived in the reign of Ahaz.

Eichhorn, on the other hand, whilst also assigning (in his *Einleitung*, iv. 444) the whole of chaps. ix.–xiv. to one writer, is of opinion that they are

the work of a *later* prophet who flourished in the time of Alexander.

Others again, as Bertholdt, Gesenius, Knobel, Maurer, Bunsen, and Ewald, think that chaps. ix.–xi. (to which Ewald adds xiii. 7-9) are a distinct prophecy from chaps. xii.–xiv., and separated from them by a considerable interval of time. These critics conclude from internal evidence, that the former portion was written by a prophet who lived in the reign of Ahaz (Knobel gives ix., x. to the reign of Jotham, and xi. to that of Ahaz), and most of them conjecture that he was the Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah (or Berechiah), mentioned Is. viii. 2.

Ewald, without attempting to identify the prophet with any particular person, contents himself with remarking that he was a subject of the Southern kingdom (as may be inferred from expressions such as that in ix. 7, and from the Messianic hopes which he utters, and in which he resembles his countryman and contemporary Isaiah); and that like Amos and Hosea before him, though a native of Judah, he directs his prophecies against Ephraim.

There is the same general agreement among the last-named critics as to the date of the section xii.–xiv.

They all assign it to a period immediately previous to the Babylonish Captivity, and hence the author must have been contemporary with the prophet Jeremiah. Bunsen identifies him with Urijah the son of Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim (Jer. xxvi. 20-23), who prophesied "in the name of Jehovah" against Judah and Jerusalem.

According to this hypothesis we have the works of three different prophets collected into one book, and passing under one name:—

1. Chapters ix.–xi., the book of Zechariah I., a contemporary of Isaiah, under Ahaz, about 736.

2. Chapters xii.–xiv., author unknown (or perhaps Urijah, a contemporary of Jeremiah), about 607 or 606.

3. Chapters i.–viii., the work of the son (or grandson) of Iddo, Haggai's contemporary, about 520-518.

We have then two distinct theories before us. The one merely affirms that the six last chapters of our present book are not from the same author as the first eight. The other carries the dismemberment of the book still further, and maintains that the six last chapters are the work of two distinct authors who lived at two distinct periods of Jewish history. The arguments advanced by the supporters of each theory rest on the same grounds. They are drawn partly from the difference in style, and partly from the difference in the nature of the contents, the historical references, &c., in the different sections of the book; but the one sees this difference only in ix.–xiv., as compared with i.–viii.; the other sees it also in xii.–xiv., as compared with ix.–xi. We must accordingly consider,—

1. The difference generally in the style and contents of chapters ix.–xiv., as compared with chapters i.–viii.

2. The differences between xii.–xiv., as compared with ix.–xi.

1. The difference in point of style between the latter and former portions of the prophecy is admitted by all critics. Rosenmüller characterizes that of the first eight chapters as "prosaic, feeble, poor," and that of the remaining six as "poetic, weighty, concise, glowing." But without admitting so sweeping a criticism, and one which the verdict of abler critics on the former portion has contradicted, there can be no doubt that the general tone and character of the one section is in decided contrast with that of the other. "As he passes from the first half of the Prophet to the second," says Eichhorn, "no reader can fail to perceive how strikingly different are the impressions which are made upon him by the two. The manner of writing in the second portion is far loftier and more mysterious; the images employed grander and more magnificent; the point of view and the horizon are changed. Once the Temple and the ordinances of religion formed the central point from which the Prophet's words radiated, and to which they ever returned; now these have vanished. The favourite modes of expression, hitherto so often repeated, are now as it were forgotten. The chronological notices which before marked the day on which each several prophecy was uttered, now fail us altogether. Could a writer all at once have forgotten so entirely his habits of thought? Could he so completely disguise his innermost feelings? Could the world about him, the mode of expression, the images employed, be so totally different in the case of one and the same writer?" (*Einl.* iv. 443, §605).

I. Chapters i.–viii. are marked by certain peculiarities of idiom and phraseology which do not occur afterwards. Favourite expressions are—"The word of Jehovah came unto," &c. (i. 7, iv. 8, vi. 9, vii. 1, 4, 8, viii. 1, 18); "Thus saith Jehovah (God) of hosts" (i. 4, 16, 17, ii. 11, viii. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 14, 18, 20, 23); "And I lifted up mine eyes and saw" (i. 18, ii. 1, v. 1, vi. 1): none of these modes of expression are to be met with in chapters ix.–xiv. On the other hand, the phrase "In that day" is entirely confined to the later chapters, in which it occurs frequently. The form of the inscriptions is different. Introductions to the separate oracles, such as those in ix. 1, xii. 1, do not present themselves in the earlier portion. Zechariah, in several instances, states the time at which a particular prophecy was uttered by him (i. 1, 7, vii. 1). He mentions his own name in these passages, and also in vii. 8, and the names of contemporaries in iii. 1, iv. 6, vi. 10, vii. 2: the writer (or writers) of the second portion of the book never does this. It has also been observed that after the first eight chapters we hear nothing of "Satan," or of "the seven eyes of Jehovah;" that there are no more visions; that chap. xi. contains an allegory, not a symbolic action; that here are no riddles which need to be solved, no *angelus interpres* to solve them.

II. Chapters ix.–xi. These chapters, it is alleged, have also their characteristic peculiarities:—

(1.) In point of style, the author resembles Hosea more than any other prophet: such is the verdict both of Knobel and Ewald. He delights to picture Jehovah as the Great Captain of His people. Jehovah comes to Zion, and pitches His camp there to protect her (ix. 8, 9). He blows the trumpet, marches against His enemies, makes His people His bow, and shoots His arrows (ix. 13, 14); or He rides on Judah as His war-horse, and goes forth thereon to victory (x. 3, 5). Again, he speaks of the people as a flock, and the leaders of the people as their shepherds (ix. 16, x. 2, 3, xi. 4, ff.). He describes himself also, in his character of prophet, as a shepherd in the last passages, and assumes to himself, in a symbolic action, which however may have been one only of the imagination, all the guise and the gear of a shepherd. In general he delights

in images (ix. 3, 4, 13-17, x. 3, 5, 7, &c.), some of which are striking and forcible.

(2) The notes of time are also peculiar:—

1. It was a time when the pride of Assyria was yet at its height (x. xi.), and when the Jews had already suffered from it. This first took place in the time of Menahem (B.C. 772-761).

2. The Trans-jordanic territory had already been swept by the armies of the invader (x. 10), but a still further desolation threatened it (xi. 1-3). The first may have been the invasion of Pul (1 Chr. v. 26), the second that of Tiglath-Pileser.[i]

3. The kingdoms of Judah and Ephraim are both standing (ix. 10, 13, x. 6), but many Israelites are nevertheless exiles in Egypt and Assyria (ix. 11, x. 6, 8, 10, &c.).

4. The struggle between Judah and Israel is supposed to be already begun (xi. 14). At the same time Damascus is threatened (ix. 1). If so, the reference must be to the alliance formed between Pekah king of Israel and Rezin of Damascus, the consequence of which was the loss of Elath (739).

5. Egypt and Assyria are *both* formidable powers (x. 9, 10, 11). The only other prophets to whom these two nations appear as formidable, *at the same time*, are Hosea (vii. 11, xii. 1, xiv. 3) and his contemporary Isaiah (vii. 17, &c.); and that in prophecies which must have been uttered between 743 and 740. The expectation seems to have been that the Assyrians, in order to attack Egypt, would march by way of Syria, Phoenicia, and Philistia, along the coast (Zech. ix. 1-9), as they did afterwards (Is. xx. 1), and that the kingdom of Israel would suffer chiefly in consequence (Zech. ix. 9-12), and Judah in a smaller degree (ix. 8, 9).

6. The kingdom of Israel is described as "a flock for the slaughter" in chap. xi., over which three shepherds have been set in one month. This corresponds with the season of anarchy and confusion which followed immediately on the murder of Zechariah the son of Jeroboam II. (760). This son reigned only six months, his murderer Shallum but one (2 K. xv. 8-15), being put to death in his turn by Menahem. Meanwhile another rival king may have arisen, Bunsen thinks, in some other part of the country, who may have fallen as the murderer did, before Menahem.

The symbolical action of the breaking of the two shepherds' staves—Favour and Union—points the same way. The breaking of the first showed that God's favour had departed from Israel, that of the second that all hope of union between Judah and Ephraim was at an end.

All these notes of time point in the same direction, and make it probable that the author of chaps ix.–xi. was a contemporary of Isaiah, and prophesied during the reign of Ahaz.[k]

Chaps. xii.–xiv.—By the majority of those critics who assign these chapters to a third author, that author is supposed to have lived shortly before the Babylonish Captivity. The grounds for separating these three chapters from chapters ix.–xi. are as follows:—

1. This section opens with its own introductory formula, as the preceding one (ix. 1) does. This, however, only shows that the sections are distinct, not that they were written at different times.

2. The object of the two sections is altogether different. The author of the former (ix.–xi.) has both Israel and Judah before him; he often speaks of them together (ix. 13, x. 6, xi. 14, comp. x. 7); he directs his prophecy to the Trans-jordanic territory, and announces the discharge of his office in Israel (xi. 4, ff.). The author of the second section, on the other hand, has only to do with Judah and Jerusalem: he nowhere mentions Israel.

3. The political horizon of the two prophets is different. By the former, mention is made of the Syrians, Phoenicians, Philistines (ix. 1-7), and Greeks, (ix. 13), as well as of the Assyrians and Egyptians, the two last being described as at that time the most powerful. It therefore belongs to the earlier time when these two nations were beginning to struggle for supremacy in Western Asia. By the latter, the Egyptians only are mentioned as a hostile nation: not a word is said of the Assyrians. The author consequently must have lived at a time when Egypt was the chief enemy of Judah.

4. The anticipations of the two Prophets are different. The first trembles only for Ephraim. He predicts the desolation of the Trans-jordanic territory, the carrying away captive of the Israelites, but also the return from Assyria and Egypt (x. 7, 10). But for Judah he has no cause of fear. Jehovah will protect her (ix. 8), and bring back those of her sons who in earlier times had gone into captivity (ix. 11). The second Prophet, on the other hand, making no mention whatever of the northern kingdom, is full of alarm for Judah. He sees hostile nations gathering together against her, and two-thirds of her inhabitants destroyed (xiii. 6); he sees the enemy laying siege to Jerusalem, taking and plundering it, and carrying half of her people captive (xii. 3, xiv. 2, 5). Of any return of the captives nothing is here said.

5. The style of the two Prophets is different. The author of this last section is fond of the prophetic formulæ: וְהָיָה, "And it shall come to pass" (xii. 9, xiii. 2, 3, 4, 8, xiv. 6, 8, 13, 16); בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, "in that day" (xii. 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, xiii. 1, 2, 4, xiv. 8, 9, 13, 20, 21); נְאֻם יְהוָה, "saith Jehovah" (xii. 1, 4, xiii. 2, 7, 8). In the section ix.–xi the first does not occur at all, the second but once (ix. 16), the third only twice (x. 12, xi. 6). We have moreover in this section certain favourite expressions: "all peoples," "all people of the earth," "all nations round about," "all nations that come up against Jerusalem," "the inhabitants of Jerusalem," "the house of David," "family" for nation, "the families of the earth," "the family of Egypt," &c.

6. There are apparently few notes of time in this section. One is the allusion to the death of Josiah already.

[i] So Knobel supposes. Ewald also refers, xi. 1-3, to the deportation of Tiglath-Pileser, and thinks that x. 10 refers to some earlier deportation, the Assyrians having invaded this portion of the kingdom of Israel in the former half of Pekah's reign of twenty years. To this Bunsen (*Gott in der Gesch.* i. 456) objects that we have no record of any earlier removal of the inhabitants from the land than that of Tiglath-Pileser, which occurred at the close of Pekah's reign, and which in x. 10 is supposed to have taken place

[k] According to Knobel, ix. and x. were probably delivered in Jotham's reign, and xi. in that of Ahaz, who summoned Tiglath-Pileser to his aid. Maurer thinks that ix. and x. were written between the first (2 K. xv 29) and second (2 K. xvii. 4-6) Assyrian invasions, chap. x. during the seven years interregnum which followed the death of Pekah, and xi. in the reign of Hoshea.

in "the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon;" another to the earthquake in the days of Uzziah *king of Judah*. This addition to the name of the king shows, Knobel suggests, that he had been long dead; but the argument, if it is worth anything, would make even more for those who hold a post-exile date. It is certainly remarkable occurring thus in the body of the prophecy, and not in the inscription as in Isaiah i. 1.

In reply to all these arguments, it has been urged by Keil, Stähelin, and others, that the difference of style between the two principal divisions of the prophecy is not greater than may reasonably be accounted for by the change of subject. The language in which visions are narrated would, from the nature of the case, be quieter and less animated than that in which prophetic anticipations of future glory are described. They differ as the style of the narrator differs from that of the orator. Thus, for instance, how different is the style of Hosea, chaps. i.–iii., from the style of the same Prophet in chaps. iv.–xiv.; or again, that of Ezekiel vi. vii. from Ezekiel iv.

But besides this, even in what may be termed the more oratorical portions of the first eight chapters, the Prophet is to a great extent occupied with warnings and exhortations of a practical kind (see i. 4-6, vii. 4-14, viii. 9-23); whereas in the subsequent chapters he is rapt into a far distant and glorious future. In the one case, therefore, the language would naturally sink down to the level of prose; in the other, it would rise to an elevation worthy of its exalted subject.

In like manner the notes of time in the former part (i. 1, 7, vii. 1), and the constant reference to the Temple, may be explained on the ground that the Prophet here busies himself with the events of his own time, whereas afterwards his eye is fixed on a far distant future.

On the other hand, where predictions do occur in the first section, there is a general similarity between them and the predictions of the second. The scene, so to speak, is the same; the same visions float before the eyes of the seer. The times of the Messiah are the theme of the predictions in chaps. i.–iv., in ix., x., and in xii.–xiii. 6, whilst the events which are to prepare the way for that time, and especially the sifting of the nation, are dwelt upon in chap. v., in xi., and in xiii. 7–xiv. 2.

(3.) The same peculiar forms of expression occur in the two divisions of the prophecy. Thus, for instance, we find מֵעוֹבֵר וּמֵשִׁיב not only in vii. 14, but also in ix. 8; הֶעֱבִיר, in the sense of "to remove," in iii. 4, and in xiii. 2—elsewhere it occurs in this unusual sense only in later writings (2 K. xvi. 3; 2 Chr. xv. 8)—"the eye of God," as betokening the Divine Providence, in iii. 9, iv. 10, and in ix. 1, 8.

In both sections the return of the whole nation after the exile is the prevailing image of happiness, and in both it is similarly portrayed. As in ii. 10, the exiles are summoned to return to their native land, because now, according to the principles of righteous recompense, they shall rule over their enemies, so also a similar strain occurs in ix. 12, &c. Both in ii. 10 and in ix. 9 the renewed protection wherewith God will favour Zion is represented as an entrance into His holy dwelling; in both His people are called on to rejoice, and in both there is a remarkable agreement in the words. In ii. 14, רני ושמחי בת ציון כי הנני בא, and in ix. 9, גילי מאד בת ציון הריעי בת ירושלם הנה מלכך יבוא לך.

Again, similar forms of expression occur in ii. 9, 11, and xi. 11; the description of the increase in Jerusalem, xiv. 10, may be compared with ii. 4; and the prediction in viii. 20-23 with that in xiv. 16. The resemblance which has been found in some other passages is too slight to strengthen the argument; and the occurrence of Chaldaisms, such as צָבָא (ix. 8), רָאֵמָה (xiv. 10), בהל (which occurs besides only in Prov. xx. 21), and the phrase מְלֹא קֶשֶׁת (ix. 13), instead of דָּרַךְ קֶשֶׁת, really prove nothing as to the age of the later chapters of Zechariah. Indeed, generally, as regards these minute comparisons of different passages to prove an identity of authorship, Maurer's remark holds true: "Sed quae potest vis esse disjectorum quorundam locorum, ubi res judicanda est ex toto?"

Of far more weight, however, than the arguments already advanced is the fact that the writer of these last chapters (ix.–xiv.) shows an acquaintance with the later prophets of the time of the exile. That there are numerous allusions in it to earlier prophets, such as Joel, Amos, Micah, has been shown by Hitzig (*Comment.* p. 354, 2nd ed.), but there are also, it is alleged, allusions to Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the later Isaiah (chaps. xl.–lxvi.). If this can be established, it is evidence that this portion of the book, if not written by Zechariah himself, was at least written after the exile. We find, then, in Zech. ix. 2 an allusion to Ez. xxviii. 3; in ix. 3 to 1 K. x. 27; in ix. 5 to Zeph. ii. 4; in ix. 11 to Is. li. 14; in ix. 12 to Is. xlix. 9 and Is. lxi. 7; in x. 3 to Ez. xxxiv. 17. Zech. xi. is derived from Ez. xxxiv. (comp. esp. xi. 4 with xxxiv. 4), and Zech. xi. 3 from Jer. xii. 5. Zech. xii. 1 alludes to Is. li. 13; xiii. 8, 9, to Ez. v. 12; xiv. 8 to Ez. xlvii. 1-12; xiv. 10, 11, to Jer. xxxi. 38-40; xiv. 16-19 to Is. lxvi. 23 and lx. 12; xiv. 20, 21, to Ez. xliii. 12 and xliv. 9.

This manifest acquaintance on the part of the writer of Zech. ix.–xiv. with so many of the later prophets seemed so convincing to De Wette that, after having in the first three editions of his *Introduction* declared for two authors, he found himself compelled to change his mind, and to admit that the later chapters must belong to the age of Zechariah, and might have been written by Zechariah himself.

Bleek, on the other hand, has done his best to weaken the force of this argument, first by maintaining that in most instances the alleged agreement is only apparent, and next, that where there is a real agreement (as in Zech. ix. 12, xi. 3, xii. 1, xiv. 16), with the passages above cited, Zechariah may be the original from whom Isaiah and Jeremiah borrowed. It must be confessed, however, that it is more *probable* that one writer should have allusions to many others, than that many others should

[m] Maurer's reply to this, viz., that the like phrase, עָבְרוּ וְשָׁבוּ occurs in Exod. xxxii. 27, and עָבַר וְשָׁב in Ezek. xxxv. 7, it must be confessed is of little force, because those who argue for one author build not only on the fact that the same forms of expression are to be found in both sections of the Prophecy, but that the second section, like the first, evinces a familiarity with other writings, and especially with later prophets like Ezekiel. See below.

borrow from one; and this probability approaches certainty in proportion as we multiply the number of quotations or allusions. If there are passages in Zechariah which are manifestly similar to other passages in Zephaniah, in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Deutero-Isaiah, which is the more probable, that they all borrowed from him, or he from them? In ix. 12 especially, as Stähelin argues, the expression is decidedly one to be looked for after the exile rather than before it, and the passage rests upon Jer. xvi. 18, and has an almost verbal accordance with Is. lxi. 7.

Again, the same critics argue that the *historical references* in the later chapters are perfectly consistent with a post-exile date. This had been already maintained by Eichhorn, although he supposes these chapters to have been written by a *later* prophet than Zechariah. Stähelin puts the case as follows: Even under the Persian rule the political relations of the Jews continued very nearly the same as they were in earlier times. They still were placed between a huge Eastern power on the one side and Egypt on the other, the only difference now being that Egypt as well as Judaea was subject to the Persians. But Egypt was an unwilling vassal, and as in earlier times when threatened by Assyria she had sought for alliances among her neighbours or had endeavoured to turn them to account as a kind of outwork in her own defences, so now she would adopt the same policy in her attempts to cast off the Persian yoke. It would follow as a matter of course that Persia would be on the watch to check such efforts, and would wreak her vengeance on those among her own tributary or dependent provinces which should venture to form an alliance with Egypt. Such of these provinces as lay on the sea-coast must indeed suffer in any case, even if they remained true in their allegiance to the Persians. The armies which were destined for the invasion of Egypt would collect in Syria and Phoenicia, and would march by way of the coast; and, whether they came as friends or as foes, they would probably cause sufficient devastation to justify the prophecy in Zech. ix. 1, &c., delivered against Damascus, Phoenicia, and Philistia. Meanwhile the prophet seeks to calm the minds of his own people by assuring them of God's protection, and of the coming of the Messiah, who at the appointed time shall again unite the two kingdoms of Judah and Ephraim. It is observable moreover that the prophet, throughout his discourses, is anxious not only to tranquillise the minds of his countrymen, but to prevent their engaging in any insurrection against their Persian masters, or forming any alliance with their enemies. In this respect he follows the example of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and, like these two prophets, he foretells the return of Ephraim, the union of Ephraim and Judah, and the final overthrow both of Assyria (x. 11), that is, Persia,[a] and of Egypt, the two countries which had, more than all others, vexed and devastated Israel. That a large portion of the nation was still supposed to be in exile is clear from ix. 11, 12, and hence verse 10 can only be regarded as a reminiscence of Mic. v. 10; and even if x. 9 must be explained of the past (with De Wette, *Einl.* §250, 6, note a), still it appears from Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 2, §5) that the Persians carried away Jews into Egypt, and from Syncellus (p. 486, Niebuhr's ed.) that Ochus transplanted large numbers of Jews from Palestine to the east and north; the earlier custom of thus forcibly removing to a distance those conquered nations who from disaffection or a turbulent spirit were likely to give occasion for alarm, having not only continued among the Persians, but having become even more common than ever (Heeren, *Ideen*, i. 254, 2nd ed.). This well-known policy on the part of their conquerors would be a sufficient ground for the assurance which the prophet gives in x. 9. Even the threats uttered against the false prophets and the shepherds of the people are not inconsistent with the times after the exile. In Neh. v. and vi. we find the nobles and rulers of the people oppressing their brethren, and false prophets active in their opposition to Nehemiah. In like manner "the idols" (עֲצַבִּים) in xiii. 1-5 may be the same as the "Teraphim" of x. 2, where they are mentioned in connexion with "the diviners" (הַקּוֹסְמִים). Malachi (iii. 5) speaks of "sorcerers" (מְכַשְּׁפִים), and that such superstition long held its ground among the Jews is evident from Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2, §5. Nor does xiv. 21 of necessity imply either idol-worship or heathen pollution in the Temple. Chapter xi. was spoken by the prophet later than ix. and x. In verse 14 he declares the impossibility of any reunion between Judah and Ephraim, either because the northern territory had already been laid waste, or because the inhabitants of it had shown a disposition to league with Phoenicia in a vain effort to throw off the Persian yoke which would only involve them in certain destruction. This difficult passage Stähelin admits he cannot solve to his satisfaction, but contends that it may have been designed to teach the new colony that it was not a part of God's purpose to reunite the severed tribes; and in this he sees an argument for the post-exile date of the prophecy, inasmuch as the union of the ten tribes with the two was ever one of the brightest hopes of the prophets who lived before the Captivity.

Having thus shown that there is no reason why the section ix.–xi. should not belong to a time subsequent to the return from Babylon, Stähelin proceeds to argue that the prophecy directed against the nations (ix. 1-7) is really more applicable to the Persian era than to any other. It is only the coast-line which is here threatened; whereas the earlier prophets, whenever they threaten the maritime tribes, unite with them Moab and Ammon, or Edom. Moreover the nations here mentioned are not spoken of as enemies of Judah; for being Persian subjects they would not venture to attack the Jewish colony when under the special protection of that power. Of Ashdod it is said that a foreigner (מַמְזֵר, A. V. "bastard") shall dwell in it. This, too, might naturally have happened in the time of Zechariah. During the exile, Arabs had established themselves in Southern Palestine, and the prophet foresees that they would occupy Ashdod; and accordingly we learn from Neh. xiii. 24, that the dialect of Ashdod was unintelligible to the Jews, and in Neh. iv. 7, the people of Ashdod appear as a distinct tribe united with other Arabians against Judah. The king of Gaza (mentioned Zech. ix. 5) may have been a Persian vassal, as the kings of Tyre and Sidon were, according to Herodot. viii. 67. A king in Gaza would only be in conformity with the

[a] Although the Persians had succeeded to the Assyrians, the land might still be called by its ancient name of Assyria. See Ezr vi. 22 and Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 120.

Persian custom (see Herod. iii. 15), although this was no longer the case in the time of Alexander. The mention of the "sons of Javan" (ix. 13; A. V. "Greece") is suitable to the Persian period (which is also the view of Eichhorn), as it was then that the Jews were first brought into any close contact with the Greeks. It was in fact the fierce struggle between Greece and Persia which gave a peculiar meaning to his words when the prophet promised his own people victory over the Greeks, and so reversed the earlier prediction of Joel iv. 6, 7 (A. V. iii. 6, 7). If, however, we are to understand by Javan Arabia, as some maintain, this again equally suits the period supposed, and the prophecy will refer to the Arabians, of whom we have already spoken.

We come now to the section xii.–xiv. The main proposition here is, that however hard Judah and Jerusalem may be pressed by enemies (of Israel there is no further mention), still with God's help they shall be victorious; and the result shall be that Jehovah shall be more truly worshipped both by Jews and Gentiles. That this anticipation of the gathering of hostile armies against Jerusalem was not unnatural in the Persian times may be inferred from what has been said above. Persian hosts were often seen in Judaea. We find an instance of this in Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 7, §1), and Sidon was laid in ashes in consequence of an insurrection against Persia (Diod. xvi. 45). On the other hand, how could a prophet in the time immediately preceding the exile—the time to which, on account of xii. 12, most critics refer this section—have uttered predictions such as these? Since the time of Zephaniah all the prophets looked upon the fate of Jerusalem as sealed, whereas here, in direct contradiction to such views, the preservation of the city is announced even in the extremest calamities. Any analogy to the general strain of thought in this section is only to be found in Is. xxix.–xxxiii. Besides, no king is here mentioned, but only "the house of David," which, according to Jewish tradition (Herzfeld, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, p. 378, ff.), held a high position after the exile, and accordingly is mentioned (xii. 12, 13) in its different branches (comp. Movers, *Das Phönix. Alterth.* i. 531), together with the tribe of Levi; the prophet, like the writer of Ps. lxxxix., looking to it with a kind of yearning, which before the exile, whilst there was still a king, would have been inconceivable. Again, the manner in which Egypt is alluded to (xiv. 19) almost of necessity leads us to the Persian times; for then Egypt, in consequence of her perpetual efforts to throw off the Persian yoke, was naturally brought into hostility with the Jews, who were under the protection of Persia. Before the exile this was only the case during the interval between the death of Josiah and the battle of Carchemish.

It would seem then that there is nothing to compel us to place this section xii.–xiv. in the times before the exile; much, on the contrary, which can only be satisfactorily accounted for on the supposition that it was written during the period of the Persian dominion. Nor must it be forgotten that we have here that fuller development of the Messianic idea which at such a time might be expected, and one which in fact rests upon all the prophets who flourished before the exile.

Such are the grounds, critical and historical, on which Stähelin rests his defence of the later date of the second portion of the prophet Zechariah. We have given his arguments at length as the ablest and most complete, as well as the most recent, on his side of the controversy. Some of them, it must be admitted, are full of weight. And when critics like Eichhorn maintain that of the whole section ix. 1–x. 17, no explanation is possible, unless we derive it from the history of Alexander the Great; and when De Wette, after having adopted the theory of different authors, felt himself obliged to abandon it for reasons already mentioned, and to vindicate the integrity of the book, the grounds for a post-exile date must be very strong. Indeed, it is not easy to say which way the weight of evidence preponderates.

With regard to the quotation in St. Matthew there seems no good reason for setting aside the received reading. Jerome observes, "This passage is not found in Jeremiah. But in Zechariah, who is nearly the last of the twelve prophets, something like it occurs: and though there is no great difference in the meaning, yet both the order and the words are different. I read a short time since, in a Hebrew volume, which a Hebrew of the sect of the Nazarenes presented to me, an apocryphal book of Jeremiah, in which I found the passage word for word. But still I am rather inclined to think that the quotation is made from Zechariah, in the usual manner of the Evangelists and Apostles, who neglecting the order of the words, only give the general sense of what they cite from the Old Testament." [o]

Eusebius (*Evangel. Demonstr.* lib. x.) is of opinion that the passage thus quoted stood originally in the prophecy of Jeremiah, but was either erased subsequently by the malice of the Jews [a very improbable supposition it need hardly be said]; or that the name of Zechariah was substituted for that of Jeremiah through the carelessness of copyists. Augustine (*de Cons. Evangel.* iii. 30) testifies that the most ancient Greek copies had *Jeremiah*, and thinks that the mistake was originally St. Matthew's, but that this was divinely ordered, and that the Evangelist would not correct the error even when pointed out, in order that we might thus infer that all the Prophets spake by one Spirit, and that what was the work of one was the work of all (et singula esse omnium, et omnia singulorum.) [p] Some later writers accounted for the non-appearance of the passage in Jeremiah, by the confusion in the Greek MSS. of his prophecies—a confusion, however, it

[o] *Comment. in Evang. Matth.* cap. xxvii. 9, 10.

[p] This extraordinary method of solving the difficulty has been adopted by Dr. Wordsworth in his note on the passage in S. Matthew. He says: "On the whole there is reason to believe . . . that the prophecy which we read in Zech. (xi. 12, 13) had, *in the first instance*, been delivered by Jeremiah; and that by referring here not to Zech. where *we* read it, but to Jer. where we do *not* read it, the Holy Spirit teaches us *not* to regard the Prophets as the *Authors* of their Prophecies," &c. And again: "He intends to teach, that *all* prophecies proceed from *One* Spirit, and that those by whom they were uttered are not sources, but only *channels* of the same Divine truth." But if so, why, it may be asked, do the writers of the Sacred Books ever give their names at all? Why trouble ourselves with the question whether S. Luke wrote the Acts, or whether S. Paul wrote the Ep. to the Hebrews or the Pastoral Epistles? What becomes of the argument, usually deemed so strong, derived from the testimony of the *Four* Evangelists, if, after all, the four are but *one?*

It would not be too much to say that such a theory is as pernicious as that against which it is directed.

may be remarked, which is not confined to the Greek, but which is found no less in our present Hebrew text. Others again suggest that in the Greek autograph of Matthew, ΖΠΙΟΤ may have been written, and that copyists may have taken this for ΙΠΙΟΥ. But there is no evidence that abbreviations of this kind were in use so early. Epiphanius and some of the Greek Fathers seem to have read ἐν τοῖς προφήταις. And the most ancient copy of the Latin Version of the Gospels omits the name of Jeremiah, and has merely *dictum est per Prophetam*. It has been conjectured that this represents the original Greek reading τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ Προφήτου, and that some early annotator wrote Ἱερεμίου on the margin, whence it crept into the text. The choice lies between this, and a slip of memory on the part of the Evangelist if we admit the integrity of our present Book of Zechariah, unless, indeed, we suppose, with Eichhorn, who follows Jerome, that an Apocryphal Book of Jeremiah is quoted. Theophylact proposes to insert a καὶ, and would read διὰ Ἱερεμίου καὶ τοῦ Προφήτου—ἦγουν Ζαχαρίου. He argues that the quotation is really a fusion of two passages; that concerning the price paid occurring in Zechariah, chap. xi.; and that concerning the field in Jeremiah, chap. xix. But what N. T. writer would have used such a form of expression "by Jeremy *and* the Prophet"? Such a mode of quotation is without parallel. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the passage as given in S. Matthew does not represent exactly either the Hebrew text of Zechariah, or the version of the LXX. The other passages of the Prophet quoted in the N. T. are ix. 9 (in Matt. xxi. 5; Joh. xii. 15); xii. 10 (in Joh. xix. 37; Rev. i. 7); xiii. 7 (in Matt. xxvi. 31; Mark xiv. 27); but in no instance is the Prophet quoted by name.

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[J. J. S. P.]

2. (Ζαχαρίας: *Zacharias.*) Son of Meshelemiah, or Shelemiah, a Korhite, and keeper of the north gate of the tabernacle of the congregation (1 Chr. ix. 21) in the arrangement of the porters in the reign of David. In 1 Chr. xxvi. 2, 14, his name appears in the lengthened form זְכַרְיָהוּ, and in the last quoted verse he is described as "one counselling with understanding."

3. (Ζακχούρ; Alex. Ζαχχούρ.) One of the sons of Jehiel, the father or founder of Gibeon (1 Chr. ix. 37). In 1 Chr. viii. 31 he is called ZACHER.

4. (Ζαχαρίας.) A Levite in the Temple band as arranged by David, appointed to play "with psalteries on Alamoth" (1 Chr. xv. 20). He was of the second order of Levites (ver. 18), a porter or gatekeeper, and may possibly be the same as Zechariah the son of Meshelemiah. In 1 Chr. xv. 18 his name is written in the longer form, זְכַרְיָהוּ.

5. One of the princes of Judah in the reign of Jehoshaphat who were sent with priests and Levites to teach the people the law of Jehovah (2 Chr. xvii. 7).

6. (Ἀζαρίας.) Son of the high-priest Jehoiada, in the reign of Joash king of Judah (2 Chr. xxiv. 20), and therefore the king's cousin. After the death of Jehoiada Zechariah probably succeeded to his office, and in attempting to check the reaction in favour of idolatry which immediately followed, he fell a victim to a conspiracy formed against him by the king, and was stoned with stones in the court of the Temple. The memory of this unrighteous deed lasted long in Jewish tradition. In the Jerusalem Talmud (*Taanith*, fol. 69, quoted by Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, c. xxxvi.) there is a

legend told of eighty thousand young priests who were slain by Nebuzaradan for the blood of Zechariah, and the evident hold which the story had taken upon the minds of the people renders it probable that "Zacharias son of Barachias," who was slain between the Temple and the altar (Matt. xxiii. 35), is the same with Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, and that the name of Barachias as his father crept into the text from a marginal gloss, the writer confusing this Zechariah either with Zechariah the prophet, who was the son of Berechiah, or with another Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah (Is. viii. 2).

7. (Ζαχαρίας.) A Kohathite Levite in the reign of Josiah, who was one of the overseers of the workmen engaged in the restoration of the Temple (2 Chr. xxxiv. 12).

8. The leader of the sons of Pharosh who returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 3).

9. Son of Bebai, who came up from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 11).

10. (*Zacharia* in Neh.) One of the chiefs of the people whom Ezra summoned in council at the river Ahava, before the second caravan returned from Babylon (Ezr. viii. 16). He stood at Ezra's left hand when he expounded the Law to the people (Neh. viii. 4).

11. (Ζαχαρία: *Zacharias.*) One of the family of Elam, who had married a foreign wife after the Captivity (Ezr. x. 26).

12. Ancestor of Athaiah, or Uthai (Neh. xi. 4).

13. (Ζαχαρίας.) A Shilonite, descendant of Perez (Neh. xi. 5).

14. (Ζαχαρία.) A priest, son of Pashur (Neh. xi. 12).

15. (*Zacharia.*) The representative of the priestly family of Iddo in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua (Neh. xii. 16). Possibly the same as Zechariah the prophet the son of Iddo.

16. (*Zacharias, Zacharia.*) One of the priests, son of Jonathan, who blew with the trumpets at the dedication of the city wall by Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 35, 41).

17. (זְכַרְיָהוּ: Ζαχαρία). A chief of the Reubenites at the time of the captivity by Tiglath-Pileser (1 Chr. v. 7).

18. One of the priests who blew with the trumpets in the procession which accompanied the ark from the house of Obed-edom (1 Chr. xv. 24).

19. Son of Isshiah, or Jesiah, a Kohathite Levite descended from Uzziel (1 Chr. xxiv. 25).

20. (Ζαχαρίας.) Fourth son of Hosah of the children of Merari (1 Chr. xxvi. 11).

21. (Ζαδαίας; Alex. Ζαβδίας.) A Manassite, whose son Iddo was chief of his tribe in Gilead in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 21).

22. (Ζαχαρίας.) The father of Jahaziel, a Gershonite Levite in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xx 14).

23. One of the sons of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xxi. 2).

24. A prophet in the reign of Uzziah, who appears to have acted as the king's counsellor, but of whom nothing is known (2 Chr. xxvi. 5). The chronicler in describing him makes use of a most remarkable and unique expression, "Zechariah, who understood the seeing of God," or, as our A. V. has it, "who had understanding in the visions of God" (comp. Dan. i. 17). As no such term is ever employed elsewhere in the description of any prophet, it has been questioned whether the reading of the received text is the true one. The LXX., Targum, Syriac, Arabic, Rashi, and Kimchi, with many of Kennicott's MSS., read בִּיִרְאַת, "in the fear of," for בְּרָאוֹת, and their reading is most probably the correct one.

25. The father of Abijah, or Abi, Hezekiah's mother (2 Chr. xxix. 1); called also ZACHARIAH in the A. V.

26. One of the family of Asaph the minstrel, who in the reign of Hezekiah took part with other Levites in the purification of the Temple (2 Chr. xxix. 13).

27. One of the rulers of the Temple in the reign of Josiah (2 Chr. xxxv. 8). He was probably, as Bertheau conjectures, "the second priest" (comp 2 K. xxv. 18).

28. The son of Jeberechiah, who was taken by the prophet Isaiah as one of the "faithful witnesses to record," when he wrote concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz (Is. viii. 2). He was not the same as Zechariah the prophet, who lived in the time of Uzziah and died before that king, but he may have been the Levite of that name, who in the reign of Hezekiah assisted in the purification of the Temple (2 Chr. xxix. 13). As Zechariah the prophet is called the son of Berechiah, with which Jeberechiah is all but identical, Bertholdt (*Einl.* iv. 1722, 1727) conjectured that some of the prophecies attributed to him, at any rate chaps. ix.–xi., were really the production of Zechariah, the contemporary of Isaiah, and were appended to the volume of the later prophet of the same name (Gesen. *Der Proph. Jesaia*, i. 327). Another conjecture is that Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah is the same as Zechariah the father of Abijah, the queen of Ahaz (Poli *Synopsis*, in loc.): the witnesses summoned by Isaiah being thus men of the highest ecclesiastical and civil rank. [W. A. W.]

ZEDAD[1] (צְדָד: Σαραδάκ, Ημασελδαμ; Alex. Σαδαδακ, Ελδαμ: *Sedada, Sadada*). One of the landmarks on the north border of the land of Israel, as promised by Moses (Num. xxxiv. 8) and as restored by Ezekiel (xlvii. 15), who probably passed through it on his road to Assyria as a captive. In the former case it occurs between "the entrance of Hamath" and Ziphron, and in the latter between the "road to Hethlon" and Hamath. A place named *Sûdûd* exists to the east of the northern extremity of the chain of Antilibanus, about 50 miles E.N.E. of *Baalbec*, and 35 S.S.E. of *Hums*. It is possible that this may ultimately turn out to be identical with Zedad; but at present the passages in which the latter is mentioned are so imperfectly understood, and this part of the country has been so little explored with the view of arriving at topographical conclusions, that nothing can be done beyond directing attention to the coincidence in the names (see Porter, *Five Years*, &c., ii. 354-6). [G.]

ZEDECHI'AS (Σεδεκίας: *Sedecias*). ZEDEKIAH king of Judah (1 Esd. i. 46).

ZEDEKI'AH. 1. (צִדְקִיָּהוּ, Tsidkîyyahu, and thrice[a] צִדְקִיָּה, Tsidkîyyah: [b]Σεδεκία, Σεδεκίας:

[1] Jer. xxvii. 12, xxviii. 1, xxix. 3. In this form it is identical with the name which appears in the A. V. (in connexion with a different person) as ZIDKIJAH. A similar inconsistency of our translators is shewn in the cases of Hezekiah, Hizkijah, and Hizkiah; Ezekiel and Jehezekel.

[b] The peculiarities of the name, as it appears in the Vatican LXX. (Mai), may be noted:— (α) It

Sedecias). The last king of Judah and Jerusalem. He was the son of Josiah by his wife Hamutal, and therefore own brother to Jehoahaz (2 K. xxiv. 18; comp. xxiii. 31). His original name had been MATTANIAH, which was changed to Zedekiah by Nebuchadnezzar, when he carried off his nephew Jehoiachim to Babylon, and left him on the throne of Jerusalem. Zedekiah was but twenty-one years old when he was thus placed in charge of an impoverished kingdom, and a city which, though still strong in its natural and artificial impregnability, was bereft of well-nigh all its defenders. But Jerusalem might have remained the head of the Babylonian province of Judah, and the Temple of Jehovah continued standing, had Zedekiah possessed wisdom and firmness enough to remain true to his allegiance to Babylon. This, however, he could not do (Jer. xxxviii. 5). His history is contained in the short sketch of the events of his reign given in 2 K. xxiv. 17–xxv. 7, and, with some trifling variations, in Jer. xxxix. 1-7, lii. 1-11, together with the still shorter summary in 2 Chr. xxxvi. 10, &c.; and also in Jer. xxi. xxiv. xxvii. xxviii. xxix. xxxii. xxxiii. xxxiv. xxxvii. xxxviii. (being the chapters containing the prophecies delivered by this prophet during this reign, and his relation of various events more or less affecting Zedekiah), and Ez. xvi. 11-21. To these it is indispensable to add the narrative of Josephus (*Ant.* x. 7, 1-8, §2), which is partly constructed by comparison of the documents enumerated above, but also contains information derived from other and independent sources. From these it is evident that Zedekiah was a man not so much bad at heart as weak in will. He was one of those unfortunate characters, frequent in history, like our own Charles I. and Louis XVI. of France, who find themselves at the head of affairs during a great crisis, without having the strength of character to enable them to do what they know to be right, and whose infirmity becomes moral guilt. The princes of his court, as he himself pathetically admits in his interview with Jeremiah, described in chap. xxxviii., had him completely under their influence. "Against them," he complains, "it is not the king that can do anything." He was thus driven to disregard the counsels of the prophet, which, as the event proved, were perfectly sound; and he who might have kept the fragments of the kingdom of Judah together, and maintained for some generations longer the worship of Jehovah, brought its final ruin on his country, destruction on the Temple, death to his family, and cruel torment and miserable captivity on himself.

It is evident from Jer. xxvii.[c] and xxviii. (apparently the earliest prophecies delivered during this reign), that the earlier portion of Zedekiah's reign was marked by an agitation throughout the whole of Syria against the Babylonian yoke. Jerusalem seems to have taken the lead, since in the fourth year of Zedekiah's reign we find ambassadors from all the neighbouring kingdoms—Tyre, Sidon, Edom, and Moab—at his court, to consult as to the steps to be taken. This happened either during the king's absence or immediately after his return from Babylon, whither he went on some errand, the nature of which is not named, but which may have been an attempt to blind the eyes of Nebuchadnezzar to his contemplated revolt (Jer. li. 59). The project was attacked by Jeremiah with the strongest statement of the folly of such course—a statement corroborated by the very material fact that a man of Jerusalem named Hananiah, who had opposed him with a declaration in the name of Jehovah, that the spoils of the Temple should be restored within two years, had died, in accordance with Jeremiah's prediction, within two months of its delivery. This, and perhaps also the impossibility of any real alliance between Judah and the surrounding nations, seems to have put a stop, for the time, to the anti-Babylonian movement. On a man of Zedekiah's temperament the sudden death of Hananiah must have produced a strong impression; and we may without improbability accept this as the time at which he procured to be made in silver a set of the vessels of the Temple, to replace the golden plate carried off with his predecessor by Nebuchadnezzar (Bar. i. 8).

The first act of overt rebellion of which any record survives was the formation of an alliance with Egypt, of itself equivalent to a declaration of enmity with Babylon. In fact, according to the statement of Chronicles and Ezekiel (xvii. 13), with the expansion of Josephus, it was in direct contravention of the oath of allegiance in the name of Elohim, by which Zedekiah was bound by Nebuchadnezzar, namely, that he would keep the kingdom for Nebuchadnezzar, make no innovation, and enter into no league with Egypt (Ez. xvii. 13; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 13; Jos. *Ant.* x. 7, §1). As a natural consequence it brought on Jerusalem an immediate invasion of the Chaldeans. The mention of this event in the Bible, though sure, is extremely slight, and occurs only in Jer. xxxvii. 5-11, xxxiv. 21, and Ez. xvii. 15-20; but Josephus (x. 7, §3) relates it more fully, and gives the date of its occurrence, namely the eighth year of Zedekiah. Probably also the denunciations of an Egyptian alliance, contained in Jer. ii. 18, 36, have reference to the same time. It appears that Nebuchadnezzar, being made aware of Zedekiah's defection, either by the non-payment of the tribute or by other means, at once sent an army to ravage Judaea. This was done, and the whole country reduced, except Jerusalem and two strong places in the western plain, Lachish and Azekah, which still held out (Jer. xxxiv. 7). In the panic which followed the appearance of the Chaldeans, Zedekiah succeeded in inducing the princes and other inhabitants of Jerusalem to abolish the odious custom which prevailed of enslaving their countrymen. A solemn rite (ver. 18), recalling in its form that in which the original covenant of the nation had been made with Abram (Gen. xv. 9, &c.), was performed in the Temple (ver. 15), and a crowd of Israelites of both sexes found themselves released from slavery.

In the mean time Pharaoh had moved to the

(*a*) It is Σεδεκία in 2 K. xxiv. 17; 1 Chr. iii. 15; Jer. xxxiv. 4 only.

(*b*) The genitive is Σεδεκίου in 2 K. xxv. 2, Jer. li. 59, lii. 1, 10, 11; but Σεδεκία in Jer. i. 3, xxviii. 1, xxxix. 1; and Σεδεκεία in xxxix. 2 only.

(*c*) The name is occasionally omitted where it is present in the Hebrew text, *e. g.* Jer. xxxviii., lii. 5, 8; but on the other hand is inserted in xlvi. 1, where also Elam is put for "gentiles."

N.B. The references above given to Jeremiah are according to the Hebrew capitulation.

[c] There can be no doubt that ver. 1 of xxvii., as it at present stands, contains an error, and that for Jehoiakim we should read Zedekiah. The mention of Zedekiah in vers. 3 and 12, and in xxviii. 1, as well as of the captivity of Jeconiah in ver. 20, no less than the whole argument of the latter part of the chapter, renders this evident.

assistance of his ally. On hearing of his approach the Chaldees at once raised the siege and advanced to meet him. The nobles seized the moment of respite to reassert their power over the king, and their defiance of Jehovah, by re-enslaving those whom they had so recently manumitted; and the prophet thereupon utters a doom on these miscreants which, in the fierceness of its tone and in some of its expressions, recalls those of Elijah on Ahab (ver. 20). This encounter was quickly followed by Jeremiah's capture and imprisonment, which but for the interference of the king (xxxvii. 17, 21) would have rapidly put an end to his life (ver. 20). How long the Babylonians were absent from Jerusalem we are not told. It must have required at least several months to move a large army and baggage through the difficult and tortuous country which separates Jerusalem from the Philistine Plain, and to effect the complete repulse of the Egyptian army from Syria, which Josephus affirms was effected. All we certainly know is that on the tenth day of the tenth month of Zedekiah's ninth year the Chaldeans were again before the walls (Jer. lii. 4). From this time forward the siege progressed slowly but surely to its consummation, with the accompaniment of both famine and pestilence (Joseph.). Zedekiah again interfered to preserve the life of Jeremiah from the vengeance of the princes (xxxviii. 7-13), and then occurred the interview between the king and the prophet of which mention has already been made, and which affords so good a clue to the condition of abject dependence into which a long course of opposition had brought the weak-minded monarch. It would seem from this conversation that a considerable desertion had already taken place to the besiegers, proving that the prophet's view of the condition of things was shared by many of his countrymen. But the unhappy Zedekiah throws away the chance of preservation for himself and the city which the prophet set before him, in his fear that he would be mocked by those very Jews who had already taken the step Jeremiah was urging him to take (xxxviii. 19). At the same time his fear of the princes who remained in the city is not diminished, and he even condescends to impose on the prophet a subterfuge, with the view of concealing the real purport of his conversation from these tyrants of his spirit (vers. 24-27).

But while the king was hesitating the end was rapidly coming nearer. The city was indeed reduced to the last extremity. The fire of the besiegers had throughout been very destructive (Joseph.), but it was now aided by a severe famine. The bread had for long been consumed (Jer. xxxviii. 9), and all the terrible expedients had been tried to which the wretched inhabitants of a besieged town are forced to resort in such cases. Mothers had boiled and eaten the flesh of their own infants (Bar. ii. 3; Lam. iv. 10). Persons of the greatest wealth and station were to be seen searching the dungheaps for a morsel of food. The effeminate nobles, whose fair complexions had been their pride, wandered in the open streets like blackened but living skeletons (Lam. iv. 5, 8). Still the king was seen in public, sitting in the gate where justice was administered, that his people might approach him, though indeed he had no help to give them (xxxviii. 7).

At last, after sixteen dreadful months had dragged on, the catastrophe arrived. It was on the ninth day of the fourth month, about the middle of July, at midnight, as Josephus with careful minuteness informs us, that the breach in those stout and venerable walls was effected. The moon, nine days old, had gone down below the hills which form the western edge of the basin of Jerusalem, or was, at any rate, too low to illuminate the utter darkness which reigns in the narrow lanes of an eastern town, where the inhabitants retire early to rest, and where there are but few windows to emit light from within the houses. The wretched remnants of the army, starved and exhausted, had left the walls, and there was nothing to oppose the entrance of the Chaldeans. Passing in through the breach, they made their way, as their custom was, to the centre of the city, and for the first time the Temple was entered by a hostile force, and all the princes of the court of the great king took their seats in state in the middle gate of the hitherto virgin house of Jehovah. The alarm quickly spread through the sleeping city, and Zedekiah, collecting his wives and children (Joseph.) and surrounding himself with the few soldiers who had survived the accidents of the siege, made his way out of the city at the opposite end to that at which the Assyrians had entered, by a street which, like the *Bein es-Surein* at Damascus, ran between two walls (probably those on the east and west sides of the so-called Tyropoeon valley), and issued at a gate above the royal gardens and the Fountain of Siloam. Thence he took the road towards the Jordan, perhaps hoping to find refuge, as David had, at some fortified place in the mountains on its eastern side. On the road they were met and recognized by some of the Jews who had formerly deserted to the Chaldeans. By them the intelligence was communicated, with the eager treachery of deserters, to the generals in the city (Joseph.), and, as soon as the dawn of day permitted it, swift pursuit was made. The king's party must have had some hours' start, and ought to have had no difficulty in reaching the Jordan; but, either from their being on foot, weak and infirm, while the pursuers were mounted, or perhaps owing to the incumbrance of the women and baggage, they were overtaken near Jericho, when just within sight of the river. A few of the people only remained round the person of the king. The rest fled in all directions, so that he was easily taken.

Nebuchadnezzar was then at Riblah, at the upper end of the valley of Lebanon, some 35 miles beyond Baalbec, and therefore about ten days' journey from Jerusalem. Thither Zedekiah and his sons were despatched; his daughters were kept at Jerusalem, and shortly after fell into the hands of the notorious Ishmael at Mizpah. When he was brought before Nebuchadnezzar, the great king reproached him in the severest terms, first for breaking his oath of allegiance, and next for ingratitude (Joseph.). He then, with a refinement of cruelty characteristic of those cruel times, ordered his sons to be killed before him, and lastly his own eyes to be thrust out. He was then loaded with brazen fetters, and at a later period taken to Babylon, where he died. We are not told whether he was allowed to communicate with his brother Jehoiachin, who at that time was also in captivity there; nor do we know the time of his death; but from the omission of his name in the statement of Jehoiakim's release by Evil-Merodach, 26 years after the fall of Jerusalem, it is natural to infer that by that time Zedekiah's sufferings had ended.

The fact of his interview with Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, and his being carried blind to Babylon, reconciles two predictions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, which

at the time of their delivery must have appeared conflicting, and which Josephus indeed particularly states Zedekiah alleged as his reason for not giving more heed to Jeremiah. The former of these (Jer. xxxii. 4) states that Zedekiah shall "speak with the king of Babylon mouth to mouth, and his eyes shall behold his eyes;" the latter (Ez. xii. 13), that "he shall be brought to Babylon, yet shall he not see it, though he die there." The whole of this prediction of Ezekiel, whose prophecies appear to have been delivered at Babylon (Ez. i. 1-3; xl. 1), is truly remarkable as describing almost exactly the circumstances of Zedekiah's flight.

2. (צִדְקִיָּה and [a] צִדְקִיָּהוּ: Σεδεκίας: *Sedecias*.) Son of Chenaanah, a prophet at the court of Ahab, head, or, if not head, virtual leader of the college. He appears but once, viz., as spokesman when the prophets are consulted by Ahab on the result of his proposed expedition to Ramoth-Gilead (1 K. xxii.; 2 Chr. xviii.).

Zedekiah had prepared himself for the interview with a pair of iron horns after the symbolic custom of the prophets (comp. Jer. xiii. xix.), the horns of the *reem*, or buffalo, which was the recognised emblem of the tribe of Ephraim (Deut. xxxiii. 17). With these, in the interval of Micaiah's arrival, he illustrated the manner in which Ahab should drive the Syrians before him. When Micaiah appeared and had delivered his prophecy, Zedekiah sprang forward and struck him a blow on the face, accompanying it by a taunting sneer. For this he is threatened by Micaiah in terms which are hardly intelligible to us, but which evidently allude to some personal danger to Zedekiah.

The narrative of the Bible does not imply that the blow struck by Zedekiah was prompted by more than sudden anger, or a wish to insult and humiliate the prophet of Jehovah. But Josephus takes a very different view, which he developes at some length (*Ant.* viii. 15, §3). He relates that after Micaiah had spoken, Zedekiah again came forward, and denounced him as false on the ground that his prophecy contradicted the prediction of Elijah, that Ahab's blood should be licked up by dogs in the field of Naboth of Jezreel; and as a further proof that he was an impostor, he struck him, daring him to do what Iddo, in somewhat similar circumstances, had done to Jeroboam—viz., wither his hand.

This addition is remarkable, but it is related by Josephus with great circumstantiality, and was doubtless drawn by him from that source, unhappily now lost, from which he has added so many admirable touches to the outlines of the sacred narrative.

As to the question of what Zedekiah and his followers were, whether prophets of Jehovah or of some false deity, it seems hardly possible to entertain any doubt. True, they use the name of Jehovah, but that was a habit of false prophets (Jer. xxviii. 2, comp. xxix. 21, 31), and there is a vast difference between the casual manner in which they mention the awful Name, and the full, and as it were, formal style in which Micaiah proclaims and reiterates it. Seeing also that Ahab and his queen were professedly worshippers of Baal and Ashtaroth, and that a few years only before this event they had an establishment consisting of two bodies—one of 450, the other of 400—prophets of this false worship, it is difficult to suppose that there could have been also 400 prophets of Jehovah at his court. But the inquiry of the king of Judah seems to decide the point. After hearing the prediction of Zedekiah and his fellows, he asks at once for a prophet of Jehovah: "Is there not here besides (עוֹד) a prophet of *Jehovah* that we may enquire of *him*?" The natural inference seems to be that the others were *not* prophets of Jehovah, but were the 400 prophets of Ashtaroth (A. V. "the groves") who escaped the sword of Elijah (comp. 1 K. xviii. 19 with 22, 40). They had spoken in His name, but there was something about them—some trait of manner, costume, or gesture—which aroused the suspicions of Jehoshaphat, and, to the practised eye of one who lived at the centre of Jehovah-worship and was well versed in the marks of the genuine prophet, proclaimed them counterfeits. With these few words Zedekiah may be left to the oblivion in which, except on this one occasion, he remains. [G.]

3. (צִדְקִיָּהוּ.) The son of Maaseiah, a false prophet in Babylon among the captives who were taken with Jeconiah (Jer. xxix. 21, 22). He was denounced in the letter of Jeremiah for having, with Ahab the son of Kolaiah, buoyed up the people with false hopes, and for profane and flagitious conduct. Their names were to become a byword, and their terrible fate a warning. Of this fate we have no direct intimation, or of the manner in which they incurred it: the prophet simply pronounces that they should fall into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar and be burnt to death. In the Targum of R. Joseph on 2 Chr. xxviii. 3 the story is told that Joshua the son of Jozadak the high-priest was cast into the furnace of fire with Ahab and Zedekiah, but that, while they were consumed, he was saved for his righteousness' sake.

4. The son of Hananiah, one of the princes of Judah who were assembled in the scribes' chamber of the king's palace, when Micaiah announced that Baruch had read the words of Jeremiah in the ears of the people from the chamber of Gemariah the scribe (Jer. xxxvi. 12). [W. A. W.]

ZEEB (זְאֵב: ὁ Ζήβ: *Zeb*). One of the two "princes" (שָׂרֵי) of Midian in the great invasion of Israel—inferior to the "kings" Zebah and Zalmunna. He is always named with OREB (Judg. vii. 25, viii. 3; Ps. lxxxiii. 11). The name signifies in Hebrew "wolf," just as Oreb does "crow," and the two are appropriate enough to the customs of predatory warriors, who delight in conferring such names on their chiefs.

Zeeb and Oreb were not slain at the first rout of the Arabs below the spring of Harod, but at a later stage of the struggle, probably in crossing the Jordan at a ford further down the river, near the passes which descend from Mount Ephraim. An enormous mass of their followers perished with them. [OREB.] Zeeb, the wolf, was brought to bay in a winepress which in later times bore his name—the "winepress of Zeeb" (יְקֶב זְאֵב: Ἰακεφζήφ; Alex. Ιακεφζηβ: *Torcular Zeb*). [G.]

ZE'LAH (צֵלָע and [b] צֶלַע, *i. e.* Tsela: in Josh. Vat. omits; Alex. Ζηλα[λεφ; in Sam. ἐν τῇ πλευρᾷ in both: *Sela*; *in latere*). One of the cities in the allotment of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28).

[a] Once only, viz. 1 K. xxii. 11.

[b] The meaning is slightly altered by the change in the vowel-points. In the former case it signifies an "addition" (*abhano*), in the latter a "rib" (Fürst, *Hwb.* ii. 275 *a*). Compare the equivalents of the LXX. and Vulg. in Samuel as given above.

its place in the list is between Taralah and na-Eleph. None of these places have, however, been yet discovered. The interest of Zelah resides in the fact that it contained the family tomb of Kish the father of Saul (2 Sam. xxi. 14), in which the bones of Saul and Jonathan, and also apparently of the two sons and five grandsons of Saul, sacrificed to Jehovah on the hill of Gibeah, at last found their resting-place (comp. ver. 13). As containing their sepulchre, Zelah was in all probability the native place[c] of the family of Kish, and therefore his home, and the home of Saul before his selection as king had brought him into prominence. This appears to have been generally overlooked, but it is important, because it gives a different starting-point to that usually assumed for the journey of Saul in quest of his father's asses, as well as a different goal for his return after the anointing; and although the position of Zelah is not and may never be known, still it is one step nearer the solution of the complicated difficulties of that route to know that Gibeah—Saul's royal residence after he became king—was not necessarily the point either of his departure or his return.

The absence of any connexion between the names of Zelah and Zelzah (too frequently assumed) is noticed under the latter head. [G.]

ZEL'EK (צֶלֶק: Ἐλιέ, Σελή; Alex. Σβλεγί, Σελλήκ: *Zelec*). An Ammonite, one of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 37; 1 Chr. xi. 39).

ZELOPH'EHAD (צְלָפְחָד: Σαλπαάδ: *Salphaad*). Son of Hepher, son of Gilead, son of Machir, son of Manasseh (Josh. xvii. 3). He was apparently the second son of his father Hepher (1 Chr. vii. 15), though Simonis and others, following the interpretation of the Rabbis, and under the impression that the etymology of his name indicates a first-born, explains the term הַשֵּׁנִי as meaning that his lot came up second. Zelophehad came out of Egypt with Moses; and all that we know of him is that he took no part in Korah's rebellion, but that he died in the wilderness, as did the whole of that generation (Num. xiv. 35, xxvii. 3). On his death without male heirs, his five daughters, just after the second numbering in the wilderness, came before Moses and Eleazar to claim the inheritance of their father in the tribe of Manasseh. The claim was admitted by Divine direction, and a law was promulgated, to be of general application, that if a man died without sons his inheritance should pass to his daughters (Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1-11), which led to a further enactment (Num. xxxvi.), that such heiresses should not marry out of their own tribe—a regulation which the five daughters of Zelophehad complied with, being all married to sons of Manasseh, so that Zelophehad's inheritance continued in the tribe of Manasseh. The law of succession, as exemplified in the case of Zelophehad, is treated at length by Selden (*De Success.* capp. xxii. xxiii.).

The interest of the case, in a legal point of view, has led to the careful preservation of Zelophehad's genealogy. Beginning with Joseph, it will be seen that the daughters of Zelophehad are the seventh generation. So are Salmon, Bezaleel, and Zophai (apparently the first settler of his family), from their patriarchal ancestors; while Caleb, Achan, and Phinehas are the sixth; Joshua seems to have been the eighth. [SHUTHELAH.] The average, therefore, seems to be between 6 and 7 generations, which, at 40 years to a generation (as suited to the length of life at that time) gives between 240 and 280 years, which agrees very well with the reckoning of 215 years for the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt + 40 years in the wilderness = 255 (Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, §5; Selden, *De Success.* xxii. xxiii.). [A. C. H.]

ZELOTES (Ζηλωτής: *Zelotes*). The epithet given to the Apostle Simon to distinguish him from Simon Peter (Luke vi. 15). In Matt. x. 4, he is called "Simon the Canaanite," the last word being a corruption of the Aramaic term, of which "Zelotes" is the Greek equivalent. [CANAANITE; SIMON 5.]

ZEL'ZAH (צֶלְצַח, *i.e.* Tseltsach: ἀλλομένου[d] μεγάλα, in both MSS.: *in meridie*). A place named once only (1 Sam. x. 2), as on the boundary of Benjamin, close to (עִם) Rachel's sepulchre. It was the first point in the homeward journey of Saul after his anointing by Samuel. Rachel's sepulchre is still shown a short distance to the north of Bethlehem, but no acceptable identification of Zelzach has been proposed. It is usually considered as identical with Zelah, the home of Kish and Saul, and that again with *Beit-jala*. But this is not tenable; at any rate there is nothing to support it. The names Zelah and Zelzach are not only not identical, but they have hardly anything in common, still less have צלצח and جالا; nor is *Beit-jala* close enough to the *Kubbet Rahil* to answer to the expression of Samuel. [G.]

ZEMARA'IM (צְמָרַיִם: Σάρα; Alex. Σιμριμ *Semaraim*). One of the towns of the allotment of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 22). It is named between Beth ha-Arabah and Bethel, and therefore on the assumption that Arabah in the former name denotes as usual the Jordan Valley, we should expect to find Zemaraim either in the valley or in some position on its western edge, between it and Bethel. In the former case a trace of the name may remain in *Chŭrbet el-Szómra*, which is marked in Seetzen's map (*Reisen*, vol. iv. map 2) as about 4 miles north of Jericho, and appears as *es-Sŭmrah*[e] in those of Robinson and Van de Velde.[f] (See also Rob. *B. R.* i. 569.) In the latter case Zemaraim may be connected, or identical, with MOUNT ZEMARAIM, which must have been in the highland district.

In either event Zemaraim may have derived its name from the ancient tribe of the Zemarim or Zemarites, who were related to the Hittites and Amorites; who, like them, are represented in the Biblical account as descendants of Canaan, but, from some cause or other unexplained, have left

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[c] In like manner the sepulchre of the family of Jesse was at Bethlehem (2 Sam. ii. 32).

[d] Apparently reading צלצל. The Talmud has numerous explanations, the favourite one being that Zelzah was Jerusalem—"the shadow (צל) of God." Something of this kind is at the root of the *meridie* of the Vulg.

[e] The name *Sumrah* occurs more than once elsewhere in the Jordan valley. It is found close to the "Round fountain" in the Plain of Gennesareth; also at the S.E. end of the Lake of Tiberias.

[f] In the 2nd ed. of Robinson (i. 569) the name is given as *es Sămra*; but this is probably a misprint. See the Arabic Index to ed. i., the text, ii. 305, and the maps both editions.

but very scanty traces of their existence. The lists of the towns of Benjamin are remarkable for the number of tribes which they commemorate. The Avites, the Ammonites, the Ophnites, the Jebusites, are all mentioned in the catalogue of Josh. xviii. 22-28, and it is at least possible that the Zemarites may add another to the list. [G.]

ZEMARA'IM, MOUNT (הַר צְמָרַיִם: τὸ ὄρος Σομόρων: *mons Someron*). An eminence mentioned in 2 Chr. xiii. 4 only. It was "in Mount Ephraim," that is to say within the general district of the highlands of that great tribe. It appears to have been close to the scene of the engagement mentioned in the narrative, which again may be inferred to have been south of Bethel and Ephraim (ver. 19). It may be said in passing, that a position so far south is no contradiction to its being in Mount Ephraim. It has been already shown under RAMAH [998 *b*] that the name of Mount Ephraim probably extended as far as *er-Ram*, 4 miles south of *Beitîn*, and 8 of *Taiyibeh*, the possible representative of Ephraim. Whether Mount Zemaraim is identical with, or related to, the place of the same name mentioned in the preceding article, cannot be ascertained. If they prove to be distinct places they will furnish a double testimony to the presence of the ancient tribe of Zemarites in this part of the country. No name answering to Zemaraim has been yet discovered in the maps or information of travellers on the highland.

It will be observed that in the LXX. and Vulgate, this name is rendered by the same word which in the former represents Samaria. But this, though repeated (with a difference) in the case of Zemarite, can hardly be more than an accidental error, since the names have little or no resemblance in Hebrew. In the present case Samaria is besides inadmissible on topographical grounds. [G.]

ZEM'ARITE, THE (הַצְּמָרִי: ὁ Σαμαραῖος: *Samaraeus*). One of the Hamite tribes who in the genealogical table of Gen. x. (ver. 18), and 1 Chr. i. (ver. 16), are represented as "sons of Canaan." It is named between the Arvadite, or people of Ruad, and the Hamathite, or people of Hamah. Nothing is certainly known of this ancient tribe. The old interpreters (Jerusalem Targum, Arabic Version, &c.) place them at Emessa, the modern *Hums*. Michaelis (*Spicilegium*, ii. 51), revolting at the want of similarity between the two names (which is perhaps the strongest argument in favour of the old identification), proposes to locate them at *Sumra* (the Simyra of the classical geographers), which name is mentioned by Shaw as attached to a site of ruins near *Arka*, on the west coast of Syria, 10 or 11 miles above Tripoli.

On the new French map of the Lebanon (*Carte du Liban*, &c., 1862) it appears as *Kobbet oum Shoumra*, and lies between *Arka* and the Mediterranean, 2 kilomètres from the latter, and 5½ from the former. Beyond, however, the resemblance in the names, and the proximity of *Ruad* and *Arka*, the probable seats of the Arvadites and Arkites, and the consequent inference that the original seat of the Zemarites must have been somewhere in this direction, there is nothing to prove that *Sumra* or *Shoumra* have any connexion with the Tsemarites of the ancient records.

Traces of their having wandered to the south are possibly afforded by the name Zemaraim, formerly attached to two places in the topographical lists of Central Palestine—a district which appears to have been very attractive to the aboriginal wandering tribes from every quarter. [ZEMARAIM; see also AVIM, OPHNI, &c.]

The LXX. and Vulgate would connect the Zemarites with Samaria. In this they have been followed by some commentators. But the idea is a delusion, grounded on the inability of the Greek alphabet to express the Hebrew letters of both names. [G.]

ZEM'IRA (צְמִירָה: Ζεμιρά; Alex. Ζαμιρίας: *Zamira*). One of the sons of Becher the son of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 8).

ZENAN' (צְנָן: Σεννά; Alex. Σενναμ: *Sanan*). One of the towns in the allotment of Judah, situated in the district of the Shefêlah (Josh. xv. 37). It occurs in the second group of the enumeration, which contains amongst others Migdal-gad and Lachish. It is probably identical with ZAANAN, a place mentioned by the prophet Micah in the same connexion.

Schwarz (103) proposes to identify it with "the village Zan-abra, situated 2½ English miles southeast of Mareshah." By this he doubtless intends the place which in the lists of Robinson (*B. R.* 1st ed. vol. iii. App. 117) is called *es-Senâbirah*, السنابرة, and in Tobler's *Dritte Wanderung* (149), *es-Sennâbereh*. The latter traveller in his map places it about 2½ miles due east of *Marash* (*Maresha*). But this identification is more than doubtful. [G.]

ZE'NAS (Ζηνᾶς, a contraction from Ζηνόδωρος, as Ἀρτεμᾶς from Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Νυμφᾶς from Νυμφόδωρος, and, probably, Ἑρμᾶς from Ἑρμόδωρος), a believer, and, as may be inferred from the context, a preacher of the Gospel, who is mentioned in Tit. iii. 13 in connexion with Apollos, and, together with him, is there commended by St. Paul to the care and hospitality of Titus and the Cretan brethren. He is further described as "the lawyer" (τὸν νομικόν). It is impossible to determine with certainty whether we are to infer from this designation that Zenas was a Roman jurisconsult or a Jewish doctor. Grotius accepts the former alternative, and thinks that he was a Greek who had studied Roman law. The N. T. usage of *νομικός* leads rather to the other inference. Tradition has been somewhat busy with the name of Zenas. The *Synopsis de Vita et Morte Prophetarum Apostolorum et Discipulorum Domini*, ascribed to Dorotheus of Tyre, makes him to have been one of the "seventy-two" disciples, and subsequently bishop of Diospolis in Palestine (*Bibl. Patr.* iii. 150). The "seventy-two" disciples of Dorotheus are, however, a mere string of names picked out of salutations and other incidental notices in the N. T. The Greek Menologies on the festival of SS. Bartholomew and Titus (Aug. 25) refer to a certain Life of Titus, ascribed to Zenas, which is also quoted for the supposed conversion of the younger Pliny (compare Fabricius, *Codex Apocr. N. T.* ii. 831, 2). The association of Zenas with Titus, in St. Paul's Epistle to the latter, sufficiently accounts for the forgery. [W. B. J.]

ZEPHANI'AH (צְפַנְיָה: Σοφονίας: *Sophonia*. These forms refer to another punctuation, צֶפַנְיָה, a participial form). Jerome derives the name from

צְפַנְיָה, and supposes it to mean *speculator Domini*, "watcher of the Lord," an appropriate appellation for a prophet. The pedigree of Zephaniah, ch. i. 1, is traced to his fourth ancestor, Hezekiah: supposed by Aben Ezra to be the celebrated king of that name. This is not in itself improbable, and the fact that the pedigree terminates with that name, points to a personage of rank and importance. Late critics and commentators generally acquiesce in this hypothesis, viz. Eichhorn, Hitzig, F. Ad. Strauss (*Vaticinia Zephaniae*, Berlin, 1843), Hävernick, Keil, and Bleek (*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*).

Analysis. Chap. i. The utter desolation of Judaea is predicted as a judgment for idolatry, and neglect of the Lord, the luxury of the princes, and the violence and deceit of their dependents (3-9). The prosperity, security, and insolence of the people is contrasted with the horrors of the day of wrath; the assaults upon the fenced cities and high towers, and the slaughter of the people (10-18). Ch. ii., a call to repentance (1-3), with prediction of the ruin of the cities of the Philistines, and the restoration of the house of Judah after the visitation (4-7). Other enemies of Judah, Moab, Ammon, are threatened with perpetual destruction, Ethiopia with a great slaughter, and Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, with desolation (8-15). Ch. iii. The prophet addresses Jerusalem, which he reproves sharply for vice and disobedience, the cruelty of the princes and the treachery of the priests, and for their general disregard of warnings and visitations (1-7). He then concludes with a series of promises, the destruction of the enemies of God's people, the restoration of exiles, the extirpation of the proud and violent, and the permanent peace and blessedness of the poor and afflicted remnant who shall trust in the name of the Lord. These exhortations to rejoicing and exertion are mingled with intimations of a complete manifestation of God's righteousness and love in the restoration of His people (8-20).

The chief characteristics of this book are the unity and harmony of the composition, the grace, energy, and dignity of its style, and the rapid and effective alternations of threats and promises. Its prophetical import is chiefly shown in the accurate predictions of the desolation which has fallen upon each of the nations denounced for their crimes; Ethiopia, which is menaced with a terrible invasion, being alone exempted from the doom of perpetual ruin. The general tone of the last portion is Messianic, but without any specific reference to the Person of our Lord.

The date of the book is given in the inscription; viz. the reign of Josiah, from 642 to 611 B.C. This date accords fully with internal indications. Nineveh is represented as in a state of peace and prosperity, while the notices of Jerusalem touch upon the same tendencies to idolatry and crime which are condemned by the contemporary Jeremiah.

It is most probable, moreover, that the prophecy was delivered before the 18th year of Josiah, when the reformation, for which it prepares the way, was carried into effect, and about the time when the Scythians overran the empires of Western Asia, extending their devastations to Palestine. The notices which are supposed by some critics to indicate a somewhat later date are satisfactorily explained. The king's children, who are spoken of, in ch. i. 8, as addicted to foreign habits, could not have been sons of Josiah, who was but eight years old at his accession, but were probably his brothers or near relatives. The remnant of Baal (ch. i. 4) implies that some partial reformation had previously taken place, while the notices of open idolatry are incompatible with the state of Judah after the discovery of the Book of the Law. [F. C. C.]

2. (Σαφανία; Alex. Σαφανίας: *Sophonias*). A Kohathite Levite, ancestor of Samuel and Heman (1 Chr. vi. 36 [21]).

3. (Σοφονίας.) The son of Maaseiah (Jer. xxi. 1), and *sagan* or second priest in the reign of Zedekiah. He succeeded Jehoiada (Jer. xxix. 25, 26), and was probably a ruler of the Temple, whose office it was among others to punish pretenders to the gift of prophecy. In this capacity he was appealed to by Shemaiah the Nehelamite, in a letter from Babylon, to punish Jeremiah (Jer. xxix. 29). Twice was he sent from Zedekiah to inquire of Jeremiah the issue of the siege of the city by the Chaldeans (Jer. xxi. 1), and to implore him to intercede for the people (Jer. xxxvii. 3). On the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuzaradan he was taken with Seraiah the high-priest and others, and slain at Riblah (Jer. lii. 24, 27; 2 K. xxv. 18, 21). In 2 K. xxv. 18, Jer. xxxvii. 3, his name is written in the longer form צְפַנְיָהוּ.

4. Father of Josiah 2 (Zech. vi. 10), and of Hen, according to the reading of the received text of Zech. vi. 14, as given in the A. V. [W. A. W.]

ZEPHATH' (צְפַת: Σεφέκ; Alex. Σεφερ: *Sephath*). The earlier name (according to the single notice of Judg. i. 17) of a Canaanite town, which after its capture and destruction was called by the Israelites HORMAH. Two identifications have been proposed for Zephath:—that of Dr. Robinson with the well-known Pass *es-Sufâ* (الصفا), by which the ascent is made from the borders of the *Arabah* to the higher level of the "South country" (*B. R.* ii. 181), and that of Mr. Rowlands (Williams's *Holy City*, i. 464) with *Sebâta*, 2½ hours beyond *Khalasa*, on the road to Suez, and ¼ of an hour north of *Rohébeh* or *Ruheibeh*.

The former of these, Mr. Wilton (*The Negeb* &c., 199, 200) has challenged, on account of the impracticability of the pass for the approach of the Israelites, and the inappropriateness of so rugged and desolate a spot for the position of a city of any importance. The question really forms part of a much larger one, which this is not the place to discuss—viz. the route by which the Israelites approached the Holy Land. But in the mean time it should not be overlooked that the attempt in question was an unsuccessful one, which is so far in favour of the steepness of the pass. The argument from the nature of the site is one which might be brought with equal force against the existence of many others of the towns in this region. On the identification of Mr. Rowlands some doubt is thrown by the want of certainty as to the name, as well as by the fact that no later traveller has succeeded in finding the name *Sebâta*, or the spot. Dr. Stewart (*Tent and Khan*, 205) heard of the name, but east of *Khalasa* instead of south, and this was in answer to a leading question—always a dangerous experiment with Arabs.

It is earnestly to be hoped that some means may shortly be found, to attempt at least the examination and reconcilement of these and the like contradictory statements and inferences. [G.]

ZE'PHATHAH, THE VALLEY OF (גֵּיא צְפָתָה: ἡ φάραγξ κατὰ [a]βοῤῥᾶν, in both MSS.; Joseph. φ. Σαφθά: *Vallis Sephata*). The spot in which Asa joined battle with Zerah the Ethiopian (2 Chr. xiv. 10 only). It was "at" or rather "belonging to" Mareshah (לְמָרֵשָׁה: Joseph. οὐκ ἄπωθεν). This would seem to exclude the possibility of its being, as suggested by Dr. Robinson (ii. 31), at *Tell es-Safieh*, which is not less than 8 miles from *Marash*, the modern representative of Mareshah. It is not improbable that an examination of the neighbourhood might reveal both spot and name. Considering the enormous number of the combatants, the valley must be an extensive one. [G.]

ZE'PHI (צְפִי: Σωφάρ: *Sephi*), 1 Chr. i. 36. [ZEPHO.]

ZE'PHO (צְפוֹ: Σωφάρ: *Sephu*). A son of Eliphaz son of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 11), and one of the "dukes," or phylarchs, of the Edomites (ver. 15). In 1 Chr. i. 36 he is called ZEPHI. [E. S. P.]

ZEPH'ON (צְפוֹן: Σαφών; Alex. omits: *Sephon*). ZIPHION the son of Gad (Num. xxvi. 15), and ancestor of the family of the ZEPHONITES.

ZEPHON'ITES, THE (הַצְּפוֹנִי: ὁ Σαφωνί; Alex. omits: *Sephonitae*). A branch of the tribe of Gad, descended from Zephon or Ziphion (Num. xxvi. 15).

ZER (צֹר: Τύρος; Alex. omits: *Ser*). One of the fortified towns of the allotment of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 35 only). From the names which succeed it in the list it may be inferred that it was in the neighbourhood of the S.W. side of the Lake of Gennesareth. The versions of the LXX. and of the Peshito, both of this name and that which precedes it, are grounded on an obvious mistake. Neither of them has anything to do with Tyre or Zidon.

Ziddim may possibly be identified with *Hattîn*; but no name resembling Tsêr appears to have been yet discovered in the neighbourhood of Tiberias. [G.]

ZE'RAH (זֶרַח: Ζαρέ: *Zara*). A son of Reuel son of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 13; 1 Chr. i. 37), and one of the "dukes," or phylarchs, of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 17). Jobab of Bozrah, one of the early kings of Edom, perhaps belonged to his family (xxxvi. 33; 1 Chr. i. 44). [E. S. P.]

ZE'RAH, less properly, ZARAH (זָרַח, with the pause accent, זֶרַח: Ζαρά: *Zara*). Twin son with his elder brother Pharez of Judah and Tamar (Gen. xxxviii. 30; 1 Chr. ii. 6; Matt. i. 3). His descendants were called Zarhites, Ezrahites, and Izrahites (Num. xxvi. 20; 1 K. iv. 31; 1 Chr. xxvii. 8, 11), and continued at least down to the time of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. ix. 6; Neh. xi. 24). Nothing is related of Zerah individually, beyond the peculiar circumstances of his birth (Gen. xxxviii. 27-30), concerning which see Heidegg. *Hist. Patriarch.* xviii. 28. [A. C. H.]

2. (Ζαρές; Alex. Ζαραέ: *Zara*.) Son of Simeon (1 Chr. iv. 24), called ZOHAR in Gen. xlvi. 10.

3. (Ζαρά, Ζαρραΐ; Alex. Ζαρά, Ἀζαριας.) A Gershonite Levite, son of Iddo or Adaiah (1 Chr. vi. 21, 41 [Heb. vi. 26]).

4. (זֶרַח: Ζαρέ: *Zerah*.) The Ethiopian or Cushite, הַכּוּשִׁי, an invader of Judah, defeated by Asa.

1. In its form the name is identical with the Hebrew proper name above. It has been supposed to represent the Egyptian USARKEN, possibly pronounced USARCHEN, a name almost certainly of Semitic origin [SHISHAK, ii. 1289]. The difference is great, but may be partly accounted for, if we suppose that the Egyptian deviates from the original Semitic form, and that the Hebrew represents that form, or that a further deviation than would have been made was the result of the similarity of the Hebrew proper name Zerah. So, סוֹא, even if pronounced SEWA, or SEVA, is more remote from SHEBEK or SHEBETEK than Zerah from USARKEN. It may be conjectured that these forms resemble those of Memphis, Moph, Noph, which evidently represent current pronunciation, probably of Shemites.

2. The war between Asa and Zerah appears to have taken place soon after the 10th, and shortly before the 15th, year of Asa, probably late in the 14th, as we shall see in examining the narrative. It therefore occurred in about the same year of Usarken II., fourth king of the xxiind dynasty, who began to reign about the same time as the king of Judah. Asa's reign, as far as the 14th year inclusive, was B.C. cir. 953-940, or, if Manasseh's reign be reckoned of 35 years, 933-920. [SHISHAK, ii. pp. 1287-1289.]

3. The first ten years of Asa's reign were undisturbed by war. Then Asa took counsel with his subjects, and walled and fortified the cities of Judah. He also maintained an army of 580,000 men, 300,000 spearmen of Judah, and 280,000 archers of Benjamin. This great force was probably the whole number of men able to bear arms (2 Chr. xiv. 1-8). At length, probably in the 14th year of Asa, the anticipated danger came. Zerah, the Ethiopian, with a mighty army of a million, Cushim and Lubim, with three hundred chariots, invaded the kingdom, and advanced unopposed in the field as far as Mareshah. As the invaders afterwards retreated by way of Gerar, and Mareshah lay on the west of the hill-country of Judah, where it rises out of the Philistine plain, in the line of march from Egypt to Jerusalem, it cannot be doubted that they came out of Egypt. Between the border on the side of Gerar and Mareshah, lay no important city but Gath. Gath and Mareshah were both fortified by Rehoboam before the invasion of Shishak (xi. 8), and were no doubt captured and probably dismantled by that king (comp. xii. 4), whose list of conquered towns, &c., shows that he not only took some strong towns, but that he subdued the country in detail. A delay in the capture of Gath, where the warlike Philistines may have opposed a stubborn resistance, would have removed the only obstacle on the way to Mareshah, thus securing the retreat that was afterwards made by this route. From Mareshah, or its immediate neighbourhood, was a route to Jerusalem, presenting no difficulties but those of a hilly country; for not one important town is known to have lain between the capital and this outpost of the tribe of Judah. The invading army had swarmed across the border and devoured the Philistine fields before Asa could march to meet it. The distance from Gerar, or the south-western border of Palestine, to Mareshah, was not much

[a] Probably reading צְפוֹנָה. It will be observed that Josephus here forsakes the LXX for the Hebrew text.

greater than from Mareshah to Jerusalem, and, considering the nature of the tracts, would have taken about the same time to traverse; and only such delay as would have been caused by the sieges of Gath and Mareshah could have enabled Asa hastily to collect a levy and march to relieve the beleaguered town, or hold the passes. "In the Valley of Zephathah at Mareshah," the two armies met. We cannot perfectly determine the site of the battle. Mareshah, according to the *Onomasticon*, lay within two miles of Eleutheropolis, and Dr. Robinson has reasonably conjectured its position to be marked by a remarkable "tell," or artificial mound, a mile and a half south of the site of the latter town. Its signification, "that which is at the head," would scarcely suit a position at the opening of a valley. But it seems that a narrow valley terminates, and a broad one commences, at the supposed site. The Valley of Zephathah, "the watch-tower," is supposed by Dr. Robinson to be the latter, a broad wâdee, descending from Eleutheropolis in a north-westerly direction towards *Tell-es-Sâfieh*, in which last name he is disposed to trace the old appellation (*Bib. Res.* ii. 31). The two have no connexion whatever, and Robinson's conjecture is extremely hazardous. If this identification be correct, we must suppose that Zerah retired from before Mareshah towards the plain, that he might use his "chariots and horsemen" with effect, instead of entangling them in the narrow valleys leading towards Jerusalem. From the prayer of Asa we may judge that, when he came upon the invading army, he saw its hugeness, and so that, as he descended through a valley, it lay spread out beneath him. The Egyptian monuments enable us to picture the general disposition of Zerah's army. The chariots formed the first corps in a single or double line; behind them, massed in phalanxes, were heavy-armed troops; probably on the flanks stood archers and horsemen in lighter formations. Asa, marching down a valley, must have attacked in a heavy column; for none but the most highly-disciplined troops can form line from column in the face of an enemy. His spearmen of Judah would have composed this column: each bank of the valley would have been occupied by the Benjamite archers, like those who came to David, "helpers of the war, armed with bows, and [who] could use both the right hand and the left in [hurling] stones and [shooting] arrows out of a bow" (1 Chr. xii. 1, 2). No doubt the Ethiopian, confident in his numbers, disdained to attack the Hebrews or clear the heights, but waited in the broad valley, or the plain. Asa's prayer before the battle is full of the noble faith of the age of the Judges: "LORD [it is] alike to Thee to help, whether the strong or the weak: help us, O LORD our God; for we rest on Thee, and in Thy name we go against this multitude. O LORD, Thou [art] our God; let not man prevail against Thee." From the account of Abijah's defeat of Jeroboam, we may suppose that the priests sounded their trumpets, and the men of Judah descended with a shout (2 Chr. xiii. 14, 15). The hills and mountains were the favourite camping-places of the Hebrews, who usually rushed down upon their more numerous or better-disciplined enemies in the plains and valleys. If the battle were deliberately set in array, it would have begun early in the morning, according to the usual practice of these times, when there was not a night-surprise, as when Goliath challenged the Israelites (1 Sam xvii. 20-23), and when Thothmes III. fought the Canaanites at Megiddo, and as we may judge from the long pursuits at this period, the sun would have been in the eyes of the army of Zerah, and its archers would have been thus useless. The chariots, broken by the charge and with horses made unmanageable by flights of arrows, must have been forced back upon the cumbrous host behind. "So the LORD smote the Ethiopians before Asa, and before Judah; and the Ethiopians fled. And Asa and the people that [were] with him pursued them unto Gerar: and [or "for"] the Ethiopians were overthrown, that they could not recover themselves." This last clause seems to relate to an irremediable overthrow at the first; and, indeed, had it not been so, the pursuit would not have been carried, and, as it seems at once, beyond the frontier. So complete was the overthrow, that the Hebrews could capture and spoil the cities around Gerar, which must have been in alliance with Zerah. From these cities they took very much spoil, and they also smote "the tents of cattle, and carried away sheep and camels in abundance" (2 Chr. xiv. 9-15). More seems to have been captured from the Arabs than from the army of Zerah: probably the army consisted of a nucleus of regular troops, and a great body of tributaries, who would have scattered in all directions, leaving their country open to reprisals. On his return to Jerusalem, Asa was met by Azariah, who exhorted him and the people to be faithful to God. Accordingly Asa made a second reformation, and collected his subjects at Jerusalem in the 3rd month of the 15th year, and made a covenant, and offered of the spoil "seven hundred oxen and seven thousand sheep" (xv. 1-15). From this it would appear that the battle was fought in the preceding winter. The success of Asa, and the manifest blessing that attended him, drew to him Ephraimites, Manassites, and Simeonites. His father had already captured cities in the Israelite territory (xiii. 19), and he held cities in Mount Ephraim (xv. 8), and then was at peace with Israel. Simeon, always at the mercy of a powerful king of Judah, would have naturally turned to him. Never was the house of David stronger after the defection of the ten tribes; but soon the king fell into the wicked error, so constantly to be repeated, of calling the heathen to aid him against the kindred Israelites, and hired Benhadad, king of Syria-Damascus, to lay their cities waste, when Hanani the prophet recalled to him the great victory he had achieved when he trusted in God (xvi. 1-9). The after years of Asa were troubled with wars (ver. 9); but they were with Baasha (1 K. xv. 16, 32). Zerah and his people had been too signally crushed to attack him again.

4. The identification of Zerah has occasioned some difference of opinion. He has been thought to have been a Cushite of Arabia, or a Cushite of Ethiopia above Egypt. But lately it has been supposed that Zerah is the Hebrew name of Usarken I., second king of the Egyptian xxiind dynasty; or perhaps more probably Usarken II., his second successor. This question is a wider one than seems at first sight. We have to inquire whether the army of Zerah was that of an Egyptian king, and, if the reply be affirmative, whether it was led by either Usarken I. or II.

The war of Shishak had reduced the angle of Arabia that divided Egypt from Palestine. Probably Shishak was unable to attack the Assyrians, and endeavoured, by securing this tract, to guard

the approach to Egypt. If the army of Zerah were Egyptian, this would account for its connexion with the people of Gerar and the pastoral tribes of the neighbourhood. The sudden decline of the power of Egypt after the reign of Shishak would be explained by the overthrow of the Egyptian army about thirty years later.

The composition of the army of Zerah, of Cushim and Lubim (2 Chr. xvi. 8), closely resembles that of Shishak, of Lubim, Sukkiim, and Cushim (xii. 3): both armies also had chariots and horsemen (xvi. 8, xii. 3). The Cushim might have been of an Asiatic Cush, but the Lubim can only have been Africans. The army, therefore, must have been of a king of Egypt, or Ethiopia above Egypt. The uncertainty is removed by our finding that the kings of the xxiind dynasty employed mercenaries of the MASHUWASHA, a Libyan tribe, which apparently supplied the most important part of their hired force. The army, moreover, as consisting partly, if not wholly, of a mercenary force, and with chariots and horsemen, is, save in the horsemen, exactly what the Egyptian army of the empire would have been, with the one change of the increased importance given to the mercenaries, that we know to have marked it under the xxiind dynasty. [SHISHAK, ii. p. 1289 *a*.] That the army was of an Egyptian king therefore cannot be doubted.

As to the identification of Zerah with an Usarken, we speak diffidently. That he is called a Cushite must be compared with the occurrence of the name NAMURET, Nimrod, in the line of the Usarkens, but that line seems rather to have been of eastern than of western Ethiopians (see, however, SHISHAK, ii. p. 1289). The name Usarken has been thought to be Sargon [SHISHAK, *l. c.*], in which case it is unlikely, but not impossible, that another Hebrew or Shemitic name should have been adopted to represent the Egyptian form. On the other hand, the kings of the xxiind dynasty were of a warlike family, and their sons constantly held military commands. It is unlikely that an important army would have been intrusted to any but a king or prince. Usarken is less remote from Zerah than seems at first sight, and, according to our computation, Zerah might have been Usarken II., but according to Dr. Hincks's, Usarken I.

5. The defeat of the Egyptian army by Asa is without parallel in the history of the Jews. On no other occasion did an Israelite army meet an army of one of the great powers on either side and defeat it. Shishak was unopposed, Sennacherib was not met in the field, Necho was so met and overthrew Josiah's army, Nebuchadnezzar like Shishak was only delayed by fortifications. The defeat of Zerah thus is a solitary instance, more of the power of faith than of the bravery of the Hebrews, a single witness that the God of Israel was still the same who had led His people through the Red Sea, and would give them the same aid if they trusted in Him. We have, indeed, no distinct statement that the defeat of Zerah was a miracle, but we have proof enough that God providentially enabled the Hebrews to vanquish a force greater in number, stronger in the appliances of war, with horsemen and chariots, more accurate in discipline, no raw levies hastily equipped from the king's armoury, but a seasoned standing militia, strengthened and more terrible by the addition of swarms of hungry Arabs, bred to war, and whose whole life was a time of pillage. This great deliverance is one of the many proofs that God is to His people ever the same, whether He bids them stand still and behold His salvation, or nerves them with that courage that has wrought great things in His name in our later age; thus it bridges over a chasm between two periods outwardly unlike, and bids us see in history the immutability of the Divine actions. [R. S. P.]

ZERAHI'AH (זְרַחְיָה: Ζαραΐα, Σαραΐας, Ζαραΐα; Alex. Ζαραΐας, Ζαριάς, Ζαραΐας: *Zaraïus, Zarahia*). A priest, son of Uzzi, and ancestor of Ezra the Scribe (1 Chr. vi. 6, 51 [Heb. v. 32, vi. 36]; Ezr. vii. 4).

2. (Σαραΐα; Alex. Ζαραΐα: *Zarehe.*) Father of Elihoenai of the sons of Pahath Moab (Ezr. viii. 4): called ZARAIAS in 1 Esdr. viii. 31.

ZER'ED (זֶרֶד: Ζαρέδ, Ζαρέτ: *Zared*). The name of a brook or valley running into the Dead Sea near its S.E. corner, which Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Res* ii. 157) with some probability suggests as identical with the *Wady el Ahsy*. It lay between Moab and Edom, and is the limit of the proper term of the Israelites' wandering (Deut. ii. 14). Laborde, arguing from the distance, thinks that the source of the *Wady Ghŭrŭndel* in the Arabah is the site; as from Mount Hor to *el Ahsy* is by way of Ezion-geber 65 leagues, in which only four stages occur: a rate of progress quite beyond their power. This argument, however, is feeble, since it is clear that the march-stations mentioned indicate not daily stages, but more permanent encampments. He also thinks the palm-trees of *Wady G.* would have attracted notice, and that *Wady Jethum (el Ithm)* could not have been the way consistently with the precept of Deut. ii. 3. The camping station in the catalogue of Num. xxiii., which corresponds to the "pitching in the valley of Zared" of xxi. 12, is probably Dibon-Gad, as it stands next to Ije-Abarim; compare Num. xxxiii. 44-45 with xxi. 12. The *Wady el-Ahsy* forms the boundary between the districts of *Jebal* and *Kerek*. The stream runs in a very deep ravine and contains a hot spring which the Arabs call the "Bath of Solomon son of David" (Irby, May 29).

The Jewish interpreters translate the name in the first case "osiers," and in the second "baskets" (Targum Pseudojonathan), which recals the "brook of the willows" of Isaiah (xv. 7). The name *Sufsaf* (willow) is attached to the valley which runs down from *Kerak* to the Dead Sea; but this appears to be too far north for the Zered. [WILLOWS, BROOK OF THE.] [H. H.]

ZER'EDA (הַצְּרֵדָה, *i. e.* the Tserêdâh, with the def. article: ἡ Σαρείρα; Alex. ἡ Σαριδα: *Sareda*). The native place, according to the present Hebrew text, of Jeroboam, the leader of the revolt of the northern tribes, and the first king of the "Kingdom of Israel." It occurs in 1 K. xi. 26 only. The LXX. (in the Vatican Codex) for Zereda substitute Sareira, as will be seen above. This is not in itself remarkable, since it is but an instance of the exchange of r and d, which is so often observed both in the LXX. and Syriac Versions, and which has not impossibly taken place in the Hebrew text itself of Judg. vii. 22, where the name Zererah appears attached to a place which is perhaps elsewhere called Zeredathah. But it is more remarkable that in the long addition to the history of Jeroboam which these translators insert between 1 K. xii. 24 and 25 of the Hebrew text, Sareira is frequently mentioned. In strong contrast to the merely casual mention of it in the Hebrew narrative

as Jeroboam's native place, it is elevated in the narrative of the LXX. into great prominence, and becomes in fact the most important and, it may naturally be presumed, the most impregnable fortress of Ephraim. It there appears as the town which Jeroboam fortified for Solomon in Mount Ephraim; thither he repairs on his return from Egypt; there he assembles the tribe of Ephraim, and there he builds a fortress. Of its position nothing is said except that it was "in Mount Ephraim," but from the nature of the case it must have been central. The LXX. further make it the residence of Jeroboam at the time of the death of his child, and they substitute it for Tirzah (not only on the single occasion on which the latter name occurs in the Hebrew of this narrative, but) three times over. No explanation has been given of this change of תִּרְצָה into צְרֵדָה. It is hardly one which would naturally occur from the corruptions either of copyists or of pronunciation. The question of the source and value of these singular additions of the LXX. has never yet been fully examined; but in the words of Dean Milman (*Hist. of the Jews*, 3rd ed. i. 332), "there is a circumstantialness about the incidents which gives them an air of authenticity, or rather antiquity," and which it is to be hoped will prompt some scholar to a thorough investigation.

Zeredah has been supposed to be identical with ZEREDATHAH (2 Chr. iv. 17) and ZARTHAN or ZARTANAH. But even if the two last of these names were more similar to it than they are, there would remain the serious topographical difficulty to such an identification, that they were in the valley of the Jordan, while Zeredah was, according to the repeated statement of the LXX., on Mount Ephraim. If, however, the restricted statement of the Hebrew Bible be accepted, which names Zeredah merely as the native place of Jeroboam, and as not concerned in the events of his mature life, then there is no obstacle to its situation in that part of the tribe of Ephraim which lay in the Jordan Valley. [G.]

ZERE'DATHAH (צְרֵדָתָה: Σιρδαθαί; Alex. Σαδαθα: *Saredatha*). Named (in 2 Chr. iv. 17 only) in specifying the situation of the foundries for the brass-work of Solomon's Temple. In the parallel passage in 1 K. vii. 46 ZARTHAN occupies the place of Zeredathah, the rest of the sentence being literally the same; but whether the one name is merely an accidental variation of the other, or whether, as there is some ground for believing, there is a connexion between Zeredah, Zeredathah, Zererah, and Zarthan, we have now no means of determining. It should be observed that Zeredah has in the original the definite article prefixed to it, which is not the case with either Zeredathah or Zerera. [G.]

ZER'ERATH[b] (צְרֶרָה, *i. e.* Tsererah: [b]Ταγαραγαθά; Alex. και συνηγμενη: Vulg. omits). A place named only in Judg. vii. 22, in describing the flight of the Midianite host before Gideon. The A. V. has somewhat unnecessarily added to the original obscurity of the passage, which runs as follows:—"And the host fled unto Beth has-shittah to [c]Zererah, unto the brink of Abel Meholah upon Tabbath"—apparently describing the two lines of flight taken by the two portions of the horde.

It is natural to presume that Zererah is the same name as Zeredathah.[d] They both appear to have been in the Jordan valley, and as to the difference in the names, the termination is insignificant, and the exchange of ד and ר is of constant occurrence. Zeredathah, again, appears to be equivalent to Zarthan.

It is also difficult not to suppose that Zererah is the same place with the Sarira which the LXX. present as the equivalent of Zereda and of Tirzan. But in the way of this there is the difficulty which has been pointed out under Zereda, that the two last-named places appear to have been in the highlands of Ephraim, while Zererah and Zeredathah were in the Jordan Valley. [G.]

ZER'ESH (זֶרֶשׁ: Ζωσάρα; Σωσάρα; Joseph. Ζάραζα: *Zares*). The wife of Haman the Agagite (Esth. v. 10, 14, vi. 13), who counselled him to prepare the gallows for Mordecai, but predicted her husband's ruin as soon as she knew that Mordecai was a Jew. [A. C. H.]

ZER'ETH (צֶרֶת: Σερέθ; Alex. Σαρέθ: *Sereth*). Son of Ashur the founder of Tekoa, by his wife Helah (1 Chr. iv. 7).

ZE'RI (צֵרִי: Σουρί: *Sori*). One of the sons of Jeduthun in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxv. 3). In ver. 11 he is called IZRI.

ZER'OR (צְרוֹר: Ἰαρέδ; Alex. Ἀρέδ: *Seror*). A Benjamite, ancestor of Kish the father of Saul (1 Sam. ix. 1).

ZER'UAH (צְרוּעָה: Vat. omits; Alex. Σαρούα: *Sarva*). The mother of Jeroboam the son of Nebat (1 K. xi. 26). In the additional narrative of the LXX. inserted after 1 K. xii. 24, she is called Sarira (a corruption of Zereda), and is said to have been a harlot.

ZERUB'BABEL (זְרֻבָּבֶל, "dispersed" or "begotten, in Babylon:" Ζοροβάβελ: *Serubabel*). The head of the tribe of Judah at the time of the return from the Babylonish Captivity in the first year of Cyrus. His exact parentage is a little obscure, from his being always called the son of Shealtiel (Ezr. iii. 2, 8, v. 2, &c.; Hagg. i. 1, 12, 14, &c.), and appearing as such in the genealogies (Matt. i. 12; Luke iii. 27), whereas in 1 Chr. iii. 19, he is represented as the son of Pedaiah, Shealtiel or Salathiel's brother, and consequently as Salathiel's nephew. Probably the genealogy in 1 Chr. exhibits his true parentage, and he succeeded his uncle as head of the house of Judah—a supposition which tallies with the facts that Salathiel appears as the first-born, and that no children are assigned to him.

There are two histories of Zerubbabel: the one, that contained in the canonical Scriptures; the other, that in the Apocryphal Books and Josephus.

The history of Zerubbabel in the Scriptures is as

[a] The *th* terminating the name in the A. V. is the Hebrew mode of connecting it with the particle of motion.—Zererathah, *i. e.* to Zererah.

[b] The Ta at the commencement of this barbarous word no doubt belongs to the preceding name, Beth-shittah; and they should be divided as follows, Βηθσεεδτα Ταραγαθα. The Vatican Codex appears to be the only MS. which retains any trace of the name. The others quoted by Holmes and Parsons either substitute εως κειλους for it, or exhibit some variation of the words quoted above from the Alex. MS. The Vulgate entirely omits the name.

[c] Or possibly the two first of these four names should be joined, Beth-has-shittah-Zererathah.

[d] Zererah appears in Judg. vii. 22, צְרֵרָתָה, with the particle of motion attached, which is all but identical with צְרֵדָתָה, Zeredathah.

follows:—In the first year of Cyrus he was living at Babylon, and was the recognized prince (נָשִׂיא) of Judah in the Captivity, what in later times was called רֹאשׁ הַגָּלוּתָה, or הַרֵישָׁה (Rhesa), "the Prince of the Captivity," or "the Prince." On the issuing of Cyrus's decree he immediately availed himself of it, and placed himself at the head of those of his countrymen "whose spirit God had raised to go up to build the House of the Lord which is in Jerusalem." It is probable that he was in the king of Babylon's service, both from his having, like Daniel and the three children, received a Chaldee name [SHESHBAZZAR], and from his receiving from Cyrus the office of governor (פֶּחָה) of Judaea. The restoration of the sacred vessels, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought from the Temple, having been effected, and copious presents of silver and gold, and goods, and beasts, having been bestowed upon the captives, Zerubbabel went forth at the head of the returning colony, accompanied by Jeshua the high-priest, and perhaps by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, and a considerable number of priests, Levites, and heads of houses of Judah and Benjamin, with their followers. On arriving at Jerusalem, Zerubbabel's first care was to build the altar on its old site, and to restore the daily sacrifice. [JESHUA.] Perhaps also they kept the Feast of Tabernacles, as it is said they did in Ezr. iii. 4; but there is some reason to suspect that vers. 4, 5, and the first half of ver. 6, are interpolated, and are merely an epitome of Neh. viii., which belongs to very different times. [EZRA, BOOK OF; NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF.] But his great work, which he set about immediately, was the rebuilding of the Temple. Being armed with a grant from Cyrus of timber and stone for the building, and of money for the expenses of the builders (Ezr. vi. 4), he had collected the materials, including cedar-trees brought from Lebanon to Joppa, according to the precedent in the time of Solomon (2 Chr. ii. 16), and got together masons and carpenters to do the work, by the opening of the second year of their return to Jerusalem. And accordingly, in the second month of the second year of their return, the foundation of the Temple was laid with all the pomp which they could command: the priests in their vestments with trumpets, and the sons of Asaph with cymbals, singing the very same Psalm of praise for God's unfailing mercy to Israel, which was sung when Solomon dedicated his Temple (2 Chr. v. 11-14); while the people responded with a great shout of joy, "because the foundation of the house of the Lord was laid." How strange must have been the emotions of Zerubbabel at this moment! As he stood upon Mount Zion, and beheld from its summit the desolations of Jerusalem, the site of the Temple blank, David's palace a heap of ashes, his fathers' sepulchres defiled and overlaid with rubbish, and the silence of desertion and emptiness hanging oppressively over the streets and waste places of what was once the joyous city; and then remembered how his great ancestor David had brought up the ark in triumph to the very spot where he was then standing, how Solomon had reigned there in all his magnificence and power, and how the petty kings and potentates of the neighbouring nations had been his vassals and tributaries, how must his heart alternately have swelled with pride, and throbbed with anguish, and sunk in humiliation! In the midst of these mighty memories he was but the officer of a foreign heathen despot, the head of a feeble remnant of half-emancipated slaves, the captain of a band hardly able to hold up their heads in the presence of their hostile and jealous neighbours; and yet there he was, the son of David, the heir of great and mysterious promises, returned by a wonderful Providence to the home of his ancestors. At his bidding the daily sacrifice had been restored after a cessation of half a century, and now the foundations of the Temple were actually laid, amidst the songs of the Levites singing according to David's ordinance, and the shouts of the tribe of Judah. It was a heartstirring situation; and, despite all the discouragements attending it, we cannot doubt that Zerubbabel's faith and hope were kindled by it into fresh life.

But there were many hindrances and delays to be encountered before the work was finished. The Samaritans or Cutheans put in a claim to join with the Jews in rebuilding the Temple; and when Zerubbabel and his companions refused to admit them into partnership they tried to hinder them from building, and hired counsellors to frustrate their purpose. They probably contrived, in the first instance, to intercept the supplies of timber and stone, and the wages of the workmen, which were paid out of the king's revenue, and then by misrepresentation to calumniate them at the court of Persia. Thus they were successful in putting a stop to the work during the seven remaining years of the reign of Cyrus, and through the eight years of Cambyses and Smerdis. Nor does Zerubbabel appear quite blameless for this long delay. The difficulties in the way of building the Temple were not such as need have stopped the work; and during this long suspension of sixteen years Zerubbabel and the rest of the people had been busy in building costly houses for themselves, and one might even suspect that the cedar-wood which had been brought for the Temple had been used to decorate private dwellings (comp. the use of סָפַן in Hagg. i. 4, and 1 K. vii. 3, 7). They had, in fact, ceased to care for the desolation of the Temple (Hagg. i. 2-4), and had not noticed that God was rebuking their lukewarmness by withholding His blessing from their labours (Hagg. i. 5-11). But in the second year of Darius light dawned upon the darkness of the colony from Babylon. In that year—it was the most memorable event in Zerubbabel's life—the spirit of prophecy suddenly blazed up with a most brilliant light amongst the returned captives; and the long silence which was to ensue till the ministry of John the Baptist was preceded by the stirring utterances of Haggai and Zechariah. Their words fell like sparks upon tinder. In a moment Zerubbabel, roused from his apathy, threw his whole strength into the work, zealously seconded by Jeshua and all the people. [JESHUA.] Undeterred by a fresh attempt of their enemies to hinder the progress of the building, they went on with the work even while a reference was being made to Darius; and when, after the original decree of Cyrus had been found at Ecbatana, a most gracious and favourable decree was issued by Darius, enjoining Tatnai and Shetharboznai to assist the Jews with whatsoever they had need of at the king's expense, the work advanced so rapidly that on the third day of the month Adar, in the sixth year of Darius, the Temple was finished, and was forthwith dedicated with much pomp and rejoicing. It

is difficult to calculate how great was the effect of the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah in sustaining the courage and energy of Zerubbabel in carrying his work to completion. Addressed, as many of them were, directly to Zerubbabel by name, speaking, as they did, most glorious things of the Temple which he was building, conveying to Zerubbabel himself extraordinary assurances of Divine favour, and coupling with them magnificent and consolatory predictions of the future glory of Jerusalem, and Judah, and of the conversion of the Gentiles, they necessarily exercised an immense influence upon his mind (Hagg. i. 13, 14, ii. 4-9, 21-23; Zech. iv. 6-10, viii. 3-8, 9, 18-23). It is not too much to say that these prophecies upon Zerubbabel were the immediate instrument by which the church and commonwealth of Judah were preserved from destruction, and received a life which endured till the coming of Christ.

The only other works of Zerubbabel which we learn from the Scripture history are the restoration of the courses of priests and Levites, and of the provision for their maintenance, according to the institution of David (Ezr. vi. 18; Neh. xii. 47); the registering the returned captives according to their genealogies (Neh. vii. 5); and the keeping of a Passover in the seventh year of Darius, with which last event ends all that we know of the life of Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel: a man inferior to few of the great characters of Scripture, whether we consider the perilous undertaking to which he devoted himself, the importance, in the economy of the Divine government, of his work, his courageous faith, or the singular distinction of being the object of so many and such remarkable prophetic utterances.

The Apocryphal history of Zerubbabel, which, as usual, Josephus follows, may be summed up in a few words. The story told in 1 Esdr. iii.–vii. is, that on the occasion of a great feast made by Darius on his accession, three young men of his body-guard had a contest who should write the wisest sentence. That one of the three (Zerubbabel) writing "Women are strongest, but above all things Truth beareth away the victory;" and afterwards defending his sentence with much eloquence, was declared by acclamation[a] to be the wisest, and claimed for his reward, at the king's hand, that the king should perform his vow which he had vowed to rebuild Jerusalem and the Temple. Upon which the king gave him letters to all his treasurers and governors on the other side the river, with grants of money and exemption from taxes, and sent him to rebuild Jerusalem and the Temple, accompanied by the families of which the list is given in Ezr. ii., Neh. vii.; and then follows, in utter confusion, the history of Zerubbabel as given in Scripture. Apparently, too, the compiler did not perceive that Sanabasar[b] (Sheshbazzar) was the same person as Zerubbabel. Josephus, indeed, seems to identify Sheshbazzar with Zerubbabel, and tries to reconcile the story in 1 Esdr. by saying, "Now it so fell out that about this time Zorobabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius from Jerusalem, for there had been an old friendship between him and the king," &c. (*Ant.* xi. 3.). But it is obvious on the face of it that this is simply Josephus's invention to reconcile 1 Esdr. with the canonical Ezra. [ESDRAS, FIRST BOOK OF.] Josephus has also another story (*Ant.* xi. 4, §9) which is not found in 1 Esdr., of Zorobabel going on an embassy to Darius to accuse the Samaritan governors and hipparchs of withholding from the Jews the grants made by Darius out of the royal treasury, for the offering of sacrifices and other Temple expenses and of his obtaining a decree from the king commanding his officers in Samaria to supply the high-priest with all that he required. But that this is not authentic history seems pretty certain from the names of the governors, *Sambabas* being an imitation or corruption of *Sanballat*, *Tanyanes* of *Tatnai* (or Thauthanai, as in LXX.), *Sadraces* of Sathrabouzanes, confused with *Shadrach*, *Bobelo* of Zoro-babel; and the names of the ambassadors, which are manifestly copied from the list in 1 Esdr. v. 8, where Zorobabel, Enenius, and Mardochaeus, correspond to Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mardochaeus of Josephus. Moreover the letter or decree of Darius, as given by Josephus, is as manifestly copied from the decree of Darius in Ezr. vi. 6-10. In all probability, therefore, the document used by Josephus was one of those numerous Apocryphal religious romances which the Hellenistic Jews were so fond of about the 4th and 3rd century before Christ, and was written partly to explain Zorobabel's presence at the court of Darius, as spoken of in 1 Esdr., partly to explain that of Mordecai at the court of Ahasuerus, though he was in the list of those who were Zorobabel's companions (as it seemed), and partly to give an opportunity for reviling and humiliating the Samaritans. It also gratified the favourite taste for embellishing, and corroborating, and giving, as was thought, additional probability to the Scripture narrative, and dwelling upon bygone times of Jewish triumphs. [ESTHER, BOOK OF.]

It only remains to notice Zerubbabel's place in the genealogy of Christ. It has already been observed that in the genealogies Matt. i. 12, and Luke iii. 27, he is represented as son of Salathiel, though the Book of Chronicles tells us he was the son of Pedaiah, and nephew of Salathiel. It is of more moment to remark that, while St. Matthew deduces his line from Jechonias and Solomon, St. Luke deduces it through Neri and Nathan. Here then we have the head of the nation, the Prince of Judah, the foremost man of his country, with a double genealogy, one representing him as descending from all the kings of Judah, the other as the descendant indeed of David, but through a long line of private and unknown persons. We find him, too, filling the position of Prince of Judah at a time when, as far as the history informs us, the royal family was utterly extinct. And though, if descended from the last king, he would have been his grandson, neither the history, nor the contemporary prophets, nor Josephus, nor the apocryphal books, give the least hint of his being a near relative of Jeconiah, while at the same time the natural interpretation of Jer. xxii. 30 shows Jeconiah to have been childless. The inference from all this is obvious. Zerubbabel was the legal successor and heir of Jeconiah's royal estate, the grandson of Neri, and the lineal descendant of Nathan the son of David. [SALATHIEL; GENEALOGY OF CHRIST. For Zerubbabel's descendants see HANANIAH 8.]

In the N. T. the name appears in the Greek form of ZOROBABEL. [A. C. H.]

ZE'RUIAH (צְרוּיָה, and once[c] צְרֻיָה: Σαρουΐα

[a] With the shout, "Magna est veritas, et praevalebit!"

[b] Σαναβασσαρ is merely a corruption of Σασαβασσαρ.

[c] 1 Sam. xiv. 1.

Sarvia). A woman who, as long as the Jewish records are read, will be known as the mother of the three leading heroes of David's army—Abisha, Joab, and Asahel—the "sons of Zeruiah." She and Abigail are specified in the genealogy of David's family in 1 Chr. ii. 13-17 as "sisters of the sons of Jesse" (ver. 16; comp. Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 10, §1). The expression is in itself enough to raise a suspicion that she was not a daughter of Jesse, a suspicion which is corroborated by the statement of 2 Sam. xvii. 25, that Abigail was the daughter of Nahash. Abigail being apparently the younger of the two women, it is a probable inference that they were both the daughters of Nahash, but whether this Nahash be—as Professor Stanley has ingeniously conjectured—the king of the Ammonites, and the former husband of Jesse's wife, or some other person unknown, must for ever remain a mere conjecture. [DAVID, vol. i. p. 401.] Other explanations are given under NAHASH, vol. ii. p. 457. Her relation to Jesse (in the original Ishai) is expressed in the name of her son Ab-ishai.

Of Zeruiah's husband there is no mention in the Bible. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 1, §3) explicitly states his name to have been Souri (Σουρί), but no corroboration of the statement appears to have been discovered in the Jewish traditions, nor does Josephus himself refer to it again. The mother of such remarkable sons must herself have been a remarkable woman, and this may account for the fact, unusual if not unique, that the family is always called after her, and that her husband's name has not been considered worthy of preservation in the sacred records. [G.]

ZE'THAM (זֵתָם: Ζηθάν, Ζεθόμ; Alex. Ζαιθόμ, Ζοθόμ: *Zethan, Zathan.*) The son of Laadan, a Gershonite Levite (1 Chr. xxiii. 8). In 1 Chr. xxvi. 22 he appears as the son of Jehiel, or Jehieli, and so the grandson of Laadan.

ZE'THAN (זֵיתָן: Ζαιθάν; Alex. Ἠθάν: *Zethan*). A Benjamite of the sons of Bilhan (1 Chr. vii. 10).

ZE'THAR (זֵתַר: Ἀβαραζάς: *Zethar*). One of the seven eunuchs of Ahasuerus who attended upon the king, and were commanded to bring Vashti into his presence (Esth. i. 10).

ZI'A (זִיזָא: Ζουέ: *Zie*). One of the Gadites who dwelt in Bashan (1 Chr. v. 13).

ZI'BA (צִיבָא, once [a] צִבָא: Σειβᾶ; Alex. Σιβα, and in ch. xvi. 2, Σιββα; Joseph. Σιβάς: *Siba*). A person who plays a prominent part, though with no credit to himself, in one of the episodes of David's history (2 Sam. ix. 2-12, xvi. 1-4, xix. 17, 29). He had been a slave (עֶבֶד) of the house of Saul before the overthrow of his kingdom, and (probably at the time of the great Philistine incursion which proved so fatal to his master's family) had been set free (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 5, §5). The opportunities thus afforded him he had so far improved, that when first encountered in the history he is head of an establishment of fifteen sons and twenty slaves. David's reception of Mephibosheth had the effect of throwing Ziba with his whole establishment back into the state of bondage from which he had for so long been free. It reduced him from being an independent landholder to the position of a mere dependant. The knowledge of this fact gives the key to the whole of his conduct towards David and towards Mephibosheth. Beyond this the writer has nothing to add to his remarks on Ziba under the head of MEPHIBOSHETH. [G.]

[a] 2 Sam. xvi. 1.

ZIB'IA (צִבְיָא: Σεβιά: *Sebia*). A Benjamite, apparently, as the text now stands, the son of Shaharaim by his wife Hodesh (1 Chr. viii. 9).

ZIB'IAH (צִבְיָה: Ζαβιά, Ἰωαδαέν; Alex. Αβιά, Ἰωαδά: *Sebia*). A native of Beersheba, and mother of king Joash (2 K. xii. 1; 2 Chr. xiv. 1).

ZIB'EON (צִבְעוֹן: Σεβεγών: *Sebeon*). Father of Anah, whose daughter Aholibamah was Esau's wife (Gen. xxvi. 2). Although called a Hivite, he is probably the same as Zibeon the son of Seir the Horite (vers. 20, 24, 29; 1 Chr. i. 38, 40), the latter signifying 'cave-dweller," and the former being the name of his tribe, for we know nothing of the race of the Troglodytes; or more probably הַחִוִּי (the Hivite), is a mistranscription for הַחֹרִי (the Horite).

Another difficulty connected with this Zibeon is, that Anah in ver. 2 is called his daughter, and in ver. 24 his son; but this difficulty appears to be easily explained by supposing that בַּת refers to Aholibamah, and not to the name next preceding it: the Samaritan, it should be observed, has בֵּן. An allusion is made to some unrecorded fact in the history of the Horites in the passage, "this [was that] Anah that found the mules in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father" (Gen. xxxvi. 24). The word rendered "mules" in the A. V. is the Heb. יְמִים, perhaps the Emims or giants, as in the reading of the Sam. הָאֵימִים, and so also Onkelos and Pseudojonathan, Gesenius prefers "hot-springs," following the *Vulg.* rendering. Zibeon was also one of the dukes, or phylarchs, of the Horites (ver. 29). For the identification with Beeri, father of Judith the Hittite (Gen. xxvi. 34), see BEERI, and see also ANAH. [E. S. P.]

ZICH'RI (זִכְרִי: Ζεχρεί: *Zechri*). **1.** Son of Izhar the son of Kohath (Ex. vi. 21). His name is incorrectly given in modern editions of the A. V. "Zithri," though it is printed ZICHRI in the ed. of 1611.

2. (Ζαχρί; Alex. Ζεχρί.) A Benjamite of the sons of Shimhi (1 Chr. viii. 19).

3. (Ζεχρί; Alex. Ζοχρί.) A Benjamite of the sons of Shashak (1 Chr. viii. 23).

4. (Ζεχρί.) A Benjamite of the sons of Jeroham (1 Chr. viii. 27).

5. Son of Asaph, elsewhere called ZABDI and ZACCUR (1 Chr. ix. 15).

6. A descendant of Eliezer the son of Moses (1 Chr. xxvi. 25).

7. The father of Eliezer, the chief of the Reubenites in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 16).

8. (Ζαρί; Alex. Ζαχρί.) Of the tribe of Judah. His son Amasiah commanded 200,000 men in Jehoshaphat's army (2 Chr. xvii. 16).

9. (Ζαχαρίας.) Father of Elishaphat, one of the conspirators with Jehoiada (2 Chr. xxiii. 1).

10. (Ζεχρί; Alex. Ἐζεχρί.) An Ephraimite hero in the invading army of Pekah the son of Remaliah (2 Chr. xxviii. 7). In the battle which was so disastrous to the kingdom of Judah, Maaseiah the king's son, Azrikam, the prefect of the

palace, and Elkanah, who was next to the king fell by the hand of Zichri.

11. (Ζεχρί.) Father or ancestor of JOEL 14 (Neh. xi. 9). He was probably a Benjamite.

12. A priest of the family of Abijah, in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua (Neh. xii. 17). [W. A. W.]

ZID'DIM (הַצִּדִּים, with the def. article: τῶν Τυρίων; Alex. omits: *Aseddim*). One of the fortified towns of the allotment of Naphtali, according to the present condition of the Hebrew text (Josh. xix. 35). The translators of the Vat. LXX. appear to have read the word in the original, הַצָּרִים, "the Tyrians," while those of the Peshito-Syriac, on the other hand, read it as צִדוֹן, Zidon. These readings were probably both influenced by the belief that the name next following that in question, viz. ZER, was that of Tyre. But this is more than doubtful, and indeed Tyre and Zidon were included in the allotment, not of Naphtali, but of Asher (xix. 28, 29). The Jerusalem Talmud (*Megillah*, i.) is probably nearer the mark in identifying hat-Tsiddim with *Kefr Chittai*, which Schwarz (182) with much probability takes to be the present *Hattîn*, at the northern foot of the well known *Kurn Hattîn*, or "Horns of Hattin," a few miles west of Tiberias. This identification falls in with the fact that the three next names in the list are all known to have been connected with the lake. [G.]

ZIDKI'JAH (צִדְקִיָּה: Σεδεκίας: *Sedecias*). A priest, or family of priests, who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 1). The name is identical with that elsewhere in the A. V. rendered ZEDEKIAH.

ZI'DON or **SI'DON** (צִידוֹן and צִידֹן: Σιδών: *Sidon*). Gen. x. 19, 15; Josh. xi. 8, xix. 28; Judg. i. 31, xviii. 28; Joel iii. 4 (iv. 4); Is. xxiii. 2, 4, 12; Jer. xxv. 22, xxvii. 3; Ez. xxviii. 21, 22; Zech. ix. 2; Matt. xi. 21, 22, xv. 21; Luke vi. 17, x. 13, 14; Mark iii. 8, vii. 24, 31.—An ancient and wealthy city of Phoenicia, on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, in latitude 33° 34′ 05″ N., less than twenty English miles to the north of Tyre. Its Hebrew name, Tsîdôn, signifies "Fishing," or "Fishery" (see Gesenius, *s.v.*). Its modern name is *Saida*. It is situated in the narrow plain between the Lebanon and the sea, to which it once gave its own name (Joseph. *Ant.* v. 3, §1, τὸ μέγα πεδίον Σιδῶνος πόλεως) at a point where the mountains recede to a distance of two miles (Kenrick's *Phoenicia*, p. 19). Adjoining the city there are luxuriant gardens and orchards, in which there is a profusion of the finest fruit trees suited to the climate. "The plain is flat and low," says Mr. Porter, author of the *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, "but near the coast line rises a little hill, a spur from which shoots out a few hundred yards into the sea in a south-western direction. On the northern slope of the promontory thus formed stands the old city of Zidon. The hill behind on the south is covered by the citadel" (*Enc. Britannica*, 8th edition, *s.v.*).

From a Biblical point of view, this city is inferior in interest to its neighbour Tyre, with which its name is so often associated. Indeed, in all the passages above referred to in which the two cities are mentioned together, Tyre is named first—a circumstance which might at once be deemed accidental, or the mere result of Tyre's being the nearest of the two cities to Palestine, were it not that some doubt on this point is raised by the order being reversed in two works which were written at a period, after Zidon had enjoyed a long temporary superiority (Ezr. iii. 7; 1 Chr. xxii. 4). However this may be, it is certain that, of the two, Tyre is of the greater importance in reference to the writings of the most celebrated Hebrew prophets; and the splendid prophecies directed against Tyre, as a single colossal power (Ez. xxvi., xxvii., xxviii. 1-19; Is. xxiii.), have no parallel in the shorter and vaguer utterances against Zidon (Ez. xxviii. 21-23). And the predominant Biblical interest of Tyre arises from the prophecies relating to its destiny.

If we could believe Justin (xviii. 3), there would be no doubt that Zidon was of greater antiquity than Tyre, as he says that the inhabitants of Sidon, when their city had been reduced by the king of Ascalon, founded Tyre the year before the capture of Troy. Justin, however, is such a weak authority for any disputed historical fact, and his account of the early history of the Jews, wherein we have some means of testing his accuracy, seems to be so much in the nature of a romance (xxxvi. 2) that, without laying stress on the unreasonableness of any one's assuming to know the precise time when Troy was taken, he cannot be accepted as an authority for the early history of the Phoenicians. In contradiction of this statement, it has been further insisted on, that the relation between a colony and the mother-city among the Phoenicians was sacred, and that as the Tyrians never acknowledged this relation towards Zidon, the supposed connexion between Tyre and Zidon is morally impossible. This is a very strong point; but, perhaps, not absolutely conclusive, as no one can prove that this was the custom of the Phoenicians at the very distant period when alone the Zidonians would have built Tyre, if they founded it at all; or that it would have applied not only to the conscious and deliberate founding of a colony, but likewise to such an almost accidental founding of a city, as is implied in the account of Justin. Certainly, there is otherwise nothing improbable in Zidonians having founded Tyre, as the Tyrians are called Zidonians, but the Zidonians are never called Tyrians. And at any rate this circumstance tends to show that in early times Zidon was the most influential of the two cities. This is shadowed forth in the Book of Genesis by the statement that Zidon was the first-born of Canaan (Gen. x. 15), and is implied in the name of "Great Zidon," or "the Metropolis Zidon," which is twice given to it in Joshua (xi. 8, xix. 28). It is confirmed, likewise, by Sidonians being used as the generic name of the Phoenicians, or Canaanites (Josh. xiii. 6; Judg. xviii. 7); and by the reason assigned for there being no deliverer to Laish when its peaceable inhabitants were massacred, that "it was *far from Zidon*;" whereas, if Tyre had been then of equal importance, it would have been more natural to mention Tyre, which professed substantially the same religion, and was almost twenty miles nearer (Judg. xviii. 28). It is in accordance with the inference to be drawn from these circumstances that in the Homeric poems Tyre is not named, while there is mention both of Sidon and the Sidonians (*Od.* xv. 425, *Il.* xxiii. 743); and the land of the Sidonians is called "Sidonia" (*Od.* xiii. 285). One point, however, in the Homeric poems deserves to be specially noted concerning the Sidonians, that they are never here mentioned as *traders*, or praised for

their nautical skill, for which they were afterwards so celebrated (Herod. vii. 44, 96). The traders are invariably known by the general name of Phoenicians, which would, indeed, include the Sidonians; but still the special praise of Sidonians was as skilled workmen. When Achilles distributed prizes at the games in honour of Patroclus, he gave as the prize of the swiftest runner, a large silver bowl for mixing wine with water, which had been cunningly made by the skilful Sidonians, but which Phoenicians had brought over the sea (*Il.* xxiii. 743, 744). And when Menelaus wished to give to Telemachus what was most beautiful and most valuable, he presented him with a similar mixing-bowl of silver, with golden rim, a divine work, the work of Hephaestus, which had been a gift to Menelaus himself from Phaedimus, king of the Sidonians (*Od.* iv. 614-618, and *Od.* xv. l. c.). And again, all the beautifully embroidered robes of Andromache, from which she selected one as an offering to Athene, were the productions of Sidonian women, which Paris, when coming to Troy with Helen, had brought from Sidonia (*Il.* vi. 289-295). But in no case is anything mentioned as having been brought from Sidon in Sidonian vessels or by Sidonian sailors. Perhaps at this time the Phoenician vessels were principally fitted out at seaports of Phoenicia to the north of Sidon.

From the time of Solomon to the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar Zidon is not often directly mentioned in the Bible, and it appears to have been subordinate to Tyre. When the people called "Zidonians" is mentioned, it sometimes seems that the Phoenicians of the plain of Zidon are meant, as, for example, when Solomon said to Hiram that there was none among the Jews that could skill to hew timber like the Zidonians (1 K. v. 6); and possibly, when Ethbaal, the father of Jezebel, is called their king (1 K. xvi. 31), who, according to Menander in Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13, §2), was king of the Tyrians. This may likewise be the meaning when Ashtoreth is called the Goddess, or Abomination, of the Zidonians (1 K. xi. 5, 33; 2 K. xxiii. 13), or when women of the Zidonians are mentioned in reference to Solomon (1 K. xi. 1). And this seems to be equally true of the phrases, "daughter of Zidon," and "merchants of Zidon," and even once of "Zidon" itself (Is. xxiii. 12, 2, 4) in the prophecy of Isaiah against Tyre. There is no doubt, however, that Zidon itself, the city properly so called, was threatened by Joel (iii. 4) and Jeremiah (xxvii. 3). Still, all that is known respecting it during this epoch is very scanty, amounting to scarcely more than that one of its sources of gain was trade in slaves, in which the inhabitants did not shrink from selling inhabitants of Palestine [PHOENICIANS, p. 1001]; that the city was governed by kings (Jer. xxvii. 3 and xxv. 22); that, previous to the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, it had furnished mariners to Tyre (Ez. xxvii. 8); that, at one period, it was subject, in some sense or other, to Tyre; and that, when Shalmaneser king of Assyria invaded Phoenicia, Zidon seized the opportunity to revolt. It seems strange to hear of the subjection of one great city to another great city only twenty miles off, inhabited by men of the same race, language, and religion; but the fact is rendered conceivable by the relation of Athens to its allies after the Persian war, and by the history of the Italian republics in the middle ages. It is not improbable that its rivalry with Tyre may have been influential in inducing Zidon, more than a century later, to submit to Nebuchadnezzar, apparently without offering any serious resistance.

During the Persian domination, Zidon seems to have attained its highest point of prosperity; and it is recorded that, towards the close of that period, it far excelled all other Phoenician cities in wealth and importance (Diod. xvi. 44; Mela, i. 12). It is very probable that the long siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar had tended not only to weaken and impoverish Tyre, but likewise to enrich Zidon at the expense of Tyre; as it was an obvious expedient for any Tyrian merchants, artisans, and sailors, who deemed resistance useless or unwise, to transfer their residence to Zidon. However this may be, in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, the Sidonians were highly favoured, and were a pre-eminently important element of his naval power. When, from a hill near Abydos, Xerxes witnessed a boat-race in his fleet, the prize was gained by the Sidonians (Herod. vii. 44). When he reviewed his fleet, he sat beneath a golden canopy in a Sidonian galley (vii. 100); when he wished to examine the mouths of the river Peneus, he entrusted himself to a Sidonian galley, as was his wont on similar occasions (vii. 128); and when the Tyrants and general officers of his great expedition sat in order of honour, the king of the Sidonians sat first (viii. 67). Again, Herodotus states that the Phoenicians supplied the best vessels of the whole fleet; and of the Phoenicians, the Sidonians (vii. 96). And lastly, as Homer gives a vivid idea of the beauty of Achilles by saying that Nireus (thrice-named) was the most beautiful of all the Greeks who went to Troy, *after* the son of Peleus, so Herodotus completes the triumph of the Sidonians, when he praises the vessels of Artemisia (probably for the daring of their crews), by saying that they were the most renowned of the whole fleet, "*after the Sidonians*" (vii. 9).

The prosperity of Sidon was suddenly cut short by an unsuccessful revolt against Persia, which led to one of the most disastrous catastrophes recorded in history. Unlike the siege and capture of Tyre by Alexander the Great, which is narrated by several writers, and which is of commanding interest through its relation to such a renowned conqueror, the fate of Sidon is only known through the history of Diodorus (xvi. 42-45), and is mainly connected with Artaxerxes Ochus (B.C. 359-338), a monarch who is justly regarded with mingled aversion and contempt. Hence the calamitous overthrow of Sidon has not, perhaps, attracted so much attention as it deserves. The principal circumstances were these While the Persians were making preparations in Phoenicia to put down the revolt in Egypt, some Persian satraps and generals behaved oppressively and insolently to Sidonians in the Sidonian[a] division of the city of Tripolis. On this, the Sidonian people projected a revolt; and having first concerted arrangements with other Phoenician cities, and made a treaty with Nectanebus, they put their designs into execution. They commenced by committing outrages in a residence and park (παράδεισος) of

[a] In an excellent account of this revolt, Bp. Thirlwall seems to have regarded Diodorus as meaning Sidon itself by the words ἐν τῇ Σιδωνίων, xvi. 41 (*History of Greece*, vi. 179); and Miot, in his French translation of Diodorus (*Bibliothèque Historique de Diodore de Sicile*, Paris, 1837, tom. v. 73), actually translates the words by "Sidon." The real meaning, however, seems to be as stated in the text. Indeed, otherwise there was no sufficient reason for mentioning Tripolis as specially connected with the causes of the war

the Persian king; they burnt a large store of fodder which had been collected for the Persian cavalry; and they seized and put to death the Persians who had been guilty of insults towards the Sidonians. Afterwards, under their King Tennes, with the assistance from Egypt of 4000 Greek mercenaries under Mentor, they expelled the Persian satraps from Phoenicia; they strengthened the defences of their city, they equipped a fleet of 100 triremes, and prepared for a desperate resistance. But their King Tennes proved a traitor to their cause—and in performance of a compact with Ochus, he betrayed into the king's power one hundred of the most distinguished citizens of Sidon, who were all shot to death with javelins. Five hundred other citizens, who went out to the king with ensigns of supplication, shared the same fate; and by concert between Tennes and Mentor, the Persian troops were admitted within the gates, and occupied the city walls. The Sidonians, before the arrival of Ochus, had burnt their vessels to prevent any one's leaving the town; and when they saw themselves surrounded by the Persian troops, they adopted the desperate resolution of shutting themselves up with their families, and setting fire each man to his own house (B.C. 351). Forty thousand persons are said to have perished in the flames. Tennes himself did not save his own life, as Ochus, notwithstanding his promise to the contrary, put him to death. The privilege of searching the ruins was sold for money.

After this dismal tragedy, Sidon gradually recovered from the blow; fresh immigrants from other cities must have settled in it; and probably many Sidonian sailors survived, who had been plying their trade elsewhere in merchant vessels at the time of the capture of the city. The battle of Issus was fought about eighteen years afterwards (B.C. 333), and then the inhabitants of the restored city opened their gates to Alexander of their own accord, from hatred, as is expressly stated of Darius and the Persians (Arrian, *Anab. Al.* ii. 15). The impolicy, as well as the cruelty of Ochus in his mode of dealing with the revolt of Sidon now became apparent; for the Sidonian fleet in joining Alexander was an essential element of his success against Tyre. After aiding to bring upon Tyre as great a calamity as had afflicted their own city, they were so far merciful that they saved the lives of many Tyrians by concealing them in their ships, and then transporting them to Sidon (Q. Curtius, iv. 4, 15). From this time Sidon, being dependent on the fortunes of war in the contests between the successors of Alexander, ceases to play any important political part in history. It became, however, again a flourishing town—and Polybius (v. 70) incidentally mentions that Antiochus in his war with Ptolemy Philopator encamped over against Sidon (B.C. 218), but did not venture to attack it from the abundance of its resources, and the great number of its inhabitants, either natives or refugees. Subsequently, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 10, §2), Julius Caesar wrote a letter respecting Hyrcanus, which he addressed to the "*Magistrates, Council and Demos* of Sidon." This shows that up to that time the Sidonians enjoyed the forms of liberty, though Dion Cassius says (lxiv. 7) that Augustus, on his arrival in the East, deprived them of it for seditious conduct. Not long after, Strabo in his account of Phoenicia, says of Tyre and Sidon, "Both were illustrious and splendid formerly, *and now*; but which should be called the capital of Phoenicia, is a matter of dispute between the inhabitants" (xvi. p. 756). He adds that it is situated on the mainland, on a fine naturally-formed harbour. He speaks of the inhabitants as cultivating the sciences of arithmetic and astronomy; and says that the best opportunities were afforded in Sidon for acquiring a knowledge of these and of all other branches of philosophy. He adds, that in his time, there were distinguished philosophers, natives of Sidon, as Boethus, with whom he studied the philosophy of Aristotle, and his brother Diodotus. It is to be observed that both these names were Greek; and it is to be presumed that in Strabo's time, Greek was the language of the educated classes at least, both in Tyre and Sidon. This is nearly all that is known of the state of Sidon when it was visited by Christ. It is about fifty miles distant from Nazareth, and is the most northern city which is mentioned in connexion with his journeys. Pliny notes the manufacture of glass at Sidon (*Nat. Hist.* v. 17 (19);[b] and during the Roman period we may conceive Tyre and Sidon as two thriving cities, each having an extensive trade, and each having its staple manufacture; the latter of glass, and Tyre of purple dyes from shell-fish.

There is no Biblical reason for following minutely the rest of the history of Sidon. It shared generally the fortunes of Tyre, with the exception that it was several times taken and retaken during the wars of the Crusades, and suffered accordingly more than Tyre previous to the fatal year 1291 B.C. Since that time it never seems to have fallen quite so low as Tyre. Through Fakhr ed-Dîn, emir of the Druses between 1594 and 1634, and the settlement at Sayda of French commercial houses, it had a revival of trade in the 17th and part of the 18th century, and became the principal city on the Syrian coast for commerce between the east and the west (see *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, Paris, 1735, tom. i. p. 294-379). This was put an end to at the close of last century by violence and oppression (Ritter's *Erdkunde*, Siebzehnter theil, erste abtheilung, drittes buch, pp. 405-6), closing a period of prosperity in which the population of the city was at one time estimated at 20,000 inhabitants. The population, if it ever approached such a high point, has since materially decreased, and apparently does not now exceed 5000; but the town still shows signs of former wealth and the houses are better constructed and more spacious than those at Tyre, being many of them built of stone. Its chief exports are silk, cotton, and nutgalls (Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, iii. p. 418-419). As a protection against the Turks, its ancient harbour was filled up with stones and earth by the orders of Fakhr ed-Din, so that only small boats can now enter it; and larger vessels anchor to the northward, where they are only protected from the south and east winds (Porter's *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, 1858, p. 398). The trade between Syria and Europe now mainly passes through Beyrout, as its most important commercial centre; and the natural advantages of Beyrout in this respect, for the purposes of modern navigation, are so

[b] Pliny elsewhere (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 65 [26]) gives an account of the supposed accidental invention of glass in Phoenicia. The story is that some merchants on the seashore made use of some lumps of natron to support their cauldrons; and that, when the natron was subjected to the action of fire in conjunction with the sea sand, a translucent vitreous stream was seen to flow along the ground This story, however, is now discredited; as it requires intense furnace heat to produce the fusion. See article "Glass" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 8th edition.

decided that it is certain to maintain its present superiority over Sidon and Tyre.

In conclusion it may be observed, that while in our own times no important remains of antiquity have been discovered at or near Tyre, the case is different with Sidon. At the base of the mountains to the east of the town there are numerous sepulchres in the rock, and there are likewise sepulchral caves in the adjoining plain (see Porter, *Encyclop. Britann.* l. c.). "In January, 1855," says Mr. Porter, "one of the sepulchral caves was accidentally opened at a spot about a mile S.E. of the city, and in it was discovered one of the most beautiful and interesting Phoenician monuments in existence. It is a sarcophagus . . . . . the lid of which is hewn in the form of a mummy with the face bare. Upon the upper part of the lid is a perfect Phoenician inscription in twenty-two lines, and on the head of the sarcophagus itself is another almost as long." This sarcophagus is now in the Nineveh division of the Sculptures in the Louvre. At first sight, the material of which it is composed may be easily mistaken; and it has been supposed to be black marble. On the authority, however, of M. Suchard of Paris, who has examined it very closely, it may be stated, that the sarcophagus is of black syenite, which, as far as is known, is more abundant in Egypt than elsewhere. It may be added that the features of the countenance on the lid are decidedly of the Egyptian type, and the head-dress is Egyptian, with the head of a bird sculptured on what might seem the place of the right and left shoulder. There can therefore be little reason to doubt that this sarcophagus was either made in Egypt and sent thence to Sidon, or that it was made in Phoenicia in imitation of similar works of art in Egypt. The inscriptions themselves are the longest Phoenician inscriptions which have come down to our times. A translation of them was published by Professor Dietrich at Marburg in 1855, and by Professor Ewald at Göttingen in 1856. The predominant idea of them seems to be to warn all men, under penalty of the monarch's curse, against opening his sarcophagus or disturbing his repose for any purpose whatever, especially in order to search for treasures, of which he solemnly declares there are none in his tomb. The king's title is "King of the Sidonians;" and, as is the case with Ethbaal, mentioned in the Book of Kings (1 K. xvi. 31), there must remain a certain doubt whether this was a title ordinarily assumed by kings of Sidon, or whether it had a wider signification. We learn from the inscription that the king's mother was a priestess of Ashtoreth. With regard to the precise date of the king's reign, there does not seem to be any conclusive indication. Ewald conjectures that he reigned not long before the 11th century B.C. [E. T.]

Coin of Zidon.

ZIDON'IANS (צִדְנִי, Ez. xxxii. 30, צִידֹנִים צִדֹנִים, צִידוֹנִים, and once (1 K. xi. 33) צִדֹנִין. Σιδώνιοι, exc. Ez. xxxii. 30, στρατηγοὶ Ἀσσούρ *Sidonii*, exc. Ez. xxxii. 30, *venatores*). The inhabitants of Zidon. They were among the nations of Canaan left to practise the Israelites in the art of war (Judg. iii. 3), and colonies of them appear to have spread up into the hill country from Lebanon to Misrephoth-maim (Josh. xiii. 4, 6), whence in later times they hewed cedar-trees for David and Solomon (1 Chr. xxii. 4). They oppressed the Israelites on their first entrance into the country (Judg. x. 12), and appear to have lived a luxurious, reckless life (Judg. xviii. 7); they were skilful in hewing timber (1 K. v. 6), and were employed for this purpose by Solomon. They were idolaters, and worshipped Ashtoreth as their tutelary goddess (1 K. xi. 5, 33; 2 K. xxiii. 13), as well as the sun-god Baal, from whom their king was named (1 K. xvi. 31). The term Zidonians among the Hebrews appears to have been extended in meaning as that of Phoenicians among the Greeks. In Ez. xxxii. 30, the Vulgate read צִירִים, the LXX. probably שָׂרֵי אֲשֶׁר, for צִדְנִי אֲשֶׁר. Zidonian women (צִדְנִיּוֹת: Σύραι, *Sidoniae*) were in Solomon's harem (1 K. xi. 1).

ZIF[a]. זִיף: νεισφ; Alex. ζειου: *Zio*), 1 K. vi. 37. [MONTH.]

ZI'HA (צִיחָא: Σουθία, Σηά; Alex. Σουαά, Σιαΐα: *Siha, Soha*). 1. The children of Ziha were a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 43; Neh. vii. 46). 2. (Vat. omits; Alex. Σιαά: *Soaha.*) Chief of the Nethinim in Ophel (Neh. xi. 21). The name is probably that of a family, and so identical with the preceding.

ZIK'LAG (צִקְלַג, and twice[b] צִיקְלַג: Σεκελάκ, once Σικελάκ; in Chron. Ὦκλα, Σωκλᾶ, Σωγλάμ: Alex. Σικελαγ, but also Σικελεγ, Σεκελα; Joseph. Σεκελα: *Siceleg*). A place which possesses a special interest from its having been the residence and the private property of David. It is first mentioned in the catalogue of the towns of Judah in Josh. xv., where it is enumerated (ver. 31) amongst those of the extreme south, between Hormah (or Zephath) and Madmannah (possibly Beth marcaboth). It next occurs, in the same connexion amongst the places which were allotted out of the territory of Judah to Simeon (xix. 5). We next encounter it in the possession of the Philistines (1 Sam. xxvii. 6), when it was, at David's request, bestowed upon him by Achish king of Gath. He resided there for a year[c] and four months (ibid. 7, 1 Sam. xxxi. 14, 26; 1 Chr. xii. 1, 20). It was there he received the news of Saul's death (2 Sam. i. 1, iv. 10). He then relinquished it for Hebron (ii. 1). Ziklag is finally mentioned, in company with Beersheba, Hazarshual, and other towns of the south, as being reinhabited by the people of Judah after their return from the Captivity (Neh. xi. 28).

The situation of the town is difficult to determine, notwithstanding so many notices. On the one hand, that it was in "the south" (*negeb*) seems certain both from the towns named with it, and also from its mention with "the south of the Cherethites" and "the south of Caleb," some of whose descendants we know were at Ziph and Maon, perhaps even at

[a] The only instance in the Auth. Vers. of the use of F as a proper name.

[b] 1 Chr. xii. 1 and 20.

[c] Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 13, §10) gives this as one month and twenty days.

Paran (1 Sam. xxv. 1). On the other hand, this is difficult to reconcile with its connexion with the Philistines, and with the fact—which follows from the narrative of 1 Sam. xxx. (see 9, 10, 21)—that it was north of the Brook Besor. The word employed in 1 Sam. xxvii. 5, 7, 11, to denote the region in which it stood, is peculiar. It is not *has-Shefelah*, as it must have been had Ziklag stood in the ordinary lowland of Philistia, but *has-Sâdeh*, which Prof. Stanley (*S. and P.* App. §15) renders "the field." On the whole, though the temptation is strong to suppose (as some have suggested) that there were two places of the same name, the only conclusion seems to be that Ziklag was in the south or Negeb country, with a portion of which the Philistines had a connexion which may have lasted from the time of their residence there in the days of Abraham and Isaac. It is remarkable that the word *sadeh* is used in Gen. xiv. 7, for the country occupied by the Amalekites, which seems to have been situated far south of the Dead Sea, at or near Kadesh. The name of Paran also occurs in the same passage. But further investigation is necessary before we can remove the residence of Nabal so far south. His Maon would in that case become, not the *Maîn* which lies near *Zif* and *Kŭrmŭl*, but that which was the head-quarters of the Maonites, or Mehunim.

Ziklag does not appear to have been known to Eusebius and Jerome, or to any of the older travellers. Mr. Rowlands, however, in his journey from Gaza to Suez in 1842 (in Williams's *Holy City*, i. 463-8), was told of "an ancient site called Asloodg, or Kasloodg, with some ancient walls," three hours east of Sebâta, which again was two hours and a half south of Khalasa. This he considers as identical with Ziklag. Dr. Robinson had previously (in 1838) heard of *'Aslûj* as lying south-west of *Milh*, on the way to *Abdeh* (*B. R.* ii. 201), a position not discordant with that of Mr. Rowlands. The identification is supported by Mr. Wilton (*Negeb*, 209); but it is impossible at present, and until further investigation into the district in question has been made, to do more than name it. If Dr. Robinson's form of the name is correct—and since it is repeated in the Lists of Dr. Eli Smith (عسلوج, App. to vol. iii. of 1st ed. p. 115*a*) there is no reason to doubt this—the similarity which prompted Mr. Rowlands's conjecture almost entirely disappears. This will be evident if the two names are written in Hebrew, עשלג, צקלג. [G.]

ZIL'LAH (צִלָּה: Σελλά: *Sella*). One of the two wives of Lamech the Cainite, to whom he addressed his song (Gen. iv. 19, 22, 23). She was the mother of Tubal-Cain and Naamah. Dr. Kalisch (*Comm. on Gen.*) regards the names of Lamech's wives and of his daughter as significant of the transition into the period of art which took place in his time, and the corresponding change in the position of the woman. "Naamah signifies the lovely, beautiful woman; whilst the wife of the first man was simply Eve, the lifegiving. . . . The women were, in the age of Lamech, no more regarded merely as the propagators of the human family; beauty and gracefulness began to command homage. . . . Even the wives of Lamech manifest the transition into this epoch of beauty; for whilst one wife, Zillah reminds still of assistance and protection (צלה, "shadow"), the other, Adah bears a name almost synonymous with Naamah, and likewise signifying ornament and loveliness."

In the apocryphal book of Jashar, Adah and Zillah are both daughters of Cainan. Adah bare children, but Zillah was barren till her old age, in consequence of some noxious draught which her husband gave her to preserve her beauty and to prevent her from bearing. [W. A. W.]

ZIL'PAH (זִלְפָּה: Ζελφά: *Zelpha*). A Syrian given by Laban to his daughter Leah as an attendant (Gen. xxix. 24), and by Leah to Jacob as a concubine. She was the mother of Gad and Asher (Gen. xxx. 9-13, xxxv. 26, xxxvii. 2, xlvi. 18).

ZILTHA'I (צִלְתַּי: Σαλαθί; Alex. Σαλεί: *Selethaï*). 1. A Benjamite, of the sons of Shimhi (1 Chr. viii. 20).

2. (Σαμαθί; FA. Σεμαθεί: *Salathi.*) One of the captains of thousands of Manasseh who deserted to David at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 20).

ZIM'MAH (זִמָּה: Ζαμμάθ; Alex. Ζαμμα, Ζεμμάθ: *Zamma, Zemma.*) 1. A Gershonite Levite, son of Jahath (1 Chr. vi. 20).

2. (Ζαμμάμ.) Another Gershonite, son of Shimei (1 Chr. vi. 42); possibly the same as the preceding.

3. (Ζεμμάθ: *Zemma.*) Father or ancestor of Joah, a Gershonite in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 12). At a much earlier period we find the same collocation of names, Zimmah and Joah as father and son (1 Chr. vi. 20). Compare "Mahath the son of Amasai" in 2 Chr. xxix. 12 with the same in 1 Chr. vi. 35; "Joel the son of Azariah" in 2 Chr. xxix. 12 and 1 Chr. vi. 36; and "Kish the son of Abdi" 2 Chr. xxix. 12 with "Kishi the son of Abdi" in 1 Chr. vi. 44. Unless these names are the names of families and not of individuals, their recurrence is a little remarkable.

ZIM'RAN (זִמְרָן: Ζομβρᾶν, Ζεμβράμ; Alex. Ζεβρᾶν, Ζεμβρᾶν, Ζεμρᾶν: *Zamran*). The eldest son of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2; 1 Chr. i. 32). His descendants are not mentioned, nor is any hint given that he was the founder of a tribe: the contrary would rather appear to be the case. Some would identify Zimran with the Zimri of Jer. xxv. 25, but these lay too far to the north. The Greek form of the name, as found in the LXX., has suggested a comparison with Ζαβράμ, the chief city of the Cinaedocolpitae, who dwelt on the Red Sea, west of Mecca. But this is extremely doubtful, for this tribe, probably the same with the ancient *Kenda*, was a branch of the Joktanite Arabs, who in the most ancient times occupied Yemen, and may only have come into possession of Zabram at a later period (Knobel, *Genesis*). Hitzig and Lengerke propose to connect the name Zimran with Zimiris, a district of Ethiopia mentioned by Pliny (xxxvi. 25); but Grotius, with more plausibility, finds a trace of it in the Zamereni, a tribe of the interior of Arabia. The identification of Zimran with the modern Ben. Omran, and the Bani Zomaneis of Diodorus, proposed by Mr. Forster (*Geogr. of Arabia*, i. 431), cannot be seriously maintained. [W. A. W.]

ZIM'RI (זִמְרִי: Ζαμβρί: *Zambri*). 1. The son of Salu, a Simeonite chieftain, slain by Phinehas with the Midianitish princess Cozbi (Num. xxv 14). When the Israelites at Shittim were smitten with plagues for their impure worship of Baal Peor, and were weeping before the tabernacle, Zimri with

a shameless disregard to his own high position and the sufferings of his tribe, brought into their presence the Midianitess in the sight of Moses and in the sight of the whole congregation. The fierce anger of Phinehas was aroused, and in the swift vengeance with which he pursued the offenders, he gave the first indication of that uncompromising spirit which characterized him in later life. The whole circumstance is much softened in the narrative of Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 6, §10-12), and in the hands of the apologist is divested of all its vigour and point. In the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel several traditional details are added. Zimri retorts upon Moses that he himself had taken to wife a Midianitess, and twelve miraculous signs attend the vengeance of Phinehas.

In describing the scene of this tragedy an unusual word is employed, the force of which is lost in the rendering "tent" of the A. V. of Num. xxv. 8. It was not the *ohel*, or ordinary tent of the encampment, but the קֻבָּה, *kubbáh* (whence Span. *alcova*, and our *alcove*), or dome-shaped tent, to which Phinehas pursued his victims. Whether this was the tent which Zimri occupied as chief of his tribe, and which was in consequence more elaborate and highly ornamented than the rest, or whether it was, as Gesenius suggests, one of the tents which the Midianites used for the worship of Peor is not to be determined, though the latter is favoured by the rendering of the Vulg. *lupanar*. The word does not occur elsewhere in Hebrew. In the Syriac it is rendered a cell, or inner apartment of the tent. [W. A. W.]

2. (זִמְרִי: Ζαμβρί; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 12, §5, Ζαμάρης: *Zambri.*) Fifth sovereign of the separate kingdom of Israel, of which he occupied the throne for the brief period of seven days in the year B.C. 930 or 929. Originally in command of half the chariots in the royal army, he gained the crown by the murder of king Elah son of Baasha, who, after reigning for something more than a year (compare 1 K. xvi. 8 and 10), was indulging in a drunken revel in the house of his steward Arza at Tirzah, then the capital. In the midst of this festivity Zimri killed him, and immediately afterwards all the rest of Baasha's family. But the army which at that time was besieging the Philistine town of Gibbethon, when they heard of Elah's murder, proclaimed their general Omri king. He immediately marched against Tirzah, and took the city. Zimri retreated into the innermost part of the late king's palace,[a] set it on fire and perished in the ruins (1 K. xvi. 9–20). Ewald's inference from Jezebel's speech to Jehu (2 K. ix. 31), that on Elah's death the queen-mother welcomed his murderer with smiles and blandishments, seems rather arbitrary and far-fetched. [JEZEBEL.] [G. E. L. C.]

3. (*Zamri.*) One of the five sons of Zerah the son of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 6).

4. Son of Jehoadah and descendant of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 36, ix. 42).

5. (Om. in LXX.: *Zambri.*) An obscure name, mentioned Jer. xxv. 25) in probable connexion with Dedan, Tema, Buz, Arabia (עֲרַב), the mingled people "'ereb" (הָעֵרֶב), all of which immediately precede it, besides other peoples; and followed by Elam, the Medes, and others. The passage is of wide comprehension, but the reference, as indicated above, seems to be to a tribe of the sons of the East, the Beni-Kedem. Nothing further is known respecting Zimri, but it may possibly be the same as, or derived from, ZIMRAN, which see. [E. S. P.]

ZIN (צִין: Σίν). The name given to a portion of the desert tract between the Dead Sea, Ghôr, and Arabah (possibly including the two latter, or portions of them) on the E., and the general plateau of the *Tîh* which stretches westward. The country in question consists of two or three successive terraces of mountain converging to an acute angle (like stairs where there is a turn in the flight) at the Dead Sea's southern verge, towards which also they slope. Here the drainage finds its chief vent by the *Wady el-Fikreh* into the Ghôr, the remaining waters running by smaller channels into the Arabah, and ultimately by the *Wady el-Jeib* also to the Ghôr. Judging from natural features, in the vagueness of authority, it is likely that the portion between, and drained by these wadys, is the region in question; but where it ended westward, whether at any of the abovenamed terraces, or blending imperceptibly with that of Paran, is quite uncertain. Kadesh lay in it, or on this unknown boundary, and here also Idumea was conterminous with Judah; since Kadesh was a city in the border of Edom (see KADESH; Num. xiii. 21, xx. 1, xxvii. 14, xxxiii. 36, xxxiv. 3; Josh. xv. 1). The researches of Williams and Rowlands on this subject, although not conclusive in favour of the site *el-Kûdeis* for the city, yet may indicate that the "wilderness of Kades," which is indistinguishable from that of Zin, follows the course of the *Wady Murreh* westward. The whole region requires further research; but its difficulties are of a very formidable character. Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 4, §6) speaks of a "hill called Sin" (Σίν), where Miriam, who died in Kadesh, when the people had "come to the desert of Zin," was buried. This "Sin" of Josephus may recall the name Zin, and, being applied to a hill, may perhaps indicate the most singular and wholly isolated conical acclivity named *Moderah* (*Madura*, or *Madara*), standing a little S. of the *Wady Fikreh*, near its outlet into the Ghôr. This would precisely agree with the tract of country above indicated (Num. xx. 1; Seetzen, *Reisen*, iii. *Hebron to Madara*; Wilton, *Negeb*, 127, 134). [H. H.]

ZI'NA (זִינָא: Ζιζά: *Ziza*). ZIZAH the second son of Shimei (1 Chr. xxiii. 10, comp. 11) the Gershonite. One of Kennicott's MSS. reads זִיזָא, Ziza, like the LXX. and Vulg.

ZI'ON. [JERUSALEM.]

ZI'OR (צִיעֹר: Σωρλθ; Alex. Σιωρ: *Sior*). A town in the mountain district of Judah (Josh. xv. 54, only). It belongs to the same group with Hebron, next to which it occurs in the list. By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.* Σιώρ) it is spoken of as a village between Aelia (Jerusalem) and Eleutheropolis (*Beit jibrin*), in the tribe of Judah. A small village named *Sa'ir* (שָׁעִיר) lies on the road

[a] The word is אַרְמוֹן which Ewald (after J. D. Michaelis), both here and in 2 K. xv. 25, insists on translating "harem," with which word he thinks that it is etymologically connected, and hence seeks confirmation of his view that Zimri was a voluptuous slave of women. But its root seems to be אָרַם, "to be high" (Gesenius); and in other passages, especially Prov. xviii. 19, the meaning is "a lofty fortress," rather than "a harem." Ewald, in his sketch of Zimri, is perhaps somewhat led astray by the desire of finding a historical parallel with Sardanapalus

between *Tekûa* and Hebron, about six miles north-east of the latter (Rob. *B. R.* i. 488), which may probably be that alluded to in the *Onomasticon*; and but for its distance from Hebron, might be adopted as identical with Zior. So little, however, is known of the principle on which the groups of towns are collected in these lists, that it is impossible to speak positively on the point, either one way or the other. [G.]

ZIPH (זִיף). The name borne by two towns in the territory of Judah.

1. (Μαιράμ; Alex. Ἰθνα]ζιφ: *Ziph*). In the south (*negeb*); named between Ithnan and Telem (Josh. xv. 24). It does not appear again in the history—for the Ziph of David's adventures is an entirely distinct spot—nor has any trace of it been met with. From this, from the apparent omission of the name in the Vatican LXX., and from the absence of the "and" before it, Mr. Wilton has been led to suggest that it is an interpolation (*Negeb*, 85); but his grounds for this are hardly conclusive. Many names in this list have not yet been encountered on the ground; before several others the "and" is omitted; and though not now recognizable in the Vat. LXX., the name is found in the Alex. and in the Peshito (*Zib*). In our present ignorance of the region of the Negeb it is safer to postpone any positive judgment on the point.

2. (Ὀζείβ; Ζείφ, ἡ Ζείβ; Alex. Ζιφ, Ζειφ: *Ziph.*) In the highland district; named between Carmel and Juttah (Josh. xv. 55). The place is immortalized by its connexion with David, some of whose greatest perils and happiest escapes took place in its neighbourhood (1 Sam. xxiii. 14, 15, 24, xxvi. 2). These passages show, that at that time it had near it a wilderness (*midbar*, *i. e.* a waste pasture ground) and a wood. The latter has disappeared, but the former remains. The name of *Zîf* is found about three miles S. of Hebron, attached to a rounded hill of some 100 feet in height, which is called *Tell Zîf*. About the same distance still further S. is *Kûrmûl* (Carmel), and between them a short distance to the W. of the road is *Yûtta* (Juttah). About half a mile E. of the Tell are some considerable ruins, standing at the head of two small Wadys, which commencing here, run off towards the Dead Sea. These ruins are pronounced by Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* i. 492) to be those of the ancient Ziph, but hardly on sufficient grounds. They are too far from the *tell* for it to have been the citadel to them. It seems more probable that the *tell* itself is the remnant of the ancient place which was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 8).

"Zib" is mentioned in the *Onomasticon* as 8 miles east of Hebron; "the village," adds Jerome, "in which David hid is still shown." This can hardly be the spot above referred to, unless the distance and direction have been stated at random, or the passage is corrupt both in Eusebius and Jerome. At 7 Roman miles east of Hebron a ruin is marked on Van de Velde's map, but it does not appear to have been investigated. Elsewhere (under "Zeib" and "Ziph") they place it near Carmel, and connect it with Ziph the descendant of Caleb.

From Eusebius to Dr. Robinson no one appears to have mentioned *Zîf*. Yet many travellers must have passed the Tell, and the name is often in the mouths of the Arab guides (Stanley, *S. & P.* 101[a]).

There are some curious differences between the text of the LXX. and the Hebrew of these passages, which may be recorded here.

Hebrew	Vatican LXX. (Mai).	Alex. LXX.
1 Sam. xxiii. 14. . . . remained in the mountain in the wilderness of Ziph.	ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Ζειφ, ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ αὐχμώδει·	. . . . . εν τω ορει εν τη ερεμω Ζειφ εις ορος το αυχμωδες εν γη αυχμωδέι.
15. . . . in the wilderness of Ziph in the wood.	ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ αὐχμώδει ἐν ᾗ καινῇ Ζειφ, γῇ καινῇ [καινη = חָדָשׁ read for חֹרֶשׁ].	. . . . Ζειφ εν τη καινη.
19. And Ziphites came to Saul.	καὶ ἀνέβησαν οἱ Ζειφαῖοι ἐκ τῆς αὐχμώδους πρὸς Σ.	. . . .
24. And they arose and went to Ziph before Saul.	καὶ ἀνέστησαν οἱ Ζειφαῖοι καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἔμπροσθεν Σ.	. . . .

ZIPH'RON (זִפְרֹן: Δεφρωνά[a]; Alex. Ζεφρωνα: *Zephrona*). A point in the north boundary of the Promised Land as specified by Moses (Num. xxxiv. 9). It occurs between Zedad and Hatsar-Enan. If Zedad is *Sŭdŭd*, and Hatsar-Enan *Kurietein*, as is not impossible, then Ziphron must be looked for somewhere between the two. At present no name at all suitable has been discovered in this direction. But the whole of this topography is in a most unsatisfactory state as regards both comprehension of the original record and knowledge of the ground; and in the absence of more information we must be content to abstain from conjectures.

In the parallel passage of Ezekiel (xlvii. 16, 17) the words "Hazar-hatticon, which is by the border of Hauran," appear to be substituted for Ziphron. The Hauran here named may be the modern village *Hauwârîn*, which lies between *Sŭdŭd* and *Kurietein*, and not the district of the same name many miles further south. [G.]

ZIP'POR (צִפֹּר, and twice [b] צִפּוֹר: Σεπφώρ: *Sepphor*). Father of Balak king of Moab. His name occurs only in the expression "son of Zippor" (Num. xxii. 2, 4, 10, 16, xxiii. 18; Josh. xxiv. 9; Judg. xi. 25). Whether he was the "former king of Moab" alluded to in Num. xxi. 26, we are not told, nor do we know that he himself ever reigned. The Jewish tradition already noticed [MOAB, p. 393 *a*] is, that Moab and Midian were united into one kingdom, and ruled by a king chosen alternately from each. In this connexion the similarity between the names Zippor and Zipporah, the latter of which we know to have been the name of a Midianitess, *pur sang*, is worthy of notice, as it suggests that Balak may have been of Midianite parentage. [G.]

ZIP'PORAH (צִפֹּרָה: Σεπφώρα; Joseph. Σαπφώρα: *Sephora*). Daughter of Reuel or Jethro, the priest of Midian, wife of Moses, and mother of his two sons Gershom and Eliezer (Ex. ii. 21, iv. 25, xviii. 2, comp. 6). The only incident recorded in her life is that of the circumcision of Gershom (iv. 24-26), the account of which has been examined under the head of MOSES (p. 427 *b*. See also Stanley's *Jewish Church*, 114).

It has been suggested that Zipporah was the Cushite (A. V. "Ethiopian") wife who furnished Miriam and Aaron with the pretext for their attack on Moses (Num. xii. 1, &c.). The chief ground for this appears to be that in a passage of Habakkuk (iii. 7) the names of Cushan and Midian are mentioned together. But in the immense interval which had elapsed between the Exodus and the period of Habakkuk (at least seven centuries), the relations of Cush and Midian may well have altered too materially to admit of any argument being founded on the later passage, even if it were certain that their being mentioned in juxtaposition implied any connexion between them, further than that both were dwellers in tents and enemies of Israel; and unless the events of Num. xii. should be proved to be quite out of their proper place in the narrative, it is difficult to believe that a charge could have been made against Moses on the ground of his marriage, after so long a period, and when the children of his wife must have been several years old. The most feasible suggestion appears to be that of Ewald (*Geschichte*, ii. 229, *note*), namely that the Cushite was a second wife, or a concubine, taken by Moses during the march through the wilderness—whether after the death of Zipporah (which is not mentioned) or from other circumstances must be uncertain. This—with the utmost respect to the eminent scholar who has supported the other alternative—the writer ventures to offer as that which commends itself to him.

The similarity between the names of Zippor and Zipporah, and the possible inference from that similarity, have been mentioned under the former head. [ZIPPOR.] [G.]

ZITH'RI (סִתְרִי: Σεγρεί; Alex. Σεθρεί: *Sethri*). Properly "Sithri;" one of the sons of Uzziel, the son of Kohath (Ex. vi. 22). In Ex. vi. 21, "Zithri" should be "Zichri," as in A. V. of 1611.

ZIZ, THE CLIFF OF (מַעֲלֵה הַצִּיץ: ἡ ἀνάβασις Ἀσαέ, in both MSS.: *clivus nomine Sis*). The pass (such is more accurately the meaning of the word *maălêh*; comp. ADUMMIM; GUR, &c.) by which the horde of Moabites, Ammonites, and Mehunim, made their way up from the shores of the Dead Sea to the wilderness of Judah near Tekoa (2 Chr. xx. 16 only; comp. 20). There can be very little doubt that it was the pass of *Ain Jidy*—"the very same route," as Dr. Robinson remarks, "which is taken by the Arabs in their marauding expeditions at the present day; along the shore as far as to *'Ain Jidy*, and then up the pass, and so northwards below *Tekûa*" (*Bib. Res.* i. 508, 530). The very name (which since it has the article prefixed is more accurately haz-Ziz than Ziz) may perhaps be still traceable in *el-Hûsâsah*, which is attached to a large tract of table-land lying immediately above the pass of *Ain Jidy*, between it and *Tekûa*, and bounded on the north by a *Wady* of the same name (*B. R.* i. 527). May not both haz-Ziz and Hûsâsah be descended from Hazezon-tamar, the early name of Engedi? [G.]

ZI'ZA (זִיזָא: Ζουζά: *Ziza*). 1. Son of Shiphi a chief of the Simeonites, who in the reign of Hezekiah made a raid upon the peaceable Hamite shepherds of Gedor, and smote them, "because there was pasture there for their flocks" (1 Chr. iv. 37).

2. (Ζηζά.) Son of Rehoboam by Maachah the granddaughter of Absalom (2 Chr. xi. 20).

ZI'ZAH (זִיזָה: Ζιζά: *Ziza*). A Gershonite Levite, second son of Shimei (1 Chr. xxiii. 11); called ZINA in ver. 10.

ZO'AN (צֹעַן: Τανίς: *Tanis*), an ancient city of Lower Egypt. It is mentioned by a Shemitic and by an Egyptian name, both of the same signification. Zoan, preserved in the Coptic ⲤⲀⲚⲒ, ⲤⲀⲚⲈ, S. ⲤⲀⲀⲚⲈ, ⲤⲀⲀⲚⲒ, the Arabic صان (a village on the site), and the classical Τάνις, Tanis, whence the Coptic transcription ⲦⲀⲚⲈⲰⲤ, comes from the root צָעַן, "he moved tents" (Is. xxxiii. 20), cognate with טָעַן, "he loaded a beast of burden;" and thus signifies "a place of de-

[a] The final *a* in LXX. and Vulgate is due to the Hebrew particle of motion—"*to* Ziphron."

[b] Num. xxii. 10, xxiii. 18.

In LXX. υἱος Σ., except in Josh. xxiv. 9, ὁ τοῦ Σ.

parture," like צַעֲנַנִּים, Zaanannim (Josh. xix. 33), or צַעֲנָיִם, Zaanaim[a] (Judg. iv. 11), "removings" (Gesen.), a place in northernmost Palestine, on the border of Naphtali near Kedesh. The place just mentioned is close to the natural and constant northern border of Palestine, whether under the spurs of Lebanon or of Hermon. Zoan lay near the eastern border of Lower Egypt. The sense of departure or removing, therefore, would seem not to indicate a mere resting-place of caravans, but a place of departure from a country. The Egyptian name HA-AWAR, or PA-AWAR, Avaris, Αουαρις, means "the abode" or "house" of "going out" or "departure." Its more precise sense fixes that of the Shemitic equivalent.[b]

Tanis is situate in N. lat. 31°, E. long. 31° 55', on the east bank of the canal which was formerly the Tanitic branch. Anciently a rich plain extended due east as far as Pelusium, about thirty miles distant, gradually narrowing towards the east, so that in a south-easterly direction from Tanis it was not more than half this breadth. The whole of this plain, about as far south and west as Tanis, was anciently known as "the Fields" or "Plains," ΝΙΙΙ

event occurred about B.C. 1500. Rameses II. embellished the great temple of Tanis, and was followed by his son Menptah.

It is within the period from the Shepherd-invasion to the reign of Menptah, that the sojourn and Exodus of the Israelites are placed. We believe that the Pharaoh of Joseph as well as the oppressors were Shepherds, the former ruling at Memphis and Zoan, the latter probably at Zoan only; though in the case of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, the time would suit the annual visit Manetho states to have been paid by Salatis. Zoan is mentioned in connexion with the Plagues in such a manner as to leave no doubt that it is the city spoken of in the narrative in Exodus as that where Pharaoh dwelt. The wonders were wrought "in the field of Zoan" (Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43), שְׂדֵה־צֹעַן, which may either denote the territory immediately around the city, or its nome, or even a kingdom (Gesen. *Lex.* s. v. שָׂדֶה). This would accord best with the Shepherd-period; but it cannot be doubted that Rameses II. paid great attention to Zoan, and may have made it a royal residence.

After the fall of the empire, the first dynasty is the xxist, called by Manetho that of Tanites. Its history is obscure, and it fell before the stronger line of Bubastites, the xxiind dynasty, founded by Shishak. The expulsion of Set from the pantheon, under the xxiind dynasty, must have been a blow to Tanis; and perhaps a religious war occasioned the rise of the xxiiird. The xxiiird dynasty is called Tanite, and its last king is probably Sethos, the contemporary of Tirhakah, mentioned by Herodotus. At this time Tanis once more appears in sacred history, as a place to which came ambassadors, either of Hoshea, or Ahaz, or else, possibly, Hezekiah:—"For his princes were at Zoan, and his messengers came to Hanes" (Is. xxx. 4). As mentioned with the frontier-town Tahpanhes, Tanis is not necessarily the capital. But the same prophet perhaps more distinctly points to a Tanite line where saying, in "the burden of Egypt," "the princes of Zoan are become fools; the princes of Noph are deceived" (xix. 13). The doom of Zoan is foretold by Ezekiel: "I will set fire in Zoan" (xxx. 14), where it occurs among the cities to be taken by Nebuchadnezzar.

"The plain of Sán is very extensive, but thinly inhabited: no village exists in the immediate vicinity of the ancient Tanis; and, when looking from the mounds of this once splendid city towards the distant palms of indistinct villages, we perceive the desolation spread around it. The 'field' of Zoan, is now a barren waste: a canal passes through it without being able to fertilize the soil; 'fire' has been set in 'Zoan;' and one of the principal capitals or royal abodes of the Pharaohs is now the habitation of fishermen, the resort of wild beasts, and infested with reptiles and malignant fevers." It is "remarkable for the height and extent of its mounds, which are upwards of a mile from N. to S., and nearly ¾ of a mile from E. to W. The area in which the sacred enclosure of the temple stood is about 1500 ft. by 1250, surrounded by mounds of fallen houses. The temple was adorned by Rameses II. with numerous obelisks and most of its sculptures. It is very ruinous, but its remains prove its former grandeur. The number of its obelisks, ten or twelve, all now fallen, is unequalled, and the labour of transporting them from Syene shows the lavish magnificence of the Egyptian kings. The oldest name found here is that of Sesertesen III. of the xiith dynasty, the latest that of Tirhakah (Sir Gardner Wilkinson's *Handbook*, pp. 221, 222). Recently, M. Mariette has made excavations on this site and discovered remains of the Shepherd-period, showing a markedly-characteristic style, especially in the representation of face and figure, but of Egyptian art, and therefore afterwards appropriated by the Egyptian kings. [R. S. P.]

ZO'AR (צֹעַר, and twice[a] צוֹעַר; Samar. throughout צער: Ζόγορα, Σηγώρ, Ζογόρ; Joseph. Ζοώρ, τὰ Ζοαρα, or Ζώαρα: *Segor*). One of the most ancient cities of the land of Canaan. Its original name was BELA, and it was still so called at the time of Abram's first residence in Canaan (Gen. xiv. 2, 8). It was then in intimate connexion with the cities of the "plain of Jordan"—Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboiim (see also xiii. 10; but not x. 19)—and its king took part with the kings of those towns in the battle with the Assyrian host which ended in their defeat and the capture of Lot. In the general destruction of the cities of the plain, Zoar was spared to afford shelter to Lot, and it was on that occasion, according to the quaint statement of the ancient narrative, that the change in its name took place (xix. 22, 23, 30).[b] It is mentioned in the account of the death of Moses as one of the landmarks which bounded his view from Pisgah (Deut. xxxiv. 3), and it appears to have been known in the time both of Isaiah (xv. 5) and Jeremiah (xlviii. 34). These are all the notices of Zoar contained in the Bible.

1. It was situated in the same district with the four cities already mentioned, viz. in the *ciccar*, the "plain" or "circle" "of the Jordan," and the narrative of Gen. xix. evidently implies that it was very near to Sodom—sufficiently near for Lot and his family to traverse the distance in the time between the first appearance of the morning and the actual rising of the sun (ver. 15, 23, 27). The definite position of Sodom is, and probably will always be, a mystery, but there can be little doubt that the plain of the Jordan was at the north of the Dead Sea, and that the cities of the plain must therefore have been situated there instead of at the southern end of the lake, as it is generally taken for granted they were. The grounds for this conclusion have been already indicated under SODOM (p. 1339 *a*), but it will be well to state them here more at length. They are as follows:—

(*a.*) The northern and larger portion of the lake has undoubtedly existed in, or very nearly in, its present form since a date long anterior to the age of Abraham. (The conviction of the writer is that this is true of the whole lake, but everyone will agree as to the northern portion, and that is all that is necessary to the present argument.) The Jordan therefore at that date discharged itself into the lake pretty nearly where it does now, and thus the "plain of the Jordan," unless unconnected with the river, must have lain on the north of the Dead Sea.

(*b.*) The plain was within view of the spot from which Abram and Lot took their survey of the country (Gen. xiii. 1-13), and which, if there is any connexion in the narrative, was "the mountain

[a] Gen. xix. 22, 30.

[b] In the Targum Pseudojonathan, to vers. 22, 23, the name of Zoar is given זוּעַר, and the play on the "smallness" of the town is suppressed.

east of Bethel," between Bethel and Ai," with "Bethel on the west and A. on the east" (xiii. 3, xii. 8). Now the lower part of the course of the Jordan is plainly visible from the hills east of *Beitin*—the whole of that rich and singular valley spread out before the spectator. On the other hand, the southern half of the Dead Sea is not only too far off to be discerned, but is actually shut out from view by intervening heights.

(*c.*) In the account of the view of Moses from Pisgah the *ciccar* is more strictly defined as "the *ciccar* of the plain of Jericho" (A. V. "plain of the valley of Jericho"), and Zoar is mentioned in immediate connexion with it. Now no person who knows the spot from actual acquaintance or from study of the topography can believe that the "plain of Jericho" can have been extended to the southern end of the Dead Sea. The Jerusalem Targum (not a very ancient authority in itself, but still valuable as a storehouse of many ancient traditions and explanations), in paraphrasing this passage, actually identifies Zoar with Jericho—"the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city which produces the palms, that is Zeôr" (צֵעִיר).[e]

These considerations appear to the writer to render it highly probable that the Zoar of the Pentateuch was to the north of the Dead Sea, not far from its northern end, in the general parallel of Jericho. That it was on the east side of the valley seems to be implied in the fact that the descendants of Lot, the Moabites and Ammonites, are in possession of that country as their original seat when they first appear in the sacred history. It seems to follow that the "mountain" in which Lot and his daughters dwelt when Moab and Ben-Ammi were born was the "mountain" to which he was advised to flee by the angel, and between which and Sodom stood Zoar (xix. 30, compare 17, 19). It is also in favour of its position north of the Dead Sea, that the earliest information as to the Moabites makes their original seat in the plains of Heshbon, N.E. of the Lake, not, as afterwards, in the mountains on the S.E., to which they were driven by the Amorites (Num. xxi. 26).

2. The passages in Isaiah and Jeremiah in which Zoar is mentioned give no clue to its situation. True they abound with the names of places, apparently in connexion with it, but they are places (with only an exception or two) not identified. Still it is remarkable that one of these is Elealeh, which, if the modern *el-Aal*, is in the parallel of the north end of the Dead Sea, and that another is the Waters of Nimrim, which may turn out to be identical with *Wady Nimrin*, opposite Jericho. *Wady Seir*, a short distance south of *Nimrin*, is suggestive of Zoar, but we are too ill-informed of the situations and the orthography of the places east of Jordan to be able to judge of this.

3. So much for the Zoar of the Bible. When however we examine the notices of the place in the post-biblical sources we find a considerable difference. In these its position is indicated with more or less precision, as at the S.E. end of the Dead Sea. Thus Josephus says that it retained its name (Ζοάρ) to his day (*Ant.* i. 11, §4), that it was at the further end of the Asphaltic Lake, in Arabia—by which he means the country lying S.E. of the lake, whose capital was Petra (*B. J.* iv. 8, §4; *Ant.* xiv. 1, §4). The notices of Eusebius are to the same tenor:—the Dead Sea extended from Jericho to Zoar (Ζοορών; *Onom.* Θαλασσα η αλυκη). Phaeno lay between Petra and Zoar (*Ib.* Φινών). It still retained its name (Ζωαρά), lay close to (παρακειμένη) the Dead Sea, was crowded with inhabitants, and contained a garrison of Roman soldiers; the palm and the balsam still flourished, and testified to its ancient fertility (*Ib.* Βαλά).

To these notices of Eusebius St. Jerome adds little or nothing. Paula in her journey beholds Segor (which Jerome gives on several occasions as the Hebrew form of the name in opposition to Zoora or Zoara, the Syrian form) from Caphar Barucha (possibly *Beni Naim*, near Hebron), at the same time with Engaddi, and the land where once stood the four cities;[d] but the terms of the statement are too vague to allow of any inference as to its position (*Epist.* cviii. §11). In his commentary on Is. xv. 5, he says that it was "in the boundary of the Moabites, dividing them from the land of the Philistines," and thus justifies his use of the word *vectis* to translate בריחה (A. V. "his fugitives," marg. "borders;" Gesen. *flüchtlinge*). The *terra Philisthiim*, unless the words are corrupt, can only mean the land of Palestine—*i. e.* (according to the inaccurate usage of later times) of Israel—as opposed to Moab. In his *Quaestiones Hebraicae* on Gen. xix. 30 (comp. xiv. 3) Jerome goes so far as to affirm the accuracy of the Jewish conjecture, that the later name of Zoar was Salisha:—"Bale primum et postea Salisa appellata" (comp. also his comment on Is. xv. 5). But this is probably grounded merely on an interpretation of *shalishiyeh* in Is. xv. 5, as connected with *bela*, and as denoting the "third" destruction of the town by "earthquakes."[f]

In more modern times Zoar is mentioned by the Crusading historians. Fulcher (*Gesta Dei*, 405, quoted by von Raumer, 239) states that "having encircled (*girato*) the southern part of the lake on the road from Hebron to Petra, we found there a large village which was said to be Segor, in a charming situation, and abounding with dates. Here we began to enter the mountains of Arabia." The palms are mentioned also by William of Tyre (xxii. 30) as being so abundant as to cause the place to be called *Villa Palmarum*, and *Palmer* (*i. e.* probably *Paumier*). Abulfeda (cir. A.D. 1320) does not specify its position more nearly than that it was adjacent to the lake and the *ghor*, but he testifies to its then importance by calling the lake after it—Bahiret-zeghor (see too Ibn Idris, in Reland, 272). The natural inference from the description of Fulcher is, that Segor lay in the *Wady Kerak*, the ordinary road, then and now, from the south of the Dead Sea to the eastern highlands. The conjecture of Irby and Mangles (June 1, and see May 9), that the extensive ruins which they found in the lower part of this Wady were those of Zoar, is therefore probably accurate.

The name *Dra'a* or *Dera'ah* (אֻדְרָעָה), which they, Poole (*Geogr. Journ.* xxvi. 63), and Burckhardt (July 15), give to the valley, may even without violence be accepted as a corruption of Zoar.

[e] The Samaritan Text and Version afford no light on this passage, as they, for reasons not difficult to divine, have thrown the whole into confusion.

[d] None of these places, however, can be seen from *Beni Naim* (Rob. i. 491).

[f] Similarly, Stephanus of Byzantium places Ζοαρ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ (quoted by Reland, 1065).

[f] See Rahmer, *Die Hebr. Tradit. in Hieronymus* (Breslau, 1861), p. 29.

Zoar was included in the province of Palaestina Tertia, which contained also Kerak and Areopolis. It was an episcopal see, in the patriarchate of Jerusalem and archbishopric of Petra; at the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) it was represented by its bishop Musonius, and at the Synod of Constantinople (A.D. 536) by John (Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* iii. 743-6).

4. To the statements of the mediaeval travellers just quoted there are at least two remarkable exceptions. (1.) Brocardus (cir. A.D. 1290), the author of the *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, the standard "Handbook to Palestine" of the middle ages, the work of an able and intelligent resident in the country, states (cap. vii.) that "five leagues[g] (leucae) to the south of Jericho is the city Segor, situated beneath the mountain of Engaddi, between which mountain and the Dead Sea is the statue of salt."[h] True he confesses that all his efforts to visit the spot had been frustrated by the Saracens; but the passage bears marks of the greatest desire to obtain correct information, and he must have nearly approached the place, because he saw with his own eyes the "pyramids" which covered the "wells of bitumen," which he supposes to have been those of the vale of Siddim. This is in curious agreement with the connexion between Engedi and Zoar implied in Jerome's Itinerary of Paula. (2.) The statement of Thietmar (A.D. 1217) is even more singular. It is contained in the 11th and 12th chapters of his *Peregrinatio* (ed. Laurent, Hamburgi, 1857). After visiting Jericho and Gilgal he arrives at the "fords of Jordan" (xi. 20), where Israel crossed and where Christ was baptised, and where then, as now, the pilgrims bathed (22). Crossing this ford (33) he arrives at "the field and the spot where the Lord overthrew Sodom and Gomorra." After a description of the lake come the following words:—"On the shore of this lake, about a mile (*ad miliare*) from the spot at which the Lord was baptised is the statue of salt into which Lot's wife was turned" (47). "Hence I came from the lake of Sodom and Gomorra, and arrived at Segor, where Lot took refuge after the overthrow of Sodom; which is now called in the Syrian tongue Zora, but in Latin the city of palms. In the mountain hard by this Lot sinned with his daughters (xii. 1-3). After this I passed the vineyard of Benjamin (?) and of Engaddi. . . . Next I came into the land of Moab and to the mountain in which was the cave where David hid . . . leaving on my left hand Sethim (Shittim), where the children of Israel tarried. . . . At last I came to the plains of Moab, which abound in cattle and grain. . . . A plain country, delightfully covered with herbage, but without either woods or single trees; hardly even a twig or shrub (4-15). . . . After this I came to the torrent Jabbok" (xiv. 1).

Making allowance for the confusion into which this traveller seems to have fallen as to Engaddi and the cavern of David, it seems almost certain from his description that, having once crossed the Jordan, he did not recross it,[i] and that the site of Sodom and Gomorrah, the pillar of salt, and Zoar were all seen by him on the east of the Dead Sea—the two first at its north-east end. Taken by itself this would not perhaps be of much weight, but when combined with the evidence which the writer has attempted to bring forward that the "cities of the plain" lay to the north of the lake, it seems to him to assume a certain significance.

5. But putting aside the accounts of Brocardus and Thietmar, as exceptions to the ordinary mediaeval belief which placed Zoar at the *Wady ed Dra'a* how can that belief be reconciled with the inference drawn above from the statements of the Pentateuch? It agrees with those statements in one particular only, the position of the place on the eastern side of the lake. In everything else it disagrees not only with the Pentateuch, but with the locality ordinarily[k] assigned to Sodom. For if *Usdum* be Sodom, at the S.W. corner of the lake, its distance from the *Wady ed Dra'a* (at least 15 miles) is too great to agree with the requirements of Gen. xix.

This has led M. de Saulcy to place Zoar in the *Wady Zuweirah*, the pass leading from Hebron to the Dead Sea. But the names Zuweirah and Zoar are not nearly so similar in the originals as they are in their western forms, and there is the fatal obstacle to the proposal that it places Zoar on the west of the lake, away from what appears to have been the original cradle of Moab and Ammon.[m] If we are to look for Zoar in this neighbourhood, it would surely be better to place it at the *Tell um-Zoghal*,[n] the latter part of which name (زوغل) is almost literally the same as the Hebrew Zoar. The proximity of this name and that of *Usdum*, so like Sodom, and the presence of the salt mountain—to this day splitting off in pillars which show a rude resemblance to the human form—are certainly remarkable facts; but they only add to the general mystery in which the whole of the question of the position and destruction of the cities is involved, and to which the writer sees at present no hope of a solution.

In the A. V. of 1611 the name Zoar is found in 1 Chr. iv. 7, following (though inaccurately) the *Keri* (וצחר). The present Received Text of the A. V. follows (with the insertion of "and") the *Cethîb* (יצחר). In either case the name has no connexion with Zoar proper, and is more accurately represented in English as Zohar (Tsochar) or Jezohar. [G.]

ZO'BA, or ZO'BAH (צוֹבָא, צוֹבָה: Σουβά: *Soba, Suba*) is the name of a portion of Syria, which formed a separate kingdom in the time of the Jewish monarchs, Saul, David, and Solomon. It is difficult to fix its exact position and limits;

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[g] The distance from Jericho to Engedi is understated here. It is really about 24 English miles.

[h] In the map to the *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae* of Adrichomius, Sodom is placed within the Lake, at its N.W. end; Segor near it on the shore; and the Statua Salis close to the mouth of the Torrent (apparently Kidron).

[i] Thietmar did not return to the west of the Jordan. From the torrent Jabbok he ascended the mountains of Abarim. He then recrossed the plain of Heshbon to the river Arnon; and passing the ruins of Robda (Rabba), and Crach (Kerak), and again crossing the Arnon (probably the Wady el Ahsy), reached the top of a very high mountain, where he was half killed by the cold. Thence he journeyed to Petra and Mount Hor, and at length reached the Red Sea. His itinerary is full of interest and intelligence.

[k] Though incorrectly, if the writer's argument for the position of the plain of Jordan is tenable.

[m] Dr. Robinson's arguments against this proposal of De Saulcy (*B. R.* ii. 107; 517), though they might be more pleasant in tone, are unanswerable in substance.

[n] The *Redjom el-Mezorrhel* of De Saulcy. The *gh* and *rrh* each strive to represent the Arabic *ghain*, which is pronounced like a guttural rolling r.

but there seem to be grounds for regarding it as lying chiefly eastward of Coele-Syria, and extending thence north-east and east, towards, if not even to, the Euphrates. [SYRIA.] It would thus have included the eastern flank of the mountain-chain which shuts in Coele-Syria on that side, the high land about Aleppo, and the more northern portion of the Syrian desert.

Among the cities of Zobah were a Hamath (2 Chr. viii. 3), which must not be confounded with "Hamath the Great" (HAMATH-ZOBAH); a place called Tibhath or Betah (2 Sam. viii. 8; 1 Chr. xviii. 8), which is perhaps *Taibeh*, between Palmyra and Aleppo; and another called Berothai, which has been supposed to be Beyrût. (See Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, vol. i. p. 155.) This last supposition is highly improbable, for the kingdom of Hamath must have intervened between Zobah and the coast. [BEROTHAH.]

We first hear of Zobah in the time of Saul, when we find it mentioned as a separate country, governed apparently by a number of kings who own no common head or chief (1 Sam. xiv. 47). Saul engaged in war with these kings, and "vexed them," as he did his other neighbours. Some forty years later than this, we find Zobah under a single ruler, Hadadezer, son of Rehob, who seems to have been a powerful sovereign. He had wars with Toi, king of Hamath (2 Sam. viii. 10), while he lived in close relations of amity with the kings of Damascus, Beth-Rehob, Ish-tob, &c., and held various petty Syrian princes as vassals under his yoke (2 Sam. x. 19). He had even a considerable influence in Mesopotamia, beyond the Euphrates, and was able on one occasion to obtain an important auxiliary force from that quarter (ibid. 16; compare title to Ps. lx.). David, having resolved to take full possession of the tract of territory originally promised to the posterity of Abraham (2 Sam. viii. 3; compare Gen. xv. 18), attacked Hadadezer in the early part of his reign, defeated his army, and took from him a thousand chariots, seven hundred (seven thousand, 1 Chr. xviii. 4) horsemen, and 20,000 footmen. Hadadezer's allies, the Syrians of Damascus, having marched to his assistance, David defeated them in a great battle, in which they lost 22,000 men. The wealth of Zobah is very apparent in the narrative of this campaign. Several of the officers of Hadadezer's army carried "shields of gold" (2 Sam. viii. 7), by which we are probably to understand iron or wooden frames overlaid with plates of the precious metal. The cities, moreover, which David took, Betah (or Tibhath) and Berothai, yielded him "exceeding much brass" (ver. 8). It is not clear whether the Syrians of Zobah submitted and became tributary on this occasion, or whether, although defeated, they were able to maintain their independence. At any rate a few years later, they were again in arms against David. This time the Jewish king acted on the defensive. The war was provoked by the Ammonites, who hired the services of the Syrians of Zobah, among others, to help them against the people of Israel, and obtained in this way auxiliaries to the amount of 33,000 men. The allies were defeated in a great battle by Joab, who engaged the Syrians in person with the flower of his troops (2 Sam. x. 9). Hadadezer, upon this, made a last effort. He sent across the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, and "drew forth the Syrians that were beyond the river" (1 Chr. xix. 16), who had hitherto taken no part in the war. With these allies and his own troops he once more renewed the struggle with the Israelites, who were now commanded by David himself, the crisis being such as seemed to demand the presence of the king. A battle was fought near Helam—a place, the situation of which is uncertain (HELAM)—where the Syrians of Zobah and their new allies were defeated with great slaughter, losing between 40,000 and 50,000 men. After this we hear of no more hostilities. The petty princes hitherto tributary to Hadadezer transferred their allegiance to the king of Israel, and it is probable that he himself became a vassal to David.

Zobah, however, though subdued, continued to cause trouble to the Jewish kings. A man of Zobah, one of the subjects of Hadadezer—Rezon, son of Eliadah—having escaped from the battle of Helam, and "gathered a band" (*i.e.* a body of irregular marauders), marched southward, and contrived to make himself master of Damascus, where he reigned (apparently) for some fifty years, proving a fierce adversary to Israel all through the reign of Solomon (1 K. xi. 23-25). Solomon also was (it would seem) engaged in a war with Zobah itself. The Hamath-Zobah, against which he "went up" (2 Chr. viii. 3), was probably a town in that country which resisted his authority, and which he accordingly attacked and subdued. This is the last that we hear of Zobah in Scripture. The name, however, is found at a later date in the Inscriptions of Assyria, where the kingdom of Zobah seems to intervene between Hamath and Damascus, falling thus into the regular line of march of the Assyrian armies. Several Assyrian monarchs relate that they took tribute from Zobah, while others speak of having traversed it on their way to or from Palestine. [G. R.]

ZO'BEBAH (צֹבֵבָה: Σαβαθά; Alex. Σωβηβά: *Soboba*). Son of Coz, in an obscure genealogy of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 8).

ZO'HAR (צֹחַר: Σαάρ: *Seor*). **1.** Father of Ephron the Hittite (Gen. xxiii. 8, xxv. 9).

2. (*Sohar, Soar.*) One of the sons of Simeon (Gen. xlvi. 10; Ex. vi. 15); called ZERAH in 1 Chr. iv. 24.

ZOHELETH, THE STONE (אֶבֶן הַזֹּחֶלֶת. Λίθῃ τοῦ Ζωελεθεί; Alex. τον λιθον του Ζωελεθ: *lapis Zoheleth*). This was "by En Rogel" (1 K. i. 9); and therefore, if En Rogel be the modern *Um-ed-Deraj*, this stone, "where Adonijah slew sheep and oxen," was in all likelihood not far from the well of the Virgin. [EN ROGEL.] The Targumists translate it "the rolling stone;" and Jarchi affirms that it was a large stone on which the young men tried their strength in attempting to roll it. Others make it "the serpent stone" (Gesen.), as if from the root זחל, "to creep." Jerome simply says, "Zoelet tractum sive protractum." Others connect it with running water; but there is nothing strained in making it "the stone of the conduit" (מזחילה, *Mazchelah*), from its proximity to the great rock-conduit or conduits that poured into Siloam. Bochart's idea is that the Hebrew word *zohel* denotes "a slow motion" (*Hieroz.* part i. b. 1, c. 9): "the fullers here pressing out the water which dropped from the clothes that they had washed in the well called Rogel." If this be the case, then we have some relics of this ancient custom at the massive brast-

work below the present *Birket el-Hamra*, where the donkeys wait for their load of skins from the well, and where the Arab washerwomen may be seen to this day beating their clothes.[a]

The practice of placing stones, and naming them from a person or an event, is very common. Jacob did so at Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 22, xxxv. 14; see Bochart's *Canaan*, pp. 785, 786); and he did it again when parting from Laban (Gen. xxxi. 45). Joshua set up stones in Jordan and Gilgal, at the command of God (Josh. iv. 9·20); and again in Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 26). Near Bethshemesh there was the *Eben-gedolah* ("great stone," 1 Sam. vi. 14), called also *Abel-gedolah* ("the great weeping," 1 Sam. vi. 18). There was the *Eben-Bohan*, south of Jericho, in the plains of Jordan (Josh. xv. 6, xviii. 17), "the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben," the Ehrenbreitstein of the *Ciccar*, or "plain" of Jordan, a memorial of the son or grandson of Jacob's eldest born, for which the writer once looked in vain, but which Felix Fabri in the 15th century (*Evagat.* ii. 82), professes to have seen. The Rabbis preserve the memory of this stone in a book called *Eben-Bohan*, or the touchstone (*Chron. of Rabbi Joseph*, transl. by Bialloblotzky, i. 192). There was the stone set up by Samuel between Mizpeh and Shen, *Eben-Ezer*, "the stone of help" (1 Sam. vii. 11, 12). There was the *Great Stone* on which Samuel slew the sacrifices, after the great battle of Saul with the Philistines (1 Sam. xiv. 33). There was the *Eben-Ezel* ("lapis discessus vel abitus, a discessu Jonathanis et Davidis," Simonis, *Onom.* p. 156), where David hid himself, and which some Talmudists identify with Zoheleth. Large stones have always obtained for themselves peculiar names, from their shape, their position, their connexion with a person or an event. In the Sinaitic Desert the writer found the *Hajar-el-Rekab* ("stone of the rider"), *Hajar-el-Ful* ("stone of the bean"), *Hajar Musa* ("stone of Moses"). The subject of *stones* is by no means uninteresting, and has not in any respect been exhausted. (See the Notes of De Sola and Lindenthal in their edition of *Genesis*, pp. 175, 226; Bochart's *Canaan*, p. 785; Vossius *de Idolatr.* vi. 38; Scaliger *on Eusebius*, p. 198; Heraldus *on Arnobius*, b. vii., and Elmenhorstius *on Arnobius*; also a long note of Ouzelius in his edition of *Minucius Felix*, p. 15; Calmet's *Fragments*, Nos. 166, 735, 736; Kitto's *Palestine*. See, besides, the works of antiquaries on stones and stone circles; and an interesting account of the curious Phoenician *Hajar Chem* in Malta, in Tallack's recent volume on that island. pp. 115-127.) [H. B.]

ZO'HETH (זֹחֵת: Ζωάν: Alex. Ζωχάθ *Zoheth*). Son of Ishi of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 20).

ZO'PHAH (צוֹפַח: Σωφά; Alex. Σωφάρ: *Supha*). Son of Helem, or Hotham, the son of Heber, an Asherite (1 Chr. vii. 35, 36).

ZO'PHAI (צוֹפַי: Σουφί: *Sophai*). A Kohathite Levite, son of Elkanah and ancestor of Samuel (1 Chr. vi. 26 [11]). In ver. 35 he is called ZUPH.

ZO'PHAR (צוֹפַר: Σωφάρ: *Sophar*). One of the three friends of Job (Job ii. 11, xi. 1, xx. 1, xlii 9). He is called in the Hebrew, "the Naamathite," and in the LXX. "the Minaean," and "the king of the Minaeans."

ZO'PHIM, THE FIELD OF (שְׂדֵה צֹפִים: ἄγρος σκοπιάν: *locus sublimis*). A spot on or near the top of Pisgah, from which Balaam had his second view of the encampment of Israel (Num xxiii. 14). If the word *sadeh* (rendered "field") may be taken in its usual sense, then the "field of Zophim" was a cultivated[b] spot high up on the top of the range of Pisgah. But that word is the almost invariable term for a portion of the upper district of Moab, and therefore may have had some local sense which has hitherto escaped notice, and in which it is employed in reference to the spot in question. The position of the field of Zophim is not defined, it is only said that it commanded merely a portion of the encampment of Israel. Neither do the ancient versions afford any clue. The Targum of Onkelos, the LXX., and the Peshito-Syriac take Zophim in the sense of "watchers" or "lookers-out," and translate it accordingly. But it is probably a Hebrew version of an aboriginal name, related to that which in other places of the present records appears as Mizpeh or Mizpah.[c] May it not be the same place which later in the history is mentioned (once only) as MIZPAH-MOAB?

Mr. Porter, who identifies *Attârûs* with Pisgah, mentions (*Handbook*, 300 *a*) that the ruins of *Main*, at the foot of that mountain, are surrounded by a fertile and cultivated plain, which he regards as the field of Zophim. [G.]

ZO'RAH (צָרְעָה: Σαράθ, Σαράα, Σαραᾶ; Alex. Σαραα, Σαρα, Αραα; Joseph. Σαρίασα: *Saraa*). One of the towns in the allotment of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 41). It is previously mentioned (xv. 33) in the catalogue of Judah, among the places

[a] We give the following Rabbinical note on Zoheleth, from the Arabic Commentary of Tanchum of Jerusalem, translated by Haarbrucker:—

"Ver. 9. הזחלת Verbum זחל significationem trepidationis habet et reptationis et cunctationis in incessu. Inde Saturnum זחל appellaverunt propter multos ejus regressus incessusque retrogrados. Eaque sententia est in verbis זחלתי ואירא (Hi. 32, 6) i. e. cunctabar vobis respondere consiliumque meum vobiscum communicare, propterea quia vos verebar et gravitatem aetatis vestrae admirabar. Serpentes זוחלי עפר appellantur, quia in terra serpunt, et ob incessum suum quasi trepidantem cunctantemque. Inde porro dicunt: (Sabb. fol 65, b.) שלא ירבן הנוטפין על הזוחלין (vid. Mischn. Mikvaoth, cap. 5), והמים נזחלין ויצאין i. e. aqua leniter fluens in terra. Fortasse igitur אבן הזוחלת similiter explicandum est, nimirum lapis volutatus et hic illic tractus, quem saepe quasi ludentes volvebant; aut sensus est eum per se fuisse teretem (volubilem) acclivitatis instar, cujus latus alterum elatius, alterum depressius esset in modum pontis exstructi, in quo ad locum altiorem sine gradibus ascendatur; quem כבש vocaverunt qualemque ad altare struxerunt, ut eo ascenderent, quum ad altare per gradus ascendere non liceret (Ex. xx. 23). Nec absurdum mihi videtur eundem fuisse hunc lapidem atque eum, qui in Davidis Jonathanique historia אבן האזל vocatus est, quem interpretantur lapidem viatorum, ad quem videlicet viatores devertebant. Targum h. l. אבן סכותא transtulit i. e. altus; fortasse enim lapis altus fuit et elatus, quem viatores e longinquo conspicerent."

[b] See Stanley, *S. & P.*, Appendix, §15.

[c] The Targum treats the names Mizpeh and Zophim as identical translating them both by סָכוּתָא.

n the district of the Shefelah (A. V. ZOREAH). In both lists it is in immediate proximity to ESHTAOL, and the two are elsewhere named together almost without an exception (Judg. xiii. 25, xvi. 31, xviii. 2, 8, 11; and see 1 Chr. ii. 53). Zorah was the residence of Manoah and the native place of Samson. The place both of his birth and his burial is specified with a curious minuteness as "between Zorah and Eshtaol;" "in Mahaneh-Dan" (Judg. xiii. 25, xvi. 31). In the genealogical records of 1 Chr. (ii. 53, iv. 2), the "Zareathites and Eshtaulites" are given as descended from (*i. e.* colonized by) Kirjath-jearim.

Zorah is mentioned amongst the places fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 10), and it was re-inhabited by the men of Judah after the return from the Captivity (Neh. xi. 29, A. V. ZAREAH).

In the *Onomasticon* (Σαρδα and "Saara") it is mentioned as lying some 10 miles north of Eleutheropolis on the road to Nicopolis. By the Jewish traveller hap-Parchi (Zunz's *Benjamin of Tud.* ii. 441), it is specified as three hours S.E. of Lydd. These notices agree in direction—though in neither is the distance nearly sufficient—with the modern village of *Sŭr'ah* (صرعة), which has been visited by Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* iii. 153) and Tobler (*3tte Wand.* 181-3). It lies just below the brow of a sharp pointed conical hill, at the shoulder of the ranges which there meet and form the north side of the *Wady Ghurâb*, the northernmost of the two branches which unite just below *Sŭr'ah*, and form the great Wady *Surar*. Near it are to be seen the remains of Zanoah, Bethshemesh, Timnath, and other places more or less frequently mentioned with it in the narrative. Eshtaol, however, has not yet been identified. The position of *Sŭr'ah* at the entrance of the valley, which forms one of the inlets from the great lowland, explains its fortification by Rehoboam. The spring is a short distance below the village, "a noble fountain"—this was at the end of April—"walled up square with large hewn stones, and gushing over with fine water. As we passed on," continues Dr. Robinson, with a more poetical tone than is his wont, "we overtook no less than twelve women toiling upwards to the village, each with her jar of water on her head. The village, the fountain, the fields, the mountain, the females bearing water, all transported us back to ancient times, when in all probability the mother of Samson often in like manner visited the fountain and toiled homeward with her jar of water."

In the A. V. the name appears also as ZAREAH and ZOREAH. The first of these is perhaps most nearly accurate. The Hebrew is the same in all. [G.]

ZO'RATHITES, THE (הַצָּרְעָתִי: τοῦ Ἀρι-θεί; Alex. τ. Σαριθι: *Sarathi*), *i. e.* the people of ZORAH, are mentioned in 1 Chr. iv. 2 as descended from Shobal, one of the sons of Judah, who in 1 Chr. ii. 52, is stated to have founded Kirjath-jearim, from which again "the Zareathites and the Eshtaulites" were colonized. [G.]

ZO'REAH (צָרְעָה: Ῥάα; Alex. Σαραα: *Saraa*). Another (and slightly more accurate) form of the name usually given in the A. V. as ZORAH, but once as ZAREAH. The Hebrew is the same in all cases. Zoreah occurs only in Josh. xv. 33, among the towns of Judah. The place appears, however to have come later into the possession of Dan. [ZORAH.] [G.]

ZO'RITES, THE (הַצָּרְעִי: Ἡσαρεί; Alex. Ησαραει: *Sarai*), are named in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 54), apparently (though the passage is probably in great confusion) amongst the descendants of Salma and near connexions of Joab. The Targum regards the word as being a contraction for "the Zorathites;" but this does not seem likely, since the Zareathites are mentioned in ver. 52 of the same genealogy in another connection.

ZOROB'ABEL. (Ζοροβάβελ: *Zorobabel*), 1 Esd. iv. 13; v. 5-70; vi. 2-29; Ecclus. xlix. 11; Matt. i. 12, 13; Luke iii. 27. [ZERUBBABEL.]

ZU'AR (צוּעַר: Σωγάρ: *Suar*). Father of Nethaneel the chief of the tribe of Issachar at the time of the Exodus (Num. i. 8, ii. 5, vii. 18, 23, x. 15).

ZUPH, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ צוּף: εἰς τὴν Σείφ; Alex. εις γην Σειφ: Syr. Peshito, ܨܘܦ, *Tsur*: Vulg. *terra Suph*). A district at which Saul and his servant arrived after passing through those of Shalisha, of Shalim, and of the Benjamites[b] (1 Sam. ix. 5 only). It evidently contained the city in which they encountered Samuel (ver. 6), and that again, if the conditions of the narrative are to be accepted, was certainly not far from the "tomb of Rachel," probably the spot to which that name is still attached, a short distance north of Bethlehem. The name Zuph is connected in a singular manner with Samuel. One of his ancestors was named Zuph (1 Sam. i. 1; 1 Chr. vi. 35) or Zophai (ib. 27); and his native place was called Ramathaim-zophim (1 Sam. i. 1).

But it would be unsafe to conclude that the "land of Zuph" had any connexion with either of these. If Ramathaim-zophim was the present *Neby Samwil*—and there is, to say the least, a strong probability that it was—then it is difficult to imagine that Ramathaim-zophim can have been in the land of Zuph, when the latter was near Rachel's sepulchre, at least seven miles distant from the former. *Neby Samwil* too, if anywhere, is in the very heart of the territory of Benjamin, whereas we have seen that the land of Zuph was outside of it.

The name, too, in its various forms of Zophim Mizpeh, Mizpah, Zephathah, was too common in the Holy Land, on both sides of the Jordan, to permit of much stress being laid on its occurrence here.

The only possible trace of the name of Zuph in modern Palestine, in any suitable locality, is to be found in *Soba*, a well-known place about seven miles due west of Jerusalem, and five miles south-west of *Neby Samwil*. This Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 8, 9) once proposed as the representative of Ramathaim *Zophim*; and although on topographical grounds he virtually renounces the idea (see the footnote to the same pages), yet those grounds need not similarly affect its identity with Zuph, provided other con-

[a] As if reading צִיף (Tsiph), which the original text (*Cethib*) of 1 Chr. vi. 35 still exhibits for Zuph (see margin of A. V.). This is a totally distinct name from Ziph (זִיף).

[b] If indeed the "land of Yemini" be the territory of Benjamin.

siderations do not interfere. If Shalim and Shalisha were to the N.E. of Jerusalem, near *Taiyibeh*, then Saul's route to the land of Benjamin would be S. or S.W., and pursuing the same direction he would arrive at the neighbourhood of *Soba*. But this is at the best no more than conjecture, and unless the land of Zuph extended a good distance east of *Soba*, the city in which the meeting with Samuel took place could hardly be sufficiently near to Rachel's sepulchre.

The signification of the name Zuph is quite doubtful. Gesenius explains it to mean "honey"; while Fürst understands it as "abounding with water." It will not be overlooked that when the LXX. version was made, the name probably stood in the Hebrew Bible as Ziph (Tsiph). Zophim is usually considered to signify watchmen or lookers-out; hence, prophets; in which sense the author of the Targum has actually rendered 1 Sam. ix. 5—"they came into the land in which was a prophet of Jehovah." [G.]

ZUPH (צוּף: Σούφ in 1 Chr.: *Suph*). A Kohathite Levite, ancestor of Elkanah and Samuel (1 Sam. i. 1; 1 Chr. vi. 35 [20]). In 1 Chr. vi. 26 he is called ZOPHAI.

ZUR (צוּר: Σούρ: *Sur*). 1. One of the five princes of Midian who were slain by the Israelites when Balaam fell (Num. xxxi. 8). His daughter Cozbi was killed by Phinehas, together with her paramour Zimri the Simeonite chieftain (Num. xxv. 15). He appears to have been in some way subject to Sihon king of the Amorites (Josh. xiii. 21).

2. Son of Jehiel the founder of Gibeon by his wife Maachah (1 Chr. viii. 30, ix. 36).

ZU'RIEL (צוּרִיאֵל: Σουριήλ: *Suriel*). Son of Abihail, and chief of the Merarite Levites at the time of the Exodus (Num. iii. 35).

ZURISHADDA'I (צוּרִישַׁדָּי: Σουρισαδαί: *Surisaddai*). Father of Shelumiel, the chief of the tribe of Simeon at the time of the Exodus (Num. i. 6, ii. 12, vii. 36, 41, x. 19). It is remarkable that this and Ammishaddai, the only names in the Bible of which Shaddai forms a part, should occur in the same list. In Judith (viii. 1) Zurishaddai appears as SALASADAI.

ZU'ZIMS, THE (הַזּוּזִים: ἔθνη ἰσχυρά in both MSS.: *Zuzim*; but Jerome in *Quaest. Hebr.* *gentes fortes*). The name of an ancient people who lying in the path of Chedorlaomer and his allies were attacked and overthrown by them (Gen. xiv. 5 only). Of the etymology or signification of the name nothing is known. The LXX., Targum of Onkelos, and Sam. Version (with an eye to some root not now [a] recognizable), render it "strong people." The Arab. Version of Saadiah (in Walton's *Polyglott*) gives *ed-Dahakîn*, by which it is uncertain whether a proper name or an appellative is intended. Others understand by it "the wanderers" (Le Clerc, from זוּז), or "dwarfs" (Michaelis, *Suppl.* No. 606).[b] Hardly more ascertainable is the situation which the Zuzim occupied. The progress of the invaders was from north to south. They first encountered the Rephaim in Ashteroth Karnaim (near the *Leja* in the north of the *Hauran*); next the Zuzim in Ham; and next the Emim in Shaveh Kiriathaim. The last named place has not been identified, but was probably not far north of the Arnon. There is therefore some plausibility in the suggestion of Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 308 *note*), provided it is etymologically correct, that Ham, הם, is עם, Am, *i. e.* Ammon; and thus that the Zuzim inhabited the country of the Ammonites, and were identical with the Zamzummim, who are known to have been exterminated and succeeded in their land by the Ammonites. This suggestion has been already mentioned under ZAMZUMMIM, but at the best it can only be regarded as a conjecture, in respect to which the writer desires to say with Reland—and it would be difficult to find a fitter sentence with which to conclude a Dictionary of the Bible—"conjecturae, quibus non delectamur." [G.]

[a] "Sensum magis quam verbum ex verbo transferentes" (Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.*). Schumann (*Genesis*, 237) suggests that for הַזּוּזִים they read עֲזוּזִים. The change in the initial letter is the same which Ewald proposes in identifying Ham (Gen. xiv. 5) with Ammon.

[b] Comparing the Arabic زوز. By adopting this (which however Gesenius, *Thes.* 510 *a*, resists), and altering the points of בְּהָם to בָּהֵם, as it is plain the LXX. and Vulg. read them, Michaelis ingeniously obtains the following reading: 'They smote the giants in Ashteroth Karnaim, and the people of smaller (*i. e.* ordinary) stature, who were with them"

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED, STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

BS440 .S65 1893 v.4
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